

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

**WOMEN'S PERCEPTION OF LEADERSHIP AND ITS INFLUENCE ON
VOTING FOR WOMEN LEADERS IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF BUMULA
CONSTITUENCY IN BUNGOMA COUNTY**

NYONGESA JACINTA MUTENYO

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**A research project submitted in partial fulfillment for the award of Degree of
Master of Arts in Sociology in Rural Sociology and Community Development.
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DECLARATION

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

Signature

Date.....

Jacinta Mutenyo Nyongesa

I confirm that the candidate under my supervision carried out the work in this research project paper.

Signature

Date

Professor Edward K. Mburugu

Department of Sociology and Social Work

University of Nairobi

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my family who have been very supportive and a source of motivation to soldier on regardless of the circumstances I find on my way.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge the Almighty God for granting me the strength and courage throughout my time of study. I would also like to acknowledge the concerted efforts of my supervisor Professor Edward Mburugu of the University of Nairobi, who has been very dedicated in imparting knowledge. My gratitude also goes to my son Dylan, my parents Mr. Dismas Nyongesa and Mrs. Marcellina Nyongesa and my siblings for their patience and understanding during the course of my studies.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AMWK	Association of Media Women in Kenya
AWC	African Woman & Child Feature Service
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CMD	Centre for Multi-Party Democracy
COVAW	Coalition on Violence Against Women-Kenya
FIDA	Federation of Women Lawyers
GEM	The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
LPC	Least Preferred Co-Worker
MADD	Mothers Against Drunk Driving
NGO	Non Governmental Organizations
KEWOPA	Kenya Women Parliamentarian Association
KWPC	Kenya Women's Political Caucus
WPAK	Women's Political Alliance of Kenya

ABSTRACT

Women constitute more than half of the world population and therefore their contribution to social and economic development is also more than half as compared to men by virtue of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. Despite the promulgation of a new constitution in Kenya in 2010, women still performed dismally only clinching 21% out of the 416 seats which is way below the given threshold of 30% in the constitution. In Kenya, socio-cultural, socio-economic and political factors still play a central role in influencing women's perceptions of concepts such as leadership and may hinder the equal gender representation in government. This study therefore sought to understand how women perceive leadership and how their perceptions influence the current voting trends. Kenya's vision 2030 advocates for gender mainstreaming as a project that serves to ensure the needs and interests of each gender are addressed. The findings in the research serve to sensitize the population of the challenges women face and devise strategies to improve women participation in governance.

The literature reviewed delved into the political, socio-cultural and socio-economic obstacles women face when they enter the political sphere. Leadership theories including the trait approach to leadership, behavioural and leadership style approaches, the contingency approach to leadership and the transformational leadership approach were also discussed. A discussion of women and political leadership in Africa and the role of the new constitution of Kenya 2010 is done. The feminist theory and the role of gender socialization is discussed under the theoretical framework.

Chapter three introduces the research methodology of the study. Both the qualitative and quantitative research methods were utilized in the study. In depth interviews with women political leaders using open ended questionnaire as a tool were conducted to acquire qualitative data while structured questionnaires were administered to women inhabitants of Bumula constituency to acquire quantitative data. Chapter four presents the findings of the study as per the objectives of the study. Chapter five then confirms that socio-cultural, socio-economic and political factors play a central role in women's perceptions of leadership. The internalization of sex-stereo-typed assistant roles by women plays a central role in how women perceive leadership. These perceptions in turn influence the current voting trends of women where women shy away from entry into the political sphere. The study recommends for an inculcation of new culture that will eliminate false ideologies, intense capacity building of political parties and women. The researcher recommends further research on the impact of the constitution of Kenya 2010 in increasing women political participation, an evaluation of the role of political parties in increasing women political participation and case studies of women politicians in Africa and the world.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This is the first chapter and it will aim to introduce the topic of study by looking at its background and stating the problem of study. It will further give the objectives of the study; research questions; the justification of study; and the scope and limitations of the study.

1.1 Background of Study

Women have made considerable progress in attaining equality in leadership positions. Even in non-traditional settings such as the military, research suggests that there are few differences in performance ratings of the effectiveness of male and female leaders (Morgan, 2004). Despite the finding that ratings of actual performance are similar regardless of leader gender, female leaders still often evoke more negative affect than male leaders and may be viewed in terms of negative gender-based stereotypes (Koch, 2005; Ridgeway, 2001). The participation of women in formal political structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources generated by both men and women are made, remains insignificant (Ali, 2005). Presently, women's representation in legislatures around the world is 15 percent. Despite the pronounced commitment of the international community to gender equality and to the bridging the gender gap in the formal political arena, reinforced by the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform of Action, there are only a few countries where women hold 33% or more seats in the parliaments (UNDP Report, 2005). Thus, while more women have entered into leadership positions, there is still a need to understand the basis of the perception women have of leadership, since these may impact females' ascent into leadership positions.

Ironically, even women may adopt negative beliefs of female leaders under certain circumstances (Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004). Recent research suggests that these damaging stereotypes may be internalized by some women and this may, under certain circumstances, impede performance (McGlone, Aronson, & Kobrynowicz, 2006). This

internalization of negative stereotypes and the subsequent impact on female performance is called stereotype threat.

Women in leadership confront barriers or obstacles that men do not realize exist. Some myths suggest women cannot discipline older students, particularly males; females are too emotional; too weak physically; and males resent working with females (Whitaker & Lane, 1990). After the myths are dispelled, the “glass ceiling barrier” that limits women from achieving high ranking position must be overcome (Cullen & Luna, 1993). Society’s attitude toward appropriate male and female roles is another obstacle that identifies women as not task-oriented enough, too dependent on feedback and evaluations of others, and lacking independence. Women receive little or no encouragement to seek leadership positions, while men were encouraged to enter administration to a greater degree than women, despite the positive perceptions of principals toward female capabilities. This lack of encouragement exists even though women who earn doctorates are more likely than men to desire an academic career, but are not being hired at equal rates. The cumulative disadvantage results in women leaving the profession in greater numbers than men.

The lack of formal and informal social networks, or not being a member of the “clubs” as men, results in the lack of recognition that often leads to advancement. Administration involves hard work, long hours, and lots of in-house politics which is stress provoking, when child care and home responsibilities are added, a woman can work 70 or more hours per week that may conflict with family responsibilities. Since some administrative positions are located in another city or state, one barrier is the reluctance of women to relocate. The lack of support from the school board, the attitude of a few women administrators that, “we don’t hire the competition,” the isolation associated with minority status, sex-typed expectations, and gender bias, the enormous amount of stress that is part of the job, and the lonely at the top feelings are barriers women face.

In Kenya today like the many other countries across the globe, women play a minimal role in the area of politics, not because they are incapable, but because of the ways and manners, men have decided to play politics (Mwinyihaji, 2012). Even though the constitution guarantees their right of political activism and leadership, women are still far behind their male counterparts in this regard. Until the 1990s it was unheard of for women to run for the presidency in Africa. Yet in the 1990s, Charity Ngilu and Wangari Maathai ran in the 1998 Kenyan presidential election. Martha Karua contested the 2013 presidential election where she became a distance 6th. In the March 4th general election, 87 women were elected to the National Assembly and the Senate representing only 21% out of the 416 seats. This percentage is so much below the recommended threshold of 30% by the constitution. No woman was elected to the position of Senator except those given nominations while none was elected Governor despite having contested.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Women constitute slightly more than half of the world population and therefore their contribution to the social and economic development of societies is also more than half as compared to men by virtue of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres (UNDP Report, 2005). Countries that have embraced the contribution of women in the development circles such as Rwanda, South Africa, Uganda and developed nations, have realized tremendous growth in their economic development. When women get involved in the development circles of a nation, there is bound to growth since they constitute a higher percentage of the population. In Rwanda for instance women and children who were the main victims of war, were left to rebuild the nation after the genocide. The women in Rwanda demanded for their government to include them in governance and women were therefore at the forefront of conflict prevention, reconciliation and post conflict reconstruction. The Rwandan constitution mandated a quota system where 30% of the seats were reserved for women in legislature. It is argued that the increase of female representation in Rwanda led to an increase in gender equality. When women, who mostly constitute a higher percentage of the population, are involved in development spheres such as in governance, the resultant is a more representative workforce and hence desirable results are bound to be reaped. A representative government where gender

equality is practiced and maintained enables a more representative leadership and contributes to effective leadership and the promotion of peace.

Women in Kenya however still face numerous barriers when they join the political sphere or seek positions in governance. Women face socio-cultural barriers such as sex-role stereotyping whereby women are socialized to take up secondary roles from birth and women who steer away from these roles are frowned upon by the society. There is also the perception that there are few female role models in governance as institutions such as the media either completely blackout female leaders or only highlight women leaders in bad light. Negative societal attitudes towards women leaders and lack of acceptance by the community also contribute to the minimal participation of women in governance in Kenya. Women also face socio-economic hindrances in their pursuit to enter the political sphere. Patriarchy and patrilineal practices, which are prevalent in Kenya, dictate that women should not own the major factors of production such as land and hence deny them bargaining powers during production. Patriarchy also denies women participation in empowerment initiatives such as education as the traditional African woman has socially ascribed roles in the reproductive sphere while the men get education and are socialized to be leaders. Gender disparities are evident in education, employment, ownership of productive resources etc. Women in Kenya also encounter organizational barriers in political parties where there is male dominance in political parties and the culture of formal political structures is male oriented. The new constitution of Kenya 2010 gave women a platform by removing all forms of discrimination against women such as inhibition of cultural practices that discriminate women, creation of one third gender rule in public appointments etc. This however, may not have served its role by the dismal performance of women in March 2013 General Election.

Despite the realization of the importance of women's participation in the development circles such as in governance, socio-cultural, socio-economic and political barriers are still imminent and hinder the full involvement of women in governance. The promulgation of the new constitution in Kenya 2010, which stipulated that all forms of discrimination against women are explicitly prohibited, ushered in a new era for women

in leadership and expectations were high that it would act as a stepping stone for women into leadership and bridge the gap between the number of men and women leaders. Unfortunately, this was not the case. This research will aim to identify the influence of socio-cultural, socio-economic and political factors in women's perception of leadership and also establish whether women's perception of leadership determines their participation in political leadership.

1.3 Research Questions

- i. What is the level of participation by women in the electoral process in Bungoma County?
- ii. How do the women in Bungoma County evaluate the gender roles of women vis-a-vis leadership?
- iii. How have the following socio-cultural factors: ethnic identity and values, marital status, religious affiliations and chama involvement, affected the decision to vote for women leaders in Bungoma County?
- iv. How do the women in Bungoma County view women in leadership positions?
- v. What organizational barriers do women face specifically in political parties and how have they impacted on women's participation in politics in Bungoma County?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Overall Objective of the Study

The overall objective of the study was to determine women's perception of leadership and its influence on voting women leaders in Kenya.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study were to:

- i. Determine the level of participation by women in the electoral process in Bungoma County
- ii. Examine how women in Bungoma County evaluate the role of women in the community vis-a-vis in leadership

- iii. Examine how these socio-cultural factors: ethnic identity and values, marital status, religious affiliation and chama involvement, affect women's decision to participate in elective leadership of Bungoma County.
- iv. Establish women's views and opinions of women in political leadership in Bungoma County
- v. Establish the organizational barriers women face specifically in political parties in their strive to participate in elective leadership of Bungoma County.

1.5 Justification of Study

In the Kenya Vision 2030 under the social pillar, we have the gender mainstreaming project which seeks to mainstream gender issues in the National Development Process by ensuring that needs and interests of each gender (i.e women and men, girls and boys) are addressed in all government policies, plans and programmes. Gender equality is a major contributor to the social, economic and political development of any nation. Gender equality in governance ensures that there is a representative leadership and that the opinions of the various categories of the population are equally represented. The constitution of Kenya 2010 provided a platform for women to participate in the governance of the country. However, women performed dismally in the March 2013 General Election. The interplay of socio-cultural, socio-economic and political factors in women's perceptions of leadership is investigated in this research paper. The lack of equal gender representation in governance despite the availability of legislation triggers this research. The findings in this research will assist countries such as Kenya adequately establish gender mainstreaming strategies and bridge the glaring gender gap in governance and other institutions.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The purpose of this study was to establish women's perception of leadership and its influence on voting for women leaders in Kenya. The study sought to investigate the role of socio-cultural, socio-economic and political factors in women's perception of leadership and investigate the influence of these factors on women's perceptions of leadership. The study took place between the months of September, October and

November 2013. It is important to note that this was a period, Bungoma County residents were about to undergo a senatorial by-election. The study was limited to women who live in Bungoma County, Bumula Constituency between the ages of 18-55. The women were required to be duly registered voters and have an identity card and a voter's card. The limitations of the study were that it only interviewed respondents that had already participated in the electoral process in Kenya through voter registration and or voting in any general election or by election since 1992. Limited time and resources influenced the decision to use the purposive and simple random sampling methods to sample the target population.

1.7 Definition of Terms

Perception: This is how a person or people view and understand a particular concept. In this study perception is used to describe the population's opinion of the concept of leadership. Perception in this study defines how women understand the concept of leadership and how their understanding of leadership shapes their opinion of leadership and hence makes them either get involved more or shun away from it. This study looks at women's perception of leadership in order to better understand the current voting trends of women. Perception in this study is a result of a variety of social interactions women have in the society such as with the male members of the society and female members of the society and interactions with social structures. These interactions in turn influence women's perceptions of concepts such as leadership.

Women: In this study, women are referred to as adult female members of the society between the ages of 18 and 55. In this study, women from Bumula constituency which is prevalently a rural area are the participants who are interviewed in order to establish the perception of leadership. These women are predominantly housewives who participate in various economic activities such as small scale mixed farming and small commodity trading. Though a higher percentage are illiterate, they are informed on the different going-ons in the society albeit minimally. They form a considerable percentage of a voter population and hence their opinions of leadership ought to be investigated. A large

majority of women in the rural areas also form a high percentage of the rural poor despite the availability of resources and opportunities for them.

Leadership: In this study, leadership refers to the act of organized control over a human community. This study looks at different theories of leadership to better understand the concept. Leadership in this study, specifically delves into political leadership. To understand, explain and predict patterns of political leadership and arrive at normative prescriptions for its ‘proper’ design and implementation, inquirers need to analyse the beliefs, values, characters, power relations, and ethical/unethical values, attitudes and actions of leaders and followers, as well as their historical situation and cultural-institutional context (Nye 2008). Leadership is a part of multicausal social processes that bring about concrete political outcomes – election results, for example (King 2002; Greenstein 2004). Although it is a daunting task to define political leadership, in this study it refers to the conscious selection of individuals by a group of community members to guide them in goal setting and motivation that will enable improve the community members’ quality of life.

Voting: In this study, voting refers to the formal expression of preference for a candidate for office. Voting in this study means the conscious selection of leaders by community members to public office, to provide them with guidance in goal setting and goal achievement in an effort to improve the quality of life of the community members. This study looks at the political elections that have occurred in Kenya since multi-party was introduced and how women have participated in the selection on individuals to the political leadership roles in Kenya. The study also looks at the 2013 General elections which took place after the promulgation of the new Kenyan constitution.

Electoral process: In this study the electoral process involves Identification card (ID) application, voter card registration and the actual voting for a leader for public office. This study investigated whether women in Bumula constituency participate in these processes to ensure they are able to participate in the process of choosing a leader for public office.

Socio-cultural factors: In this study, they refer to larger scale forces within cultures and societies that affect the thoughts, feelings and behaviors of individuals. Socio-cultural factors in this study include the different value systems and lifestyle choices that characterize a society or group. In this respect, this research looks at the value systems of women in Bumula constituency, and their lifestyle choices and how these influence their perceptions of different concepts in this case leadership. A proper and conclusive understanding of the socio-cultural factors in a society will enable the researcher better understand how a particular social group behaves and why it behaves in a certain way.

Organizational barriers: In this study, organizational barriers are discussed that are specifically encountered in political parties by women. The organizational structure in political parties greatly contributes to the capability of the political party members. This study looks at organizational barriers women may face in political parties which include stringent organizational policies which may hinder women to qualify for certain political seats, stringent rules and regulations within political parties which for instance may limit the number of women who qualify for particular political seats etc. This study also looks at the organizational barriers women encounter in political parties which either limit or promote their success in the political sphere.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

Many relevant and useful resources have been published on the subject of women and leadership. The literature that is relevant to the research into perceptions' on women leadership is very diverse and shows different views and opinions on women's socially perceived roles, socially perceived character traits and the role of culture in molding women into taking up leadership positions and creating a conducive atmosphere for women to succeed in leadership positions. This chapter aims to provide a summary of the views and opinions considered to be most relevant to the research problem. It will begin with a discussion of the hindrances to equal women representation, and then delve into a review of literature on the leadership theories and how these theories affect the perception of women leadership.

2.2 Women and Political Leadership in Africa

Women in government in the modern age are under-represented in most countries worldwide. Women though, are increasingly getting involved in the political arena as they play an important role in development initiatives. According to Wikipedia, more than 20 countries currently have a woman holding office as the head of a national government, and the global participation of women in national level parliaments is nearly 20%. A number of countries are exploring measures that may increase women's participation in government at all levels, from local to international. An increase in female representation especially in Africa will not only advance women rights but also rights of children. An increase in women's representation will lead to women empowerment and the achievement of gender parity. Kenya has a low political ranking regionally and globally in respect to female representation in parliament as compared to its East African neighbors who have all surpassed the magical threshold/ "critical mass" of 30% female presence in the respective parliaments; e.g. Rwanda's (56.3%), Tanzania (36.0%), Uganda (34.9%), Burundi (32.1%). Similarly South Africa has 44.5%; Mozambique 39.2% and Angola 38.6%.

2.2.1 The Rwandan Case

Out of devastation of violent conflict, comes the opportunity to do things differently. Rwanda, though a developing country, is the first country to have a majority of women in legislature. After the genocide that killed 800000 Tutsis in 100 days, women in legislature went from a mere 18% before the conflict to 56% in 2008. Women in conflict, such as in Rwanda, are breaking new ground and demanding an inclusive kind of democracy. And in war, most victims are women and children, who are later on, left to rebuild the nation after a conflict. Women have begun a movement to undermine this cycle of devastation by demanding their governments to include them in governance. The Security Council Resolution of 1325 in Rwanda's legislature urged women to take up conflict prevention, reconciliation and post-conflict reconstruction and in the 2003 Rwandan constitution; a mandated quota of 30% was reserved for women in legislature.

Of the 24 women who gained seats directly after the quota implementation in 2003, many joined political parties and chose to run again. In Rwanda, the quota system aroused women's confidence, experience and encouraged them to participate in leadership. It is argued that the increase of female representation in Rwanda led to an increase in gender equality. Rwanda is exemplary in showing that increased women participation in democracy is conducive to progress in gender equal legislature and reform.

Democracy is an ever-changing and imperfect experiment. We need to learn from the women of Rwanda and the men who supported them. Using quotas to support gender equality not only enables more representative leadership in struggling nations, but fosters change that may contribute to effective leadership and promote peace.

2.2.2 Women in Political Leadership in Kenya

Professor Maria Nzomo's study on Women in Political leadership in Kenya: Access, Agenda Setting and Accountability, gives a comprehensive overview of women's presence and participation in political leadership in Kenya. Kenya women's presence and political participation in leadership and governance has a long history dating from pre-colonial through colonial to post colonial period for instance the first women Chief –

Wangu wa Makeri- (1901-1909), who defied patriarchal structures of culture and tradition, and rose to become a formidable leader who is said to have brought development and peace among her community. In the first four decades of postcolonial rule, progress towards women's access to formal political leadership positions, has been slow due to a combination of structural obstacles which include 1) deeply embedded patriarchal socio-cultural values; 2) undemocratic institutions and policy frameworks and 3) low levels of civic and gender awareness.

In Kenya, feminist writings and analysis have been influential in shaping both the academic discourse but also acting as a catalyst for gender activism and struggle for women's rights, as well as contributing to policy and legislative action. Such scholars also participate in civic and gender awareness programs as trainers, under the auspices of gender bases NGOs. In this connection, a 1991 study entitled: "Women in Politics and Public Decision-Making" (Nzomo, 1991) set the stage for the intellectual and policy discourse that has continued to preoccupy Kenyan gender researchers and activists in :- i) the search for effective strategies & solutions to the challenges and structural barriers that impede women's access and influence in political leadership capacities and ii) in the development of accountable mechanism for holding the government and women representatives accountable.

Many studies undertaken in the last two decades, implicitly or explicitly note the socio-political context, as a key determinant shaping and setting limits to the agendas women leaders can implement in different historical contexts. They note that though most women leaders have been setting some kind of agenda as part of the process of seeking political office, few women candidates articulate that agenda in feminist terms, due to the predominantly patriarchal political context that remains intolerant to feminist agenda. In 1992 the National Women's Convention under the theme: Women's Agenda for a Democratic Kenya brought about over 2000 Kenya women representatives from across the whole country who demanded that the democratization be engendered; an overhaul of legal policy framework, to remove all forms of discrimination against women in access to decision-making positions; in employment, etc. consequently, women's representatives

put aside their differences and united around the motto: “Unity in Diversity for Women’s Empowerment” as a strategy for effective collective action towards lobbying the state and to facilitate the engendering process.

Key gains for women were made with the promulgation of the new constitution in Kenya in 2010. Affirmative action provisions were entrenched into the Bill of Rights; thus firmly securing and guaranteeing compliance by the State in respect to implementation of the “no more than two thirds of either gender” principle in all appointive electoral offices. Also entrenched in the Bill of Rights are the provisions for equality of rights between men and women and outlawing of discrimination on any grounds. The constitution also provides for a devolved governance structure that opened up new opportunities for gender equitable participation and governance.

2.2.3 Women Engagement within Political Parties and Women Movements

Although women play critical roles in campaigning and mobilizing support for their parties, rarely do they occupy strategic decision-making positions in party structures or benefit from political parties’ resources for conducting election campaigns. The selection and nomination processes within political parties tend to be biased against women in that “male traits” are emphasized and often become the criteria for selecting candidates. Lack of internal democracy, undemocratic membership recruitment and absence of substantive elections in leader’s recruitment has been the rule rather than the exception. This democratic deficit within political parties, limits the recruitment and ascent of women to top positions in political hierarchies. This in turn limits women’s political exposure and visibility, thus denying them strategic political leverage for party nominations during national elections. With the new political dispensation however, legislations that seek to engender parties and other governance institutions have been put in place and women should use this legal mechanism to demand for inclusion and engagement within political parties.

In 2001 KEWOPA (Kenya Women Parliamentarian Association), was founded in response to the need to increase the number of women parliamentarians, and enhance their contribution; influence on parliamentary business and ensure increased attention to issues affecting women. Under the auspices of KEWOPA, and in collaboration with women NGOs and other women all over the country, women MPs in the 9th and 10th parliaments, though a numerical minority in parliament, played a big role in engendering legislations, policies and political institutions in parliament. Along with KEWOPA, other organizations that were formed with the intent to address women issues in the political sphere and increase women participation include the League of Kenya Women Voters that was formed in 1992 to facilitate women's access to political power through voter education; the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-Kenya) in 1985, to challenge discrimination and legal bias against women; The Kenya Women's Political Caucus (KWPC) 1997 and Women's Political Alliance of Kenya (WPAK) aimed at strengthening mechanism for collaboration, mobilization and collection action among women; Centre for Multi-Party Democracy (CMD), Women's Program aimed at engendering political parties; the Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWK) aimed at engendering the media and giving women leaders a voice and media visibility; the Coalition on Violence Against Women-Kenya aimed advocacy against women and gender based violence; the 2012 National Women's Charter amongst many other organizations were instrumental in fighting for women rights in every aspect of their lives.

2.3 The New Constitution of Kenya 2010

The promulgation of the new constitution on the 27th August, 2010 was a culmination of a long struggle spanning a period of over 20 years. At the heart of this long and torturous journey was the women's struggle for gender equality, fuelled by a desire to free themselves from a life of patriarchal oppression and discrimination. On special mention is Article 10 that sets out the national values and principles of governance to include, among others, human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination and protection for the marginalized. In addition the Bill of Rights contained in Chapter 4 guarantees individual rights and fundamental freedoms of all

people of Kenya. The bill of rights incorporates the three generations of rights, civil and political rights; the economic social and cultural rights; and the right to a clean and healthy environment, thus making it one of the most progressive Bills Of Rights in the world.

The women gains in the 2010 constitution majorly focus on the elimination of all forms of discrimination towards women and include the following summarized version. All forms of discrimination including violence against women are explicitly prohibited. Women are allowed to own and inherit land. Matrimonial property is protected during and after termination of marriage. Customary law that is inconsistent with the constitution is void thus personal law which is discriminatory to women if in contradiction with the constitution is invalid. Equality in marriage. Women representation is guaranteed. Women are recognized citizens and will be able to bestow citizenship to their foreign spouses or children born outside the country. Equal parental responsibility of the mother and father to provide for the child. Increased numbers of women in all decision making organs including the devolved government. Elimination of discrimination in laws, customs and practices related to land and property in land. Any government or decision making organ that does not comply with the constitution is unlawful and unconstitutional.

To further delve in, the constitution 2010 Chapter Four which is the Bill of Rights Article 27 (3) states that, women and men have the right to equal treatment including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. Women representation is guaranteed in the proposed constitution as in stated in Chapter 4, Article 27 (8), in addition, to the measures in clause (6), the State shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender. Chapter 7 talks about representation of people and promotes women representation in all decision making organs as a fundamental issue in advancing gender equality. The constitution 2010 provides a legal framework for women representation and delineates the composition of women representation in political parties, political parties fund and affirmative action.

Chapter 7 Article 81 states that the electoral system shall comply with the following principles (b) not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public does shall be of the same gender.

Chapter 8 of the Kenyan constitution goes further to reverse the current status of low representation of women in legislature. Specific articles in this regard include Article 97, (i) the National Assembly consists of, (b) forty-seven women each elected by the registered voters of the counties, each county constituting a single member constituency Article 98 states that the senate consists of, (b) sixteen women members who shall be nominated by political parties according to their proportion of members of the Senate elected under clause (a) in accordance with Article 90; (c) two members, being one man and one woman, representing the youth and (d) two members, being one man and one woman, representing persons with disabilities

It is evident that the constitution 2010 of Kenya made significant steps towards achieving gender equality and hence aided in the advancement of political participation of women. However good such legislations are, without a workable mechanism for their enactment, women in Kenya still face impediments in the political circles. Socio-cultural, economic and other factors play a vital role in the participation of women in politics. These calls for vigilance by women and feminist groups that struggled for so long to have the key gender provisions engrained in the Bill of Rights. Some of these gains may never be realized or may be indefinitely delayed and therefore require a strong collaboration between women in the political spheres, women in the civil society and all women at the grass root levels to protect and advance the gender agenda.

2.4 Hindrances to Equal Women Representation

Women around the world at every socio-political level find themselves under-represented in parliament and far removed from decision-making levels. Women themselves are not a homogenous group; there are major differences between them based on class, race, ethnicity, cultural background and education. The exclusion on women from decision-making bodies limits the possibilities for entrenching the principles of democracy in a

society; hindering economic development and discouraging the attainment of gender equality. Female interests may end up not being addressed if men monopolize the decision-making processes. Women who enter politics find that the political, public, cultural and social environment is often unfriendly and hostile to them. I will categorize the hindrances to women participation into three: political, socio-economic, and socio-cultural. Though the political and socio-economic challenges will be highlighted, this study will mainly aim to expound on the socio-cultural challenges that women face when they decide to enter the political arena.

2.4.1 Political Obstacles

At the beginning of the 21st century, over 95% of all countries in the world have granted women the two most fundamental democratic rights: the right to vote and the right to stand for election. In theory, the right to stand for election to become a candidate and to get elected is based on the right to vote. In reality though, the voter remains restricted, principally because the candidates are mostly male. This unequal representation in legislative bodies signifies that women's representation, rather than being a consequence of democratization, is more a reflection of the status quo. Research indicates political structures play an important role in increasing women representation. Among the challenges women face include the prevalence of the "masculine model" of political life and of elected government bodies. Women also lack party support for instance in terms of limited financial support, limited access to political networks, stringent standards and qualifications applied to women. There is also a lack of sustained contact and cooperation with other public organizations such as trade unions and women groups. Women also lack access to well-developed education and training systems for women's leadership in general, and for orienting young women towards political life. The nature of the electoral system also may or may not be favorable to women candidates.

2.4.2. Socio-Economic Obstacles

The social and economic status of women in society has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected bodies. In addition to inadequate financial resources, the socio-economic obstacles impacting on women's participation in

parliament include illiteracy and limited access to education and choice of professions by women and the dual burden of domestic tasks and professional obligations. Researchers point out to the correlation between women's legislative recruitment and the proportion of women working outside the home, as well as the percentage of Women College graduates. The economic crisis in developing democracies has intensified the risk of poverty for women. Poverty, like unemployment, is increasingly being feminized.

2.4.3. Socio-Cultural Factors

The socio-cultural hindrances for women when entering political spheres include the gender ideology, cultural patterns, and predetermined social roles assigned to women and men. Women also lack the confidence to stand for election and have the perception of politics as a "dirty" game. The way in which women are portrayed in the mass media also dissuades women from participation in the political sphere. "Women have tried to enter politics trying to look like men. This will not work. We have to bring our differences, our emotions, our way of seeing things, even our tears to the process." Anna Tibaijuka, Professor, Tanzania.

Many countries especially in Africa continue to emphasize women's primary roles as mothers and housewives and restrict them to these roles. A traditional strong, patriarchal value system that favors sexually segregated roles and "traditional cultural values" militate against the advancement, progress and participation of women in any political process. Women are good campaigners, organizers and support-mobilizers, but fear sometimes prevents women from contesting elections and from participating in political life. Mass media also plays a critical role in public opinion and public consciousness. Lack of proper coverage of women's issues and the activities of women MPs contribute to a lack of public awareness about them which in turn translates into a lack of women leaders.

2.5 Leadership Theories

2.5.1 The Trait Approach to Leadership

The emergence of trait leadership dates back to Thomas Carlyle's "great man" theory, which stated that "the history of the world was the biography of great men" (Carlyle, 1849). In other words - history is shaped by the forces of extraordinary leadership (Judge, Piccolo, & Kosalka, 2009). Influenced by Carlyle, Galton advanced this idea and found that leadership was a unique property of extraordinary individuals, and the traits leaders possessed were immutable and could not be developed. The theory of trait leadership developed from early leadership research which focused primarily on finding a group of heritable attributes that differentiated leaders from non-leaders. Leader effectiveness refers to the amount of influence a leader has on individual or group performance, followers' satisfaction, and overall effectiveness (Derue, Nahrgang, Wellman, & Humphrey, 2011). This trait perspective of leadership was virtually accepted until the late 1940s and early 1950s, when personality traits were deemed to be insufficient in predicting leader effectiveness (Stogdill, 1948; Mann, 1959).

2.5.1.1 Trait Leadership Model: Demographic Versus Task Competence Versus Interpersonal

Derue and others (2011) stated that most leader traits can be organized into three categories: demographic, task competence, and interpersonal attributes. For the demographics category, gender has by far received the most attention in terms of leadership; however, most scholars have found that male and female leaders are both equally effective. Task competence relates to how individuals approach the execution and performance of tasks (Bass & Bass, 2008). Hoffman grouped intelligence, Conscientiousness, Openness to Experience, and Emotional Stability into this category. Lastly, interpersonal attributes are related to how a leader approaches social interactions. According to Hoffman and others (2011), Extraversion and Agreeableness should be grouped into this category.

A criticism of trait leadership is its silence on the influence of the situational context surrounding leaders (Ng et al., 2008). Stogdill (1948) found that persons who are leaders in one situation may not be leaders in another situation. Complimenting this situational theory of leadership, Murphy (1941) wrote that leadership does not reside in the person, and it usually requires examining the whole situation. Critics have also noted that trait leadership theory usually only focuses on how leader effectiveness is perceived by followers (Lord et al., 1986) rather than a leader's actual effectiveness (Judge et al., 2009). Because the process through which personality predicts the actual effectiveness of leaders has been relatively unexplored (Ng, Ang, & Chan, 2008), these scholars have concluded that personality currently has low explanatory and predictive power over job performance and cannot help organizations select leaders who will be effective (Morgeson & Ilies, 2007). Furthermore, Derue and colleagues (2011) found that leader behaviors are more predictive of leader effectiveness than are traits.

2.5.2 The Behavioural and Leadership Style Approaches

Whether men and women behave differently in leadership roles is a debatable topic. Although there is a general agreement that women typically face more barriers to becoming leaders as compared to their male counterparts and especially for leadership roles that were perceived to be male dominated, there is much less agreement about the behavior of women and men once they attain such roles. This issue is usually discussed in terms of leadership styles, where style is understood as relatively stable patterns of behavior that are manifested by leaders. Difference in leadership styles can be consequential, because they are one factor that may affect people's views about whether women should become leaders and advance to higher positions in organization hierarchies.

To further expound on this issue, let's analyze the traditional thinking about the leadership styles of women and men. It is not surprising that women are the usual focus of discussions of the impact of gender on leadership. Because social perceivers generally concentrate on the non prototypical members of categories (Miller, Taylor, & Buck, 1991), people direct their attention to the adequacy of women's leadership styles. Female

politicians thus worry about “projecting gravitas” as former U.S. Congressional Representative Patricia Schroeder noted (Schroeder, 1999. P. A17). In contrast, because men have long held these roles, they have defined the styles to which people have become accustomed to.

Contrary to the view that sex differences and similarities vary with social contexts, experts who’ve written on this topic have generally maintained that either differences or similarities prevail. Advocates for difference claim that the leadership styles of men and women are different, mainly along the lines of women being less hierarchical, more cooperative and collaborative, and more oriented to enhancing others’ self-worth (Rosener, 1995). In contrast, social scientists have typically either claimed that female and male organizational leaders do not differ or minimized the importance of those differences that have been observed (Powell, 1990). To make an analysis, we shall begin with the principle that leadership roles like other organizational roles, are but one influence on leaders’ behavior. In addition leaders elicit expectancies based on people’s categorization of them as male and female. These expectancies constitute gender roles, which are the shared beliefs that apply to individuals on the basis of their socially identified sex.

Aspects of gender roles that are especially relevant to understanding leadership pertain to agentic and communal attributes (Eagly et al., 2000). Agentic characteristics, which are ascribed more to men than women, describe primarily an assertive, controlling and confident tendency. In employment spheres agentic characteristics might include speaking assertively, competing for attention, influencing others, initiating activity directed to assigned tasks and making problem-focused suggestions. On the other hand, communal characteristics which are ascribed more strongly to women than men, describe primarily a concern with the welfare of other people for instance affectionate, helpful, kind, sympathetic etc. in employment settings communal behaviors include not drawing attention to oneself, accepting others’ direction, supporting and soothing others, and contributing to the solution of relational and interpersonal problems.

Managers and other leaders occupy roles defined by their specific position in a hierarchy, but also simultaneously function under the constraints of their gender roles. Although it would be consistent with a structural interpretation of the organizational behavior (eg., Kanter, 1977) to predict that men and women who occupy the same leadership role behave very similarly, gender roles ordinarily continue to exert some influence, with the result that female and male occupants and potential occupants of the same organizational role may behave somewhat differently. Consistent with this reasoning, (Gutek and Morasch, 1982) argued that gender roles spill over to organizations, and Ridgeway (1997, p. 231) maintained that gender provides an “implicit background identity” in the workplace. Despite the likely influence of gender roles on leaders’ behavior, formal leadership roles should be of primary importance in organizational settings, because these roles lend their occupants legitimate authority and are regulated by relatively clear rules about appropriate behavior.

In contrast, research in natural settings suggests that, although some gender-stereotypic differences erode under the influence of organizational roles, other differences do not. Particularly informative is a field study by Moskowitz, Suh and Desaulniers (1994) that examined the simultaneous influence of gender roles and organizational roles. This study used an experience- sampling method in which participants monitored their interpersonal behavior in a variety of work settings for 20 days. In general, agentic behavior was controlled by the relative status of the interaction partners, with participants behaving mostly agentially with a supervisee and least agentially with a boss. Communal behaviors however, were influenced by the sex of participants, regardless of the participants’ status, with women behaving more communally than men, especially in interactions with fellow women.

Although research that considers the joint impact of gender roles and organizational roles in sparse, it suggests some tentative generalizations about the increased similarity of women and men who are in the same organizational role. It is thus likely that leadership roles like other organizational roles provide norms that regulate the performance of many tasks, which would therefore be similarly accomplished by male or female role

occupants. As Eagly et al., 2000) argued this influence of gender roles on organizational behavior occurs not only because people react to leaders in terms of gendered expectancies and leaders respond in turn, but also because most people have internalized gender roles to some extent (Wood, Christensen, Hebl & Rothgerber, 1997).

The impact of gender on leadership is clearly illustrated on measures of style that reflect the agentic norms associated with the male gender role versus communal norms associated with the female gender role (Bass, 1990). Most common was a distinction between two approaches to leadership: task-oriented style defined as a concern with accomplishing assigned tasks by organizing task-relevant activities, and interpersonally oriented style, defined as concern with maintaining interpersonal relationships by tending to others' welfare and morale (Bales, 1950).

Another aspect of leadership style that has been popular in research is the extent to which leaders behave democratically and allow subordinates to participate in decision making or behave autocratically and discourage subordinate participation in decision making. Although democratic versus autocratic style is a narrow aspect of leader behavior than task oriented versus interpersonal oriented (Bass, 1990), the democratic-autocratic dimension also relates to gender roles, because one component of the agentic norms associated with these roles is that men are relatively more dominant and controlling to mean more autocratic and directive- than women.

To summarize, to the extent that gender roles spill to influence leadership behavior in organizational settings, the behavior of female leaders, compared with that of male leaders may be more interpersonally oriented, democratic, and transformational. In contrast, that of the male counterparts will be more task-oriented and autocratic. In addition, the greater incongruence of the female than male gender role with typical leader roles may make it more difficult for women than men to manifest the more agentic leadership styles. Because of the constraining impact of leadership roles, however, any differences between women and men who occupy the same role are unlikely to be large in size.

Research done at Ohio State and Michigan University essentially identified two broad dimensions of leadership, task-oriented that emphasized in task accomplishment, performance standards and adherence to rules and regulations and relationship oriented that focused on the leader's interpersonal skills, concern for mutual trust, and harmonious group interactions. However research has consistently failed to confirm the common sense notion that effective leaders utilize both task and people oriented leadership styles (Stogdill, 1974). Equally disappointing were findings disconfirming the idea that leaders may be taught to exhibit high levels of both task and relationship oriented behaviors (Fleishman, 1953).

The behavioral or leadership style approach departs from the notion that leadership effectiveness does not reside within the person. Behavioral perspectives therefore suggest that leaders are not born, but that women and men can learn behaviors or leadership style by observing a leader in action, participating in leadership situations, or engaging in leadership training. The behavioral approach has numerous weaknesses including inadequate conceptualizations of the leader behaviors in real settings; lack of accurate measures; and a failure to attend to the role of situational factors.

2.5.3 The Contingency Approach

Contingency approaches are defined as those theories which postulate that leadership effectiveness is dependent or contingent upon the interaction between certain leader attributes and the characteristics of a specific situation. These theories suggest that situational variables such as the characteristic of the task or the work setting moderate the relationship between leader behaviors or traits and leader effectiveness criteria. Theorists adhering to this perspective argue that in order to predict which type of leader behavior will be most effective, we must know the relevant facets of the situation in which leadership occurs. In the contingency approach, emphasis is on the context such as the nature of the task, the availability of human and material resources and organizational characteristics attributes of the followers, in order to determine leadership effectiveness. Contingency theories are based on the assumption that the different behavior or trait patterns and different leadership styles are effective under different situational conditions

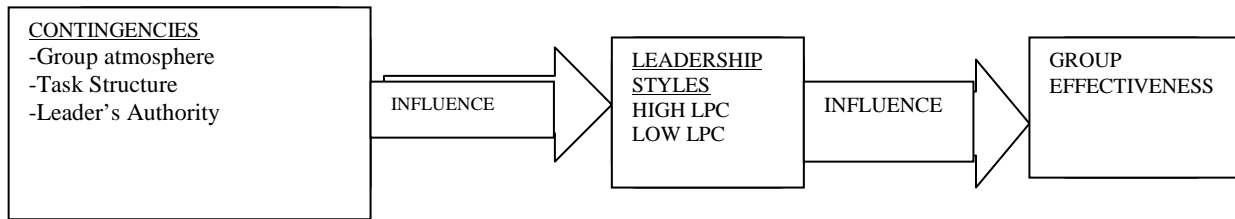
and that the same pattern of behaviors or traits is not optimal in all situations (Yukl, 1989). Various theories fall under the contingency theory but we shall only discuss Fielder's (1964, 1967) Contingency theory.

2.5.3.1 Fielder's Contingency Theory Of Leadership

Fiedler along with his associates carried out an extensive research program developing and testing his theory for over 25 years. Fielder's model distinguished between two leadership styles: task oriented and relationship oriented leadership and rests on the construct of the Least Preferred Co-Worker (LPC) which is measured by the LPC Scale. The LPC scale was developed by Fiedler to assess the degree to which people rate the coworker with whom they are least able to work along a number of bipolar adjectives. For instance followers rate their leaders as to whether they are supportive or hostile, helpful or frustrating, rejecting or accepting. Low scores on LPC are indicative of a task oriented leadership style while high LPC scores reflect a relationship oriented leadership style. The theory goes on to suggest that the high LPC leader extracts superior performance in some situations while the low LPC leader is successful in others. This idea is captured in the concept of situational favorability, which reflects the degree to which the situation is favorable or unfavorable to the leader. Situational favorableness according to Fielder's model is what mediates the relationship between task and relationship oriented leadership and criteria of leadership effectiveness.

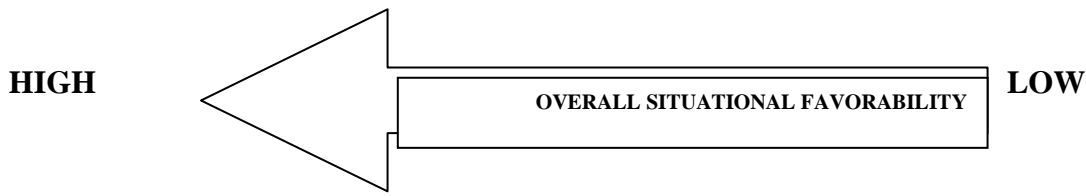
Fiedler and his colleagues proposed that these two leadership orientations are associated with three situational variables or contingencies: 1) leader-follower relations or group atmosphere, a variable which refers to the degree of confidence, trust, and respect followers have in their leaders; 2) task structure or the extent to which the task performed by followers is routine i.e. with clearly defined goals and specified procedures or non routine i.e. unclear and ambiguous and the leader may not know more about the task than the followers; and 3) position power, which refers to the leader's authority to administer rewards and punishments and enforce compliance. According to Fielder's model, LPC and situational favorability interact in the way depicted in figure below:

Figure 2.1 Fielder's Contingency Theory on Leadership



More specifically if the situation is highly favorable or unfavorable for the leader (Situations #1 and #8 in Figure 2.1), directive or task-oriented leadership is most effective. This relationship between LPC and situational variables in the model is based on the argument that when a situation is extremely favorable (or unfavorable), a leader can be directive because the task is clear, she has a position of power and her relations with followers are good. Similarly in highly unfavorable situations, a directive approach is also called for, because followers are likely to be in a crisis. This is due to ambiguous nature of task, the lack of leader authority and poor relationship with followers. In the middle range of the situational favorability continuum, conditions are moderately favorable for the leader; the leader lacks sufficient authority, the task is not quite clear and leader-follower relationships are less harmonious. Here a relationship-oriented style (high LPC) is suitable as the leader has to get the job done through followers obtaining cooperation, earning trust, or building commitment to reach the desired level of group performance.

Figure 2.2 Fielder’s Continuum on Situational Favorability



	GOOD				POOR			
Leader-member relations	STRUCTURED		UNSTRUCTURED		STRUCTURED		UNSTRUCTURED	
Task Structure	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIG	LOW	HIGH	LOW
Authority Level					H			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Like its predecessors’, Fielder’s model has several problems. Although the LPC scale played a major role in a large body of empirical research, critics have questioned its utility as well as interpretations of LPC scores. Much of the controversy surrounding the LPC scale stems from Fielder’s insistence that the LPC is a measure of the underlying needs and motives of the leader. Although Fielder’s high and low LPC leaders bear a conceptual resemblance to leaders high in consideration and initiating structure, respectively, the LPC as presented by Fiedler is conceptualized as a fairly stable personality disposition. In other words, leaders who rate their least preferred followers negatively in one situation are likely to do the same in all situations.

Another limitation of the model is that the conceptual meaning of the LPC remains unclear. Schriesheim and Kerr (1971) referred to the LPC as a measure in search of meaning. Even Fiedler expressed his frustration when he stated:

For nearly 20 years we have been attempting to correlate it (LPC) with every conceivable personality trait and every conceivable behavior observation. By and large these analyses have been largely fruitless. (Fiedler & Chemers, 1974, p. 64)

The validity of his model has also been put to question by others (e.g. Graen, Alvares, Orris, & Martella, 1970), who after re-analyzing Fielder’s validation data reached drastically different conclusions.

2.5.4 The Transformational Approach: Leadership as Charisma And Vision

During the past 20 years, there has been a flurry of research on a new generation of leadership theories referred to by various scholars as visionary, charismatic, transformational, inspirational, and post-heroic leadership (e.g., Bass, 1985; Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Bryman, 1992; Conger, Kanungo, & Associates, 1985; Huey, 1994a; Kotter, 1990a; Sashkin & Rosenbach, 1993). In contrast to previous theories, which were based on assumptions about scientific management, rational decision making, positivist epistemology, and behavioristic psychology, this newer generation embraces a more descriptive, naturalistic phenomenology of leaders in action (Starratt, 1993).

Charisma is a concept underlying, either implicit or explicit, the current generation of leadership theories. The word “charisma” is derived from the Greek and literally mean “gift of grace”. Max Weber (1974) developed the concept of charisma in relation to his conceptualization of authority. The term charisma, Weber writes,

Will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person but are regarded as divine in origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader. (P. 149)

Weber used the term “charisma” to characterize self-appointed leaders who attract followers in distress or times of crisis. These qualities according to Etzioni (1961) included magical abilities, revelations of heroism, power of mind, and speech. For Weber, the link between charismatic leaders and their followers is direct, since the followers constitute a congregation (Gemeinde) that is not mediated by established organizations, institutions, or rituals. Charismatic leaders evoke their claim to leadership not on the basis of office, but rather upon the belief in the direct and unmediated possession of grace.

Later, the social sciences converted charisma into an endowment of spiritual grace from God bestowed upon leaders by their followers (Bass, 1990). Transformational and charismatic leaders have been found in many contexts including politics, religion, business, science, and social movements. Examples include religious leaders such as Christ, Gandhi, Mother Teresa; business leaders such as Mary Kay Ash, political leaders such as Franklin Roosevelt, Churchill; scientific giants including Marie Curie, Freud, and Einstein; and leaders of social movements such as Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. Although it is difficult to operationalize charismatic or transformational leadership in laboratory settings, a few experimental studies have been conducted. One of these studies (Howell & Frost, 1989) operationalized the charismatic leadership by having “leaders” – actually professional actors- articulate an overarching goal. Communicate high performance expectations, empathize with the needs of followers (undergraduate students), and project a powerful and dynamic presence.

In addition to charismatic leadership, the researchers also employed structuring and considerate leadership behaviors to assess the effects of these three orientations on task performance. As hypothesized, the results showed that individuals working under the charismatic leader achieved higher performance on the task and greater satisfaction than did individuals working under the considerate leader. The authors of the study concluded that their results supported theoretical literature, which suggests that charismatic leaders, by force of their personal qualities, are capable of inducing follower performance beyond ordinary limits (Bass, 1985; House, 1977).

2.5.4.1 Candy Lightner as an Example of a Charismatic Leader

Candy Lightner is the charismatic founder of Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD). MADD like other social movements emerged from a crisis situation. Candy Lightner’s 13 year old daughter Cari was killed while walking in a bicycle lane on her way to a church carnival near her home. The driver of the car, Clarence Bush, was released from jail just 2 days before, was arrested 4 days after the accident. In addition to his previous arrest, Bush had been held on charges of a hit-and-run drunk driving crash and had previously been convicted in two other drunk-driving incidents. Candy Lightner expected her

daughter's killer to be sentenced to prison, but was told by the investigating officer that any jail time for Bush was unlikely to happen because "that's how the system works." In August 1980, Candy Lightner started MADD with her own money and volunteer help from friends. This marked the beginning of a crusade in which Lightner was able to rally large numbers of concerned mothers behind her desire to make cracking down on drunk driving a national policy. It resulted in the creation of a well-funded national organization, which Lightner led singlehandedly for 5 years; she then found herself embroiled in a conflict with the Board of Directors that eventually led to her replacement (Weed, 1993). Candy Lightner illustrates many characteristics of a charismatic leader who identified a cause in which she firmly believed in and vigorously pursued her cause and her underlying belief in the moral righteousness, justification and legitimacy of promoting anti-drunk driving movement.

2.6 Conclusions

The jungle of theories leave many people with the impression that leadership theory is a confusing, disorganized, discrepant, and unintergrated field of study; some are so disgusted with the mess, contradictions, and inconsistencies they perceive that they consider leadership studies as an academic discipline to be a bad joke (Rost, 1991). Each theory relies on a limited set of concepts, such as leadership traits, behaviors, or situations which are usually applicable to only one level of analysis e.g. Fiedler (1967) only concentrates on group performance. A review of leadership theories indicates that the majority of our models involve oversimplified dichotomies, such as autocratic versus democratic, task oriented versus relationship oriented leadership which relies on "either-or" categories. That is leader is either task or relationship, either transactional or transformational oriented, but does not vary these dichotomized behaviors in different situations. Some theories e.g. Fielder's suffered from questionable reliability and validity, and has produced findings which are not replicable and in which we can have little confidence. Other problems with leadership theories include definitional ambiguities and lack of conceptual clarity and coherence.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

A theoretical knowledge that will explicitly deepen our understanding of women's political participation in Africa will require a discussion of a number of important aspects as pertains to the African context.

2.7.1 Feminist Theory

Feminist theories also highlight the society's perceptions of women leadership. Egalitarian liberal feminists hold that the conditions under which women live lack legitimacy because women are inadequately represented in these processes. They hold that this political autonomy deficit is, in large part, due to the "gender system" (Okin, 1989,p89), or the patriarchal nature of inherited traditions and institutions, and that the women's movement should work to identify and remedy it. Patriarchy plays a major role in how politics is viewed by both women and men. Kenya being a largely patriarchal country is majorly influenced by the patriarchal views of leadership. For a majority of women in Kenya, who are socialized as "females" and internalized their female roles as dictated by the patriarchal society. Patriarchal quotes such as "Behind every successful man is a great woman" are firmly embedded in us and assign supporting roles to women and "leading" roles to men. Women only get to glimpse at "power" through associations with a male. In patriarchal societies, women are traditionally socialized to be the caregivers, the quiet, unpaid, unsung heroines in the domestic sphere while the male "leaders" publically and visibly win wars or rebellions.

The traditional work of women is invisible, "behind the scenes" and would never be viewed as being important it should be given the label "leadership". Leadership as we know in the patriarchal sense has structural inequalities and down plays women's work.

Pateman, Carol (1988, p.207) states that "The patriarchal construction of the difference between masculinity and femininity is the political difference between freedom and subjection". In the feminist theory, the concept of patriarchy often includes all the social mechanisms that reproduce and exert male dominance over women. Marysia Zalewski writes that it appears that all feminists share the notion that different social benefits and burdens follows depending on what sex you are born as (Zalewski, 2009,p97). Feminist

theorist Catharine MacKinnon (1989) adopts a Marxist approach advance a devastating critique of the liberal state as deeply patriarchal. Modeling women's oppression on that of the proletariat, Mackinnon argues that men strive to promote their own well-being as the systematic expense of women's welfare. Feminist theories on leadership are aimed primarily at working to mobilize support for social welfare policies and programs that are designed to benefit women.

Contradictions suffered by feminist theories include the lack of clarity on how such a deep patriarchal state can simply be purged of its oppressive tendencies with a set of reforms. As Audre Lorde famously observed, it is difficult, if not impossible, to use the "master's tools" to dismantle his own home. Applied to feminist theories of MacKinnon and Okin, it is difficult to imagine how a set of policy reforms can do away with centuries of oppression and purify the tainted theories that arise from patriarchy. Feminists all over have come to characterize gender relations as matters of subordination and inequality (Waylen, 1996:6). Different roles are given women and men where women's supposed caring nature and men's aggressive nature provides clear roles.

One way to interpret Beauvoir's claim that one is not born but rather becomes a woman is to take it as a claim about gender socialization: females become women through a process whereby they acquire feminine traits and learn feminine behavior. Masculinity and femininity are thought to be products of nurture or how one is brought up and the mechanism of construction is social learning. Kate Millet takes gender differences to have "essentially cultural, rather than biological bases" that result from differential treatment (1971, 28-29). She states that gender is "the sum total of the parents, the peers, and the culture's notions of what is appropriate to each gender by way of temperament, character, interests, status, worth, gesture, and expression" (Millet 1971, 31). Feminine and Masculine gender-norms, however, are problematic in that gendered behavior conveniently fits with and reinforces women's subordination so that women are socialized into subordinate social roles: they learn to be passive, ignorant, docile, emotional helpmates for men (Millet 1971, 26). However, since these roles are simply

learned, we can create more equal societies by “unlearning” social roles. That is, feminists should aim to diminish the influence of socialization.

Social learning theorists hold that a huge array of different influences socialize us as women and men. That being the case, it is extremely difficult to counter gender socialization. For instance, parents often unconsciously treat their female and male children differently. Children are often dressed in gender stereotypical clothes and colors and parents also buy gender stereotypical toys for their kids. While the precise form of gender socialization has changed since the onset of second-wave feminism, even today girls are discouraged from playing sports like football or from playing ‘rough and tumble’ games and are more likely than boys to be given dolls or cooking toys to play with; boys are told not to ‘cry like a baby’ and are more likely to be given masculine toys like trucks and guns (for more, see Kimmel 2000, 122–126).

According to social learning theorists, children are also influenced by what they observe in the world around them. This, again, makes countering gender socialization difficult. For one, children's books have portrayed males and females in blatantly stereotypical ways: for instance, males as adventurers and leaders, and females as helpers and followers. One way to address gender stereotyping in children's books has been to portray females in independent roles and males as non-aggressive and nurturing (Renzetti & Curran 1992, 35).

2.7.2 Structural Functionalism

Lovenduski in *Feminism and Politics* (2000) highlights the need for women representation by stating that there are different arguments for increased female representation: normative arguments say it is unfair for men to monopolize representation and pragmatic arguments stress that women’s special interests and experiences can only be represented by women. Phillips, 1995 further explains the need for female representation stating that over-representation of one social group leads to over-representation of opinion. Phillips points out that under-representation of women is structural or intentional discrimination bringing into light the structural-functionalism

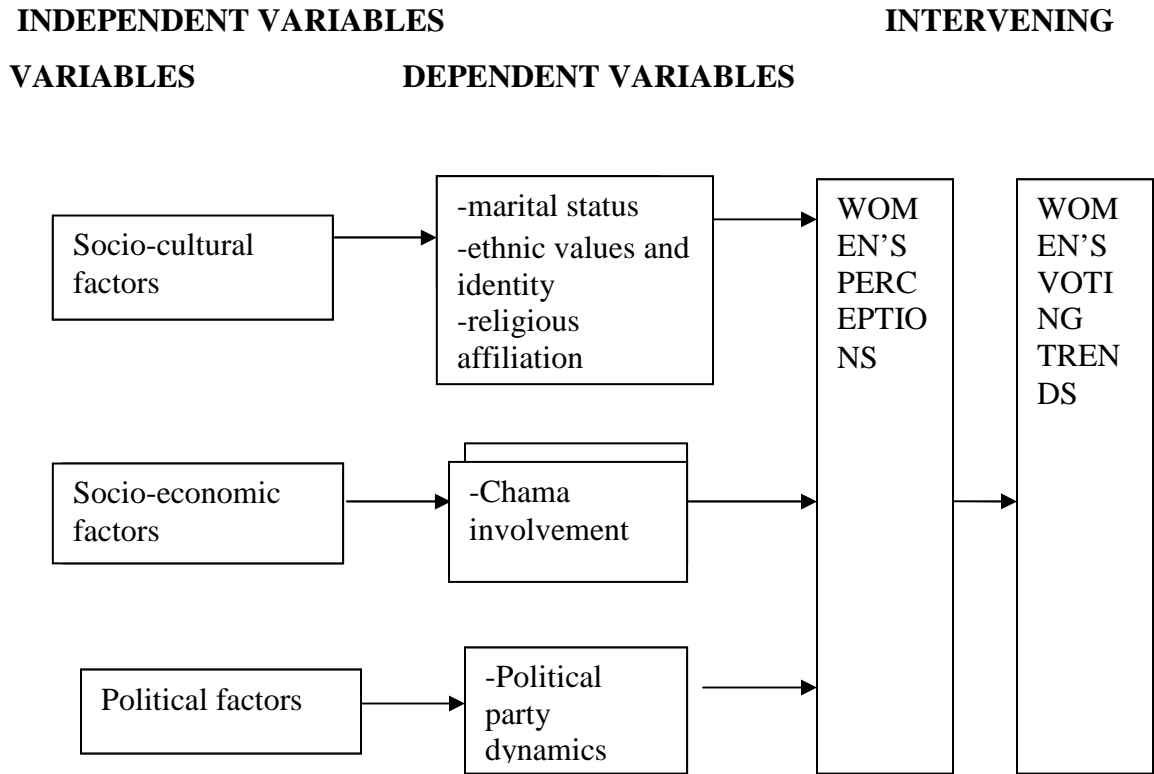
theory. The structural –functionalist theory sees society as a complex system of parts which work together to promote solidarity and stability; it states that our social lives are guided by social structure, which are relatively stable patterns of social behavior (Macionis, 1997). A social institution is an interrelated system of social roles and social norms, organized around the satisfaction of an important social need or social function. The primary role of the family to society is to reproduce or recreate itself through the family. Children –girls in this case- are born in the family to join society and parents play the nurturing and caring role. Culture plays a central role in how children are nurtured in families and hence their –girls- perceptions of different phenomena in this case leadership. Children brought up in families where men are socialized to be more aggressive hence to take leadership positions grow up knowing that such roles need to be left for the men. Girls brought up socialized to take the private domestic roles hence shy away from leadership or public roles. The current social structures play a central role in women’s perceptions of leadership. Political institutions also play a major role in women’s views of the political sphere.

Two structures mainly influence the view on gender in society: socio-economic structures and socio-cultural factors. A country’s socio-economic structure has a great impact on women’s condition in the society such that in societies with a modernized socio-economic structure, the gender roles are not as obvious as in the more traditionalistic ones. Political parties (institutions) are crucial actors in explaining variation in female representation.

2.8 Conceptual Framework

The framework depicting the variables of the study is summarized below:

Figure 2.3 Conceptual Framework showing the independent and dependent variables



Independent Variables

Socio-cultural factors

The socio-cultural hindrances for women when entering political spheres include the gender ideology, cultural patterns, and predetermined social roles assigned to women and men. Women also lack the confidence to stand for election and have the perception of politics as a “dirty” game. The way in which women are portrayed in the mass media also dissuades women from participation in the political sphere. “Women have tried to enter politics trying to look like men. This will not work. We have to bring our differences, our emotions, our way of seeing things, even our tears to the process.” Anna Tibaijuka, Professor, Tanzania.

Many countries especially in Africa continue to emphasize women's primary roles as mothers and housewives and restrict them to these roles. A traditional strong, patriarchal value system that favors sexually segregated roles and "traditional cultural values" militate against the advancement, progress and participation of women in any political process. Women are good campaigners, organizers and support-mobilizers, but fear sometimes prevents women from contesting elections and from participating in political life. Mass media also plays a critical role in public opinion and public consciousness. Lack of proper coverage of women's issues and the activities of women MPs contribute to a lack of public awareness about them which in turn translates into a lack of women leaders. In this study, three socio-cultural factors are narrowed down into they include, religious affiliation of the participants, ethnic identity and values of the participants and the marital status of the participants.

Socio-economic factors

The social and economic status of women in society has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected bodies. In addition to inadequate financial resources, the socio-economic obstacles impacting on women's participation in parliament include illiteracy and limited access to education and choice of professions by women and the dual burden of domestic tasks and professional obligations. Researchers point out to the correlation between women's legislative recruitment and the proportion of women working outside the home, as well as the percentage of Women College graduates. The economic crisis in developing democracies has intensified the risk of poverty for women. Poverty, like unemployment, is increasingly being feminized. In this study, the researcher investigates the role of being in a chama or women group in influencing the financial capability of women and hence influencing the participation in leadership.

Political factors

At the beginning of the 21st century, over 95% of all countries in the world have granted women the two most fundamental democratic rights: the right to vote and the right to stand for election. In theory, the right to stand for election to become a candidate and to

get elected is based on the right to vote. In reality though, to voter remains restricted, principally because the candidates are mostly male. This unequal representation in legislative bodies signifies that women's representation, rather than being a consequence of democratization, is more a reflection of the status quo. Research indicates political structures play an important role in increasing women representation. Among the challenges women face include the prevalence of the "masculine model" of political life and of elected government bodies. Women also lack party support for instance in terms of limited financial support, limited access to political networks, stringent standards and qualifications applied to women. There is also a lack of sustained contact and cooperation with other public organizations such as trade unions and women groups. Women also lack access to well-developed education and training systems for women's leadership in general, and for orienting young women towards political life. The nature of the electoral system also may or may not be favorable to women candidates. This study will investigate how political party dynamics come into play when women enter the political sphere.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter outlined the research methodology of this study. The overall objective of this study is to determine women's perception of leadership and its impact on voting women leaders in Kenya today. This chapter expounded on the research method and research design appropriateness. This chapter entailed a discussion of the population and sample. The research was conducted in two phases. Data in Phase 1 was collected by using a qualitative approach. Data was collected by conducting in-depth interviews with political women leaders from Bungoma County. In Phase 2, a quantitative approach followed. Data in this phase was obtained through a structured questionnaire completed by women residents of Bumula constituency.

3.2. Research Design

A descriptive design was employed in this study in order to gain more information of the leadership phenomenon. The main problem of the study was to explain the influence of socio-cultural socio-economic and political factors on women's perception of leadership. The research questions were aimed at get an understanding of what socio-cultural obstacles, socio-economic and political obstacles women face when they decide to participate in politics as well as looking into women's role in order to increase women's participation in the political sphere. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches were employed to maximize on information for the study. In phase 1, data was collected using in-depth interviews with women in political leadership in Bungoma County by use of an open-ended questionnaire. In phase 2, data collection was done by the administration of structured questionnaires to women residents of Bumula Constituency.

3.3. Triangulation

Mouton and Marais (1990), argue that the term triangulation refers mainly to the use of multiple methods of data collection with a view to increasing the reliability of observation, and not specifically to the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches. According to Polit and Hungler (1999:259), a researcher can be much more

confident about the validity of the findings when they are supported by multiple and complementary types of data. Triangulation in reference to mixing qualitative and quantitative approaches of research in order to increase data validity was employed in the study study. Phase 1 employed the qualitative approach while phase 2 employed the quantitative approach.

3.4. Organization of Study

This section details how phase 1 and 2 of the study were conducted.

3.4.1 Phase 1: Qualitative Approach

In Phase 1, data was collected using the qualitative approach. This will involve key informant interviews with women political leaders in Bungoma that will take duration of 30 minutes to 1 hour. Qualitative research produces descriptive data in the respondent's own spoken words. A qualitative study is concerned with non-statistical methods and small purposively selected samples. The in-depth interviews were audio-taped to ensure that all information is captured. The rationale for using a qualitative approach for this phase was to explore and understand the challenges women politicians face when they enter the political sphere.

3.4.1.1target Population

A population is the total group of subjects that meet a designated set of criteria. The target population was all women political leaders in Bungoma. These are leaders who have been elected or appointed for political elective positions in Bungoma County such as members of the county assembly, the women representative, and councillors since post independence. It is impossible to determine the number of all political women leaders in Bungoma.

3.4.1.2 In-Depth Interviews

In qualitative studies, individuals are selected to participate in the research based on their first hand experience of the phenomenon of interest. The study sought to interview 10 women political leaders in Bungoma County in order to get their opinions on their

perceptions of leadership and establish whether these perceptions have any correlation on the current voting trends in Bungoma County. In qualitative research the focus is on the quality of information obtained from the participants, rather than on the size of the sample (Burns & Grove 2003:257). Using in depth interviews the researcher sought to interview 10 women political leaders. Respondents were assured of their anonymity and freedom to decide whether to participate in the study or not.

3.4.1.3 Data Collection

Data was collected by use of open-ended questionnaires that guided the in depth interviews with the women politicians in Bungoma County. The following open ended questions guided the in depth interviews:

- i) What is the level of participation by women in elective leadership positions in Bungoma County?
- ii) How do the women in Bungoma County evaluate the gender roles of women in leadership?
- iii) How have the following socio-cultural factors affected the decision for women to vote: ethnic identity and ethnic values; marital status; religious affiliation; chama involvement?
- iv) What are the perceived organizational barriers in political parties to women leadership and how have they impacted on voting women leaders in Bungoma County?

Participants were also required to provide biographical data on sex, age, marital status, political position, political party, number of times they've vied for a political post and duration they've held a political post.

3.4.1.4 Data Analysis

Streubert and Carpenter (1999:28) emphasise that data analysis in qualitative research begins when data collection begins; in addition to the analysis that occurs throughout this period, a protracted period of immersion occurs at the conclusion of the data collection. Qualitative analysis is a complex process done in constant interaction with the data. Data analysis began with transcription of the recorded key informant interviews that were

recorded using an audio recorder. Once all audio tapes will had been transcribed, data analysis took place. Bracketing was done to remove all preconceived beliefs and opinions of the researcher on the topic of study.

3.4.1.5 Trustworthiness

Strebert & Carpenter (1999:333) state that qualitative research is trustworthy when it accurately represents the experiences of the participants. The process of data verification will be carried out according to Guba's model of trustworthiness as described in Krefting (1991: 215-216).

3.4.2 Phase 2: Quantitative Approach

In phase 2, the researcher employed a quantitative approach to get data on factors that influence the perceptions women have of leadership. According to Burns and Grove (1999:23), quantitative research is a formal, objective, rigorous and systematic process for generating information about phenomenon. Evidence for quantitative research is gathered according to a specific plan in which formal instruments are used to collect the needed information. This information is translated into numeric information and analysed using statistical procedures (Polit & Hungler 1995:13).

3.4.2.1 Target Population

Here, the target population were women who live in Bungoma County and who have participated in the electoral process before.

3.4.2.2 Sampling

Purposive and simple random sampling were employed to identify a relevant sample for this study. The study took place in Bumula constituency of Bungoma County. Bumula Constituency has 10 Wards. Using purposive sampling, two Wards which according to IEBC records have the highest number of registered voters were selected, that is Bumula Ward and South Bukusu Ward. Bumula Ward had 15 polling stations during the March 2013 general elections, namely:

1. Mikokwe ACK Primary
2. Luano Primary F.Y.M
3. Mukuyuni Primary
4. Syekhumulo Primary
5. Bunambobi Primary
6. Chiliba Primary
7. Khelela Primary
8. Bumula Primary
9. Namaika Primary
10. Khayo Primary
11. Masunno Primary
12. Kimatuni Primary S.A.
13. Lunao Primary
14. Sikinga Primary
15. Wesimikha Primary

Using simple random sampling, 4 polling stations were sampled. Sampling began with numbering of all the polling stations in Bumula Ward from number 1 up to 15, folding the numbered papers each number representing a polling station and putting them in a cup. The cup was shaken and four pieces were picked from the folded numbered papers. Out of the 15 polling stations, the four that were picked were: i) Namaika Primary School ii) Lunao Primary School, Syekhumulo Primary School and Bunambobi Primary School.

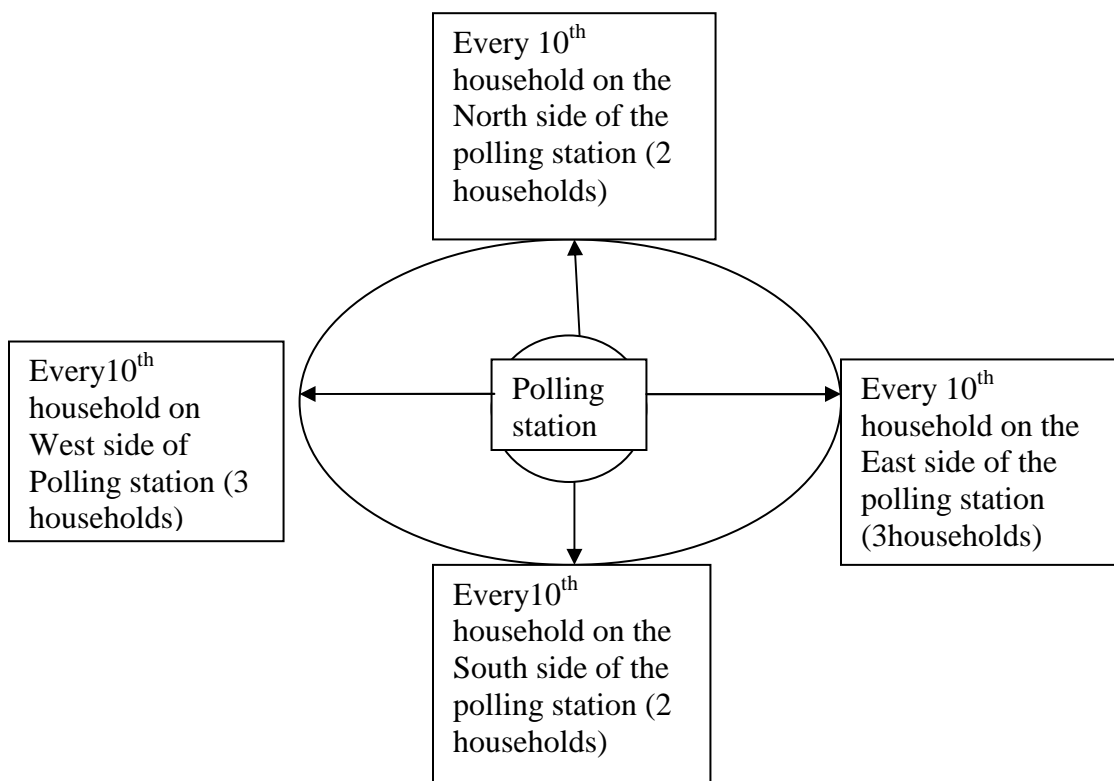
For South Bukusu Ward, there were 12 polling stations in the March 2013 general elections, namely:

1. Tulumba Primary
2. Burangasi Primary
3. Kibachenje Primary
4. Mateka Primary
5. Kimatuni Primary RC
6. Muanda Primary

7. Bilisio Primary
8. Tabuti Primary
9. Lumboka Primary
10. Nandigwa Primary
11. Bullosi Primary
12. Mukoloba Primary

Using simple random sampling, 4 polling stations were sampled, the polling stations were numbered from number 1 to 12, the numbered papers each number representing a polling station and were then put in a cup. The cup was shaken and 4 polling stations were randomly picked. The four polling stations were: i) Mateka Primary ii) Tabuti Primary iii) Muanda Primary iv) Nandigwa Primary. After the random selection of four polling stations from both the two Wards, from every 10th household from the selected polling stations, a woman was interviewed until the researcher managed to interview 10 women from each polling station. This was repeated in all the 8 polling stations in the two Wards in order to acquire a representative sample for this study.

Figure 3.1 Figure showing how the households will be sampled



3.5 Data Collection

Data collection according to Burns and Grove (1999:43), is the accurate and systematic gathering of information relevant to the specific objectives and questions of a study. Research data in quantitative studies are often collected according to a structured plan, using self-administered questionnaires with questions that have pre-designated response options, with little opportunity for respondents to qualify or explain their answers. Data collection was done using a structured questionnaire with both open-ended questions that required responses and close-ended questions providing pre-determined options. The structured approach will allow the researcher to compute exact percentages. Data that is to be subjected to statistical analysis (Polit & Hungler 1999:311) must be gathered in such a way that it can be quantified. Structured data collection produces data that can be quantified.

3.5.1 Development of Research Instrument

A structured questionnaire was developed by the researcher. A covering letter with a description of the purpose and significance of the study was attached to the questionnaire. Respondents were assured of their anonymity and freedom to decide whether to participate in the study or not. (Annex1: Cover letter accompanying structured questionnaire). Clear instructions were given to the respondents regarding completion of specific items throughout the questionnaire. .

3.5.2 Content of the Structured Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of six sections containing mostly close-ended questions.

Section A Biographic Information

Questions regarding the respondents' age, sex, home language, marital status, education level and type of occupation will be included in this section. The aim of including this information was to identify whether there is a relationship between biographic data and the participants perception of leadership.

Section B Level of Women Participation in Politics

Questions on this section sought to establish the respondents' level of participation in the political process such as by voting, attending campaign rallies etc.

Section C Gender roles of Women in relation to Leadership

Questions in this section sought to establish the perceived gender roles of women in relation to leadership. The questions sought to determine the role of a woman in the community and its role in either encouraging or discouraging women to seek for elective leadership positions.

Section D Socio-cultural and Socio-economic Factors that influence Women's Decision to Vote for Women

Questions in this section specifically looked into how four socio-cultural factors influenced the decision for women to vote for women. The four were ethnic identity and values; marital status, religious affiliation and chama involvement.

Section E Women's view of women leaders

Questions in this section sought to identify how women at the grass root level viewed women leaders and what they thought it took to be a woman leader.

Section F Organizational Barriers to Women Leadership

Questions in this section sought to establish the role political parties played in influencing the participation of women in elective positions.

Section F General Comments

Respondents will be given an opportunity to comment on women political leadership in the County of Bungoma.

3.6. Data Analysis in Phase 2

Data from structured questionnaires was translated into numerical codes by the researcher and data capture was done using SPSS

3.6.1 Pretesting of the Questionnaire

A pre-test of the questionnaire was done by interviewing 8 registered women voters in Bungoma County before further engagements in the study and recommendations were done to ensure relevant information was gathered.

3.6.2 Validity and Reliability

Validity ensures that the instrument performs what it is intended for. Validity of the research instrument will be evaluated for face, content and construct validity. *Content Validity* was determined by the literature review as well as consultation from the supervisor. *Face Validity* was determined with consultation from the supervisor. *Construct Validity* was done to ensure theories underlying the research were linked to items in the questionnaire. The researcher did a pretest of the questionnaire to enhance the reliability of the instrument.

3.6.3 Ethical Consideration

Participants had to voluntarily want to participate in this research hence there was informed consent from the participants of this study. The participants were informed about the nature of study and what will become of the findings once the study was completed. Contacts of the researcher were provided. The researcher ensured confidentiality procedures were followed. No names of individuals or institutions were mentioned. Personal biases were kept at bay using the bracketing method. The research questions were also phrased in a non-threatening way.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from data collected through the use of questionnaires. A total of 85 respondents participated in this research with 5 having been interviewed using open ended questions in in-depth interviews and 80 responding to structured questionnaires that were administered. The information gathered from the structured questionnaires has been analyzed using the statistical package for social science (SPSS 19.0), and the open ended questionnaires analyzed by the researcher and presented and discussed as per the objectives of this study.

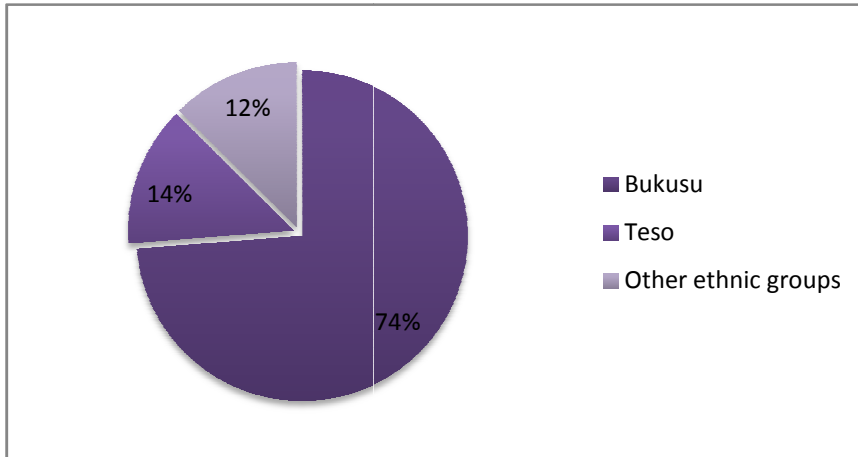
4.1. Demographic and Background Characteristics of the Respondents

Section A of the questionnaire sought to understand the biographical information of the respondents of this research. Respondents were asked questions on their ethnic group, age-group, marital status, religious affiliation, political party and chama group membership.

4.1.1 Distribution of Respondents by Ethnic Group

The research was carried out in Bungoma County of Western Province an area predominantly inhabited by the Luyha and Teso. Study findings summarized on figure 4.1 show that 74% of the women who participated in this study were of the Luyha ethnic group and specifically Bukusu, 14% were from the Teso while the remaining 12% was women from other Kenyan ethnic groups.

Figure 4.1: Distribution of respondents by ethnic group

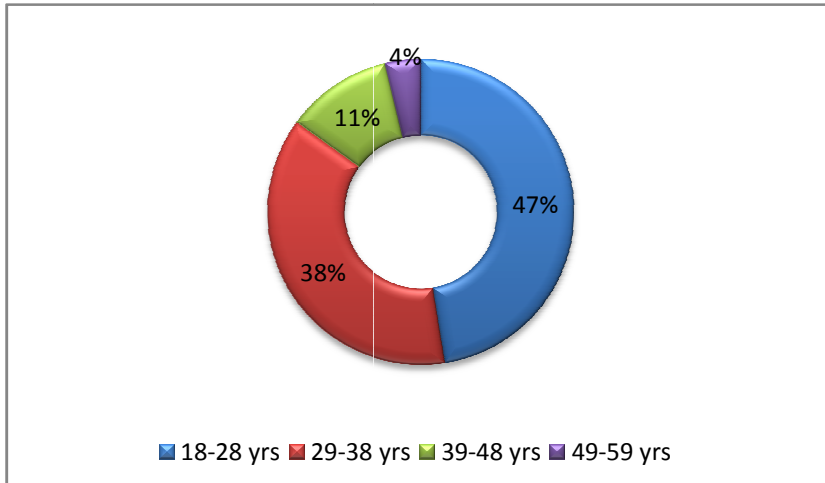


The distribution of the respondents as showed in Fig 4.1 portrays that a majority of the respondents were from the Luyha (Bukusu) ethnic group which primarily practices patriarchy. This further shows the effect of patriarchy on definition of gender roles and hence its influence of women’s perception of leadership. The Teso who also inhabit Bungoma County are also a largely patriarchal group that socializes women to taking subject roles rather than taking up leadership positions. The ethnic group of the respondents was vital in this research as it further explores how various ethnic groups promote various value systems that may influence how certain groups in this case women view certain issues in the society for instance leadership.

4.1.2 Distribution of Respondents by Age Group

The researcher also sought to find out the age distribution of the respondents and identify if the relatively younger respondents were more welcoming to the idea of women in leadership as compared the older respondents.

Figure 4.2 Distribution of respondents by age



Findings as shown on Fig. 4.2 indicate that a majority of the participants that is 47% were between age 18 and 28 years, 38% were aged 29 years to 38 years while those between 39-48 years were 11%. The remaining 4% was made up of participants aged between 49 and 59 years. The distribution by age sought to find out which age group is more involved in political leadership. Though a good number of the respondents were in the youth age bracket, it is important to note that of the 5 key respondents only one female politician was under the youth bracket of being below 35 years of age and this female politician mentioned being sidelined and feeling discriminated upon on the basis of her age. From fig. 4.2 we can note that the younger age group participates more in political leadership in terms of voting but the older age group are more open to vying for leadership positions.

4.1.3 Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status

The research also wanted to identify the distribution of the respondents on the basis of marital status in order to find out if there exists a correlation between political participation and marital status of the respondents.

Figure 4.3 Distribution of respondents by marital status

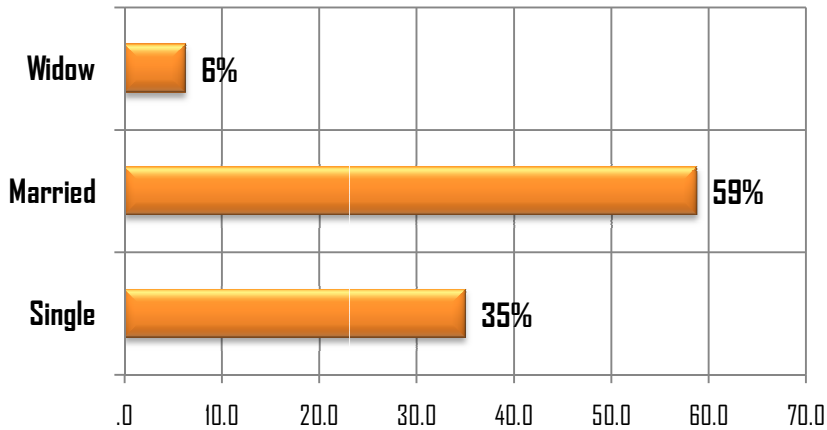


Figure 4.3 above shows that, 59% of the women who participated in this study were married, 35% were single while 6% were widows. From figure 4.3 we can ascertain that women in married unions participated in politics more than those who were widowed or single. From figure 4.3 we can also state that the married participants were more knowledgeable on politics as compared to their single/ widowed counterparts. It is important to note that the all key informants were married and stated that the community in Bungoma is hesitant to vote for single women as they regarded them as immature. Hence it is vital to note that marriage is viewed as a symbol of maturity by most voters in Bungoma County. The single participants also explained that their marital status denied them an opportunity to vie for political posts.

4.1.4 Distribution of the Respondents by Religion

The researcher also explored on the religious affiliation of the respondents and its effect on their involvement in the politics of Bungoma County. The researcher was keen to find out if there was a correlation between religious affiliation and perception of leadership. Table 4.1 below shows the distribution.

Table 4.1: Distribution of respondents by religion

Religion	Frequency	Percent
Christian	78	98
Others	2	2
Total	80	100

The essence of finding out on the distribution of respondents by religion was to identify which religion was predominant in the research site. Religion plays a key role in determining the value systems most people subscribe to. From Table 4.1, the researcher found out that a majority of the respondents were Christians and hence subscribed to the biblical teachings. This was an important aspect of the research as it showed the role of religion in shaping the community's value systems and hence influence their perceptions of different issues leadership included. Biblical teachings identify womanly values as those of being submissive and obedient to the man especially in marriage. It is therefore important to note that Christianity plays a vital role in how the community views leadership. Women can unconsciously allocate themselves assistant roles due to the teachings they get from the religion they subscribe to. Hence this plays a vital role in how women view leadership.

4.1.5 Distribution on Participation in Elections by Voting, Identity Card Ownership and Registration in Political Parties

From the findings, the researcher found that 100% of the respondents owned an identity card and had participated in an election before. This was eye-opening because it showed that most women even at the grass root level acknowledged the importance of their participation in politics and hence made a positive move to apply for identification cards, get voting cards and participate in elections. It is therefore important to note that women are increasingly becoming more aware of their role in choosing the right leadership and

hence making positive steps towards ensuring that they participate in elective leadership in Kenya.

The researcher also sought to find out if women were members of political parties as most serious political parties have offices at the grass root level. This was in a bid to find out if women participated in activities at the political party level as this was one avenue where they would be better informed on the political happenings in Kenya. Findings indicate that all the participants held an identity card and had voted in an election before. Figure 4.4 further summarizes the findings on whether respondents were registered members of a political party.

Figure 4.4: Whether respondents were registered members of a political party

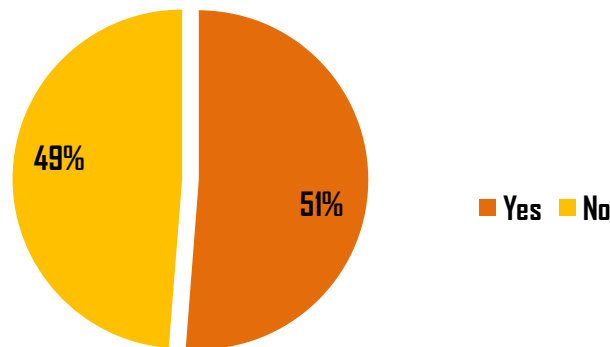


Figure 4.4 shows that a majority of the participants, 51% were registered members of a political party. It was interesting to find out that a large number of the participants knew the importance of being registered members of a political party they identified with. This shows that women are increasingly becoming more aware of the role political parties need to play in order to ensure equality in elective leadership in Kenya. It was however disheartening to find out that a majority of those who were registered members of a political party only did register during the election season and were only members on paper. Most women only registered as members of political parties in order to receive financial favors from the political parties during the campaign period. This brings in the important aspect of poverty and its role in how people view political leadership. The

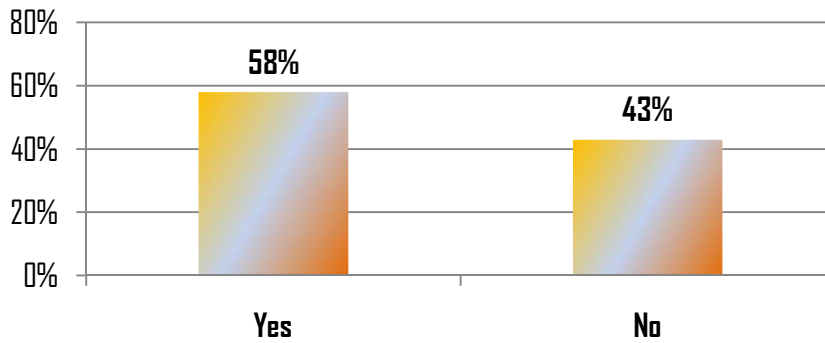
aspect of poverty especially in rural Kenya largely contributes to how people vote and who they vote for. Most of the participants explained that they did receive as little as 10 shillings as that is what influenced their choice of who to vote for.

The key respondents were quick to inform the researcher that money influenced who is who in the political parties and hence women who mostly do not own the basic factors of production such as land and capital; were incapacitated and hence not incorporated in major political party decisions. One of the key respondents also mentioned feeling sidelined at the last minute on the basis of lacking finances. It is therefore important to note that political parties which are meant to be an important avenue for empowering women especially at the grass root level did not adequately perform their roles. Power at the political party level is directly related to one's financial status. And since women at the grass root level are especially financially challenged, their participation in politics is minimal, the end result is an unequal gender distribution of leaders in Kenya.

4.1.6. Findings on Whether Respondents were Members in Women Group (Chama)

In Kenya, women mostly form or join women groups popularly known as chamas with various objectives but most of them aim to achieve financial independence. Since in rural Kenya cultural expectations discourage most women to meet in public places such as bars and pubs to talk and catch up as most men do, Chamas are increasingly becoming avenues where women meet and discuss different issues that affect their daily lives. Chamas are also increasingly being used as avenues for women to participate in economic ventures that boost their finances. Banks and cooperative societies are also increasingly providing loan facilities to women in chamas and hence women in chamas are viewed to be more knowledgeable and aware of the happenings in the society. Hence the researcher sought to find out if there was a correlation between membership in these chamas and political awareness and participation. Figure 4.5 shows whether the respondents were members of a women group.

Figure 4.5: Whether respondents were members in a women group



From fig. 4.5, the researcher found out that of the participants 58% were members in a women's group. This shows that a majority of the respondents had an avenue where they would meet fellow women who share same challenges and discuss various issues that affected them. It is important to note that these women acknowledged the power they had when they joined together in groups and pursued similar interests. The researcher also found out from the key respondents that these women groups were powerful bases and were what catapulted some of them to venture into politics. One particular key respondent stated that her chama group gave her guidance and financial help as she ventured into politics and that she owed her political success from the help she got from her fellow women. From the key respondents the researcher also found out that these chamas were used as avenues to reach women at the grass root level during the political campaigns. Most politicians visited a number of women groups where they stated their policies and campaigned for themselves. Hence women groups are indeed an important platform for women to meet, discuss issues that affect them and as a united front, articulate and fight for women issues.

4.1.7 On Which Main Activity the Women Group Participated In

For those women who were members of a women group, the researcher was keen to identify the women group activity they participated in. Table 4.2 further summarizes the findings on which main activity the women group participated in.

Table 4.2: The main women group activity

Group Activity	Frequency	Percent Distribution
Prayer Group	5	10
Merry-go-round	28	58
Farming	7	15
All the above	8	17
Total	48	100

The researcher was keen to find out which group activity the women participated in so that she would be able to further understand what topics would be discussed in the women groups and also the financial status of the women in the women group. According to Table 4.2, 58% of the women engaged in merry-go-round which is an activity that is aimed at increasing the financial capability of the women. Table 4.2 also shows that 15% of the women in the women group did farming to elevate their financial status. This shows that the women's main focus was elevating their financial capability as poverty is a major challenge to women in rural Kenya. An increased financial capability meant that these women would not be easily swayed by the politicians who gave them financial favors in order for them to vote for the politicians. It is therefore important to note the role that women groups play in increasing the independence of the woman and hence lowering the chances of their being swayed to make certain choices in the type of leaders they vote for.

4.2. Level of Women Participation in the Political Sphere

Section B of the questionnaire was aimed to establish the level of women participation in the political sphere. The level of women participation in elections in Kenya is on the raise. Nevertheless, due to the role women play in their families, their participation is below the expectations of a modern society.

4.2.1 The Influence of Marital Status and the Decision to Vote

It has always been thought that one's marital status plays a role in one's involvement in the political sphere. The researcher therefore sought to establish whether there is a correlation between the participants' marital status and their decision to vote. Table 4.3 further summarizes the findings from the structured questionnaires that were administered, on the interplay of marital status and voting and whether it affected a woman's choice to vote or not during the elections.

Table 4.3: Marital status and whether it affected women's decision to vote or not to vote

Marital Status	Agrees or disagrees to voting during the election (Percent distribution)			
	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Single	3	46.4	50.0	100
Married	2	38.3	59.6	100
Widow	-	80.0	20.0	100
Total	2.0	43.8	53.8	100

The researcher sought to identify whether the marital status of the participants affected their decision to vote. From Table 4.3 we can see that the married participants strongly agreed to vote and hence are the majority who voted. This can be interpreted to mean that those in married unions were more aware of their political right to vote in an election as opposed to those who were not married. This also shows that those in married unions and were closer in close proximity to men were more informed of the political happenings and therefore also more involved. This also negates the statement that marriage hinders women's participation in elections by voting. However it is important to note that being in a marriage may affect the type of candidate a woman chooses to vote for because her decisions are majorly influenced by the husband. From Table 4.3 we can also state that

though the married women had more familial obligations, a majority of them took time out to go and vote for their preferred leaders. In conclusion, it is important to note that though marital status may affect the choice of leaders one votes for it indeed does not hinder one from voting for their preferred leader.

4.2.2 Marital Status and Awareness of the Constitution of Kenya 2010

The researcher was also keen to establish if there was interplay between marital status and awareness of the constitution. Table 4.4 shows if there is interplay between participants' marital status and their awareness of the current Kenyan constitution.

Table 4.4: Marital status and awareness of the constitution of Kenya 2010

Marital status	Agrees or disagrees to reading and understanding the constitution 2010 (Percent distribution)				
	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Single	25.0	7.1	60.7	7.1	100
Married	21.3	2.1	66.0	10.6	100
Widow	40.0	-	60.0	-	100
Total	23.8	3.8	63.8	8.8	100

From Table 4.4 we can state that 66% of the married participants agreed to having read and understood the constitution of Kenya 2010. A high percentage of the single respondents at 60% also agreed to having read and understood the constitution. From Table 4.4 we can ascertain that marital status doesn't hinder one from reading and understanding the constitution. Though there's the aspect of having sidelined interpretation of the constitution based on the influence of the husband especially for the married couples. In a patriarchal society such as Bungoma which was the research site, men tend to be sought after for advice and the end result maybe a "masculine"

interpretation of the constitution hence a “masculine” perception towards leadership as explained in the constitution 2010.

Key informant respondents (female politicians) views on the constitution were highly biased based upon political party affiliations. Also a majority of the respondents further explained to having understood the constitution through the help of third parties such as religious leaders, political leaders, political parties, mass media such as the Radio and TV, NGOs and male members of their households especially their husbands.

It is vital to note that a majority of the respondents got knowledge of constitution through the help of third parties. These third parties are bound to only support and voice provisions that support their specific interests hence the possibility of the people getting biased information is high. It is possible therefore that the end-result of this is a population with distorted information on the constitution. If the populace takes a keener interest in politics, and is able to listen to the various third parties objectively and make their own conclusions based on facts, there’s bound to be a heightened sense of responsibility on the choice of leaders that are given political positions and hence a more performance based leadership.

4.2.3 Marital Status and Awareness of the Women Gains in Constitution of Kenya 2010

The researcher was also keen to establish whether there is a correlation between marital status of the respondents and their awareness of the women gains in the constitution of Kenya 2010. Table 4.5 below gives us a summary of this.

Table 4.5: Interplay of marital status and awareness of the women gains in the constitution of Kenya 2010

Marital Status	Agrees or disagrees to being aware of the women gains in the constitution of Kenya 2010				
	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Single	3.6	3.6	32.1	60.7	100
Married	4.3	-	59.6	36.2	100
Widow	20.0	-	40.0	40.0	100
Total	5.0	1.3	48.8	45.0	100

The level of awareness of the women gains was impressive in a way though a majority of the respondents were not fully aware of the women gains in the political sphere. From Table 4.5 we see that the single women were more aware of the women gains in the constitution of Kenya 2010 as compared to the married. This shows that the single women were more knowledgeable and welcoming of the women gains in the constitution. Though a majority of the respondents were only aware of the availability of the woman representative position with regards to political representation, there was a general lack of information on chapter 7, article 81(b) that states that, "...Not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender." From Table 4.5 we also see that on 36.2 of the married women were aware of the women gains in the constitution 2010. This can be attributed to their sources of such information which largely is their husbands, who may have chosen to only communicate only what is beneficial to the men. The lack of awareness of the populace majorly contributes to their lack of participation. Bodies that act as bases of information for instance political parties intentionally omit certain information from the public to enable them manipulate how the public votes. On the other hand, the key informants were fully aware of the one third gender rule and welcomed it as a starting point to increasing women participation in politics. New entrants in the political arena agreed that this provision in the constitution encouraged their entry and participation in politics.

4.2.4 Interplay between Respondents' Marital Status and Identifying with a Political Party

The researcher also sought to identify if there was a relationship between respondents' marital status and identification with a political party. Table 4.6 shows a summary of the interplay between the two.

Table 4.6: Interplay between respondents' marital status and political party identification

Marital Status	Agrees or disagrees to identifying with a particular political party (Percent distribution)				
	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Single	28.6	3.6	46.4	21.4	100
Married	31.9	-	44.7	23.4	100
Widow	20.0	-	60.0	20.0	100
Total	30.0	1.3	46.3	22.5	100

According to Table 4.6, marital status does not seem to affect the respondent's identification to a particular political party. Both the single and married participants seem to identify with their political party of choice. It is important to note that from Table 4.6 that a majority of the respondents who disagreed to identifying with a political party were the married respondents. The researcher also noted that though a majority of the respondents identified with specific political parties, they were not active members of the political parties. A high number of those interviewed stated that they only register themselves with political parties during the election period in order to get financial gains during the campaign season. This majorly contributes to the caliber of leaders that end up in the ballot. The populace is burdened with economic challenges combined with lack of knowledge leaving them at the mercy of the political elite. Political parties easily manipulate the voters due to the high level of poverty they face. Voters' decision to

choose a performing leader is easily manipulated for as low as 10 shillings or for 50g of salt.

4.2.5 Interplay between Marital Status and Attending a Political Rally

Most people in Kenya rarely attend political rallies hence are uninformed of what policies different political leaders stand for. Political rallies are good platforms for political leaders to explain their policies to the populace and are also good avenues for voters the gauge which politician would make a better leader. Table 4.5 below summarizes the interplay between marital status and attendance in political rallies.

Table 4.7: Interplay between marital status and attendance in political rallies

Marital Status	Agrees or disagrees to attending a political rally (Percent distribution)				
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Single	7.1	21.4	42.9	28.6	100
Married	2.1	6.4	61.7	29.8	100
Widow	-	-	40.0	60.0	100
Total	3.8	11.3	53.8	31.3	100

According to Table 4.7, the married respondents attend political rallies more than the single and furthermore the all the widowed respondents agreed to attending political rallies. But though most of the respondents attended political rallies, it was only in the hope of receiving cash from the political aspirants rather than listening to their policies. Attendance to the political rallies was mostly by sheer luck rather than choice for instance some stated that mostly they would attend burials where politicians would come and talk or just be at the local market when a politician passed by. Table 4.7 shows that 53.8% of the respondents agree to having attended a political rally. It is however important to note that their intentions for attending the political rally were majorly for financial gains. In

the research site which is largely a patriarchal society, the role of production and reproduction is largely left for the women and hence they do not find time to fully participate in the political sphere. But when they do, their major aim is to get financial aid and hence they do not adequately articulate the challenges they face in their daily lives.

4.2.6 Relationship between marital status and support for a female candidate in the political elections

Although the Kenyan constitution 2010 had set aside political office just for women, participation of women in other elective offices such as county assembly, national assembly and the senate is still decimal. Female political leaders have argued that fellow women voters do not readily support them. Table 4.8 shows whether there is a relationship between respondents' marital status and their decision to support a female candidate in political elections.

Table 4.8: Whether there's a relation between marital status and support of a female candidate in political elections

Marital Status	Agrees or disagrees to supporting a female candidate in political elections (Percent distribution)				
	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Single	14.3	3.6%	42.9	39.3	100
Married	10.6	-	51.1	38.3	100
Widow	40.0	-	40.0	20.0	100
Total	13.8	1.3	47.5	37.5	100

According to Table 4.8, 51.1% of the married women agreed to having supported female candidates in political elections. 40% of the widowed respondents disagreed to having supported female candidates in political elections. Hence from table 4.8 we can state that women are increasingly beginning to supporting fellow women in leadership and hence

more women should participate in politics and do away with such clichés like women do not support fellow women. Table 4.8 further shows that one's marital status does not directly influence whether one supports a female candidate or not. However, the researcher found out that most women supported female political candidates who had been in the political arena for a while such as the likes of honorable Ngilu.

Most of the respondents were unaware of local female politicians from Bungoma County who vied for various political seats. There was an inherent lack of access to information especially as regards to women in the political sphere. The key respondents on this research explained that their male counterparts did not support them especially inside political parties. The female politicians felt sidelined in their political parties and hence this further contributes to the decrease of female politicians.

4.2.7 Interplay between marital status and choice to campaign for a political leader

Section B sought to find out the level of participation of women in the political sphere hence the research sought to find out if there was a relationship between the marital status of the respondents' and their choice to participate in elections by campaigning for a political leader. Married women in patriarchal communities have been known to be fully burdened with the role of production and reproduction and hence lack time to participate in politics. Table 4.9 below shows the interplay of the two.

Table 4.9: Interplay of marital status and the choice to campaign for a political leader

Marital status	Agrees or disagrees to campaigning for a political leader (Percent distribution)					Total
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Single	-	60.7	3.6	14.3	21.4	100.0
Married	2.1	46.8	-	38.3	12.8	100.0
Widow	-	60.0	-	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total	1.3	52.5	1.3	28.8	16.3	100.0

According to Table 4.9, a low number of women at the grass root level engage in campaigns for their political leader of choice. This is largely due to the household obligations allocated to the rural woman. Table 4.9 shows that 60.7% of the single women and 46.8% of the married women who were interviewed disagree to engaging in political campaigns. Some respondents were quick to state that the household would come to a standstill if they were to get involved in the political campaigns during the political season. Participants who consisted largely of subsistence farmers stated that they were heavily involved in farm work that they would not spare time for campaigns. The respondents also stated that at the end of the political season politicians were nowhere to be seen hence they did not see the use of spending their limited time to campaign for them. All the key respondents attested to having participated in campaigning for political leaders in their political parties.

4.2.8 Relationship between marital status and campaigning for a female political leader

The researcher also sought to identify if respondents supported female politicians by campaigning for them. As most of the participants had claimed to support female politicians, it was important to further ask them how they supported their female

politicians. Table 4.10 shows interplay between marital status and choice to campaign for a female political candidate.

Table 4.10: Interplay between marital status and choice to campaign for a female political candidate

Marital status	Agrees or disagrees to campaigning for female political candidate (Percent distribution)				Total
	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Single	60.7	3.6	28.6	7.1	100.0
Married	40.4	2.1	42.6	14.9	100.0
Widow	60.0	-	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total	48.8	2.5	36.3	12.5	100.0

From Table 4.10, it is evident that a large majority, 48.8% of the respondents disagreed to campaigning for female political candidates. This brings about the question if the respondents really supported the female politicians as they claimed to have. From Table 4.10 we can ascertain that the level of participation of women in the political sphere is still very minimal. Regardless of the marital status, as shown in Table 4.10, 60.7% of the single women disagreed to campaigning for female political candidate, as well as 40.4% of the married women also disagreed to campaigning for fellow women. It is there evident that the rural woman, who constitutes a large number of the voting populace, hardly participates in the electoral process hence hardly supports her fellow women candidates. From the key respondents, the researcher also found out that political parties rarely lend them full support during campaigns. Due to their financial challenges, political parties do not fully support them in their campaigns.

Most of the respondents only knew female politicians by name. The respondents were not fully aware of the female politicians policies hence could not campaign for them. This largely indicates a lack of proper support for female politicians especially by the political parties. It is important to note that when political parties fully support female politicians and assist them during campaigns, their visibility will be seen even at the grass root levels. But when female politicians lack support from political parties, they also lack manpower to hold powerful campaigns hence remain invisible to voters.

4.2.9 Interplay between marital status and awareness of female political leader or candidate in Bungoma County

The researcher was also keen to find out if there exists a relationship between the marital status of the respondents' and their awareness of female politicians in Bungoma County. This was to ascertain whether the marital status of a woman contributes to their knowledge and awareness of the political scene. Table 4.11 further illustrates the interplay of the two.

Table 4.11: Interplay between marital status and awareness of a female political leader/ candidate

Marital Status	Agrees or disagrees to knowing a female political leader/candidate (Percent distribution)				Total
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Single	3.6	3.6	28.6	64.3	100.0
Married	2.1	4.3	27.7	66.0	100.0
Widow	-	20.0	40.0	40.0	100.0
Total	2.5	5.0	28.8	63.8	100.0

According to Table 4.11, 66% of the married participants strongly agreed to know a female politician in Bungoma County. However, only those women who vied for the women representative position were known by the women at the grass root level. This goes back to the role played by main opinion holders in the political scene that is the church, the political parties, the media and the men in the household. 64.3% of the singles who participated in this research were also aware of only female politicians who vied for the woman representative seats. A majority of the women who were interviewed did not know any women who were members of the county assembly or even members of parliament. Their knowledge of the female politicians was inadequate for them to make informed choices on who to vote for.

The media in Kenya has been seen to show female politicians only in bad light and they hardly highlight their achievements. The male members at the grass root level where patriarchy is the norm discourage talks of female politicians and only talk of male political leaders. The lack of information highly contributes to the low participation of women in the political arena.

4.3. Role of a Woman in Society and its Influence in Women's Participation in the Political Sphere

Section C was aimed at assessing the role women play in the society and how it affects their participation in the political sphere. Though female participation in politics is on the rise, a number of factors still majorly affect how women view politics and hence their participation. The role played by women in society is central to socio-economic growth of the country. Unlike the men, women are expected to play household roles and still compete effectively with men in the political arena. This has seen some women develop negative perception regarding their participation in the political sphere. Table 4.12 illustrates the role of a woman in society and its influence in her participation in the political sphere.

Table 4.12: Role of a woman in society and its influence in participation in the political sphere

Role of a woman in society and its influence in her participation in the political sphere	Whether agrees or disagrees to the role (Percentage distribution)					Total
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Give birth and take care of my children	10	34	4	7	45	100
Cook and clean for the male members of the society	9	34	5	11	41	100
Till the land and ensure food is available for my family	10	61	4	15	10	100
Support the men in our community to be better leaders	5	63	2	20	10	100
Encourage and mould our sons/ brothers/ husbands to vie for political posts	15	27	2	37	19	100
Advise our daughters/ sisters to shun away from politics as it is a “dirty” game	16	40	2	22	20	100
Listen attentively and enforce rules placed by my husband/ father/ brother in the family	12	55	5	16	12	100
Share political opinions with fellow women and advise them on who to vote for	1	30	1	54	14	100
Engage and participate in my political party or during campaigns	4	44	1	41	10	100
Advocate for women to vie for political posts in order to be involved in the decision making process	4	6	1	31	58	100

4.3.1 Reproduction and childcare roles in relation to political participation

According to Table 4.12, reproduction and childcare is majorly the role of a woman. 45% strongly agreed to take the role of giving birth and taking care of the children. This is a true illustration of what happens in a largely patriarchal society such as Bungoma County where the research took place. These roles predominate a woman's life especially for the married rural woman. These roles are not easily postponed hence inconvenience the woman who may want to enter the political scene. The rural woman has also been socialized to believe that this should solely be her role and hence she prioritizes this role and anything else comes second. If the man shares the role of childcare with the woman, this will ease the burden most women in rural Kenya undergo through. The result is that women may also indulge in other activities such as political participation.

The rural woman should be empowered to participate in the political sphere as they constitute a large majority of the voters. Overdependence on the rural woman for the production and reproduction roles largely contributes to her shunning away from politics. Key respondents also explained that single women who did not have a family that is a husband and children, were regarded to be immature and not fit for leadership. The act of balancing familial obligations and a demanding political career are central to why most women shy away from the political sphere.

4.3.2 Taking care of the male members of the society in relation to political participation

In patriarchal societies, women from an early age are socialized to take the assistant or subject role to men. Tales of bravery and leadership success which were told and retold always portrayed the men as the leaders and the women as wicked. In marriage women are advised to be obedient and take care of their women without question as they are the head of the family. This is clearly observed in Table 4.12 where when the respondents are asked whose role it is to clean and take care of the male folk, 41% of the respondents agree that that is part of the woman's role in the society. Since time immemorial, the woman has been socialized to take the assistant role.

This majorly contributes to how they perceive leadership. This is also well illustrated in the choice of toys that are bought for young girls and young boys; young girls are bought for dollies and toy cutleries to associate them with childcare and cooking while young boys are bought for cars, bicycles and even toy guns. Hence from a tender age, the girls are accustomed to taking the assistant roles and this makes them shy away from leadership roles. This further contributes to how they perceive leadership roles as male roles. A new cultural orientation needs to be inculcated in children in order to change their views on being leaders.

4.3.3 Food production role in relation to political participation

According to Table 4.12, the researcher found out that the role of food production was not only meant for the women but also the men. 61% of the respondents disagreed when they were asked if it was their role to till the land and ensure food is available for their family. This shows that men did help the women in food production and hence did not leave this role solely to the woman. However, this is also clearly illustrated that men do control the major factors of production such as land. The men were the ones who defined how the family land was to be used and what needed to be planted. The rural woman who faces financial constraints and has not control over land is unable to penetrate the political world where money still plays a central role if one has political ambitions. The rural woman who lacks financial power is disadvantaged hence further shies away from political participation. The new Kenyan constitution gives the women as well as men equal rights to land inheritance. The rural woman needs to be further empowered to know her rights in order for her to fully participate in the political arena.

4.3.4 Support men make better leaders in relation to political participation

The researcher also sought to find out if women thought men made better leaders than women hence they supported men to leaders. Table 4.12 shows that when the respondents were asked if men better leaders hence they supported them, 63% disagreed to that statement. This shows that women are increasingly embracing the fact that women also make good leaders and therefore should be given equal opportunities with men.

4.3.5 Socialization of the men in relation to their political participation

According to Table 4.12, 37% and 19% agreed and strongly agreed respectively that their role as women is to encourage and mould their sons/brothers/husbands to vie for political positions. This shows that a majority of the respondents agreed that they did encourage the male members of the society to vie for elective positions if they were interested in them. The respondents showed that it is easier for men to enter politics as they received support from their family and larger community. This support largely contributes to the higher number of men in the political sphere as the community readily embraces men who enter politics and they face minimal challenges as compared to the women.

4.3.6. Socialization of the women in relation to their political participation

Parents are primary agents of socialization and hence play a central role in how children perceive different concepts. The researcher sought to identify the role women play in their children's perception of the concept of leadership. In table 4.12 above, we show the findings when the respondents were asked if they advised their daughters and sisters to shun away from politics as it was a "dirty" game. 16% and 40% strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively. Mothers play a significant role in their children's perception of leadership. The researcher found out that there is a change in the socialization process on the view of leadership.

Many women are embracing leadership opportunities for their children and encouraging them to participate in elective leadership. From the key respondents however, a good number of them argued that politics is indeed too demanding a career and they would not be quick to embrace their children joining the political world. On the same though, 22% and 20% of the participants agreed to advising their children to shun away from the political world. They did cite that it is a male dominated field hence women who joined it faced a myriad of challenges such as discrimination and physical abuse some citing the Kidero-Shebesh case. It is therefore important to note that there needs to be an attitude change in both men and women so as good leadership is embraced and backward leadership trends that tend to discriminate women be done away with.

4.3.7 Discussion of politics amongst women in relation to participation in the political sphere

The research was keen to find out if women ever did discuss politics amongst themselves or did they have other priority issues to discuss with fellow women. The question put across to the participants was on whether they shared political opinions with fellow women and advised each other on whom to vote for. Table 4.12 shows that 54% of the participants agreed to sharing political opinions with fellow women while 30% disagreed to sharing political opinions with fellow women. A large majority of the participants admitted that during the election season, they usually discussed with each other who was their preferred leader. This was interesting as it showed that women are slowly but surely beginning to get involved in the political scene by influencing fellow women to vote for their preferred candidates.

However, according to Table 4.12, 44% disagreed that their role was to engage and participate in political party activities or during campaigns. Most respondents concur that men are the ones who should be involved in political party activities such as campaigns. Most respondents still viewed politics as a “manly” career and that it was difficult for a woman to penetrate the political world. This boils down to the perceptions they have of the political sphere. This attitude is what makes a majority of women to shun away from politics and hence not be equally represented in the political sphere. There needs to be an attitude change amongst women about politics as it is important that there be equal representation in the political sphere.

According to Table 4.12, 58% agreed to advocating for women to vie for political posts and get involved in the decision making process. This shows that women are beginning to embrace politics though at a very slow pace. With women having been socialized to assume the unpaid domestic labor of childbearing and child rearing in the household, there is a common view that roles that occur outside the household were left to men. Hence the traditional gender roles that have over time been allocated to women contribute to women viewing politics as a male territory and hence neither participating nor entering into the political scene. The commonly accepted norm that politics is for

men, further contributes to women subconsciously voting for men as opposed to voting for women. As a result, the few women who vie for political seats end up not being voted for by women unless for the seats that are specifically allocated to women such as the women representative seat. Parents who are primary social agents should take the forefront role in changing perceptions with regard to women and politics. Educational institutions, religious institutions and the mass media should also take a central role in discouraging the use of traditional gender roles to inhibit women from getting involved in the political sphere.

4.3.8. Role of Socio-Cultural and Socio Economic Factors on Women’s Perceptions of Women Leaders

There are a multitude of socio-cultural factors that can be argued to influence women’s participation in leadership. The researcher narrowed down to three socio-cultural factors that is marital status; ethnic identity and values and religion to further find out how they affect women’s perception of leadership.

4.3.9. Ethnic identity and values vis-à-vis support for women leaders

The researcher sought to find out the relationship between ethnic values and identify and support for women leaders. The researcher asked the respondents whether they felt that their ethnic group supported women to be leaders. Table 4.13 summarizes the findings.

Table 4.13: Whether their ethnic group supports women to be leaders

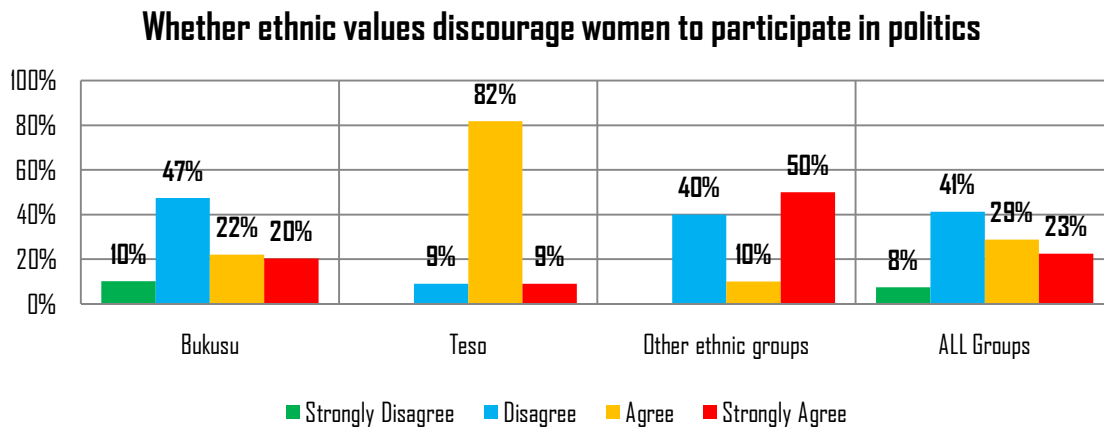
Ethnic Group	Supports women to being leaders (Percent distribution)				Total
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Bukusu	32.2	23.7	39.0	5.1	100.0
Teso	36.4	36.4	9.1	18.2	100.0
Other ethnic groups	40.0	40.0	20.0	-	100.0
Total	33.8	27.5	32.5	6.3	100.0

This study was undertaken in rural Western Kenya where ethnic identity and values play a central role on the community's perception of a variety of things. Table 4.13 shows that a majority of the respondents that is 32.2% and 23.7% strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively to the Bukusu ethnic group which is predominant in Bungoma supporting women to be leaders. Table 4.13 further shows that the ethnic groups that inhabit Bungoma County 33.8% and 27.5% strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively to receiving support from their ethnic group. Lack of support from the ethnic group creates tension to women who decide to venture into the political sphere. As most politicians have to seek blessings from the community elders when they venture into politics, women are denied this act that shows the community is behind specific leaders. This then makes the community not to fully embrace women leaders and look down on them. The end-result is women leaders who are not valued by the community and hence not voted for by the community.

4.4. Ethnic values vis-à-vis support for women to engage in politics

The research sought to find out whether ethnic values of the respondents encourage or discourage women to engage in politics. Figure 4.6 summarizes the findings.

Figure 4.6: Whether ethnic values discourage women to participate in politics



According to Fig. 4.6, Bukusu which is the predominant ethnic group of the respondents the participants were not aware of any commonly agreed upon ethnic values that discouraged them from participating in politics. The Tesos who are also inhabitants of

Bungoma County mentioned that woman leaders were frowned upon in their culture as they were seen to want to equate themselves with men.

However the key respondents differed saying that ethnic values hindered most women from participating in the political sphere. For instance a look at famous Bukusu folktales showed that females rather than males were portrayed as falling prey to ogres, committing social breaches, and requiring male direction and protection. These folktales having been stories that were repeatedly read to children and the children having internalized lessons from these tales creates an atmosphere where the community and especially womenfolk shy away from partaking public roles for fear of making mistakes publicly. This illustrates a clear picture as to why women especially in rural areas prefer taking secondary or assistant roles and remaining in the background as men venture into public leadership roles. Having been socialized to believe that women make numerous mistakes and only require direction from the men hinders women from taking up leadership roles and even voting for fellow women leaders. The end result is leadership that is dominated only by the male members of the community.

4.4.1 Marital status and its influence on voting behavior

The researcher also sought to find out whether there was a relationship between marital status and voters' behavior. Table 4.14 summarizes the findings.

Table 4.14: Extent to which marital status influences who I vote for

Marital status	Agrees or disagrees to marital status influencing who one votes for (Percent distribution)					Total
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Single	8.5	78.0	3.4	6.8	3.4	100.0
Married	9.1	54.5	-	36.4	-	100.0
Widowed	10.0	70.0	10.0	10.0	-	100.0
Total	8.8	73.8	3.8	11.3	2.5	100.0

From Table 4.14, 73.8% of all the respondents disagreed that their marital status influenced who they voted for. 36.4% of the respondents under the married respondents agreed that indeed their marital status played a role in who they voted for. The researcher found out that in most households, the male members offered guidance on who the women should vote for. Most respondents agreed to having been told who to vote for but having made their own preferred choice at the ballot box. Since it is the men who had access to mass media such as radio and TV, they are assumed to be more informed on who are the preferred leaders. Hence though most of the participants who were interviewed disagreed to their marital status influencing who they voted for, it is vital to note that the men were their primary advisors with regards to who to vote for.

4.4.2 Marital status vis-à-vis vying for a political post

Study findings show that most women feel that their marital status does hinder them from contesting an elective political office. Among those who participated in this study, 28% strongly agreed with the view, 31% agreed while 4% were neutral. On the contrary, 32% disagreed with the view while 5% strongly disagreed. Table 4.15 summarizes the findings.

Table 4.15: My marital status hinders me from vying for an elective political post

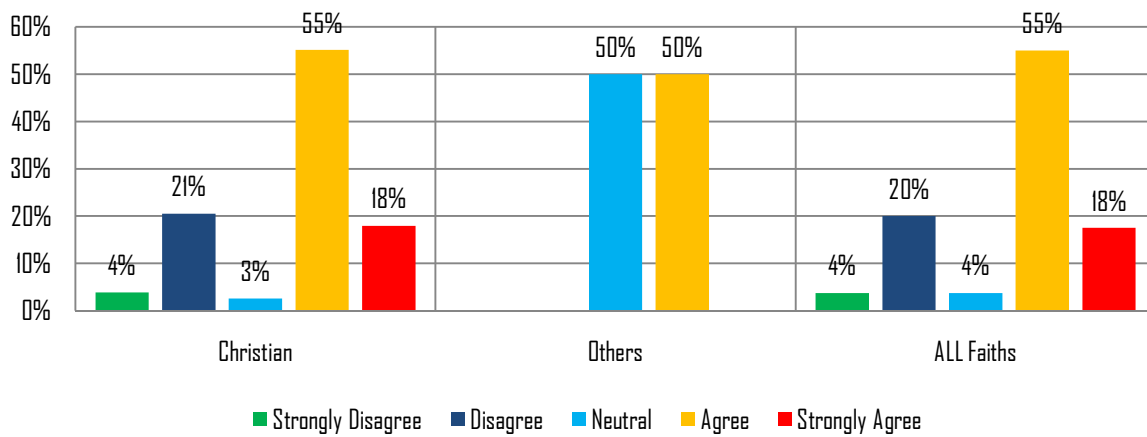
Ethnic Group	Disagrees or Agrees to marital status hindering from vying for an elective post (Percent distribution)					Total
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Bukusu	3.4	35.6	3.4	33.9	23.7	100.0
Teso	9.1	36.4	-	27.3	27.3	100.0
Other ethnic groups	10.0	10.0	10.0	20.0	50.0	100.0
Total	5.0	32.5	3.8	31.3	27.5	100.0

The researcher found out that indeed marital status play an important role if one wants to vie for an elective political post. A majority of the key informants agreed that they had to seek approval from their husbands and their relatives before their entry into politics. Of the female politicians that were interviewed one further explained that no one took her bid seriously because of her age until they found out she was married. Some respondents argued that the community would not accept them as leaders due to their being single. Others feared that if they took leadership positions while single/ not married, they would not be able to find suitable mates as men would fear them. With likes of Nyeri Governor William Kabogo making careless remarks of single women versus leadership, it is bound that even fewer women may be courageous enough to pursue political roles. In patriarchal communities such as Bungoma where this study was undertaken, the marriage institution dictates that the man is the head of the family hence there's a glaring conflict of interest when a woman decides to engage in politics. This creates an atmosphere where women shy away from leadership positions as this may be seen as trying to undermine the head role of a man in marriage. The resultant is that lesser women participate in politics and further less women vote for women hence the current voting trends in Kenya.

4.4.3 Religious affiliation vis-à-vis women's participation in politics

The researcher sought to find out further if religion plays a role in how women view politics. Respondents were asked if their religious affiliation encouraged them to participate in the political sphere. Figure 4.7 below shows findings on whether the religious affiliation of the respondents encourages women's participation in the political sphere.

Figure 4.7: Whether my religious affiliation encourages women’s participation in politics

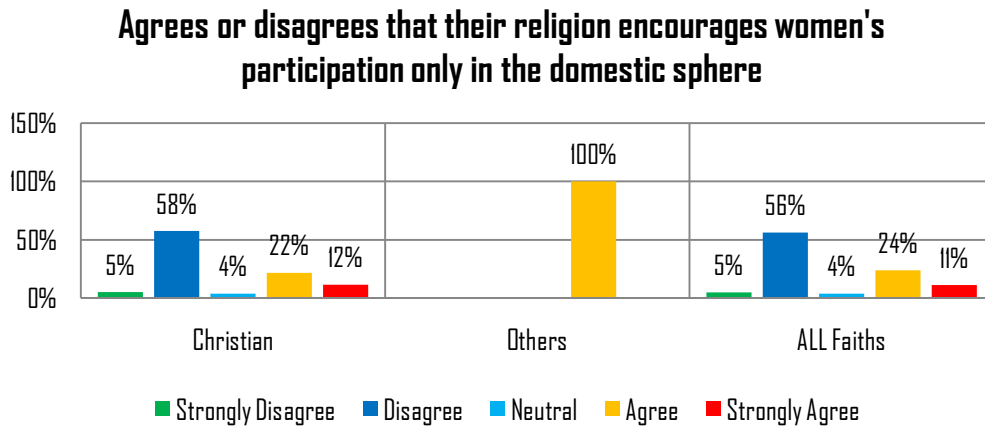


A majority of the participants in the study were Christians. According to Fig. 4.7, 55% of the Christians agreed that their religion encouraged women to participate in leadership. This they evidenced by the numerous number of women who participated in various leadership positions in the church. They argued however that in the religious institutions women easily took up leadership positions rather than in political institutions. This indeed is a step in the right direction because women leaders in religious institutions get valuable experience and are able to take other leadership positions for instance Bishop Margaret Wanjiru. Of the female politicians that were interviewed, a majority agreed to having received full support from their religious leaders. One key informant stated that her mentor was indeed her pastor at the local church.

4.4.4 Religion vis-à-vis women’s participation in the domestic private sphere

The researcher was also keen whether there lies a relationship between women’s predominant role of engaging in domestic work and religious values. A question was posed to the participants as to whether their religion stated that women should mostly participate in the domestic private sphere. Figure 4.8 below summarizes the findings.

Figure 4.8: Whether respondents’ religion encouraged women’s participation in the domestic sphere rather than in the public political sphere



According to Fig. 4.8, 58% of the Christian respondents disagreed that their religion only encouraged them to participate in the domestic sphere. Fig. 4.8 shows that 22% of the Christian respondents agreed to the notion that Christianity relegated the woman’s role to only the domestic work at home. Christianity which is predominant in Bungoma is taking an upper hand as change agents by encouraging women to take up leadership roles, which is a step in the right direction. Some religious values however, play a role in how women view themselves as inferior to men and hence contribute to their shunning away from leadership positions.

4.4.5 Religion vis-à-vis the role of a woman in the society

The researcher was also keen to find out how religion defines the role of a woman in the society and whether this contributes to women’s view of leadership. Table 4.16 summarizes the findings on whether respondents’ religion defined their womanly role in terms of an assistant/helper.

Table 4.16: Whether religion defines my womanly role in terms of an assistant/helper

Religion	Agrees or disagrees on whether a woman's role is of a helper/assistant (Percent distribution)				Total
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Christian	2.6	37.2	38.5	21.8	100.0
Others			100.0		100.0
Total	2.5	36.3	40.0	21.3	100.0

According to Table 4.16, 38.5 and 21.8 from the Christian faith agreed and strongly agreed respectively that their religious affiliation defined their role as a woman in terms of a helper. A majority of the respondents were Christians and hence referenced the Bible which gives a variety of aspects with regards to a woman's role. The book of Genesis in Chapter 2 verse 18 states that, "It is not good for the man to be alone. I will make a helper suitable for him." Here the woman is created on the account of being a helper to the man. Majority of women have internalized the "helper" role and hence only leave leadership roles to the men. The book of Timothy chapter 2 verse 12 goes ahead to state, "But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." There are also numerous Bible verses that require submission of the woman to the man. It is clear that the Bible allocates the assistant role to the woman and hence most women who are Christians internalize these teachings and take the secondary role.

There are however few Bible verses that promote equality of gender such as the book of Galatians 3:28, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." The book of John 13:16 states that, "Truly, truly, I say to you, a servant is not greater than his master, nor is a messenger greater than the one who sent him." The Bible therefore gives contradictory teachings on women and leadership but it is vital to note that the most pronounced verses delegate the woman's role to being a servant. This majorly contributes to how leadership is viewed by women and hence shunned my womenfolk. The end result of this is a male

dominated political field and an elevated fear of women to pursue leadership positions. The little Christianity does to support equality in leadership is undermined with the current feminization of Christianity which some scholars state make most men stay away from the church.

4.4.6. Women group vis-à-vis politics

Women groups locally known as Chama which means “group” in Kiswahili are very common groups in both rural and urban settings in Kenya. Wikipedia defines a Chama as an informal cooperative society that is normally used to pool and invest savings. The researcher sought to find out whether there exists a link between being in a women’s group and political participation.

a) Women group and discussion of politics

Women in Chamas meet regularly to discuss different issues that they experience in their lives. The women also discuss strategies that aim at increasing financial stability of the members. Participants were asked whether they discuss politics in their women groups. Table 4.17 summarizes the findings.

Table 4.17: Whether the politics of the day is discussed in my women group

Ethnic group	Agrees or disagrees to discussing politics in the women group					Total
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Bukusu	3.4	11.9	13.6	59.3	11.9	100.0
Teso			18.2	54.5	27.3	100.0
Other ethnic groups	10.0	20.0		60.0	10.0	100.0
Total	3.8	11.3	12.5	58.8	13.8	100.0

Table 4.17 shows that of the participants that were interviewed, 58.8% of the respondents agreed that they indeed discussed the politics of the day. This the researcher found interesting that the women in women groups were more knowledgeable of politics than

the women who were not in any women’s group. However it is important to note that the respondents that agreed to discussing politics said they only did so during the political season. They further argued that discussion of politics however was not a priority to them and majority of the group members would rather discuss other important issues. This brings about the issue of lack of knowledge amongst the women of the importance of political participation and the lack of a clear link between women’s issues and politics.

Most of the participants felt that no matter the type of leadership they have, they still experienced their daily challenges and hence did not see why they should engage in politics. They would rather discuss economic ventures that would elevate the quality of their family life. However, some key respondents stated that they did receive a lot of support from women groups and argued that more women should enter women groups as it was a platform where women could form a united front and fight for their rights.

b) Women group vis-à-vis support for female political candidates

The researcher was also keen to know whether women groups played a role in supporting fellow women political aspirants in their bid to enter the political world. Respondents were asked whether they scouted for and supported female political candidates in their women groups. Table 4.18 summarizes the findings.

Table 4.18: My women group scouts for and support female political aspirants

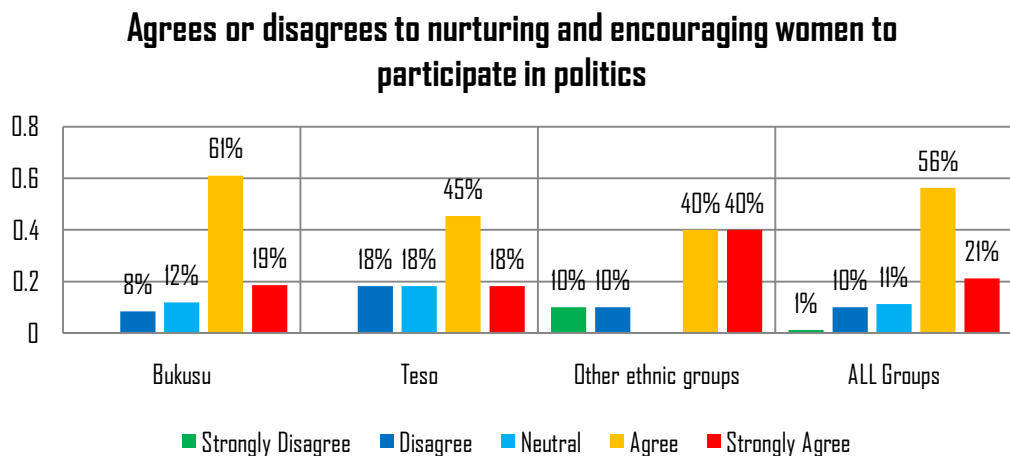
Ethnic group	Agrees or disagrees to supporting female political aspirants (Percent distribution)					Total
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Bukusu	3.4	13.6	11.9	62.7	8.5	100.0
Teso	-	9.1	18.2	54.5	18.2	100.0
Other ethnic groups	-	40.0	-	40.0	20.0	100.0
Total	2.5	16.3	11.3	58.8	11.3	100.0

According to Table 4.18, 58.8% of the women in women groups agreed to scouting for and supporting women groups. They agreed that women groups are important platforms for campaigning for women leaders and therefore should be on the forefront of campaigning for credible women who aspire to be political leaders. Some of the women mentioned being visited by female politicians during the campaign season and that they felt the female politicians listened to their problems and that these female politicians should be on the forefront of articulating women issues and fighting for women’s rights. The female politicians that were interviewed also agreed that women groups are platforms where leaders can reach a huge number of women and listen to their issues and address them. The female politicians also stated the importance of women groups as platforms for women to get loans in banks and venture into economic activities aimed at bettering the quality of their lives.

c) Women group as a platform for nurturing women leaders

Nurturing young women to be political leaders of the future is an important step towards improving participation of women in shaping the political climate of the country. This study sought to establish whether women groups participated in molding future women leaders. Fig. 4.9 below shows a summary of the findings, when the participants were asked if they nurtured and encouraged fellow women to participate in politics.

Figure 4.9: Whether my women group nurtures and encourages fellow women to participate in politics



A majority of the respondents agreed to discussion and supporting of fellow women on the ground, but stated that financial challenges played a major role as to why most of the women that they supported did not make it to leadership positions.

Chama groups are avenues where women have used to financially support each other and are great avenues for the discussion of the politics of the day amongst other topics. However a high percentage of the respondents in this study, 43% were not in any Chama group hence did not have proper avenues to objectively discuss the politics of the day. A high number of the key informants that were interviewed agreed to having received vital support from their chama groups that elevated their confidence to vie for political positions. Some of the key informants even agreed to having used Chama groups as a platform to reach the woman at the grass root level and to campaign and share their manifestos or plan of actions if they were elected. Hence Chamas play a vital role as a platform for women to achieve economic independence and hence be able to objectively make individual decisions on issues such as politics.

4.5 Women's Perspective of Women Leadership

It's been argued that women constitute a large majority of the human population in the world and particularly in Kenya. The researcher therefore sought out to identify how women view women leaders and leadership. Table 4.19 below shows women's view of what it takes and entails to be a woman in a leadership position.

Table 4.19: Women’s view of women leaders

To be a woman political leader, one has to:	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Have access to finances	4%	25%	-	30%	41%	100%
Have attained a certain level of education	-	17%	2%	37%	44%	100%
Suspend her roles in the household	5%	57%	3%	26%	9%	100%
Be given permission by the husband/father/male members of the community	4%	20%	3%	51%	22%	100%
Adopt certain male characteristics	6%	20%	2%	53%	19%	100%
Overstep boundaries set by the community for woman	5%	5%	1%	61%	28%	100%
Have a husband and children	5%	30%	3%	45%	17%	100%
Be aggressive, hardworking and focused	1%	3%	-	64%	32%	100%
Vie for seats set aside for women alone	14%	64%	-	16%	6%	100%
Go against her womanly “caring” and “submissive” nature	8%	44%	1%	22%	25%	100%

a) Access to finances vis-à-vis becoming a woman political leader

According to Table 4.19, 30% and 41% of the participants agreed and strongly agreed respectively that for a woman to become a leader, they were required to have access to finances. The current politics require one to have finances to be able to fight competitively in the political sphere. Bungoma County, being largely a community that practices patriarchy disadvantages women who would want to venture into the political sphere. The male members of the community control the major factors of production such as land and hence the woman lacks direct control over the factors of production which would be used for economic ventures that may elevate the family’s financial status. Lack of finances also contributes to the susceptibility of the women voters to being easily swayed by politicians who offer financial favors in order to get votes. However, women

should be educated on the use of platforms such as Chamas to unite into groups and brainstorm available and viable investment opportunities that they can venture into as Chama members. Increasing the financial independence of women is one way to ensure that more women enter the political sphere and have an equal fighting chance to becoming leaders.

b) Education level vis-à-vis being a female political leader

Women especially at the grass root level face a myriad of challenges. Among the many is lack of a good education. But with the recent introduction of free primary education, more and more women are becoming knowledgeable and aware of their rightful place in the society. But the girl child especially in the rural area still faces numerous challenges such as early marriages, female circumcision and discrimination in the family that inconveniences her chances to pursue formal education. According to Table 4.19, 37% and 44% of the participants agreed and strongly agreed respectively that one must have attained a certain level of education in order to join politics.

The Kenyan constitution has also put certain educational requirements for one to be able to vie for political positions. Section 22 (1) (b) of the Elections Act states that, “A person may be nominated as a candidate for an election under this Act only if that person holds a certificate, diploma or other post secondary school qualification acquired after a period of at least three months study, recognized by the relevant Ministry and in such manner as may be prescribed by the Commission under this Act. This requirement though understandable disadvantages a majority of women in Bungoma County which has low literacy levels of 43.95%. Women should be encouraged to join adult learning facilities in order to bridge the illiteracy gap and be able to equally fight to leadership positions the way men do.

c) Suspension of household roles in relation to becoming a female political leader

Gender roles and patriarchy are social constructs that go hand in hand. In patriarchal societies, the male gender role acts as an authority figure while female gender roles dictate subordination from the female gender. Female gender roles relegate them to

unpaid domestic labor such as household chores. The researcher sought to find out how these female gender roles impact a woman's self-worth and ability to equally fight for similar elective posts. The respondents were therefore asked if becoming a female political leader meant one had to suspend her household role. Table 4.19 shows that 57% of the participants disagreed that they had to suspend their household roles to take political office. 26% of the participants however agreed that women had to suspend their household duties to become a female political leader.

The allocation of female gender roles put women at a crossroad as to whether they have to abandon their traditionally assigned gender roles. The community is also quick to judge women who engage in politics as having failed in their marital obligations. Women also feel the pressure as one's political success is always viewed as one's marital failure and there are no win-win situations. The end result is women who although have leadership qualities and ambitions shun away from becoming political leaders due to the glorification of women who primarily stick to the traditionally assigned female gender roles.

Permission from the male members of the community to become a female political leader

It is popular in the Kenyan political scene for politicians to seek blessings from the community elders before they venture into their political pursuits. The researcher was keen to identify what challenges female who venture into politics face in their pursuit of leadership opportunities. Hence the participants were asked whether they required permission from their male counterparts before they engaged in politics. Table 4.19 shows that 51% and 22% of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed respectively that they required permission from the male members of the society in order for them to engage in politics.

This brings about the aspect of why many women especially at the grass root level shy away from politics. The act of convincing a man socialized in a patriarchal society that you can effectively become a leader is very difficult for women. Men in patriarchal

societies have been socialized as authority figures who occupy roles of political leadership, moral authority and control of property hence women are bound to face resistance when they express their interests in political leadership. This further explains the reason why many women shy away from politics and when they show interest, they face a lot of resistance from community members.

d) Having to adopt male characteristics to become a female political leader

Since time immemorial, women have traditionally been assigned the child bearing and rearing role. Women who were submissive to men were glorified and seen as the appropriate wife material while those who spoke their mind were regarded as not being women enough and trying to fight with men. The researcher sought to find out if the respondents felt that one had to adopt certain perceived “male” characteristics in order to become female political leaders. According to Table 4.19, when the researcher posed the question on whether one had to adopt male characteristics, 53% of the participants agreed that indeed one had to. Some respondents explained that women are naturally homely and passive, and these were frowned upon in politics. A majority of the key respondents argued that yes indeed that had to adopt some perceived “manly” traits.

Politics in Kenya has always been regarded as a “dirty” game and a popular phrase in the political scene is there are no “sacred cows” in politics. Women who have been socialized to be conservative and subordinate to men find it difficult to adjust to the leadership traits common in the political sphere. During the campaign season scenes of violence during campaigns and politicians hurling insults against each other are common here in Kenya. Campaigns also run late into the night and political deals are usually struck in bars and pubs which are not “preferred” places for some women. The “masculine” nature of politics in Kenya alienates many women who have political interests. However, this can be remedied if Kenyans carefully choose the right caliber of politicians who do not resolve to violence in case of defeat.

e) Overstep of pre-set boundaries for a woman to become a female politician

The researcher was keen to find out whether women felt that they indeed deserved leadership positions or did they think it was only a male preserve, and did they feel that one had to overstep some pre-set boundaries by the society in order to venture into politics. The participants were therefore asked if indeed for one to become a political leader one had to overstep boundaries set by the community for the woman. Table 4.19, summarizes the findings of that question. 61% of the participants agreed that one had to overstep the boundaries set for a woman by the community.

Traditionally, assigned female gender roles relegated women to the unpaid domestic labor while men pursued their exploits outside the home. It is unfortunate that women who pursue leadership roles which are outside the home still face discrimination from the society. This largely contributes to why women view leadership as a male field and hence do not participate in political leadership even when the constitution backs them up. The community ought to embrace women leaders and support their leadership pursuits in order to change the previous assumption that leadership is solely a male role. This will help women to also warm up to the idea of engaging themselves in the political scene.

f) Having a family- husband and children- to be considered for leadership positions

The researcher also sought to find out whether one had to have a husband and children in order to be considered for a leadership position. A question was posed to the participants and Table 4.19 summarizes the findings. 45% and 17% of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed respectively that for a woman to be a female political leader, she had to have a husband and children. It is important to note that once a woman becomes wife, her obligations are increased as a wife and a mother hence it making it more challenging to her to pursue her individual goals.

Single women are put at a disadvantage as they are regarded as still immature and hence cannot assume leadership positions. The married woman is regarded as a homemaker making it more difficult for her to pursue individual political ambitions. Also in marriage,

the man is referred to as the head of the family and hence the sole authority figure and therefore the woman will certainly face resistance if they propose the idea to pursue political leadership. This also contributes to why a majority of women prefer not to engage themselves in the political sphere.

g) Characteristics for one to become a female politician

The researcher also sought to find out what character traits should one have in order to pursue political ambitions and be successful. Participants were asked if one had to be aggressive, hardworking and focused. According to Table 4.19, 64% and 32% of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed respectively that one had to possess those traits in order to be successful in the political world. Eagly et al (2000) categorizes leadership agentic oriented towards male leaders and communal oriented towards the female leaders. Communal leadership which is oriented towards the female is regarded as collaborative and cooperative while agentic as assertive, controlling and confident. Aggressive is more of an agentic attribute rather than communal and since the community has internalized agentic attributes in leaders, women who show communal attributes are regarded as not good leaders and hence are not easily given leadership positions. Focus is mainly put on the leadership traits rather than the end-result and this disadvantages women who may have different leadership traits. This also contributes to the low number of women in political circles.

h) Does being competition with fellow women rather than men increase a woman's chances for political success

The constitution of Kenya 2010 increased the ability of women to vie for elective positions by stating that the one third gender rule should be adhered in all elective positions. However during the 2013 general elections, the number of women who were voted in for political positions was still low. This raises the question whether women are afraid or discouraged from vying against men for political positions. A majority of the women who entered politics opted to vie for the women representative seat that was set aside for women. The researcher therefore sought to find out if one had to compete against fellow women to achieve political success in Kenya.

Table 4.19 indicates that 64% of the respondents disagreed that one didn't have to vie for political seats that were set aside for the women alone. However, the key respondents agreed that it was indeed a stepping stone for majority of the female politicians. They argued that once one vied for the women representative position, they gained valuable experience which would enable them to compete for same political seats as men. The key respondents mentioned that prominent female politicians such as Charity Ngilu and Martha Karua started by clinching the seats that were perceived as less powerful before they competed for the highest seat in Kenya. Hence it is important to note that though female politicians should not limit themselves to the women political seats only, it does serve as a learning position for them to be able to navigate themselves further into the political scene.

i) Is the current form of politics suitable for a woman

The researcher also sought to find out if the current form of politics discourages women from entering the political sphere. Respondents were asked whether to be a female politician one had to go against her "womanly" caring and submissive nature. Table 4.19 shows that 22% and 25% of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed respectively that indeed women had to go against their caring and submissive nature to be able to achieve political success. The "masculine model" of politics also hinders women from political participation. However, Table 4.19 indicates that 44% of the respondents disagreed to this notion saying that women bring in a different version of leadership which should however be embraced.

4.7. Organizational Barriers Women Face When Seeking Political Positions

At the beginning of the 21st century, over 95% of all countries in the world have granted women the two most fundamental democratic rights: the right to vote and the right to stand for an election. However, women still face a myriad of challenges in their pursuit of their political ambitions. Political structures should play a central role in increasing women representation. However, most of them lack capacity to do this and hence most women face numerous organization barriers in political parties. Table 4.20 summarizes findings on the organizations barriers women face in political parties.

Table 4.20: Whether women face organizational barriers in political parties when seeking political positions

Whether the political party I identify with:	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Adhered to the 1/3 gender rule	9%	70%	5%	15%	1%	100%
Funds women who declare interest in political seats	3%	75%	10%	12%		100%
Campaigns for women who declare their political interests	-	49%	10%	39%	2%	100%
Guides and informs women who declare their political interests	1%	49%	11%	37%	2%	100%
Creates awareness of the importance of women participation in politics	3%	32%	11%	51%	3%	100%
Educates women on the importance of women voting for fellow women	3%	42%	6%	47%	2%	100%
Majorly influences who I vote for	4%	71%	-	14%	11%	100%

a) Whether my political party adhered to the one third gender rule

Political parties have a major role to play on how the populace views politics and the extent to which voters participate in political activities. The participants of this research were there asked whether the political party they identified with adhered to the one third gender rule as stated in the Constitution of Kenya 2010. Table 4.20 shows that 70% of the respondents disagreed that the political party they identify with adhered to the one third gender rule. The Political Parties Act 2011 provides for membership in political parties that reflect regional and ethnic diversity, gender balance and representation of minorities and marginalized groups. However, most political parties did not comply with this provision and hence the female gender was not appropriately represented in the general elections of Kenya 2013. The participants felt there was a lack of support for

women in political parties. The key respondents were also quick to mention that none of their political parties adhered to the one third gender rule and that there was a clear gap between the number of males and females in their respective political parties. Adherence to such provisions is one way of ensuring gender balance in all elective bodies in Kenya.

b) Whether my political party offered financial assistance to women with political interests

The researcher was keen to establish whether women political aspirants received any financial assistance from their political party of choice. Hence the participants were asked whether the political party they identified with funded women who declared their political interests to vie for a political position. Table 4.20 summarizes the findings that 75% of the respondents disagreed to knowing of any woman political aspirant who received financial assistance in their attempt to vie for a political seat. The Political Parties Act 2011 has a provision on the funding and accounts of political parties. Section 26 (1) (a) states that Moneys allocated from the Fund shall be used for purposes compatible with democracy including promoting the representation in Parliament and in the county assemblies of women, persons with disabilities, youth, ethnic and other minorities and marginalized communities. Women especially at the grass root level lack awareness of this constitutional provision that provides for assistance of women who have political ambitions. Hence most of the shy away from such stating that money is required for one to venture into the political world. Most of the respondents cited poverty as a key concern as to why women avoid politics and would rather engage in other economical ventures such as farming which have direct benefits.

The key informants also stated that political parties were under the control of a few individuals who controlled every happening in the party. Hence such provisions were never adhered to in their political parties contributing to the minimal participation of women in the political sphere. Such good legislation without a workable mechanism for their enactment still means that women in Kenya still face numerous impediments in the political circles. The end result is a lopsided leadership where women are not fully represented.

c) Whether my political party campaigned for women political candidates

Lack of support from political parties is a major hindrance to equal gender representation in leadership. Women have limited access to political networks and lack appropriate manpower to ensure adequate campaign strategies are put in place. The researcher also sought to establish whether the participants' political party campaigned for women political candidates. Table 4.20 shows that 49% of the respondents disagreed to women being campaigned for in the political party they identified with. This also contributes to why women shy away from the political world. Women face major challenges from the family and community but then added to that, the political parties do not accept them readily. Participants in this research lacked information on women political candidates at the grass root level and were only aware of women who vied for the women county representative seat and women who vied for presidential position.

The key informants in this survey also mentioned that they received minimal support in terms of their political party campaigning for them and campaigns were only done at the final moment hence most of the voters were unaware of their presence. This shows that women political candidates received minimal support at the political party level especially with regard to promoting women representation using political campaigns. Political parties play a major role in educating the populace of the political aspirants but lack of proper leadership in the political parties makes them not perform their roles adequately. Capacity building programs need to be introduced in political parties to ensure they perform their role adequately.

d) Whether my political party offered guidance and advice to women political aspirants

The researcher also sought to establish whether the participants were aware of any political party that offered guidance and advice to women who declared political interests. Table 4.20 illustrates that 49% of the participants disagreed to their political party offering guidance to women political aspirants. This shows why women avoid participation in politics because political parties that should offer support to women and be an information base and guide, still do not offer this to political aspirants. The key

informants also mentioned not receiving appropriate guidance from political parties and being informed of something on the basis of who you knew or your relationship with the right people at the party level. Political parties need to take up this role of being a guide point to new entrants in the political parties in order to offer proper advice to women who would like to venture into the political world. This will lead to an increase of participation of the populace in the political circles.

e) Whether my political party created awareness on the importance of women participation in politics

The Political Parties Act 2011 Section 26 (1) (b) provides for the political party Fund being used for promoting of active participation by individual citizens in political life. Political parties are given the role of promoting active participation of the populace in the political circles. The researcher sought to establish whether indeed political parties played a role in creating awareness of the importance of women participation in politics. The participants were asked if the political party they identified with creates awareness of the importance of women participation in politics. 51% of the respondents agreed that the political parties created awareness on the importance of women's participation in politics. Participants explained that during the campaigns, women were urged to get voter's cards and register themselves in political parties as it was every citizen's role. This shows that political parties played their role in encouraging the citizenry to fully participate in right to register as voters and then vote.

However, the researcher was also keen to know whether political parties educated women on the importance of women voting for fellow women. Participants were asked whether the political party they identified with educated women on the importance of women voting for fellow women. Table 4.20 illustrates that 42% of the respondents disagreed that the political party they identified with educated women on the importance of voting for fellow women. Though a higher percentage of the participants agreed to being educated on the importance of women voting for fellow women, it is evident that political parties selectively educate the public depending on their individual selfish interests. Voters were encouraged to get voters cards and on the right to vote but then on

voting for women the percentage slightly decreases. Political parties still have not fully embraced women in the political parties and women still face a lot of resistance in political parties, this in turn contributes to the few number of women who engage in the political scene.

Key informants in this survey also established the resistance they face in the political parties but argued that this resistance is slowly changing due to the provisions in the constitution 2010. Once political parties get proper machinery and adequately engage themselves in voter education, voter perceptions of the political sphere will be changed and hence more citizens will willingly participate in the political circles.

Whether political parties have influence on who the respondents voted for

The researcher also sought to establish the level of influence political parties have on the voter at the grass root level. Participants were therefore asked whether the political party they identified with majorly influenced who they voted for. 71% of the participants of the research disagreed that the political party did not influence who they voted for. Wrangles amongst politicians in political parties have made the populace have a negative perception of political parties. Political parties play a major role in the candidates that get elected. Though the voter also plays an important role on the type of leaders that are elected, the voter is still restricted. This is because political parties majorly support or front candidates that are mostly male, leaving the voter without variety of choice for leaders. Therefore political parties still have power on the type of leaders that are selected and hence they should play their role adequately on influencing the caliber of leaders that lead the country.

f) Whether the political party I identify with has programs that nurture young girls to become future leaders

The researcher also sought to understand whether political parties played their role in molding the future leaders of the country. The participants were asked whether the political party they identified with had programs that nurtured young girls into becoming future leaders. Figure 4.10 illustrated the findings.

Figure 4.10: Whether the political party I identify with has programs that nurture young girls to be future leaders

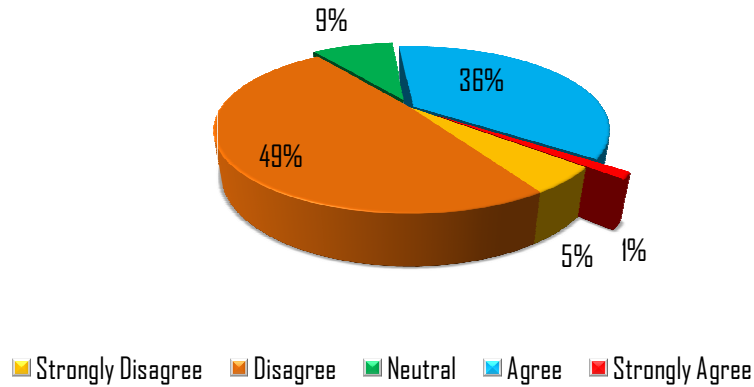


Figure 4.10 illustrates that 49% of the participants disagreed that their political party they identified with nurtured young girls to be future leaders. A majority of the political parties lack proper strategies to ensure a constant supply of leaders from the political party for the future. Most politicians are power hungry and only think of how they will benefit from the party rather than establishing a clear roadmap for the political party. Most politicians also do not embrace new and young leaders but instead feel threatened by them. Political parties should play a central role on the caliber of leaders that come into power. Proper succession plans need to be put in place and opportunities for job-shadowing need to be availed to young leaders to ensure they learn from the current leadership and hence do not undergo similar failures of the current leadership.

g) Whether the political party I identify with has clear measures on implementation of the one third gender rule

The researcher also sought to find out if political parties that the participants identified with have clear measures on how the one third gender rule would be implemented in the political party. Figure 4.11 further summarizes the findings.

Figure 4.11: Whether the political party I identify with has clear measures on the implementation of the one third gender rule

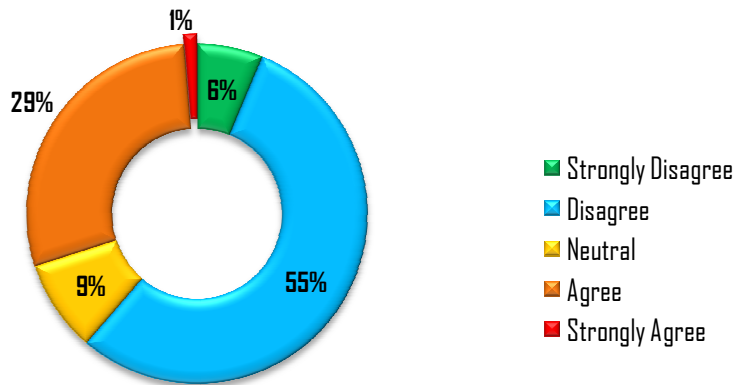


Fig 4.11 below shows that 55% of the respondents disagreed that the political party they identified with had clear measures on the implementation of the one third gender rule. This shows that political parties have not fully embraced this provision from the constitution of Kenya 2010. Political parties should play a forefront role in the implementation of this provision to ensure equality of gender in representation. Key informants who participated in this study also stated facing discrimination from political party members. They however welcomed the one third gender rule provision as a step in the right direction and a stepping stone for women who were interested in becoming political aspirants.

h) Whether the political party I identify with does not advocate for women in leadership

The researcher also sought to find out how the participants felt in political parties and whether they embraced women leadership. Figure 4.12 below illustrates how the participants responded when they were asked whether their political party doesn't advocate for women in leadership.

Figure 4.12: Whether the political party I identify with does not advocate for women in leadership

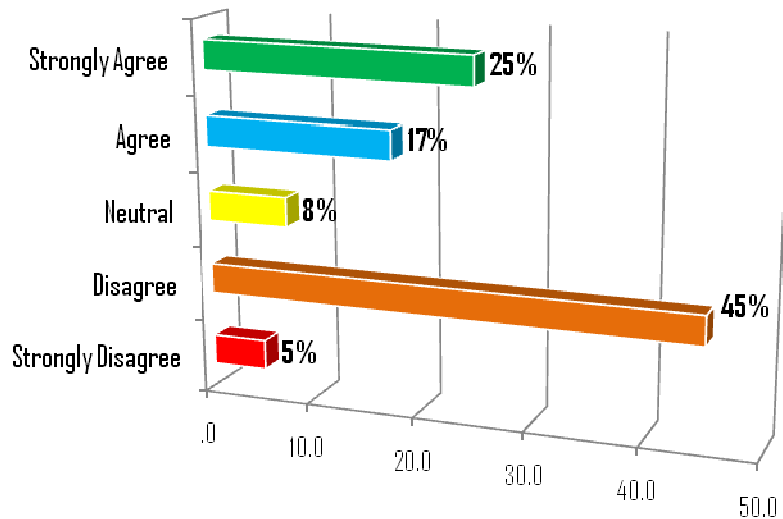


Figure 4.12 illustrates that 45% of the participants disagreed that their political party does not advocate for women in leadership. The researcher therefore found out that a majority of the political parties that were popular in Bungoma County which was the research site did not adequately offer support to new entrants and especially women in the political sphere. This largely contributed to the fear of women to enter the world of politics. With minimal support from the political parties, many women with political interests were either left to fend for themselves while others opted to support their male counterparts. The end result of this discrimination at the political party level is few women participating in the political sphere and even fewer women participating in political activities.

With the high number of challenges women face in their bid to seek political equality, most of them end up giving up. Lack of support from the family, the media, religion, culture and political parties' contribute to the low number of women in the political sphere. When a woman shows an interest in politics they face major challenges at the family level like lack of support from the spouse and traditional gender roles also make the decision to enter politics difficult. Religion offers contradictory views on women and leadership and relegates the woman to the unpaid domestic labor. The media has also

contributed to low female representation by portraying women leaders only in bad light. Lack of support from the cultural and political avenues further confines the woman to the private domestic sphere. Combined efforts from all these avenues will surely increase women participation in elective posts hence steer the voting trends in Kenya in the right direction, where all genders are equally represented in all elective posts.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter will summarize the findings of the study, present the conclusions drawn and the recommendations on the women's perception of leadership and its effect on women's voting trends. Suggestions for further research are included in this chapter.

5.1 Summary

The purpose of this study was to investigate women's perception of leadership and its effect on the current voting trends in Kenya. The study was carried out in Bumula Constituency of Bungoma County. The study was conducted during the last quarter of the year 2013, when there was a re-election bid for the senatorial seat in Bungoma County. The overall objective of the study was to determine women's perception of leadership and its impact on voting for women leaders in Kenya. The specific objectives of the study were to:

- i) Determine the level of participation by women in elective leadership positions in Bungoma County
- ii) Examine how women in Bungoma County evaluate the role of women in the community vis-a-vis in leadership
- iii) Examine how socio-cultural factors such as ethnic identity and values; marital status, religious affiliation; Chama involvement; affect the decision to vote for or against women in Bungoma County.
- iv) Establish perceived organizational barriers specifically in political parties that women face and their impact on voting women leaders in Bungoma County.

The literature review looked at the hindrances to equal women representation which included political obstacles, socio-economic obstacles and socio-cultural factors. The literature review also looked at the different approaches to leadership like the trait approach, behavioral and leadership style approach, the contingency approach which discusses Fielder's contingency theory of leadership and the transformational approach to leadership. The literature review also explored women and political leadership in Africa

where the Rwandan case is discussed as well as women political leadership in Kenya and the role of the constitution 2010 in promoting gender equality and equity.

Data collection was done by use of both open-ended and close ended questionnaires and 85 respondents were interviewed. 5 key informant interviews were done to women leaders from the larger Bungoma County while 80 questionnaires were administered to women inhabitants of Bumula constituency. Data gathered was analyzed using descriptive statistics and advanced statistics. Frequencies and percentages were computed to draw inferences related to the variables under investigation.

The findings of the study were presented in line with the research objectives. A brief summary of the findings is stated below.

The study revealed that the level of participation by women in elective leadership is on the rise and 98% of the respondents had voted in a political election before. The study revealed that although there is a rise in participation of women in political activities, those who participated did not actively involve themselves in supporting female political candidates.

The study also revealed that a majority of the respondents agreed to mainly working in the private domestic sphere in childbirth and care, cooking and cleaning and that it's the work of a woman in the society. While a high percentage agreed that they discussed the politics of the day but only during the election season, a majority of the respondents disagreed that they participate in the political party activities hence did not actively get involved when major decisions were made at the political party level. From the study, we can adequately state that though a majority of the respondents advocate for women leadership, a considerable number did not participate actively in politics and further would not allow their daughters to engage in politics.

The study revealed that the predominant ethnic group's values did not support women leadership hence contributed to their "negative perception of politics. A high percentage disagreed that their marital status influences who they vote for but again a slightly higher

percentage agreed that their marital status hinders them from contesting for elective political office. On religious affiliation, a majority of the respondents agreed that their religious affiliation encourages women to participate in the political sphere but a higher percentage also agreed to their religion defining their womanly role in terms of an assistant/ helper. On Chama involvement, a majority of the respondents agreed that they discuss the politics of the day but only during the election season. A higher percentage of women in Chama agreed that they support female political leaders and they nurture and encourage fellow women to participate in politics. It is also important to note that a high percentage of the respondents were not members of any Chama. The study therefore revealed that socio-cultural factors indeed play a central role in how women view leadership and influences their participation in political activities and hence contributes to the low votes for women leaders.

The study revealed that to be a female political leader, one had to have access to finances and be educated to a certain level. A female political leader had to be given permission by the male members of the society and one had to adopt certain “male” characteristics. A female political leader also had to overstep boundaries set by the community for a woman and had to have a husband and children. A female political leader had to also go against her womanly “caring” and “submissive” nature. The study clearly reveals that the rural woman who is uneducated and lacks finances is unable to effectively participate in the political sphere because of the circumstances she faces. One had to get permission from their husband if married and if not married was regarded immature for a leadership position. The community felt that a woman would overstep certain set boundaries if they ventured into politics.

The study revealed that most political parties’ the respondents identified with did not adhere to the 1/3 gender rule and they further did not campaign effectively for female political candidates. The study also revealed that political parties’ the respondents identified with did not effectively guide female political candidates who declared their political interests. A majority of the respondents also disagreed that they vote according to political parties and a considerable number agreed that the political party they

identified with did not advocate for women leadership. Hence from the study, it was clear that political parties did not adequately play their role in advocating for women leadership.

5.2 Conclusions

From the study, one can conclude that socio-cultural factors, political party organizational barriers, and socio-economic factors play a central role in how women perceive leadership and how women vote and hence influence the low voting trend of women to political leadership positions.

5.2.1 Key Conclusions

a) Socio-cultural factors

Socio-cultural factors are evident as to why women have a negative perception of the political sphere. Traditional gender ideologies enshrined in ethnic values dictate women's expected roles as of child bearing and child rearing still play a major role on how women view leadership. Predetermined social roles also have a major role on how people perceive different aspects. Women still view leadership as a male role and hence do not fully involve themselves in the political process. Strong patriarchal value systems that favour sexually segregated roles hinder the little advancement in women participation in the political circles. Patriarchal practices prevalent in rural Kenya such as patrilocality and patrilineality put the man at an advantage and relegate the woman into a secondary position to the man. Religious affiliation also provides contradictory message on women's roles and place in the community hence women are at a conflict on whether or not they should embrace leadership opportunities.

b) Political factors

Political obstacles still play a major hindrance to the achievement of equality of gender in representation. Political structures such as political parties which should play a central role in increasing women representation lack machinery and manpower to undertake this role. Women still face limited financial support, limited access to political networks and stringent qualifications for women at the political party level. Lack of proper civic education at the grass root level also plays a role in the lack of awareness of women's

political rights with regard to politics as enshrined in the constitution of Kenya 2010. A “masculine model” of political life where deals are struck in the wee hours of the night and the violent nature of campaigns and political activities further discourages women to participate in political circles. Capacity building initiatives need to be introduced in political parties to enable them become fully functional in increasing women participation in politics.

c) Socio-economic factors

Women in the society face a myriad of challenges in their daily life. Men control the basic factors of production such as land and labour and hence have control over every aspect of the family life. Inadequate financial resources contribute to the minimal number of women who indulge themselves in the political circles. Chama are groups that are meant to bridge the financial gap whenever women want to embark on a financial venture but lack finances. Wikipedia defines Chama groupings as informal cooperative societies that are normally used to pool and invest savings by people in East Africa and particularly Kenya. Women form these groups to pool funds and jointly embark on investment ventures. However not many women are members of a Chama therefore they still face financial challenges. Lack of finances translates to a limited access to education and hence low literacy levels. Lack of education minimizes the financial power of women cornering them to a limited choice of professions. Women therefore are unable to participate in leadership positions that require certain academic qualifications and hence they shy away from these leadership positions. Unpaid domestic labour also contributes to the financial incapacity of women. Low literacy levels and lack of finances are key contributors to the minimal participation of women in the political sphere.

5.3 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings of the study, the following recommendations were made:

1. Socio-cultural factors remain a major barrier towards women involvement in political leadership. This is due to the socialization of women into assistant roles from an early stage. There is a clear need to inculcate a cultural orientation that recognizes women as capable leaders and free people from “false” ideologies that stereotype women.

2. Political parties should aggressively play their role in increasing female participation in the political sphere. Appropriate capacity building of political parties should be done to ensure that they understand their central role in increasing the level of participation of women in the political sphere. Political parties should create policies that advocate for gender balance
3. Appropriate creating of awareness to women of opportunities that are able to capacitate them into leadership positions such as education opportunities, MFIs that offer lending at affordable interest rates, NGOs that offer free or affordable trainings on leadership etc.
4. The community should also be actively involved in supporting women who show interest in politics as opposed to shunning them away. Women should change their mindset and attitudes towards themselves too and men towards women to strengthen women to believe in themselves.
5. Primary and secondary socialization agents who actively participate in the socialization process from an early stage should socialize children devoid of stereotypes that discourage women from venturing into leadership positions.

5.4 Areas of Further Study

- I. The researcher recommends that future studies be done with a focus on political parties, “an evaluation of the role of political parties in increasing female participation in the political sphere”.
- II. The researcher also recommends a study on the impact of the constitution 2010 in increasing female participation in the political sphere.
- III. The researcher also recommends further case studies of successful female politicians in Rwanda, Uganda and countries that have been successful in decreasing gender imbalances in the political sphere.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Cover Letter Accompanying Questionnaire



P. O. Box 30197-00100 Nairobi, Kenya

0202429997; 020318262

www.uonbi.ac.ke

**Master of Arts in Rural Sociology and Community
Development**

**Department of Sociology
Main Campus, Nairobi.**

WOMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN LEADERS' AND ITS INFLUENCE ON VOTING WOMEN LEADERS IN KENYA

Dear Respondent,

I am currently conducting research for my Master of Arts Degree in Rural Sociology and Community Development at the University of Nairobi on women representation in Kenya. I am collecting information in the form of a survey to gauge the perceptions women have of leadership and women leaders and the influence of these perceptions in voting for women leaders. I will specifically look at the role of socio-cultural factors in influencing the perceptions' women have of leadership and women leaders. It is envisaged that this study will provide useful insight on how to improve the level of women participation in the political sphere and hence promote their indulgence in the overall nation building.

All data sources will be treated as confidential and would be used for research purposes only. The majority of the data will be reported in statistical form and no individual respondents will be identified. You can complete the questionnaire anonymously.

The questionnaire comprises of seven sections:

Section A canvasses biographical information

Section B explores the level of women participation in the political sphere

Section C investigates the perceived roles of a woman in the society and its influence in how women view leadership

Section D explores how socio-cultural factors play a role in women's perceptions' of leadership

Section E investigates how women view women leaders

Section F examines the organizational barriers women face when they seek for political positions

Section G will look at the general comments of participants.

Your cooperation in this regard is highly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Jacinta Mutenyo Nyongesa- Researcher

Appendix II: Key Informant Interview Questionnaire for Women Politicians

WOMEN'S PERCEPTION OF LEADERSHIP AND ITS INFLUENCE ON VOTING FOR WOMEN IN KENYA

SECTION A

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Please indicate your response by circling the appropriate number.

1.Ethnic Group

Bukusu	1	Teso	2	Others	3
--------	---	------	---	--------	---

2.Marital Status

Single	1	Married	2	Widower	3
--------	---	---------	---	---------	---

3.Religious Affiliation

Christian	1	Muslim	2	Others	3
-----------	---	--------	---	--------	---

4.Have you participated in an election before?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

5.Do you have an Identity Card?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

6.Are you a registered member of a political party?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

7.Political Position

Women Representative	1	Member of County Assembly	2	Others (Specify)	3
----------------------	---	---------------------------	---	------------------	---

8. Years of Participation in Politics

New member	0-1 year	1
Old member	2-4 years	2
Founding member	2+ years	3

9. What are the roles you play in your political position?

SECTION B

LEVEL OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE

What is the level of participation by women in elective leadership positions in Bungoma County?

SECTION C

**ROLE OF A WOMAN IN SOCIETY AND ITS INFLUENCE IN
PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE**

How do you evaluate the gender roles of women in relation to leadership?

SECTION D

ROLE OF SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS ON WOMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF LEADERSHIP

How did the following socio-cultural factors affect your decision to participate in politics:
ethnic identity and values; marital status; religious affiliation; chama involvement?

SECTION E

ORGANIZATIONAL BARRIERS WOMEN FACE WHEN SEEKING POLITICAL POSITIONS

What are the organizational barriers women face in political parties when they venture into politics and how does this impact the voting for women leaders in Bungoma?

SECTION F

**ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON WOMEN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN
BUNGOMA COUNTY?**

**Appendix III:STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WOMEN AT THE GRASS
ROOT LEVEL
QUESTIONNAIRE**

**WOMEN’S PERCEPTION ON WOMEN LEADERS AND ITS INFLUENCE ON
VOTING IN KENYA**

SECTION A

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Please indicate your response by circling the appropriate number.

1.Ethnic Group

Bukusu	1	Teso	2	Others	3
--------	---	------	---	--------	---

2.What is your age group?

18-28	1	29-38	2	39-48	3	49-59	4
-------	---	-------	---	-------	---	-------	---

3.Marital Status

Single	1	Married	2	Widower	3
--------	---	---------	---	---------	---

4.Religious Affiliation

Christian	1	Muslim	2	Others	3
-----------	---	--------	---	--------	---

5.Have you participated in an election before?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

6. Do you have an Identity Card?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

7. Are you a registered member of a political party?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

8. Are you in a women group?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

9. If yes, what is the main women group activity:

Prayer Group	1
Merry-go-round	2
Farming	3
All of the above	4

Kindly complete sections B, C, D, E, and F by circling the appropriate response to each statement. The following five-point Likert-scale is used:

- (1) Strongly disagree
- (2) Disagree
- (3) Neutral
- (4) Agree
- (5) Strongly agree

SECTION B

LEVEL OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree strongly
	PERSONALLY, I HAVE ...					
1.	Participated in elections by voting	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Read and understood the constitution of Kenya 2010	1	2	3	4	5
3.	I'm aware of the women gains in the constitution of Kenya 2010	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I identify with a particular political party	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Attended a political rally	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Supported a female candidate in political elections in Kenya	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Campaigned for a political leader	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Campaigned for a female political candidate	1	2	3	4	5
9.	Vied for an elective post	1	2	3	4	5
10.	I know of a female political leader or candidate in Bungoma	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION C

ROLE OF A WOMAN IN SOCIETY AND ITS INFLUENCE IN PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE

AS A WOMAN, MY ROLE IN THE COMMUNITY IS TO ...		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree strongly
11.	Give birth and take care of my children	1	2	3	4	5
12.	Cook and clean for the male members of the society	1	2	3	4	5
13.	Till the land and ensure food is available for my family	1	2	3	4	5
14.	Support the men in our community to be better leaders	1	2	3	4	5
15.	Encourage and mould our sons/ brothers/ husbands to vie for political posts	1	2	3	4	5
16.	Advise our daughters/ sisters to shun away from politics as it is a “dirty” game	1	2	3	4	5
17.	Listen attentively and enforce rules placed by my husband/ father/ brother in the family	1	2	3	4	5
18.	Share political opinions with fellow women and advise them on who to vote for	1	2	3	4	5
19.	Engage and participate in my political party or during campaigns	1	2	3	4	5
20.	Advocate for women to vie for political posts in order to be involved in the decision making process	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION D

ROLE OF SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS WOMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN LEADERS

	IN MY COMMUNITY ...	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree strongly
21.	My ethnic group supports women to be leaders	1	2	3	4	5
22.	My ethnic values discourage me as a woman to participate in politics	1	2	3	4	5
23.	My marital status influences who I vote for	1	2	3	4	5
24.	My marital status hinders me from vying for an elective political post	1	2	3	4	5
25.	My religious affiliation encourages women to participate in the political sphere	1	2	3	4	5
26.	In my religion, women should mostly participate in the domestic private sphere	1	2	3	4	5
27.	My religion defines my womanly role in terms of an assistant/ helper	1	2	3	4	5
28.	In my women group, we discuss the politics of the day	1	2	3	4	5
29.	In my women group, we discuss, scout for, and support female political participants	1	2	3	4	5
30.	In my women group, we nurture and encourage fellow women to participate in politics	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION E

WOMEN’S VIEW OF WOMEN LEADERS

	TO BE A WOMAN POLITICAL LEADER, ONE HAS TO.....	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree strongly
31	Have access to finances	1	2	3	4	5
32	Have attained a certain level of education	1	2	3	4	5
33	Suspend her roles in the household	1	2	3	4	5
34	Be given permission by the husband/ father/male members of the community	1	2	3	4	5
35	Adopt certain male characteristics	1	2	3	4	5
36	Overstep boundaries set by the community for woman	1	2	3	4	5
37	Have a husband and children	1	2	3	4	5
38	Be aggressive, hardworking and focused	1	2	3	4	5
39	Vie for seats set aside for women alone	1	2	3	4	5
40	Go against her womanly “caring” and “submissive” nature	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION F

**ORGANIZATIONAL BARRIERS WOMEN FACE WHEN SEEKING
POLITICAL POSITIONS**

	THE POLITICAL PARTY I IDENTIFY WITH....	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree strongly
41.	Adhered to the 1/3 gender rule	1	2	3	4	5
42.	Funds women who declare interest in political seats	1	2	3	4	5
43.	Campaigns for women who declare their political interests	1	2	3	4	5
44.	Guides and informs women who declare their political interests	1	2	3	4	5
45.	Creates awareness of the importance of women participation in politics	1	2	3	4	5
46.	Educates women on the importance of women voting for fellow women	1	2	3	4	5
47.	Majorly influences who I vote for	1	2	3	4	5
48.	Has programs that nurture young girls to become future leaders	1	2	3	4	5
49.	Has clear measures on how the 1/3 gender rule should be implemented	1	2	3	4	5
50.	Does not advocate for women in leadership	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION G

**ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENT ON WOMEN PERCEPTIONS OF
LEADERSHIP AND WOMEN LEADERS**

Participants will be given an opportunity to comment on women political leadership in Bungoma County.