FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP, IN RONGO CONSTITUENCY, MIGORI COUNTY, KENYA

BY

OTIENO MILLICENT AWUOR

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DECLARATION

This Research Project Report is my original work and has not been presented for the award of any degree in any other University.

Signature_____Date_____

OTIENO MILLICENT AWUOR

L50/60579/2011

This Research Project Report has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University supervisor

Signature _____Date_____

YONA SAKAJA

LECTURER

DEPARTMENT OF EXTRA-MURAL STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEDICATION

This Research Project Report is dedicated to my husband Joseph Akondo, my son Daryl Christian Akondo, my parents Consolata Apiyo Otieno and Paul Otieno Nyanjaga.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AWC - African Women and Child

CBO - Community Based Organization.

FIDA - Federation of Women Lawyers

INEC - Independent National Electoral Commission

IPU - Inter- Parliamentary Union

KNBS - Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

NGO - Non Governmental Organization.

PL - Political Leadership.

PPL - Participation in political leadership

WPPL - Women's participation on political leadership

UNESCO - United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNRISD - United Nation Research Institute for Social Development

GBEV - Gender Based Electoral Violence

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the factors influencing women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency, Migori County, Kenya. A lot of strategies have been formulated both nationally and internationally to make it possible for women to participate in political leadership yet the level of women's participation in this field remains low not only in Kenya but world over. Kenya remains challenged in ascendancy of women into political leadership. At the moment in East Africa, Kenya is the worst performing in women's political leadership it only has 10 percent of women in the 10th parliament while the rest of the countries in the region have at least achieved the 30 percent target. In the history of Kenya, Rongo constituency has never been represented by a woman member of parliament. At the moment out of the 20 wards in the constituency only 2 are represented by women councilors. The objectives of the study are to assess the influence of demographic factors, economic factors, cultural factors and gender based electoral violence on women's participation in political leadership. The study was limited by rain and bad weather however the researcher used umbrellas and raincoats to counter this. The study was delimited to Rongo Constituency because it best suits the characteristics under study. Literature was reviewed on the following sub heading: demographic factors and their influence on women's political leadership, economic factors and their influence on women's participation in political leadership, cultural factors and its influence on women's participation in political leadership and gender based electoral violence and its influence on women's participation in political leadership. The study was conducted through a descriptive survey. Data was collected using questionnaires and interview responses from 384 women in four divisions in Rongo constituency. The sample was arrived at through Morgan's table.7 women politicians were also purposively sampled to take part in the study. The reliability of the instrument was tested through test re-test method. Data was analyzed using percentage distribution and frequency distribution techniques using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 16.Data collected was analyzed and presented in tables in form of frequencies and percentages. The study concluded that women's marital status and educational level influence their participation in political leadership. Women are economically disadvantaged therefore that hinders their chances of ascending to political office. Cultural factors also influence women's participation into political leadership. Culture; patriarchy and public opinion repress women and prevent them from participating in political leadership. In addition gender based electoral violence in form of physical harm; sexual harm and psychological harm directed at women as they campaign for political office discourage women from running for political office. The study recommends that education of women should be promoted more. The education curriculum should also include political training similarly women should negotiate for sharing of domestic responsibilities with other members of the family in order to have time to focus on political careers if they so wish to. Economic empowerment is also critical for women's participation in political leadership which is highly commercialized. The study recommends the implementation of the inheritance bill which allows women to have collateral that they can use to access funds. There is also need for civic education in Kenya to help propagate issues of women emancipation. Questions related to culture should also be addressed by the said commission. Most importantly the gender rule should be implemented. The study also suggested possible areas of future research based on the findings.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Globally, the political participation of women in political leadership is increasingly low. At the moment the global average of women parliamentarians is 19.5
percent. It falls below the 30% target that was to be achieved by 2005.This target was set in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action. Nevertheless it is worth noting that the percentage of women parliamentarian has increased. A report by the Inter-Parliamentarian Union (2012) indicates that the global average of female parliamentary representation stood at 19.8 percent in 2011 up from 19 percent in 2010.This 0.8 percentage point increase has followed similar patterns over the past decade and underscores the minimal progress in attempts to reach gender parity in parliamentary representation across the globe this century (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2012).

It is also important to note that there are more women holding executive positions than before. New research carried out by IPU and UN Women and presented in the Women in Politics 2012 map, revealed progress at the executive level with the number of countries with women as head of government, head of state or both having more than doubled since 2005 to 18 in total at the moment. The percentage of women ministers had also modestly increased from 14.2% in 2005 to 16.7% in 2012.However this has not translated into increased parliamentary representation. An example of this situation is the Philippines .While they have had two female presidents in the last 25 years, only 22 percent of the lower house is made up of women and the upper house is home to only 13 percent (Cole 2011).Liberia the first country in Africa to be led by a woman president has 9.6 percent women in the lower house and 13.3 percent in the upper house. Malawi, the other African country with a female president has 22% women parliamentarian (IPU 2012).

In Europe, as much as the women's parliamentary political participation has increased over the years, a gender balanced representation has not been achieved. Gender equality in political power and resources in industrialized democracies has grown tremendously in the past

fifty years .More women are running for and being elected to national parliaments than ever before, and a record number of women hold executive positions within the national governments. While women have made substantial gains in wielding political influence (Paxton et al. 2007), women are still found to participate less in formal politics across a variety of Western nations (Norris 2002; Scholzman 1999, Verba 1997).

In the United States of America and the United Kingdom, differences in men's and women's political engagement are persistent (Burns 2007).Even though these two countries have long democratic histories as well as high scores on indicators of women's status they elect relatively few women (Verba 1997). According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union Report (2012) the United States of America ranks 78th in the world in the female representation in parliament with only 16.8% of women in the Lower House and 17% in the Upper House .On the other hand the United Kingdom is ranked 55, the percentage of women in the lower house is 22% while that in the Upper House is 21.9%.

In Canada the women representation in parliament remains considerably lower than that of men. Agnes Macphail became the first woman elected to the House of Commons in 1921. While the decades following her election witnessed a steady growth in women's representation in parliament, progress appears to have remained near the 20% level over the past decade (Cool 2010).With 24.7% of seats in the House of Commons currently held by women, Canada is still far from the 30% minimum necessary to ensure a critical mass of women, and ranks 42nd internationally in the representation of women in the lower house of parliament (IPU 2012). The representation of women on municipal councils (23.4%) (Cool 2010).

In Asia, it is a paradox that women, who compose half the population, are so poorly represented in policy making bodies. Although there have been substantial improvement in recent decades, only a very small number of women rise to positions of political leadership (Iwanaga 2008).The percentage of women parliamentarians is a paltry 17.9 percent for both the lower and the upper house combined (IPU 2012).India, one of the longest

democracies in the world only has 11 percent of women parliamentarians in the lower house and 10.1 in the upper house thus it ranks 106 in the world representation of women in parliament (IPU 2012).After more than 63 years of independence and conducting over 14 general elections , one would expect the representation of women to be higher (Cole 2011)

In Africa, in recent year women's political participation has increased however there still exists a gender disparity between men and women's level of political participation (Sirleaf 2010). It is noted that the share of Parliamentary seats held by women increased from 7 percent in 1990 to 17 percent in 2007 and 20.4% in 2011, which is more than the global average (IPU 2012). The increase in political participation is as a result of constitutional quotas written into law and requiring that a certain percentage of political positions to be occupied by women (Potters 2009).

Six African countries: Burundi, Mozambique, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda have achieved the critical mass of 30 percent or higher women representation in their national parliaments. These countries have achieved this milestone because they recognized the importance of equity between women and men in decision making and they instituted changes in their electoral and parliamentary processes (Sirleaf 2010).

Rwanda has made a mark globally in the women's parliamentary political participation. It has the highest number of women parliamentarians at 56.3 percent. Rwanda succeeded by implementing a gender quota system .With a population of 70 percent female following the 1994 genocide, women had to assume traditional male roles .Able finally to participate in the drafting of a new constitution and new legislative structures, they pushed for greater equality in politics through such initiatives as a constitutional quota and election quotas to ensure women's place at the political table. This achievement could not have been possible without the support and demonstrated political commitment of the Government of Rwanda at the highest level of leadership (Mutamba, 2005).

Despite the progress in women's political participation worldwide, Kenya is quite challenged with regard to women's ascendency into public political leadership positions. Twenty years after the re-introduction of democracy in Kenya, for instance, the best representation of women in parliament is the current 10th parliament. Kenya has only about 10% women representation, trailing far behind the global average of 19.5 % women representation in parliaments. Over the past decades other countries in the East African region have surpassed Kenya on all measures of gender equality indices (Kamau 2010). Kenya ranks 112 in the world in the female representation in parliament (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2012).

The new Kenyan constitution promotes the participation of women and men at all levels of governance and makes provisions for proportional representation. Article 81b of the Constitution provides that "not more than two –thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender. What the constitution does not provide for is the methodology to be used to ensure implementation. Consequently, Kenya is still grappling with the strategies of implementing the gender rule (Mzalendo 2012).

The dismal performance of Kenya in regard to women's representation in political leadership ,despite having pioneered and provided leadership to the post -1990 multi-party women empowerment programmes in the East Africa continues to raise concern (Kamau 2010).

According to Kassily and Onkware (2010) , since independence in 1963 , Kenyan women have played a marginal role in Kenya's political life even though they make up 52 percent of the country's population .Kenya has only had a total of 50 elected and 25 nominated women parliamentarians since independence (parliament records 2009).Rongo constituency has never been represented by a woman in parliament besides currently, out of the 20 wards in Rongo Constituency only two are represented by elected women councilors (Municipal records 2010).

1.2 **Statement of the Problem**

Participation in political leadership is a critical tool for empowering individuals. This is because participation in political leadership empowers individuals to participate in formal political structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources are generated. In Kenya women are under-represented in political leadership.

A lot of interventions have been formulated to enhance women's participation in political leadership. Such interventions are encompassed in international instruments ,covenants and interventions such as Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Beijing Platform for Action .However , none of these have helped women in attaining the target of 30 percent in parliament (Cool 2010).In Kenya , disparity and inequality in participation in political leadership has persisted probably due to demographic factors ,cultural factors , economic factors , gender based electoral violence. Unlike men , women are averse to political leadership.

Participation in political leadership is imperative for women's empowerment because greater number of women in politics will support women's cause at every level (Oxal and Baden 1997) . Besides researchers have noted that when women get into leadership and management they bring a different perspective from men (Clinton, 2003; Maathai, 2006, Neuman , 1998 ; Thomas & Wilcox ,2005; Wanjohi, 2003).Women leaders are likely to focus on human development projects.

Little is known about participation of women in leadership in Rongo Constituency , no research has been done to document this issue. It is with this in mind that the study has been designed to fill the gap. Therefore, this research aims to find out factors influencing women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency.

1.3. Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study is to investigate the factors influencing women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency.

1.4 Research Objectives

This study was guided by the following objectives:

1. To assess the influence of demographic factors on women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency.

2. To examine the influence of economic factors on women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency.

3. To explore the influence of cultural factors on women's participation on political leadership in Rongo Constituency

4. To assess the influence of gender based electoral violence on women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency.

1.5 Research questions

1. How do demographic factors influence women's participation in parliamentary political leadership in Rongo Constituency ?
2. To what extent do economic factors influence women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency ?

3. What is the influence of cultural factors on women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency?

4) How does gender based electoral violence influence women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency?

1.6 Significance of the Study

It is hoped that the findings of this study will have both theoretical and practical implications for the future studies on women and politics in the country. Theoretically, the study is expected to contribute to the advancement of knowledge about factors that influence women's participation in parliamentary political leadership in Kenya.

The study may also have practical significance by providing insights to policy makers concerned with gender equality in politics. It is hoped that the findings will be instrumental in the formulation of strategies that ensure gender balance in the political arena. It is hoped that gender experts, NGO's ,CBO's,development patners, women groups such as Maendeleo ya Wanawake and National Communion on Status of Women as well as policy makers in the government will find the study useful. The study should also form a base on which others can develop their

1.7 Basic assumptions of the Study

It is assumed that the sample size is representative. It is also hoped that the information given by the respondents will be true and accurate .Another basic assumption is that the respondents are the electorates of Rongo Constituency. It is also assumed that demographic factors, economic factors, cultural factors and gender based electoral violence influence women's participation in parliamentary political leadership in Rongo Constituency.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

Rain and bad weather posed a challenge however umbrellas and raincoats were used. It was also difficult to separate factors that result from social and cultural environment however the difficulty of examining interrelationships did not deter their investigation but did indicate trends rather than absolutes.

1.9 Delimitation of the Study.

The study was only conducted in Rongo Constituency The constituency is found in Migori County. It boarders Homabay District to the North and Kisii South District, Migori and Trans mara and Gucha District to the South . The Constituency has a total area of 468 km2.There are five divisions that make up Rongo Constituency. The four divisions are Rongo, Chamgi wadu, Awendo and Dede .It has a total population of 209 460 of which 100987 are males while 108 473 are females living in a total of 33 770 households. The study focussed on those aged 18 years and above who are 108 507 in total of which 53% are females and 47% are males (KNBS 2009). The study was based on a sample of 384 using descriptive survey. The study is carried out in Rongo Constituency because the level of political participation of women in Rongo Constituency is low compared to other constituencies in Migori County. Even at the level of civic political leadership, the number of women civic leaders is lower compared to other regions. Rongo Constituency has 2 elected women leaders; Uriri Constituency has 4 while Migori Constituency has 5.The results can also be generalized to other areas.

1.10. Definition of Significant Terms.

Leadership: The influence an individual has, whether directly or indirectly, on followers or observers from his community, or society.

Woman: Female aged 18 years of age and above.

Women politicians: A woman who has ever vied or served as a member of parliament or a civic leader. It also refers to aspiring members of parliament or county assembly representative.

Political participation: Vying for a civic or a parliamentary seat.

Gender equality: This refers to equal opportunity and outcomes for women and men. It involves the removal of discrimination on grounds of a person's sex in process of claiming political leadership.

Culture: A set of attitudes often unconscious many of them historically conditioned.

Gender Based

Electoral violence: Infliction of physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering. This type of violence is meted out on women as they run for elective office.

Public opinion: These are opinions shared by many parts of the society.

Demographic: This refers to age, gender, marital status and education level.

Education: The formal acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes necessary for one to become a useful member of the society.

Literacy: The ability to write read and decipher meaning from the written text.

1.11 Organization of the Study

This project is organized into five Chapters. Chapter one constitutes the introduction which focuses mainly on the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study, the research questions, significance of the study, basic assumptions of the study, limitations of the study, delimitation of the study, definition of significant terms and organization of the study.

Review of literature pertinent to the concern of the project is presented in Chapter two. Relationships between the variables and the conceptual framework are also presented in this chapter. Chapter three on the other hand, describes the research methodology that includes a brief description of the research design adopted for the study, target population, sampling procedures or techniques, research instruments, piloting of the research instruments, data collection procedures, data analysis techniques and ethical issues.

The fourth chapter covers detailed analysis and interpretation of research findings while the fifth chapter covers document summary, conclusion and recommendations based on the research findings.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section extensively reviews literature on the previous related studies relevant to the study topic. It discusses in detail the factors that influence women's participation in parliamentary political leadership. It also outlines the theoretical and conceptual framework.

2.2. An overview of women's participation on political leadership

Gender equality in the political arena has not been easy to achieve. Despite the fact that most countries have embraced democracy, a fifty-fifty gender political participation in political leadership has not been realized. The low political participation by women is not limited to Africa; it is global, with the Nordic countries being among the notable exceptions. (Sirleaf 2010).The Nordic countries are about to close the gender gap as the percentage of women parliamentarians is 42 percent. Rwanda and Andorra are the only countries that have achieved a gender balance in parliament. The percentage of women in Rwandan parliament is 56.3% while Andorra is 50% thus the two countries rank top in world female representation in parliament (IPU 2012).On the other hand there are seven countries in the world: Belize, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the Solomon Island that do not have women parliamentarians (Almasry 2012)

The political arena is still dominated by men while women rarely run for elective posts. According to Lijphart (1999), political participation is good for democracy, but democracies are plagued by systematic inequalities in participation. One of the most persistent has been according to gender, such that women are found to participate less than men, suggesting that half the populations interest are less well represented (Scholzman 1994).If democracy is going to put down strong and healthy roots, it must profit from all the full and equitable participation of women in national and local leadership positions and in a full range of advocacy roles (National Democratic Institute, 2010).

2.3. Influence of demographic factors on women's participation in political leadership;

` Demographic factors like education, religion and marital status influence women's participation in political leadership (Khan 2010).It seems evident that formal education should be strongly associated with political participation for women and for men (Goetz 2003).Indeed the American sociologists Burns and Schozmann (2001), on the basis of decades of research into the factors influencing women and men's engagement into politics in the USA concluded that, education is especially a powerful predictor of political participation.Matland (2005) in Oduol (2010) suggest that education has led many a woman in the society to join political parties or participate in political parties. Education is the most important channel for encouraging women to speak out.

Empirical studies in Asia suggests that illiteracy and low level of educational attainment presents a most disempowering factor for women's development (Khan 2010).Two thirds of the total illiterate in the world are women (UNESCO, 2006) .60 percent of the 135 million children in the world between ages seven and eighteen who are not receiving education are girls: and only one out of every four girls who begin primary school remain in the school four years after (Negash, 2006) in Khan (2010). Despite the introduction and provision of free and compulsory primary free tuition in secondary education girls access to education remains limited , in part due to traditional attitudes as well as high drop out rates due to pregnancy, early and forced marriages (estimated at 80 000 annually). In Kenya whereas the Education Act provides for the right of pregnant girls to continue with their education until and after giving birth, pregnant girls continue to be expelled from schools (FIDA 2012).

Studies in Nigeria shows that most customs often prefer sending the male child to school over the females, who is expected to nurture siblings and be married off. This marginally increases the illiterate women and stiffens their competition with their male counterparts in politics (Agbalajobi 2009).

Empirical studies in India suggest that literacy has a strong impact on women's capacity to perform in the political institutions (Mohan et, al. 2005). In Nigeria it is expected that women who are educated will be more and will want to participate in political leadership.(Adedamola et, al. 2010).According to Khan (2010) educational attainment helps women to be empowered by

building money earning capability among them ,developing confidence to face challenges ,enhancing the ability to make decisions regarding themselves and the society.

There is a wide variation between countries, however in the relationship between women's education level and their representation in formal politics. The United states which outranks other industrialized democracies in terms of the number of women in higher education has seen persistently low numbers of women in formal politics, reaching an all high of just 16.8% of congress in 2011(IPU 2012).Uganda, Rwanda and Mozambique among the poorest countries with adult literacy levels of just 41, 60.2 and 28.7 percent respectively have parliaments in which between 25 to 45 percent of legislators are women (Goetz 2003).Similarly in Kenya, provinces such as Nairobi and Central that claim higher levels of education still lag behind in the number of women parliamentarians (Kamau 2010).

However studies by Oduol (2008) suggest that in Kenya many women do not only lack basic education but also have inadequate political training that can enable them participate effectively in the political arena. This leads to a situation where women are not taken seriously even when they declare their candidature.Omtatah (2008) states that democracy cannot function without an informed electorate .An uninformed, or misinformed public cannot participate in its government; it can only be used by it.

Empirical studies in the U.S.A show that marriage and parenthood are anticipated to have a stronger negative effect among women than men, where marriage may even boost participation in men (Rotolo 2000). Empirical studies in the Netherlands and the USA suggest that married women participate less in politics than single women (Bolzendahl & Coffe 2010). Once married women's leisure time declines to a great extent than men's, and women tend to increase the amount of time spent on housework (Sayer 2005). Studies done in Kenya by Kamau (2010) on Women and political leadership, shows that many women would rather join politics when their children have grown up or after their husbands have died. Thus, marriage might lower political participation among women and boost it among men (Rotolo 2000).

Empirical studies by (Khan 2010) in Asia show that greater marital duration develop a relation of trust between husband and wife that provides opportunities to acquire more authority. In this regard empirical studies by Tareque et al. (2007) stated that younger wives in Bangladesh

were kept under strict control of their husbands as compared to elder wives. Eventually tight control of husbands on young wives restricts their freedom.

As with marriage, Dutch findings indicate that divorce changes the resources that people have, and the effect is generally stronger and more negative for women (Poortman 2000). However, studie done by Bolzendah and Coffe (2010) in the USA and Netherlands on *Same Gender, Different Rules? Gender Differences in Political Participation* found out that being divorced is linked to increase in women's involvement in politics. Empirical studies in Kenya by Kamau (2010) found out that majority of women in politics are widowed, divorced or never married. The married ones have to get the full support of their husbands.

2.4. Influence of economic factors on women's participation in parliamentary political leadership

Empirical studies in the USA carried out by Inglehart and Norris (2003) show that, when women are economically disadvantaged, it is much more difficult for them to break into electoral office because they do not have access to necessary resources in the realm of public decision making.

The economic crisis in countries with the so –called "developing democracies" has intensified the risk of poverty for women, which is likely to be increasingly feminized. (Bari 2010).Economic conditions play a significant role in women's legislative recruitment within both long standing and new democracies. It goes without saying that the social and economic status of women in the society has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected bodies. (Shnevoda 2007).Studies in Tanzania by Bari (2005) show that politics is increasingly becoming commercialized .More and more money is needed to participate in politics .Women lack access to and ownership of productive resources limiting the scope of their political work

According to the Gender and Governance programme in Kenya, female political aspirants are economically challenged as compared to their male counterparts .Whereas male politicians have convoys of cars or helicopters with several of their supporters in their wake, female aspirants rarely have that kind of economic muscles .If they are blessed, they will be seen in old

cars. This has made elections a lucrative business where the only people who venture into and thrive are the wealthy men and few wealthy women (Kassily & Onkware 2010).

Empirical studies in Kenya by Kamau (2010) suggest that financing the campaign process is an uphill task for most aspiring women politicians (Mutullah (2003) reports that two of the women elected in Kenya's 9th parliament indicated that they had spent Kshs 800 000 and Ksh 1.3 million respectively for the campaigns. According to CAPF Report (2012) in The Standard (Tuesday, July 2012) on average most parliamentary aspirants in Kenya spent between Ksh 7 and 8 million during the 2007 General elections. Campaign expenditure which as noted by Mutullah (2003) , include nomination expenses ,printing of fliers and hand bills, hiring of public address systems, mobile phones ,agents' fees, campaigners expenses, hospitality ,transportation, accommodation and subsistence for candidates team must be met. He notes that in addition to maintenance of vehicles and transport costs, entertainment, propaganda, buying of votes and bribing of voters take a large proportion of a candidates' budget. According to Okoth (2012), in Kenya monitored campaign expenditure tracking data estimates that in 2007 candidates could have spent between 2 million and 3 million on voter bribery.

Empirical studies show that finances come out as a major challenge that women face, even though men also face this challenge. However, given the gender dimensions of wealth distributions in Kenya, this problem affect women more than men .This again is not just a Kenyan problem as Matland and Ballington (2005) quoted in (Women Direct Service Centre, 2006) note that it is widely accepted that despite their large representation and their significant contribution to countries economies, women fail to have access to essential development resources and consequently tend to have power and few resources than men in general.

Generally therefore, politics in Kenya has been diluted by wealth without which one cannot go far .This is one barrier to women's participation that must be overcome .Due to poverty women are vulnerable and lured with petty bribes to vote for the most generous contestants financially. The poverty of women gets so modified come election time –thus feminization of poverty is crucial for politics whether for women or men aspirants .(Kassilly & Onkware 2010).

2.5. Cultural factors and their influence on women's participation in political leadership.

Empirical studies done by Shvedova (2007) suggests that in most countries women are carrying a disproportionate share of domestic work .It must be recognized that it is difficult for women to participate in political life when their major concern is survival and they have no choice but to spend much of their time trying to fulfill the basic needs of families .In addition to that, however, some women may have full time jobs as wives and mothers as well as other full careers. Becoming a member of parliament in these conditions might then be considered a third full-time job. The result is that most women think that they cannot hold a political office along with other responsibilities. (Oduol 2008)

Empirical studies in the USA by Huang et, al. (2004)) show that women persistently face more household demands and family responsibility. Even when working outside the home women are still expected to be the primary caregivers. This reduces the time available for work and increases stress, leading to more work family conflict and attitudes and behaviors that interfere with political leadership. The degree to which women perceive domestic responsibility is acute (IPU 2008).Men on the other hand are expected to be good economic providers for their family and meet work demands at the same time than women. Men tend to make greater sacrifices at home in order to maintain their work responsibilities whereas women do the opposite (Jennings & McDougald 200).

In Kenya as long as women hold the primary responsibility of family care, it is difficult for them to meet the time, energy requirements of political office. The other problem is the non-identified roles and responsibilities for women in politics and also their domestication which creates conflicts of balancing the private and public life. So much has politics interfered with the private lives of women who choose to go into it that parliament has been referred to as the graveyard of marriages. (Kassilly & Onkware 2010)

House et al., (2004) defines culture as shared motives, values, beliefs, identities, and interpretations or meanings of significant events that result from common experience of members of collectives that are transmitted across generations. Empirical studies by Fu et al.,(2004) notes that culture affect the advancement of women into positions of leadership. This view is also held by Paxton and Hughes (2007) when they state that a country's culture can

determine the threshold for women's political participation by affecting both the demand for women as political leaders and the supply of willing female candidates. Understanding cultural systems is critical for the advancement of leadership in varying contexts (Kirkman, Lowe, & Gibson, 2006)

Empirical studies by Bartol et al., (2003), show that traditional and persistent barriers have been shown to hinder the active pursuit of women to obtain positions of political leadership. The subordinate status of women vis a vis men is a universal phenomenon, though with a difference in the nature and extent of subordination across countries .Gender role ideology does not only create duality of femininity and masculinity, it also places them in hierarchical fashion in which female sex is generally valued less than male sex because of their socially ascribed roles in the reproductive sphere (Bari 2005).

Empirical studies by Paxton and Hughes (2007) suggest that women tend to be elected in larger proportions in cultures that are more tolerant and egalitarian. Conversely, in cultures that socialize women from birth into strict roles that preclude them from public decision making, it is much more difficult for them to obtain political office (Reynolds 1999).

Patriarchy means the rule of the father; more broadly, it refers to the society ruled and dominated by men over women this is inherent in most African families. Giving men a higher social status over females has crept into the public life (Agbalajobi 2009).Empirical studies in Nigeria shows that the society is permeated by patriarchy whereby women are expected to conform and confine themselves to male dominance and female subservience .Women are seen to belong to the home, be capable of making sound decisions and it is unbecoming of women to expose themselves in public for political activities such as campaign rallies .Men often find it incredible and impracticable to see women participating in politics (Iloh and Ikena 2009).

Empirical studies of commonwealth countries by Duke (2010) suggest that most of the communities are patriarchal in nature. Men remain at the helm of affairs and make decisions virtually exclusively even when the issues border on women. The few women who venture into the man's world feel inhibited to speak, especially when they are in large, male dominated assemblies. Those who muster up enough courage and strength to speak receive very scant attention and respect.

In a continent full of patriarchic societies, Kenya is no exception. Kenya's politics remains dominated by men –and old men, - for that .It is them who mobilize local and ethnic loyalties, control and manipulate vast economic resources in election campaigns and build networks and political alliances in order to gain power. Once in government offices, they use their control over state institutions and decision making in order to enrich themselves and further strengthen their positions. Up to now , they have frequently succeeded in blocking initiatives geared towards improvements of the legal positions of women (Muteshi 2009) Studies by Oduol (2008) also concurs that in Kenya the cultural context is still heavily patriarchal. The common perception is that the political arena is for men, and that it is less preferable for women to become legislators. In relation to this, Kamau (2010) states that, the marginality of women in leadership and their continued exclusion in political decision making is a product of a history of the patriarchal state in Kenya.

Studies done by Blomgren (2010) on Women and Political Participation in Georgia, state that people's negative opinion about women's participation in politics will hamper women's political participation .These negative opinions are shared by many parts of the society that is why it can be called public opinion. Public opinion include traditional values as well as general opinions and ideas on a certain subject in this case women in politics .Negative opinion goes hand in hand with the fact that public opinion is far behind modern societies when it comes to acceptance of women as office holders and politicians .The society is less willing to accept the fact that women are actively involved in politics since among other things, it clashes with the traditional gender roles that women are considered being ultimately responsible for the family. The idea of women's place being at home ,leaving little or no time for a political career is a known dilemma in the feminist theory and the politics of women's representation (Lovenduski 2000).

Empirical studies carried out in Georgia shows that it seems as if neither society nor political parties understand the loss of not having women in the public offices. Society is not ready to take women's political participation seriously; they are still laughing and giggling about these issues (Blomgren 2010).Surprisingly women more or less equally share the opinion that women should not dedicate their time to politics .This is a point that feminism brings up as well where women can be of the same negative opinion and attitude as men .This has several

underlying factors such as that the society does not accept women in public offices, so women accept this ‘‘society’s’’ opinion (Lovenduski 2000).

Most Kenyan communities still regard women as property .This attitude is largely to blame for the continued exclusion of women from inheriting their parent’s or even spouses property .Voters are therefore not inclined to confer leadership on people who are owned .As a result ,few people –including women … take women candidates seriously (Kassilly and Onkware 2010)

Studies in the USA by Kingdon (1997) suggest that men are dominating the seats in parliament which means that there are more people voting for men than women. This electoral behavior of voting for men to a higher degree is sometimes said to be partly dependant on the people having more trust in men than women in political spheres.

2.6. Influence of Gender Based Election Related Violence on women’s participation on parliamentary political leadership.

According to the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW), Gender–Based Electoral Violence is defined broadly as the infliction of physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in potential as human beings public or private life. It takes various shapes such as physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family; physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community; and physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State. In Nigeria some impediments preventing women from actively participating in politics and governance are political violence, thuggery and high level of intimidation INEC (2006).

Empirical studies of commonwealth countries by (Duke 2010) suggests that electoral violence is an unfortunate phenomenon that is curiously gaining ascendancy in a number of African countries and serves as a strong deterrent to the full participation of women who are generally considered to be the weaker sex on account of their physiological make -up. According to UN Report (2005) gender based election related violence is a pandemic that transcends the boundaries of geography, race, culture, political leaning and religion. Empirical studies done by Kamau (2010) on Gender Perspectives in Leadership in Kenya, show that although electoral

violence in Kenya in the past has targeted both male and female politicians, the threat is particularly ominous to women due to their weaker physical make-up and peace loving nature.

The political life of Kenyan women has been a tearful and heart-rending tale .It is a tale of sweat and blood … physical and psychological bashing, mental trauma ,maiming ,rape, sexual harassment ,death and name calling mark the story of Kenyan women.(Lamb 2002) in (Kassily and Onkware 2010).In Kenya when a woman declares an interest in political leadership ,she must often endure violence and name-calling ,often in the presence of her husband ,son or brother ,all intended to embarrass these relatives. The first thing is to make her look ridiculous and trivial .She is just a woman who would be better invisible .She is girded with shame and guilt. People wonder who will be taking care of her husband and children while she is attending to her political roles .They try to make her appear insensitive to her family's needs; never mind her qualities and capacities Oduol (2008). .

Empirical studies in Kenya by Kassilly and Onkware (2010) show that in 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007, violence deterred women out of the electoral process. Many were beaten, harassed, sexually abused and displaced in the politically instigated violence that engulfed the country during the four general elections. In Kenya at present, democratic elections are rather like submitting to the insolence and dictation of a mob (Omtatah 2008)

Studies in France by Herbelee (1997) observes that masculine dominance over women is essentially fragile, but this truth has been carefully obscured .She contends that the exposure of women to suffering may be a political strategy of obscuring male insecurity .Pain inflicted through violence is reinvested as patriarchal capital to prop its dominance . Studies by Kassily and Onkware (2011) notes that it appears that the patriarchal hegemony provides dense institutional support that socializes men for violence while also obscuring it from public scrutiny.

In Kenya studies shows that gender based electoral violence violates women's human rights since it is a form of discrimination that prevents women from participating fully in society and fulfilling their potential as human beings (Okumu 2008). In addition, physical violence limits women's capacity to gain contact with voters and sell their policies during campaign rallies, public meetings and meet the people tour .Violence undermines their participation, parliamentary, civic, and party leadership (AWC, 2002).Despite this reality, history shows that

election violence against women in Kenya goes unreported and unpunished. The electoral violence meted on women during the election period sees many women drop out of the political race. It disempowers women economically and psychologically and also discourages many would be aspirants (Kassilly& Onkware 2010).

2.7. Theoretical Framework

This study uses the basic radical feminist theory in order to spotlight the problem of women's under-representation in politics. Feminist theory is the extension of feminism into theoretical or philosophical discourse (Wikipedia).Radical feminism was cutting edge feminist theory from approximately 1967-1975.Radical feminist theory has been developed by Clare Chambers, Andrea Dworkin and Allan Hunter (Al Hibri 1984).

Radical feminists thought women oppression is more important to deal with, as compared to other types of oppression (Jaggar and Rothenberg 1984) .They believe that a society is a complex of a number of sub-groups. These sub groups are structured on the basis of natural cause or on the basis of social relations e.g sex, caste, race, age, gender. Within each division some persons have authority over others and in this relation of domination and subordination; dominants oppressed their subordinates .Similarly in patriarchal structure men learnt to control the women (Lerners 1986).

To radical feminist, patriarchy is the main system of family in which women are oppressed. It is a system that creates social inequality and promotes violence against women. On the other hand, some radical feminist such as Clare Chambers blame biological structure of women for their oppressions .They are therefore in search of biological revolution in which women can shift their burden of reproduction to men and take active part in productive set up. However this idea is opposed .They think that after the withdrawal of women from biological motherhood, they will have nothing to exploit the men. Their bargaining power will decrease and ultimately they will be in more desperate situation (Al Hibri, 1984).

This theory is important to the study because it links various explanatory variables to status of women. The feminist theory is a point of departure in which the gender perspective and the relation between men and women are put in focus. According to liberal feminists age, gender, patriarchy, biological structures contribute to women's subordination. This study also uses these

variables and others to explain the low level of women's participation in parliamentary political leadership.

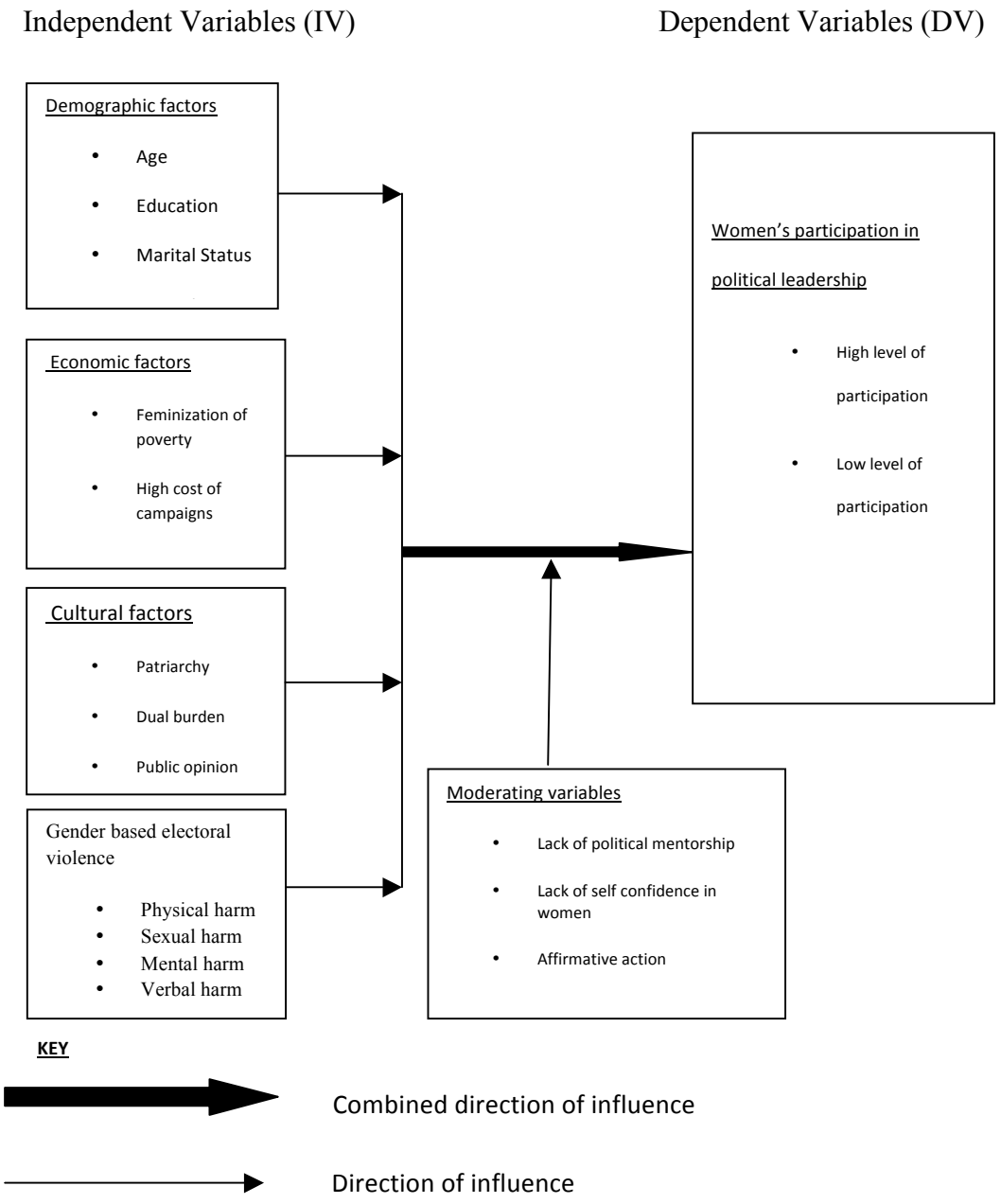
However, this theory is not devoid of weaknesses. One weakness is that for radical feminists the subordination of women is seen primarily in terms of relation of dominance between men and women as distinct social groups. Because men as a group are seen as being opposed to women's advancement by definition many radical feminists reject any co-operation with them in their struggle to achieve the social change they seek. Looking at all men as a "group" and then deciding to turn against them is a serious weakness for any feminism. Furthermore, gender balanced representation can only be achieved with the full participation of men and women.

2.8. Conceptual Framework

Reichel and Ramey (1987) in Kombo and Tromp ,(2006) sees conceptual framework as a set of ideas and principles taken from relevant field of inquiry and used to structure subsequent presentations .Conceptual framework involves forming ideas about relationships between variables in the study and showing these relationships graphically or diagrammatically (Mugenda and Mugenda,2003).

The conceptual framework on the DV and IV are shown diagrammatically in figure 2.0

The study was guided by the following conceptual framework



The dependent variable is women's participation in political leadership while the independent variables(X) are: demographic factors, economic factors, cultural factors and gender based electoral violence. Moderating variables like lack of political mentorship, lack of

confidence in women and affirmative action also influence women's participation in political leadership.

The independent variables influence the dependent variable. A woman's marital status and educational level is likely to influence her participation in political leadership. Educated women are likely to participate in PL while the uneducated and illiterate women are not likely to run for elective posts. Economic factors also influence women's participation in PL. When women are economically disadvantaged they will not participate in PL on the other hand when women are economically endowed, they will participate in PL .Culture can subdue women and prevent them from participating in PL at the same time culture can empower women to participate in PL. Gender based electoral violence also discourages women from participating in PPL .It intimidates and dehumanizes them.

Moderating variables like lack of political mentorship, lack of confidence in women and affirmative action also influence women's participation in PL.Political mentorship for women is rare because there are few women members of parliament. Therefore, this may hinder their participation in PL.The implementation of affirmative action will see an increased number of women participate in PL while failure to implement affirmative action results to a low level of women's participation in PL. In addition, women lack confidence in themselves, they do not see themselves as potential leaders more so because of their socialization.

2.7.1. A summary of Literature Review

This chapter has reviewed literature on various studies that have been done on women's political participation in political leadership .The chapter discusses the influence of demographic, socio-economic, cultural factors and gender based electoral violence on the participation of women in political leadership.

Literature shows that demographic characteristics such as education, marital status, religion influence women's participation in political leadership. These factors can either promote or hinder women's participation in PL.

Literature suggests that economic factors influence women's participation in PL. Women are economically disadvantaged, they are the majority poor yet campaigning for a PL

position requires a lot of resources. I wish to find out whether the economically endowed women would wish to venture into politics.

Literature shows that women are also burdened with multiple roles in the private and public sphere thereby hindering their participation in PL which requires a lot of time. Literature also shows that a country's culture determines women willingness to vie for a political seat. Cultures that are egalitarian will encourage women to participate in PL thus will have more women occupying leadership positions. However cultures, through retrogressive customs, traditions and beliefs can also perpetuate the subordination and oppression of women. The gap I wish to fill is by investigating the influence of public opinion on women's partipation on women's participation in PL.

Literature shows that gender based electoral violence influence women's participation in PL. Gender based violence could take the form of physical abuse, sexual, psychological abuse and verbal abuse directed at a woman as she vies for political leadership. Gender based violence is likely to deter women from participating in political leadership.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This section describes how the study will be conducted in order to achieve the desired objectives. It includes research design, target population, sample size and sample selection; description of research instruments, validity and reliability of the instruments. It also contains procedures of data collection and analysis and finally analyses ethical issues that will be considered in the study.

3.2. Research Design

The research design that was employed in this study is a descriptive survey which involved both quantitative and qualitative approaches. A survey can be defined as a research strategy or method used to collect information about items from a large population (Taylor et al, 2008).This study used questionnaires and interviews to collect information.

Descriptive survey is a suitable design that allowed many variables to be collected. Some of the features that made the survey a good choice of research design relevant to this study were as follows. First, it is an efficient way of collecting information from a large number of respondents which this study targeted .Secondly; surveys are flexible in the sense that a wide range of information (such as attitudes, perceptions, values, beliefs and past behavior) can be collected. Given the nature of this study a lot of information will be collected ranging from the background information of the targeted population and factors that influence women's participation in political leadership.

3.3 Target population

This study was done in Rongo Constituency. The constituency is found in Migori County. It boarders Homabay District to the North and Kisii South District, Migori and Trans mara and Gucha District to the South . The Constituency has a total area of 468 km2.There are five divisions that make up Rongo Constituency. The five divisions are Rongo, Chamgi wadu, Awendo, Dede .It has a total population of 209 460 of which 100987 are males while 108 473

are females living in a total of 34 770 households. The study will focus on those aged 18 years and above who are 108 507 in total of which 53% are females and 47% are males (KNBS 2009).

3.4 Sample Size and sample selection

This section describes the sample size, sampling technique and selection that was employed by the study.

3.4.1 Sample Size and sample procedure.

A sample is part of the accessible target population that has been procedurally selected to represent it (Oso and Onen 2005).The sample consist of 384 households. This number was arrived at through the Morgan's table. The study used random sampling method.

3.5 Research Instrument

The study used questionnaires and interviews as instruments for data collection. Research on views, perceptions, feelings and attitudes is best done using questionnaires and interview schedules (Bell 1995).

The data was collected using questionnaires which are self made. The study used one questionnaires for women aged between 18-51 years and above. Questionnaires are used to collect information from a substantial number of people (Kothari ,1990).They can be used to gather data over a wide area (Kombo & Tromp ,2006).For this study, the questionnaire to be filled by women has two sections with 19 questions . A questionnaire is a suitable instrument because the research is concerned with views, opinions, and facts which can best be collected using it. In the view of Nkpa (1997), a questionnaire elicits responses to certain facts, opinions, beliefs, attitudes and practices. The two questionnaires consist of option and open ended questions. The questionnaires aim is to fulfill objectives 1, 2, 3 and 4.

An interview schedule will also be used. The schedule is designed for women politicians and it has 10 questions. Interviews give that which is not captured by questionnaires, obtain historical information and controlled line of questioning.

For the respondents who can neither read nor write English, the research assistant translated the questions for them and write down their answers.

Table 3.3 Research instruments

Research instruments	Target respondents	Type of data	objectives addressed
Questionnaires	Women	Primary	1,2,3,4
Interview schedules	women politicians	Primary	1,2,3,4

3.5.1 Pilot testing

A pilot test is a preliminary study conducted before the final study begins to ensure that the research instruments are working properly. Pilot testing of the tools will be done immediately after training research assistants in order to make the instruments reliable. The pilot study was conducted within a period of one week. It involved 38 participants who include 36 women aged between 21 to 51 years and above, 2 women politicians. According to Orodho (2010) the number in the pre-test should be small, about 1% of the entire sample size. These respondents were not part of the selected sample to be used in the same study but have the same characteristics. The pilot study adopted the procedures and sampling techniques outlined in the main study. Problems such as vague questions and unclear instructions that may be noticed in the research instruments during the pilot testing enabled the researcher to adjust or redesign the questions in a manner that made the instruments to be clear and free from vagueness. The corrected instruments was then retested to ensure that they were now working properly before proceeding to the main study .This improved the efficiency of the tools and maximize the response rate from the respondents because respondents then became able to answer the questions without difficulties.

3.5.2 Validity of the instruments

According to Kothari (1990), validity is a measurement characteristic that describes the ability of a research instrument or tool to measure what it was intended to measure. In this study ,validity of instruments is ensured by using simple language when constructing instruments for respondents to understand easily. One way of checking validity was by giving the research instruments to two experts in the area for review to see whether they were answering the research objectives or questions that were to be investigated .During the data collection process ,all the interview schedules and questionnaires forms were verified by the researcher to check whether all the questions are properly answered to completion. This exercise ensured further validity of collected data.

3.5.3 Reliability of research instruments

Reliability can be defined as the extent to which a measurement instrument yields consistent, stable, and uniform results over repeated observation or measurements under the same conditions each time (Bowling 1997). From the above definition, research instruments were pre-tested under similar conditions to twenty one different individuals who voluntarily accepted. During this exercise, reliability was checked from the consistency and uniformity of test results that came out of this testing. Scoring was done to ascertain the number of items answered. The scores were correlated using Spearsons' Coefficient correlation (r) .According to Amin (2005), it is evident that scores obtained on a test at one time have remained fairly the same when the test was to be administered some other time (re-test).Reliability of the study was determined through the test, re-test method.

3.6 Data collection procedures

The procedure for data collection started when the researcher was given a letter of approval by The University of Nairobi to go to the field .Using the letter of approval, a permit to conduct the study was acquired from the Ministry of Science and Technology .This was followed by arrangement of meetings with key informants who included women politicians on the logistics of data collection. Interview schedules and questionnaire sessions were set and target

groups who include mainly women aged 18 years and above were mobilized and informed in advance on the logistics.

Data collection process was done by the researcher and two trained research assistants. These research assistants were trained by the researcher on the purpose and objectives of the study to equip them with the relevant information on women's participation in political leadership that the researcher was investigating .All the measurements tools were pre-tested before they were subjected to the real study.

Steps to increase the response rate which are suggested by Wiseman and MacDonald (1980) were adopted. A cover letter stating the purpose, value of responding was attached guaranteeing participants confidentiality .The questionnaire were filled as the investigator awaited .In the mean time the researcher cleared misconceptions and misunderstandings that arose. Arrangements were also made to collect any remaining tools within a week to reduce mishandling and misplacement. Schedule of activities was also drafted showing activities to review, success to uphold and failures to address on a daily work plan so as to tackle areas, which needed improvement and helped to avoid omission.

Deliberations on viable approaches and challenging issues were included and used for effective planning .After collection of instruments they were examined for completeness, comprehensiveness, consistency and reliability.

3.7 Data analysis technique

Data to be used in this study is in both qualitative and quantitative form. Organization, presentation and analysis took different forms depending on the nature of the data. Views aired by Bryman and Cramer (1999), are that analysis is to fulfill research objectives and provide answers to research questions. The results were analyzed using Statistical Package Social Scientist (SPSS) version 16 and M.S–Excel using percentages and frequency distributions.SPSS is a modern technology for data analysis, which is reliable and cheap. According to Onyango (2001) in Mugenda (2008), SPSS is known for its ability to process large amounts of data with its wide spectrum of statistical procedures purposely for social scientist. Data was subjected to rigorous quantitative analysis to determine factors that influence women's participation in political leadership.

Qualitative data analysis was descriptively presented explaining the variables investigated. Qualitative data consist of words, not numbers; therefore, qualitative modes of data analysis provide ways of discerning, examining, comparing and contrasting and interpreting meaningful patterns or themes. Thematic analysis was also used. Direct quotes were captured in the text to explain certain issues of interest. This type of analysis is highly inductive, that is, the themes emerge from the data and are not imposed upon it by the researcher. In this type of analysis, the data collection and analysis take place simultaneously. Even background reading can form part of the analysis process, especially if it can help to explain the emerging theme with the researcher moving backwards and forward between transcripts, notes and research literature. The percentages of dully filled in and returned questionnaire and interviews were compared to the sample. Data was then thematically analyzed using frequencies and percentages. It was then matched with quantitative information. Direct quotes were captured in the text to explain issues of interest. Data was then presented in form of tables. This is for easy understanding (Kombo, 2006).

3.8 Ethical considerations

These are the principles or standards that protect the rights of participants in a research study. They are actions taken to assure safety and rights of participants are not violated whatsoever. These considerations are therefore usually made to ensure that research involving human or animal subjects are carried out in accordance with high ethical standards .These standards include voluntary participation ,informed consent ,confidentiality of information, anonymity to research participants and approval from relevant authorities such as independent review boards (IRBs) to conduct the research study(Resnik, 2005) .

In this study ,participants were voluntarily allowed to participate and prospective research participants were fully informed on procedures ,benefits and risks involved in the research after which they were voluntarily asked to fill informed consent (IC) forms to participate .They were guaranteed of confidentiality of the information and to ensure this was achieved participants were not asked to give their names or indicate anything on the research instruments that could be used to identify or link them to the study documents or reports .This assured their privacy.

Apart from the above ethical standards and principles, permissions from relevant authorities were sought at all levels to ensure that the research was conducted ethically. First of all, the relevant government ministry (Ministry of Science and Technology) were approached to issue a research permit, after which the chiefs and assistant chiefs were approached to issue a permit to conduct the study in their jurisdictions .The research student also got a letter of approval from the university allowing the student to conduct the study. The instruments to be used was also subjected to high scrutiny by peer reviews and two experts in the area .This will ensure that the items involved in the study are free from violation of rights of respondents and did not affect them psychologically.

3.9. Operational definitions of variables

This involves description of operations that are used in measuring the study variables (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2006).

In this study the independent variable also called the explanatory variable was characterized by demographic factors, economic factors, cultural factors and gender based electoral violence. While the dependent variable also called the outcome was the level of women's participation in political leadership. An outline of the study on research objectives, type of variable, indicators, measure, level of scale, data collection methods, data analysis methods is shown on table 3.4.

Table 3.4. Operationalisation table

Research objectives	Type of variable	Indicator	Measure	Level of scale	Data Collection Methods	Data analysis Method
To assess the influence of demographic factors on women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency.	Independent Variable(IV) is demographic factors Education level, marital status, age Dependent Variable Participation in political leadership	Literacy Living standards Number of single,married and divorced women Drop-out rate Living standards	Levels of literacy Drop out rates Living standards	Ordinal Ordinal Nominal	Survey	Quantitative/ Qualitative
To examine the influence of economic factors on women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency.	IV is economic factors	Living standards Occupation	Low living standards Types of employment Unemployment	Ordinal Nominal	Survey	Quantitative Qualitative
To explore the influence of cultural factors on women's participation on political leadership in Rongo Constituency	IV is cultural factors	Culture Dual burden Patriarchy Public opinion	Discriminatory cultural practices Negative public opinion Positive public opinion	Nominal	Survey	Qualitative/Quantitative
To assess the influence of gender based electoral violence on women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency.	IV is gender based electoral violence	Physical harm Sexual harm Mental harm	Cases of physical harm Cases of sexual harm Cases of mental harm	Nominal Ordinal	Survey	Qualitative/Quantitative

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION.

4.1. Introduction

Chapter four presents the analysis of the collected data that have been discussed under thematic areas in line with research questions in the study. The thematic areas include questionnaire return rate ,demographic information of the respondents ,influence of demographic factors on women's participation in political leadership, influence of economic factors on women's participation in political leadership, influence of cultural factors on women's participation in political leadership and influence of gender based electoral violence on women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency.

4.2. Questionnaire response return rate

Out of 384 questionnaires distributed to the respondents in Rongo Constituency , only 230 were correctly filled and returned .This was a 60% return rate .According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) , response rate of 60% is good ,therefore the researcher concluded that the questionnaires were adequate for analysis.

4.3. Demographic information of the respondents.

This is the information related to the background of the respondents that include age, marital status and education.

4.3.1. Age of the respondents

Characteristics of the respondents disaggregated by their age. Table 4.1 presents distribution of the respondents disaggregated by age.

Table 4.1 Age of the respondents

Age bracket	Frequency	Percentage
>30 years	69	30
31-40 years	50	22
41-50 years	49	21.5
51 years and above	62	26.5
Total	**230**	**100**

Out of the 230 respondents 30 % indicated that they are aged between 18-30 years .While 22 % indicated that they are aged between 31-40 years, 21.5 % indicated that they are aged between 41-50 years .26.5 % indicated that they are aged 51 years and above. Age is an important factor since it is assumed that with age women become more empowered and are likely to take up leadership position.

Table 4.1.2. Education level of the respondents

Education Level	Frequency	Percentage
None	23	10
Primary	103	45
Secondary	46	20
Diploma	35	15
Degree	23	10
Total	**230**	**100**

The study established that 10 % of the respondents do not have any formal education. 45 % have primary education, 20 % have secondary education, 15 % have diploma while 10 % have degrees.

Education was considered important because it is assumed that education makes a woman confident enough to venture into political leadership.

Table 4.1.3. Marital Status of the respondents

Marital status	Frequency	Percent
Married	69	30
Single	58	25
Widowed	46	20
Divorced	58	25
Total	**230**	**100**

4.2. Influence of demographic factors on women's participation in political leadership.

The first objective of the study was to examine the influence of demographic factors on women's participation in political leadership. Demographic characteristics are critical for they shape choices people make. In order to explore the influence of demographic factors on women's participation in political leadership. The respondents were asked to say whether the demographic factors like education level and marital status would influence their decision to vie for political leadership. They were to tick Yes or No against the demographic factors and explain their answers.

4.2.1. Influence of marital status on women's participation in political leadership

The respondents were asked whether their marital status can influence their participation in political leadership.

Table 4.2.1. Influence of marital status on women's participation in political leadership

Marital status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	69	30
Single	58	25
Widowed	46	20
Divorced	58	25
Total	**230**	**100**

90% of the married respondents stated that they would not participate in politics because of their marital status. They stated that they would not have time to concentrate on a political career. Others said their spouses would not allow them. According to literature reviewed Rotolo (2000) suggests that marriage is anticipated to have a stronger negative effect among women than men, where marriage may even boost participation in men it is vice-versa for women.65% percent of single respondents said that their marital status cannot be an hinderance to their participation in political leadership. Empirical studies in the Netherlands and the USA suggest that married women participate less in politics than single women (Bolzendahl & Coffe 2010). Once married women's leisure time declines to a great extent than men's, and women tend to increase the amount of time spent on housework (Sayer 2005). 55 % of divorced women stated that their marital status would not hinder their participation in political leadership. This concurs with the findings of Bolzendah and Coffe (2010) that being divorced is linked to increase in women's involvement in politics. On the same note Kamau (2010) also found out that in Kenya majority of women in politics are widowed, divorced or never married.

4.2.2. Influence of women's level of education on women's participation in political leadership

The researcher was interested in finding out whether women's educational level can deter or encourage women to participate in political leadership. The respondents were asked if their educational level can hinder or encourage their participation in political leadership.

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70 % of educated women said they would not be interested in running for a political office because the political arena is chaotic, 30 % said they can venture into politics. On the other hand, 90% of uneducated women said they would not be interested in running for a political office while 10 % said they can vie for a political office. According to Adedamola et, al. (2010) it is expected that women who are educated will be more willing and will want to participate in political leadership.

4.3. Influence of economic factors on women's participation in political leadership

The second objective of the study sought to find out whether economic factors influence women's participation in political leadership. Among the things that the study looked at were whether women have the necessary resources to sustain a campaign for political leadership, whether the availability of resources is a major determinant for participation of women in political leadership and whether the women would run for political office if they had the resources.

Table 4.3.1. Whether women have the necessary resources to sustain a campaign for political leadership

The respondents were asked whether they have the necessary resources to sustain a campaign for political leadership.

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	00	00
No	230	100
Total	**230**	**100**

The study established that 100 % of the respondents think they do not have the necessary resources to sustain a campaign for political office. This supports the assertion by Inglehart and Norris (2003) show that women are economically disadvantaged, as a result, it is much more difficult for them to break into electoral office because they do not have access to necessary resources in the realm of public decision making.

Table 4.3.2. The availability of resources as major determinant of the participation of women in politics

The respondents were asked whether the availability of resources was a major determinant of the participation of women in political leadership.

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	172	75
No	58	25
Total	**230**	**100**

The study found out that 50 (25%) of the respondents said that the availability of resources is not a major determinant of participation into political leadership while 150 (75%) of the respondents stated that the availability of resources is a major determinant in the participation of women in political leadership. The respondents stated that one must have a lot resource to vie for political leadership. In literature reviewed (Shnevoda 2007) state that economic status of women in the society has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected bodies. The respondents assert that one cannot vie for a political office if one does not have resources. This concurs with the findings of Bari (2005) that politics is increasingly becoming commercialized .More and more money is needed to participate in politics. Among the women political leaders who were interviewed stated that they used an average of 400 000 for campaigns for political seat while the one who had vied for a parliamentary seat stated that she used a total of Kshs .600 000 In literature review Mutullah (2003) reports that two of the women elected in Kenya's 9th parliament indicated that they had spent Kshs 800 000 and 1.3 million respectively.

Table 4.3.3 Whether it is easy to mobilize resources for campaigns for political leadership

The respondents were asked whether it is easy to mobilize resources for campaigns for political leadership.

Response	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Yes	00	00
No	200	100
Total	**230**	**100**

100 % of the respondents stated that it is not easy to mobilize resources for a campaign for political leadership. According to Matland and Ballington (2005) quoted in

(Women Direct Service Centre, 2006) it is widely accepted that despite their large representation and their significant contribution to countries economies, women fail to have access to essential development resources and consequently tend to have few resources than men in general.

4.3.4. Resources and the possibility of vying for political leadership.

The study sought to find out whether women would vie for political leadership if they had the necessary resources.

Table 4.3.4. Resources and the possibility of vying for a political office

Response	Frequency	Percentage
No	184	80
Yes	46	20
Total	**230**	**100**

40 (20%) of the respondents said they would vie for political leadership if they had the adequate resources while 80 % of the respondents said they would not vie for political leadership even if they had the necessary resources. They said the risks of losing are high so they would rather invest their resources in other ventures.

4.4. Cultural factors and their influence on women's participation in political leadership.

The third objective sought to establish the influence of cultural factors on women's participation on political leadership. Among the things that the study looked at were women's priorities , whether women have the necessary time to vie for a political office, whether culture encourage women to vie for political office, whether women should concern themselves with political ambitions.

4.4.1. Dual multiple roles of women

The study sought to find out women's priorities and whether women have the necessary time to vie for a political office. The respondents were asked what their priorities are.

Table 4.4.1.Women's priorities

Women's priorities	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Domestic work	11	25
Political career	58	5
Other careers	161	70
Total	**230**	**100**

The study found out that the top most priority for women is other careers, 70 % of women prefer to engage in other careers, 25% prefer to preoccupy themselves with domestic chores while 5% would prioritize political careers. According to Shvedova (2007) in most countries women are carrying a disproportionate share of domestic work .It must be recognized that it is difficult for women to participate in political life when their major concern is survival and they have no choice but to spend much of their time trying to fulfill the basic needs of families .In addition to that, however, some women may have full time jobs as wives and mothers as well as other full careers. Becoming a member of parliament in these conditions might then be considered a third full-time job

Another question was also asked to find out whether women have the necessary time to vie for political leadership.

Table 4.4.1.1 Availability of time for politics

Time availability	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	23	10
No	207	90
Total	**230**	**100**

The study found out that majority of women (90%) think that they do not have the time to pursue a political career .10 % think that they cannot find time to vie for a political office. In view of Oduol (2008) most women think that they cannot hold a political office along with other responsibilities.

4.4.2 Culture and its influence on women's participation in political leadership.

The study sought to establish the influence of culture on women's participation in political leadership. The respondents were asked whether culture influences participation in political leadership.

Table 4.4.2 Culture and its influence on women's participation on political leadership

Whether culture influences Political leadership	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	195	85
No	35	15
Total	**230**	**100**

The study found out that 85% of the respondents think that culture influences women's participation in political leadership. Empirical studies by Fu et al., (2004) notes that culture affects the advancement of women into positions of leadership.

The respondents were also asked whether women should be political leaders. The table below shows the responses.

Table 4.4.2.1. Whether women should be political leaders

Whether women Should be leaders.	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	92	40
No	138	60
Total	**230**	**100**

60 % of the respondents stated that women are not fit to be leaders because it is believed that their place is in the kitchen while 40% stated that women are fit to be leaders. In literature reviewed, Bartol et al., (2003), show that traditional and persistent barriers have been shown to hinder the active pursuit of women to obtain positions of political leadership.

4.4.3. Public Opinion

The study also sought to investigate the impact of public opinion on women's participation in political leadership. The following questions were therefore asked.

The respondents were asked whether they would vote for a woman who is vying for political leadership.

Table 4.4.3.1. Who to vote for

Voting for a woman	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	80	35
No	150	65
Total	**230**	**100**

35% of the respondents stated that they would not vote for a woman because women are temperamental and weak while 65% stated that they would vote for a woman who has exhibited leadership ability.

A question was also asked to determine people's opinion on whether women should venture into political leadership or remain in the domestic sphere.

Table 4.4.3.2 Whether women should engage in political leadership

Women should not engage in political leadership	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	92	70
No	138	30
Total	**230**	**100**

30% of the respondents stated that women should engage in politics while 70 % stated that women should not engage in political leadership. In literature reviewed Blomgren (2010) state that people's negative opinion about women's participation in politics will hamper women's political participation.

Table 4.4.3.3.Whether women can be trusted with political leadership

The respondents were also asked whether women can be trusted with political leadership.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	92	40
No	138	60
Total	**230**	**100**

The study established that 40% can trust women with political leadership, while 60% stated that they cannot trust women with political leadership. In literature reviewed Kingdon (1997) suggest that men are dominating the seats in parliament which means that there are more

people voting for men than women. This electoral behavior of voting for men to a higher degree is sometimes said to be partly dependant on the people having more trust in men than women in political spheres.

4.5. Gender based electoral violence and its influence on women's participation in political leadership

The fourth objective sought to establish the influence of gender based electoral violence on women's participation in political leadership. The respondents were asked to give their opinion on a Likert scale that ranged from strongly agrees to strongly disagree. See appendix showing the attitude items.

SA –Strongly agree N-Neutral SD- Strongly disagree

A- Agree D-Disagree

The respondents were asked to give their opinion on whether gender based electoral violence can discourage women from participating in political leadership.

Table 4.5.1 Influence of gender based electoral violence on women's participation in political leadership

Influence of Gender based electoral violence	Frequency	Percent
SA	92	40
A	69	30
N	00	00
D	29	12.5
SD	40	17.5
Total	**230**	**100**

The study also sought to determine the prevalence of gender based electoral violence. Women leaders were asked whether they faced the violence during their political campaigns and in what form.

Table 4.5.2. Prevalence of gender based electoral violence

Whether the leaders experienced GBEV	Frequency	Percent
Yes	07	100
No	00	00
Total	**07**	**100**

100% of the women political leaders interviewed indicated that they faced gender based electoral violence in the form of verbal insults and physical assault. In literature reviewed, Kassily and Onkware (2010) state that in Kenya when a woman declares an interest in political leadership, she must often endure violence and name-calling, often in the presence of her husband, son or brother, all intended to embarrass these relatives.

4.5.3. Whether gender based election related cases are reported

The study sought to find out whether gender based electoral violence are reported and if so where. This question was directed to the women politicians.

Table 4.5.3. Whether gender based electoral violence cases are reported

Reporting the cases	Frequency	Percent
Yes	00	00
No	07	100
Total	**07**	**100**

The study found out that 100 % of the women politicians did not report the cases of gender based electoral violence .In literature review, Kassily and Onkware (2010) state that despite the reality that gender based electoral violence is prevalent, history shows that election violence against women in Kenya goes unreported and unpunished.

4.7. The most influential factor in participation of women in political leadership.

The study also sought to establish the most influential factor in women's participation in political leadership. The respondents were asked to rank the factors from the most influential to the least influential where number 1 represent the most influential.

Table 4.7. The most influential factor on women's participation in political leadership

Factors	Frequency	Percent
Demographic factors	12	5
Cultural factors	104	45
Economic factors	92	40
Gender based electoral violence	23	10
Total	**230**	**100**

The study found out that the most influential factor in women's participation in political leadership is culture. The second most influential factor is economic followed by gender based electoral violence and lastly demographic factors.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the major findings based on the main research of the study; the chapter also draws conclusions arising from the summary of the results and findings, contribution of knowledge, recommendations and suggestions for further study. The purpose of this study was to establish factors influencing the participation of women in political leadership in Rongo Constituency. The study was guided by the following objectives: to examine the influence of demographic factors on women's participation in political leadership, to assess the influence of economic factors on women's participation in political leadership, to explore the influence of cultural factors on women's participation on political leadership, to examine the influence of gender based electoral violence on women's participation in political leadership.

5.2. Summary of the finding

The summary of the finding were represented as per the objective of the study. The first objective was to assess the influence of demographic factors on women's participation in political leadership. The research investigated the influence of marital status and education level on women's participation in political leadership.

On marital status, 90% of the married people stated that they would not vie for political leadership because of their marital status while 10% stated that they would vie for political leadership.60 % of widows indicated that they would vie for a political seat, while 40 % stated that they would not vie for political leadership. 65% of the single respondents indicated that they would vie for political leadership while 35% indicated that they would not vie for political leadership.55% of divorced respondents indicated that they would vie for political leadership while 45% stated that they wouldn't vie for political leadership. On educational level, 70 % of educated women said they would not be interested in running for a political office because the political arena is chaotic, 30 % said they can venture into politics. On the other hand, 90% of

uneducated women said they would not be interested in running for a political office while 10 % said they can vie for a political office.

The second objective sought to explore the influence of economic factors on women's participation in political leadership. The study found out that a majority of women-100% do not have the necessary resources to sustain a campaign for political leadership while 00% stated that they do have the necessary resources. 75% of the respondents stated that the availability of resources is a major determinant of women's participation in political leadership, 25% indicated that the availability of resources is not a major determinant in their decision to vie for political leadership.100% of the respondents stated that it is not easy to mobilize for resources for campaigns for political leadership.80% of the respondents indicated that even if they had the resources necessary for campaigns for political leadership they would not venture into politics while 20% indicated that they would vie for political leadership if they had the resources. As much as the availability of resources is a determinant in women's participation in political leadership. It is appalling that majority of women would not commit their resources for campaigns for political leadership.

The third objective was to examine the influence of cultural factors on women's participation in political leadership. The study found out that 25% of the respondents give priority to housework, 5% give priority to political careers while 70% prefer to give time to other careers. The study also sought to establish whether women have time beside their duties in the private sphere to vie for political leadership.90% of the respondents stated that they would not have the time for campaigns for political leadership, 10 % indicated that they would have the time to vie for political leadership.Similarly,85% of the respondents indicated that culture influences women's participation in political leadership while 15% indicated that culture does not influence women's participation in political leadership. On whether women should be political leaders, 60% stated that women should be political leaders while 40 % indicated that women should not be political leaders.55% indicated that they would vote for a woman candidate while 45% indicated that they would not vote for a woman.60% stated that they would trust a woman with political leadership while 40% indicated that they would not trust a woman with political leadership.70% indicated that women should only concern themselves with the

family and not political ambitions. It is important to note that the priorities of women are shifting from family care to other careers.

The fourth objective sought to establish the influence of gender based electoral violence on women's participation in political leadership.40 % of the respondents strongly agree that gender based electoral violence has a strong impact on women's participation in political leadership ,30% agree that gender based electoral violence influence women's participation in political leadership,12.5 % disagree that women 's participation can be influenced by gender based electoral violence ,17.5% strongly disagree that gender based electoral violence influence women's participation on political leadership.Similarly,100% of the women leaders indicated that during campaigns for political leadership, they experienced gender based electoral violence in form of verbal insults and physical assault. The most common form of gender based electoral violence was verbal insults. However, the cases go unreported.

5.3. Conclusion of the findings.

The study made conclusions that demographic factors like marital status and education level influence women's participation on political leadership. It was established that marital status greatly influences women's participation in political leadership. Married women indicated that they would not have time to vie for political leadership. On the other hand single, divorced, widowed women seemed more willing to venture into political leadership. It was also concluded that education level had an influence on women's participation in political leadership. Those who had no formal education ,did not show any interest in political leadership .On the same note the willingness of women to participate in political leadership increased with the level of education albeit minimally.

The study concluded that economic factors play a pivotal role in women's participation in political leadership. The availability of resources such as money, vehicles is a major determinant of women's participation in political leadership, without these resources women cannot launch and sustain campaigns for political leadership. The study also concluded that women do not have the necessary resources needed for campaigns for political leadership. The study also concluded that it is not easy to mobilize for resources for a political campaign. However, the study

concluded that women would not vie for a political office even if they had resources because of the high risks associated with the campaigns for political leadership.

The study also concluded that cultural factors influence women's participation in political leadership. The study concluded that women do not have preference for political careers; their top priority is in other careers followed by family care. Similarly, women do not have the time necessary for the pursuit of a political career. It was also noted that culture prevents women from vying for political office. It was also concluded that the general opinion is that women should not vie for political leadership instead they should focus on raising families. It was also concluded that men are trusted more than women with political leadership. It was also concluded that men are likely to be voted into political office than women.

It was also concluded that gender based electoral violence influence women's participation in political leadership, it was noted that gender based electoral violence is prevalent. It was also concluded that the most common form of gender based electoral violence is verbal insults and physical assault.

5.4. Recommendations.

The study recommends that women should be empowered more. Girl child education should be promoted because even though much has been done to enhance it there still exist some challenges. Education is an empowering factor and for that reason discriminatory practices like marrying off girls at a tender age should be discouraged. The education should also include political training. At the same time women need to challenge the gender roles which leave most domestic responsibilities in their hands. Women need to negotiate for sharing of domestic responsibilities with other family members in order to have time to focus on careers for instance political careers if they so wish to.

Women should be economically empowered .Financial institutions should enable women access loans easily. The Kenyan constitutions already allow women to inherit property. The implementation of this law will ensure that women have property which they can use as collateral to access loans. The study suggests that there should be a means of decomercialising the process of campaigning for political leadership. So far the Campaigns Bill has been proposed

to help regulate the amount of money that should be spent on campaigns .What needs to be done is the formulation of mechanisms of implementation.

There is need for a civic education commission in Kenya, to help propagate issues of democracy ,rule of law and women emancipation from household duties.(Questions related to culture, tradition and entrenched societal values norms that tend to impede gender equality in political governance could be addressed by the said commission. There is a need for re-incorporation of civics as a core subject in primary and Kenyan secondary school. Most importantly, Kenya needs to implement the gender rule in the political arena. Kenya needs to recognize that affirmative action is a matter of the rule of law that lies at the heart of democracy. The rule of law is the basis of democracy while affirmative action is a strategy for development.

It is also essential for women to recognize root causes of their problems as well as inherent structural and institutional discrimination. Develop awareness among women .The Kenyan woman needs to articulate, challenge, and seek to influence the social, political and economic environment for the benefit of their lot. The few women political leaders should also mentor the rest on the intricacies of political leadership

5.5 Contribution to body of Knowledge

The table below shows the contribution of body of knowledge. It highlights the gains to be realized from the study that will add knowledge to the present situation.

Objective	Contributions.
1.To assess the influence of demographic factors on women's participation on political leadership.	Education and political training will increase women's participation on political leadership. Marital status strains women's time therefore all family members should co-operate in carrying out household chores for women to have time for politics.
2. To explore the influence of economic factors on women's participation on political leadership in Rongo Constituency .	Women's low economic status is an impediment to their running for political office. If women are economically are economically empowered Then they are likely to vie for political leadership. Women have reservations to participate in political leadership even if they had the resources.
3. To examine the influence of cultural factors on women's participation on political leadership in Rongo Constituency.	Cultural factors prevent women from participating in political leadership. Cultural practices that discriminate against women and subjugate them prevent women from participating in political leadership. If culture is egalitarian then more women will vie for political leadership.
4. To assess the influence of gender based electoral violence On women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency.	Violence meted out on women as they vie for political leadership discourage them from vying for a political office Mechanisms should be put in place to deal with cases of Gender based electoral violence.

5.6. Suggestions for further research

The study suggests that further research be done on the following:

i) The influence of the media on women's participation in political leadership.
ii) The influence of political parties on women's participation in political leadership.
iii) An investigation on women's ascendancy into managerial positions

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APPENDICES 1

APPENDIX 1: LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

MILLICENT. A. OTIENO

P.O. BOX 439

SARE-AWENDO

E-MAIL: millyotieno@yahoo.com

10th September 2012

Dear Madam/ Sir,

RE: FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

I am a Masters student at the University of Nairobi. As part of the requirement of Masters of Degree in Project Planning and Management. I am conducting a research for a project on Factors influencing women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency, Migori County, Kenya.

In order to collect data, am appealing to you to kindly complete the questionnaire and the interview guides attached. The research is for academic purposes only therefore your responses will be treated with utmost confidence.

Thank you in advance for participating in this research.

Yours sincerely,

Millicent Otieno

APPENDIX 2.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WOMEN AGED 21-51 YRS AND ABOVE

Dear Madam,

I am a student pursuing a degree leading to masters in project planning and management at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a study to examine the factors that influence women's participation in political leadership in Rongo Constituency, Migori County. Participation in political leadership refers to the act and the process of vying for a civic or parliamentary seat. This study is purely for academic purposes. Your views are crucial for the success of this study. Please complete to the best of your ability the questionnaire enclosed herein following the instruction given after each item and return your completed questionnaire to the researcher. Your co-operation will be highly appreciated and any information given after shall be treated as strictly private and confidential.

Instructions

Please tick (✓) inside the box or fill in the spaces provided. Your responses should be as honest as possible. The information you give will be kept in strict confidence and will be used for nothing other than this research.

Section 1: Background Information

1. What is your age?

20-30 [ ] 31-40 yrs [ ] 41-50yrs [ ] 51yrs and above [ ]

2. What is your marital status?

Married [ ] Single [ ] Divorced [ ] Widowed [ ] Separated [ ]

3. What is your highest level of education?

None [ ] Primary [ ] Secondary [ ] Tertiary college [ ] University [ ]

Other (Specify) _____

SECTION B: Demographic factors and their influence on women's participation on political leadership.

4. Can the following factors influence your decision to vie for a civic or parliamentary leadership position?

i). Your marital Status Yes [ ] No [ ] N/A [ ]

Explain you answer_____

ii). Your level of education Yes [ ] No [ ] N/A [ ]

Explain your answer_____

Section C: Economic factors and their influence on participation of women in political leadership.

5. Would you consider vying for a civic or parliamentary position?

No [ ] Yes [ ]

If No give your reasons_____

6. Is the availability of resources such as money, vehicles a major determinant of the participation of women in political leadership?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

7. Do women have adequate resources such as money, vehicles to sustain a campaign for a political seat?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

8. Is it easy to mobilize for resources for a campaign for a political leadership position?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

Give reasons for your answer? _____

---

9. Are there possible sources of fund for a woman who is interested in vying for a civic or parliamentary seat?

Yes [ ] No [ ] I don't know [ ]

If yes specify_____

10. If you had adequate resources would you consider vying for a civic or parliamentary seat?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

Explain your answer_____

D. Cultural factors and their influence on women's participation in political leadership

11. As a woman what is your priority?

Child rearing [ ] Political Career [ ] other careers [ ]

12. In addition to the duties and responsibilities that you have as a woman, can you have the necessary time to vie for a civic or parliamentary seat?

No [ ] Yes [ ]

Give reasons for your answer?_____

13. Does culture encourage women to participate for political leadership positions?

No [ ] Yes [ ]

If No,
explain_____

14. Do men encourage women to vie for political leadership position?

No [ ] Yes [ ]

15. Would you vote for a woman who is vying for a civic or parliamentary seat?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If No give reasons for your answer_____

16. Who should be a political leader?

A man [ ] A woman [ ] Either a man or a woman [ ]

Give reasons for your answer_____

_____

17. What is your opinion on the following statements?

i). Women should only be responsible for the family and not concern themselves with political ambitions.

Yes [ ] No [ ]

Give reasons for your answer_____

---

ii) Would you trust a woman with a civic or parliamentary political leadership?

No [ ] Yes [ ]

Explain your answer_____

SECTION E: Gender based electoral violence and its influence on women's participation on political leadership.

18. Gender based electoral violence such as insults, physical abuse, sexual abuse discourage women from vying for a civic or parliamentary seat?

Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] Neutral [ ] Strongly Disagree [ ] Disagree [ ]

19. Rank these factors in order of their influence on women's participation in political leadership

(Assign positions 1,2,3,4 where 1 stands for the most dominant factors)

Demographic factors [ ]

Socio-economic factors [ ]

Cultural factors [ ]

Gender based electoral violence [ ]

Thank you for your co-operation

APPENIDIX IV: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES FOR WOMEN POLITICIANS

1. How old are you?_____

2. What is your marital status? _____

3. What is your highest educational level? _____

4. At what level have you participated in politics as a contestant?

Civic [ ] Parliamentary [ ]

5. Which year? _____

6. Were you elected?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

a) If yes, what contributed to your success?

7. How much did you spend for the political campaigns?

8. Was it easy to mobilize for resources for political campaigns?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

9. Did you face gender based electoral violence?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If Yes in what form

10) Rank the factors that influence women's participation in political leadership

(Assign positions 1,2,3,4 where 1 stands for the most dominant factors)

Demographic factors [ ]

Economic factors [ ]

Cultural factors [ ]

Gender based electoral violence [ ]

Thank you for your co-operation.

APPENDIX V

TABLE FOR DETERMINING SAMPLE SIZE FROM A GIVEN POPULATION

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

Note: "N" is population size "S" is sample size.

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APPENDIX VI: TIME SCHEDULE

Conception of the research topic	November 2011-January 2012
The writing of chapter 1	February 2012- March 2012
Presentation of chapter 1 to the supervisor	March 2012
Making corrections	
The writing of chapter 2 &3	March 2012- April 2012
Presentation of the work to the supervisor	May 2012
Making corrections	May 2012
Defense	August 2012
Making corrections	August 2012
Data collection	September 2012
Data analysis	September2012
Writing of a report	October 2012
Defense of the report	October 2012
Writing a final copy of the report	October 2012

APPENDIX VII: BUDGET

Activity	**Amount**
Printing and Photocopying	40 000
Binding	10 000
Internet charges	8 000
Travelling expenses	40 000
Allowance for the Research assistants	6000
Miscellaneous	20 000
TOTAL	**124 000**