

**FACTORS IMPEDING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIVE POLITICAL
LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN SEME CONSTITUENCY,
KISUMU COUNTY, KENYA**

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BY

BENSON OLOO OPIYO

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ABSTRACT

Kenya's development record and its demographic composition suggest a need for active involvement of women in key decision-making bodies. According to Engendering the Political Process Program (EPPP), the recent survey in Kenya has revealed that women constitute majority of voters. However, their level of participation in electoral politics stands at 15% in Kenya. Kenyan women do not fully participate on elective leadership positions, despite the new constitution providing a fairer playing ground for women candidates. In Seme Constituency, no female has been elected to parliament and even vie for the same position since 1992. This is a contrasting situation to other Constituencies such as Kitui South, Othaya and Nyeri Town constituencies. Therefore, it is important to assess the factors that could be impeding women participation in politics in Seme. The Main objective of the study is to establish factors determining women participation in elective leadership positions within Seme Constituency. The specific objectives include; examining the cultural issues impeding women from participating in political dispensation, to examine the socio-economic challenges of women participation in elective leadership position in Seme Constituency and to establish institutional factors that influence women's access and full participation in political power structures and decision-making. This study is based on Ruth Pearson's gender relations theory (1995). Ruth argues in her theory that the society views all activities that are carried out to be based on social roles and interactions of men and women. Pearson's gender relations theory is appropriate for this study because it emphasizes the various social, cultural and economic norms and standards which must be considered for women to take the opportunities to participate in social activities such as politics. This study is significant for the reason that the data will be resourceful to scholars and policy makers as well as contribute to the inadequate literature on gender participation in electoral politics in Africa in general and Kenya in particular. The study adopted cross-sectional descriptive study design. The study population was 98,805. The study used cluster and simple random sampling to sample 384 voters and purposive sampling to sample key informants. The study used informant schedule, Observation List, Focused Group Discussions guides and structured Questionnaires to collect data. Qualitative data were summarized in themes and sub themes. Quantitative data are analyzed using SPSS version 22 and statistics results presented on tables, pie charts and scatter diagrams. The findings showed that 68% of the respondents accepted that cultural structures and processes reinforce the subordinate positions of women in political dispensation. People still had the notion that women's role is to bear children and take care of the family in the society as depicted in the study findings. The chi-square test shows that there was a statistically significant association: $\chi^2 (6) = 34.6, p < .001$ between cultural issues and women participation political leadership positions. In addition, it was found that more than three-quarter of the respondents, 79% accepted that the community valued men who were educated more than women in leadership positions. The Pearson chi-square test analysis for the socio-economic factors was computed, $(\chi^2 (8) = 21.14, p < .001)$ indicated that there was a statistically significant association between socio-economic factors and women participation on elective political leadership factors in Seme constituency. The study concluded that most women do not actively participate in women participation in elective political leadership. The Media should continue to sensitize the general public in the area of gender equity so as to avoid socio-cultural traditions that have negative effects on women participation in political dispensation in the constituency.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

According to Schmidt (2006), women continue to experience significant discrimination related to their participation in public and political life in most domains of the public sphere and in all geographical regions. Even in few cases where women have larger representations in politics, the women/ men ratio is still low in states' elective posts as indicated by United Nations (2010). As at November 2010, only in eleven countries of the World are women heading national governments as either Prime Ministers or Presidents.

Though America is the continent that has the highest women political representation in parliament worldwide, in 2007, Latin America and the Caribbean had 22% of its parliamentary elective posts held by women according to Bens (2007). In this region, Cuba alone records 43% of its elective parliamentary posts held by women (MDG 2009). The chunks of its parliamentary elective posts were still held by men.

In western Asia, four women were elected to Kuwait's parliament for the first time in May 2009, after gaining the right to stand for election in 2005. This is what is regarded as a major step forward for women in that country. It is described as women's entry into a more variety of political leadership positions (UNDP 2008, MDG 2009). As of January 2009, women reached the highest parliamentary position presiding officer in about 31 parliamentary chambers worldwide. Yet, the remaining 145 countries of the world operating somewhat democratic governance were dominated by men political leaders as pointed out by United Nations (2010) report.

As of March 31, 2012 the global average of women in national assembly was 19.7%. The top countries with the greatest representation of women in national parliament are the major English speaking democracies. They are placed mostly in the top 40% of the ranked countries. Among them is New Zealand. New Zealand ranks at position 27 with women comprising 32.2% of its parliament according to Smulders (2008). Australia had 24.7% women representation in the lower house and 38.2% in the upper house whereas Canada had 24.7% women in lower house and 37.9% in upper house and is ranked position 46 out of 189 countries. The United Kingdom is ranked at 58, 22.5% women in the lower house and 22.6% upper house, while United States ranks 78, 17.8% in the lower house, 20.0% in the upper house. Some of these are appointed (World Focus, 2009). In Finland and the Finish nationals quota law introduced in 1995, on and after that among indirectly elected public bodies (at both national and local level) states that at least 40% of the governing body must be female according to Hassim (2009). The principle of equality of men and women was recognized in the United Nations Charter (1945), and subsequently in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

In 1994, South Africa ranked 141 in the world in the percentage of legislative seats held by women. After the African National Congress enacted a 30% quota for female candidates, South Africa jumped to 13th place in 2004 with women elected to 32.8% of its lower parliamentary seats as indicated by SIDA (2006) report. In October 2003, Rwanda became the country closest to reaching parity between men and women of any national legislature. Currently, Rwanda has 48.8% of Lower House seats held by women and 34.6% held in the Upper House. Women ministers remain concentrated in social areas (14%) rather than legal (9.4%), economic (4.1%), political (3.4%) and executive (3.9%) areas according to Andersen (1992). Despite the fact that

United Nations and various International Organizations advocate for women's involvement in political decision making in the world over, there is still low level of women participation in Kenyan politics as pointed out by Smulders (2008). Uganda has 135 women out of its 386 Member Parliament, while Tanzania has 126 in their 350 member parliament according to EPPP (2013) report. Kenya is still lagging behind her partners in the East African Community as far as women participating in politics are concerned. Kenya's new constitution, ratified in August 2010, stipulates that no more than two-thirds of any appointed or elected body can be of the same gender, and, in an attempt to ensure further gender balance, included a provision stating that each of Kenya's 47 counties elect a women's representative. This was part of a landmark push in the constitution to allow for women's rights, and also included language prohibiting all forms of discrimination against women, making additional provisions for women's land rights and property rights, including after divorce. In the election which gripped this country for much of the past few months, eight women contested gubernatorial positions, and 19 women sought seats in the Country's senate. Some 165 women battled it out among the men for parliament's 290 regular constituency seats, while 155 women sought one of the "Women's Representative" positions.

Article 177 of the 2010 Kenyan constitution says one third of the County assembly shall be women. Therefore, the County assembly cannot discuss any agenda without the requisite number of either gender as stipulated in The Kenyan Constitution (2010). Part Two of the Kenyan Constitution of Kenya (2010) talks about the Composition and Membership of Parliament. Article 97 (1) (b) provides that the National Assembly shall consist of: Forty-seven women, each elected by the registered voters of the Counties, each County constituting a single member

constituency; this article necessitates the participation of women in elective political leadership as pointed out in African Centre for Technology Studies (ACTS 2004).

Adhiambo-Oduol (2003) has long found that people think “male” when they think “leader,” and that this result transcends many cultural differences. The political participation of women also depends on the social and cultural climate of a country: religious and patriarchal norms and values may exclude women from public life. Key amongst this formidable barrier is the institutional framework guiding gender division of labour, recruitment, and vertical mobility. Adhiambo-Oduol (2003) identifies socio-cultural beliefs, attitudes, biases and stereotypes as major barriers. Some of the challenges women face in the quest for leadership also include: exclusion from political parties, where men effectively create quotas for themselves.

According to Olojede (2009) all women who are seeking leadership are sometimes advised to eschew feminine modesty and promote their own abilities, strengths and accomplishments because they are stereotyped as less competent than men. The issues of voter manipulation and voter bribery have to be addressed to ensure that elections are more issue- based and to guard against uneven electoral playing fields where women are further disadvantaged, especially due to lack of campaign financing. Options for fundraising for women’s political participation are also limited by women’s absence from top businesses/corporate circles. Unlike men, women lack access to such networks to boost their fundraising pursuits. Therefore, capacity building for fundraising for political work would be of benefit to women aspirants. However, according to Olojede (2009) there is no telling how many women never get to this point turned away from aspirations to leadership because of the difficulties and costs they anticipate. To become active as a politician, women are hampered by their care taking tasks and their responsibility for the household. Barriers in the structure of society for women are: limited access to leadership,

managerial skills and training, few female role models and mentors, disproportional expectations, and violence against women. The political climate is often characterized by aggressiveness, competitiveness and discrimination or intimidation of women, discouraging many women to enter politics or to continue once they have come involved in it. This view finds support in International Agreements and Conventions, which have persistently stressed on the importance of women's equal participation in political leadership. The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, for example, emphasized the need (i) to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in all power structures and decision making; and (ii) to increase women's capacity to participate in decision making and leadership. Despite these provisions the challenge of gender imbalance in political leadership remains, Nzomo (2012).

In general, women face opposition in their attempt to participate in any leadership position such as political leadership. Women participation in politics is a phenomenon that is considered unfit for women across the world with more emphasis laid on to African women. This occurrence is also witnessed in Kenya whereby Kenyan women do not fully participate on elective leadership positions, regardless of the new constitution providing an affirmative action for women full participation in political processes. It is a scenario which is also common to Seme women. The women in Seme constituency who express their interest in vying for any political position are in most cases opposed not only by men, but also by their fellow women. They are in most cases dubbed as loose, defiant and over ambitious women in the society. In this study, Seme constituency is chosen among the 290 constituencies in Kenya since most of women in this constituency are faced with myriads of challenges as far as political leadership is concerned. For instance, no female has ever been elected to parliament and even vie for the same position ever since 1992 in Seme Constituency. This is a contrasting situation in relation to other

Constituencies such as Kitui South, Othaya and Nyeri Town constituencies. Therefore, the study on Seme Women is important in determining the factors that impede women participation in politics.

There is large scale discrimination from the men folk, both in voting for candidates and in allocating political offices. There seems to be a significant conflict in terms of participation of women into elective leadership position in the community especially in Seme Constituency. There has been a gender gap of elected members of parliament since 1992. Equality in gender representation has been neglected and no woman has ever vied for the elective political positions at ward level since 1992. At the party level, the most important post ever held by women is the newly created women representative position by virtues of it being preserved for women despite the number. The positions of party chairperson, secretary, treasurers are always taken by men. It is on this background that the study establishes the socio-cultural factors influencing women participation in elective political leadership in Seme Constituency.

1.2 Statement of the problem

In politics, women encounter discrimination within political parties and face the challenge of gathering sufficient campaign funds. Our political system is patriarchal in nature according to Bhasin (2006). Most of the parties are established by men who rarely accommodate women. Also, a lot of the women do not have the financial capacity to operate in most of these political parties, because our political system has been highly monetized. This nature of politics is said to be common in Seme Constituency and it discourages women's participation in political leadership. For instance, Seme women did not fully participate in elective political positions in the 2013 general election despite the new constitution providing a fairer playing ground for women candidates. It remains greatly challenged with regard to women ascending into public political leadership positions. In Seme Constituency no female has been elected to parliament and even vied for the same position since 1992. This study is a post-election analysis of women's participation in the last general elections, which ushered in a new political dispensation Kenya. Therefore, this study intends to contribute to affirmative action policies that enhance gender mainstreaming and equal participation in all leadership and development processes in Seme Constituency.

1.3 Objective of the study

The general objective of the study is to establish factors impeding women participation in elective political leadership positions in Seme Constituency.

1.4 Research Questions

- 1) What are the cultural factors impeding women from participating in elective political leadership positions in Seme Constituency?

- 2) What are the socio-economic challenges faced by women when participating on elective political leadership position in Seme Constituency?
- 3) What are the institutional factors that influence women's access and full participation in political power structures and decision-making in Seme Constituency?

1.5 Specific Objectives of the study

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:-

- 1) To examine the cultural factors impeding women from participating in elective political leadership positions in Seme Constituency.
- 2) To investigate the socio-economic challenges faced by women when participating on elective political leadership position in Seme Constituency.
- 3) To examine Institutional factors that influence women's participation in political power structures and decision-making in Seme Constituency.

1.6 Justification of the study

This study is important because the data will be resourceful to scholars and policy makers as well as contribute to the inadequate literature on gender participation in electoral politics in Africa in general and Kenya in particular. The rationale for promoting women's participation in political dispensation is based on equity, quality and development. This rarely happens despite gender activism, sensitization, capacity building, lobbying and mobilization of key women to take-up various political leadership positions. While a few researchers have in recent past began to document on women's participation in management positions in Kenya, such documentation has not focused on factors that influence women participation on elective leadership positions and specifically in Seme Constituency. This under-rides the fact that in Seme Constituency no female

has been elected to parliament and even vie for the same position since 1992 and earlier years further substantiates its justification. The quest for gender participation and leadership through elective process is a challenge in the society, despite the new constitution guaranteeing women participation on elective political leadership positions.

1.7 The Scope of the study

This study involved interviewing a fraction of registered voters, politicians and lobby groups in Seme Constituency while analyzing their views to get the exact picture of the situation. The study examined how the cultural factors, the socio-economic challenges and the institutional factors had influenced women's participation in political power structures and decision-making in Seme. This study was very involving and due to time and resource constraints, it was limited only to Seme Constituency. The researcher also experienced a number of limitations, for example interview with some key informants took longer than anticipated due to bureaucratic procedure in scheduling interview.

1.8 Theoretical Framework of the Study

This study is based on Pearson's gender relations theory. This theory was developed by Ruth Pearson in 1995. This is where the society views all activities that are carried out to be based on social roles and interactions of men and women. The society seems to have ultimate authority on the precise nature of what women and men actually do, and their real contribution to production and reproduction which turns out to be biased against women as pointed out by Orodho (2004).

Pearson's gender relations theory is appropriate for this study because it emphasizes the various social, cultural and economic norms and standards which must be considered for women to take the opportunities to participate in social activities such as politics. These cultural and economic norms emphasize in the theory are the factors that affect women participation in elective political leadership positions. This theory is relevant for this study because it captures the variables. In the traditional set up the family is headed by a house head, a position accepted by the male parent. The patriarchal ideology is thus dominant. The roles assigned to women are narrowly defined. They are expected to be good wives and mothers.

While political participation is an essential component of accessing, allocating and controlling political resources, patriarchal politics points to two bottlenecks for most African women. First, because women are generally excluded from what is conventionally regarded as politics and miss out in the negotiation of this vital resource. Secondly, because what women do in the domestic domain is not regarded as political; state support for this domain is still very low, hence women's appropriation from the vital resources is significantly low. This, therefore, suggests that patriarchy limits women's participation in politics even when the public sphere becomes democratized. The above theoretical discussion suggests that patriarchal politics is a pervasive

socio-cultural practice constructed from patriarchy in many African societies. It represents one of the most formidable constraints created by men as a social system that creates a gendered political relationship. The theoretical discussion also suggests that patriarchy is not based on biological differences between males and females. Rather it is also a cultural and social construction that perpetually relegates women to the background and dis-empowers women from political decision-making. Patriarchy, therefore, imposes a number of customary restrictions, such as non-accessibility to means of production (land), disinheritance of females, humiliating widowhood rites, taboos against women's acquisition of property, beliefs in supernatural forces and exclusion from political decision-making mostly at community levels according to Badmus (2006).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the existing literature on the subject matter of the study. The sections relate past researches on factors impeding women participation in elective political leadership positions in Seme constituency, Kisumu County, Kenya. It also narrates studies carried on the topic and gives a critical review of these existing literatures. It has also highlighted gaps from the reviewed studies which have been fulfilled through this study.

2.2 Cultural issues impeding women from participating in political dispensation.

Kenya's political developments record highlights the need for devolution of powers. This is an area where women need to provide leadership and chart a course that can provide space for them as one of the marginalized groups of Kenyans. At independence in 1963, Kenya was a constitutionally devolved state with gender issues well catered for as pointed out by EPPP (2013). This status quo was changed by carefully orchestrated Constitutional Amendments in the period 1964-1969. Gender issues were thus disregarded. When giving their views to the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC), many women felt that devolution of powers should be revitalized. They thought that this would give them equal parliamentary and local representation. It would also ensure greater women control over resources such as land and ensure a general principle of mixed member proportion system so that at least one third of the total elective posts and public appointments are occupied by women. It would also permit independent candidature in general elections so that women are not dependent on party nomination. This would ensure fair representation of women in legislative chambers, district and local councils as pointed out by CKRC (2002). Undoubtedly, women in Kenya are

disempowered and alienated from the government. This study, therefore, aims at determining factors that impede women participation in political leadership in Kenya.

According to Adhiambo-Oduol (2003) study, several obstacles have been identified that generally prevent women from advancing to political spheres. Key amongst this formidable barrier is the institutional framework guiding gender division of labour, recruitment, and vertical mobility. Current estimates show that women are particularly disadvantaged with their labour often under-valued and under-utilized. Women are more likely to be employed than men, yet their average income is lower. Socio-cultural beliefs, attitudes, biases and stereotypes have been identified as major barriers, Adhiambo-Oduol (2003). These emphasize the superiority of men and the inferiority of women. They form the integral part of socialization process in form of gender education and training that men and women are exposed to from childhood. Another obstacle confronting women is lack of enough participation and empowerment in decisions that affect their lives in political and social processes. Men dominate public decision-making processes. It is the male values that are reflected in the decision-making bodies, Obura (2008). This study, therefore, determines how institutional factors impede women participation in political leadership in Seme Constituency, Kenya.

Obura (2008) in his study observes that the society's perception of women is for the most part negative with the best women as mothers, and their capabilities and capacities going virtually unnoticed. The subordinate position of women in the society seems to legitimize their exclusion from participation in political and decision making processes. Many stories depict women as disloyal, disagreeable, untrustworthy, stupid and even gullible. Even today women continue to be left out of official records and when recognized, they are addressed as those who need welfare assistance rather than actors in the historical process. The heavy under-representation of women

in political life and most decision making processes in Kenya needs to be closely investigated. This study investigated into why Some women were politically dormant yet they constitute an enormous political energy that is under-utilized.

According to Kabira and Nzioki (1995) study, though women have leadership skills and can use these skills in many community based activities, they do not have confidence in themselves as leaders hence need to recognize their skills as leadership skills. Also, women are reluctant to take on recognized leadership and decision-making roles because of pressures to juggle other areas of life and concerns such roles will take over their lives. Karl (2001) explores some of the factors affecting women's political participation worldwide. Among the factors she cites include: household status; work related rights (maternity leave, job security, provision of child-care); employment and remuneration; double burden of work; education and literacy; access to financial resources; legal rights; traditions, cultural attitudes and religion; socialization and self-reliance; violence against women; the mass media; health; ability to control fertility. This study, therefore, determines factors impede women participation in political leadership in Seme Constituency, Kenya.

Cooper and Davidson (2002) sought to study the problems that women in leadership positions generally face. They found that women face stress from both the work, home and social environments. In addition, women have to acquire male leadership and managerial skills (for example, being aggressive, assertive, confident), as well as multiple demands in running a career and a family. Other sources of stress include difficult working relationships with male bosses and colleagues, sexual harassment, limited opportunities for promotion and career development. The aim of this study, therefore, is to determine the factors that impede women participation in political leadership in Seme Constituency, Kenya.

There is evidence that women may be more aware than men of the potential costs of leadership as pointed out by Hassim & Shireen (2009). Women do worry about the contradictions between acceptable feminine behavior and the requirements of powerful positions. Young women asked to imagine themselves in powerful positions rate such positions as be less positive than young men do. Furthermore, the women betray awareness of the possibility that relationship problems could ensue if they were to hold such positions. Some describe themselves as potentially very unlikable in such roles, using words such as “dominating, aggressive,” “opinionated,” “power hungry,mean,” “bossy, direct and aggressive.”Clearly, they recognize the near-impossibility of “softening” one’s image while yet maintaining the air of authority, determination and competence necessary to convince others that one can exercise strong leadership according to Hassim & Shireen (2009). This study, therefore, aims to determine the factors that impede women participation in political leadership in Seme Constituency, Kenya.

2.3 Socio-Economic challenges facing women participation on elective leadership position

Kenya’s development record and its demographic composition suggest a need for active involvement of women in key decision-making bodies. A recent survey in Kenya has revealed that women constitute majority of voters and that their level of participation in electoral politics is minimal EPPP (2013). This is a clear indication that even though women form the majority voters (decision makers) in Kenya, they are still under-represented in leadership positions. Women’s participation in electoral politics since Kenya’s independence in 1963 has been limited to providing support to male politicians. This study, therefore, aims at determining the socio-economic factors that have impeded women participation in political leadership in Seme Constituency, Kenya.



Most important, though the Constitution reform has brought quota system by introduction of one third gender roles and creating position of women representative, women have not taken active roles in participating into elective political positions, (The Kenyan Constitution, 2010). Inadequate voter education, political patronage and cultural beliefs are hurdles for women desiring for County representative seats. It appears that the acceptable scripts for women in powerful public political roles are still rigidly defined and easy to violate by being too “pushy” or too “soft,” too “strident” or too accommodating, too sexless or too sexual. It seems all too easy for women leaders to run afoul of their constituents or their colleagues by deviating from the narrowly-defined set of behaviors in which cultural femininity overlaps with leadership. With the necessity to conform to two, often conflicting sets of expectations, high-profile women leaders in the United States are relentlessly held to a higher standard than their male counterparts as pointed out by Smulders (2008). This study is carried out in order to determine the socio-economic factors that have impeded women participation in political leadership in Seme Constituency, Kenya.

According to (APEC women and the economy Summit 2011), women need to claim their share of leadership positions, and to operate effectively within such positions. This can only be achieved when women and men are aware of these differential expectations. They must also know how these affect both leaders and constituents, and understand what responses may be useful. The survey creates a gap that can only be filled by conducting a study on how socio-economic factors impede women participation in political leadership Seme constituency, Kenya.

According to a study carried out by Adhiambo-Oduol in Kenya, power operates as a social structure, made up of numerous practices that maintain a cultural system of dominance. The practices that maintain a power system include patterns of discourse, shared understandings

about and participation in a set of values, expectations, norms and roles. This social structure transcends, in some respects, the wishes or behavior of any particular individual and has a tendency to shape decisions, interactions, and social relations to fit it. Responses to women and men in leadership roles are conditioned by a social structure traditionally dominated by men. she has identified four key ways in which female and male leaders elicit different responses from those around them. These different responses appear to be due, not so much to different leadership behaviors by women and men, as to the stimulus value of women or men in these roles. A woman leader stimulates a different reaction than a male leader. A woman leader have learned expectations which are shaped and supported by the surrounding social structure, that invalidates and undercuts women's attempt to be effective, influential and powerful (Adhiambo-Oduol, 2003). A similar study has not been conducted in Seme thus creating a gap that can be filled through this research paper on factors that influence women participation in leadership position.

People think "male" when they think "leader," and that this result transcends many cultural differences. Because of perceived incompatibility between the requirements of femininity and those of leadership, women are often required to "soften" their leadership styles to gain the approval of their constituents. Women who do not temper their agency and competence with warmth and friendliness risk being disliked and less influential; men face no such necessity to be agreeable while exercising power. Women who lead with an autocratic style are the targets of more disapproval than those who enact a more democratic style; men may choose the autocratic style with relative impunity, if they are effective leaders. When women demonstrate competent leadership within an explicitly masculine arena something that often requires the application of a "harder" leadership style, they are disliked and disparaged.

It is often easier for women to participate in local politics like in Seme than at the national level since eligibility criteria for the local level are less stringent. Moreover, local government is the closest to the women's sphere of life, and easier to combine with rearing children. It can be the first level that women can break into and as such it may serve as a springboard to national politics, by developing capacities and gaining experiences. Likewise local politics such as MCA and Women representative positions can be more interesting to women as they are well acquainted with their community, being the major users of space and services in the local community (water, electricity, waste disposal, health clinics, and other social services). They also participate actively in organizations in their neighborhood, and it's easier to involve these organizations in formal political decision making at the local level. As many women participate in organizations at the local level it is often thought that decentralization is in women's interest. But decentralization makes the local level more important, and as this importance grows, so does male interest in it. Women are still hampered by many barriers; individual as well as institutional factors related to the organization of society and the political system, with the risk that they will not reap equal benefits Olojede (2009).

According to Cooper (2002) study in London, the stereotype that women are more talkative than men lacks evidence. It often appears that people use women's supposed loquaciousness as a justification for "tuning out" much of what women say. Women report that they do not feel listened to, that when they speak in meetings their comments and suggestions are ignored or belittled and that the same comments or suggestions from men have more impact. They are not imagining this reaction. One pair of researchers trained women and men to try to take leadership of mixed-sex groups by making the same suggestions, using the same words. Group members responded to the male would-be leaders' comments with attention, nods, and smiles; they

responded to the women by looking away and frowning, Cooper (2002). Furthermore, these group members were not aware that those they were treating would-be female and male leaders differently. This pattern occurs not only in the lab, but in the real world. Field studies of small group meetings in organizations show that women leaders are targets of more displays of negative emotion than men leaders, even when both sets of leaders are viewed as equally competent. Women would-be leaders are sometimes advised to eschew feminine modesty and promote their own abilities, strengths and accomplishments because they are stereotyped as less competent than men. However, self-promotion can be dangerous for women. As noted above, women who act more confident and assertive than is the norm for women run the risk of disapproval. Research demonstrates that when women promote their own accomplishments it can cause their audience to view them as more competent but at the cost of viewing them as less likeable. Men who promote their own accomplishments do not reap the same mixed outcomes: as long as they do not overdo it, self-promotion brings them both higher evaluations of competence and likeability. This study was carried out in London and not in Kenya thus creates a research gap that can be filled by a study on factors that impede women from Seme constituency from participating in politics.

2.4 Institutional factors & their influence on women participation

Given the issues raised so far, it is not surprising to learn that, in order for women to be accepted in leadership roles, they must often have external endorsements. Particularly in competitive, highly-masculinized contexts, simply having leadership training or task-related expertise does not guarantee a woman's success unless accompanied by legitimation by another established leader according to Hassim (2009). Women face the most resistance to their leadership and influence in roles that are male-dominated and characterized as masculine. As social attitudes

have shifted to define fewer arenas as masculine, acceptance of women as leaders in the other arenas has grown. This study thus aims at filling a research gap on how institutional factors can impede women from Seme constituency from participating in politics.

Women already in leadership positions even those in male-dominated contexts while acutely aware of the narrow path they must tread, find rewards in these roles: a sense of competence and of positive impact and the opportunity to empower others. These rewards, they say, help compensate for the heavy demands and the caution demanded by the contradictory expectations associated with their leadership roles. However, there is no telling how many women never get to this point turned away from aspirations to leadership because of the difficulties and costs they anticipate according to Olojede (2009). The study will therefore fill a research gap on how institutional factors can impede women from Seme constituency from participating in politics.

A survey carried out among national parliaments in the world by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (1997) revealed that women make up less than 5 per cent of world's heads of state, heads of major corporations, and top positions in international organizations. Five years down the line, the IPU has established that women are not just behind in political and managerial equity, they are a long way behind. Politics is everyone's business and affects the lives of each of us. The more women are associated in numbers in political decision making process in governments, the more they can change the modalities and outcomes of policies. Only then will the concept of democracy find concrete and tangible expression. This study sought to come up with strategies for enhancing women's participation in political power structures and decision-making in Seme constituency, Kenya.

Women and men are different in a number of aspects. Making equal use of both sexes encompasses more perspectives, qualities and inputs. Since gender equality is fundamental for equal rights, opportunity, access of power etc. it is of utmost importance to reflect these conditions in a country's political organization structure. (IDEA, 2003) maintains that in order to mainstream gender equality in politics in any country, a clear programme needs to be designed, where entry points for follow-up on gender equality perspectives can be identified. A thorough gender analysis of national context must therefore be made to highlight inequalities, and to take action on promotion of gender equality. Clear operational goals should be set for the programme with regard to strengthening gender equality. This study envisaged investigating the relevance of such a programme in Kenya.

Women's groups in Kenya have a long history. Through these groups women have helped each other in time of need. Women's groups are the catalysts for Kenya's development. There are over 50 women's NGOs in Kenya (Gok, 2001). They can broadly be categorized as social welfare organizations, professional organizations, political organizations, religious organizations, and co-operatives. Some of these organizations are very small while others have large national membership. While some of these organizations are purely local in character, others have international affiliation on whose charters their activities are based. This study thus aims at filling a research gap on how institutional factors can impede women from some constituency from participating in politics.

These organizations can be avenues for promoting women's participation in political power structures and decision-making. This study envisages to investigate into how far these organizations have enhanced women's participation in electoral politics in Kenya. Women's organisations are also very important in mobilising women voters and in lobbying for more

women in political leadership. They can be seen as a recruitment pool for political posts. Women can gain experience in organisations like water or school committees. Female politicians coming from the women's movement tend to be more committed to both ensuring that the political system is made accessible to other women, and to promoting women's issues. They also are more committed to maintaining links with women's organisations and other NGO's, and to informing and staying informed about women's issues.

According to Karl (2001), some of the challenges women face in the quest for leadership also includes exclusion from political parties, where men effectively create quotas for themselves. For example, there is always the awarding of direct party nominations to male candidates. Paradoxically, when women seek mechanisms to put them in winnable positions, they are told to wait. In addition, male dominated archetypes of what is an acceptable leadership style still prevail. Whilst there are no substantive differences between men and women in terms of style, there are perceptions of differences. This in part may arise from the fact that women have a tendency to use "soft skills" such as communication skills and favor a more democratic leadership style. Such an approach is not yet valued to the same extent as the image of a strong, visionary (usually male) leader out in front. Many men and women alike still seem to work with a male definition of leadership. So, in part of the reason for women not being found in leadership positions is because they don't see themselves as leaders or want to be leaders. Leadership remains defined in male terms. This study thus aims at filling a research gap on how institutional factors can impede women from some constituency from participating in politics.

Nzomo (2012) in his study he cites that majority of voters are in youths between 25-39 years and gives examples with regard to voting are: Registration procedures (cultural norms and values may prohibit women from having a photograph taken for voter registration cards or from

showing their face to male officers in polling booths, prevent women from voting). Voting procedures (if the elections are not secret women may be controlled by their husbands), accessibility of polling stations (in general women are less free to move around). Civic education (women have got less education and are usually less informed about the electoral process, the meaning of elections and the right to vote). Examples with regard to nomination and election are: In the selection criteria: the high level of education, the membership of certain professions, as well as party activism and service, are easier to deal with for men. Women are not involved in systems as patronage and clientele; systems that bring people in decision-making positions. Another important factor is the selection process and the electoral and political system. Important criteria in systems dealing with individual candidates (rather than party lists) are popularity with opinion leaders, right family connections and sufficient funds. These criteria are more difficult to obtain by women. Preferential voting can be an advantage for women candidates. Important is whether there are specific policies to increase women's participation (reserved seats, quotas). This study, therefore, aims at filling a research gap on how institutional factors can impede women from some constituency from participating in politics.

According to Ossome (2011), in Kenya, the women's movement though fractured, has often demonstrated unity of purpose and in so doing, facilitated the attainment of the progressive and women friendly 2010 Constitution. In the analysis on political leadership in Kenya, the role of women's NGOs is viewed as a crucial mechanism for political mobilization, advocacy; a political bridge, a vehicle and midwife for championing women's rights. The Kenya women's movement has played a key role as a change agent in respect to engendering governance in general. In particular, women's organizations have served as a crucial support structure for women politicians and have been the key "incubator" for 'breeding' /training women political

representatives within and outside Parliament, by building their capacity for political office. Indeed, almost all women political representatives in the current and previous Parliaments are products of women's civil society activism and capacity building training programs. Women's NGOs also serve as a crucial mechanism and political agents for civic empowerment of citizens and political mobilization of women and advocating for accountability from the State and society. Ossome (2011) has also underscored the importance the Kenya women's movement, as a support structure for women MPs within Parliament and within political parties, noting that women's presence in the state is insufficient to redirect public resources to policies that change the condition of women's lives, without the mobilization of support from outside the state: the women's movement is the decisive factor.

The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, for example, emphasized that 'women's equal participation in decision making is not only a demand for justice or democracy, but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account. Without the perspective of women at all levels of decision making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved.' The Platform therefore emphasized the need (i) to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in all power structures and decision making; and (ii) to increase women's capacity to participate in decision making and leadership. Similarly, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), in Article 7, called upon State parties 'to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country.' In addition, the UN Security Council's Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security also reaffirmed the importance of equal participation and full involvement of women in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, as well as the need to increase women's role in decision

making. Despite these provisions the challenge of gender imbalance in political leadership remains. This view finds support in International Agreements and Conventions, which have persistently stressed on the importance of women's equal participation in political leadership.

The end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century has witnessed a steady increase in women's political participation in Africa. In a UN report 'Africa and the Millennium Development Goals–2007 Update', it is noted that the share of parliamentary seats held by women in Africa increased from 7 per cent in 1990 to 17 per cent in 2007, which is close to the global average. By the end of the 20th century, a few African countries, for example Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and South Africa had set quotas for women in national and local legislative bodies, a sign of a renewed commitment to have more women in political leadership.

According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), on average women constitute 18.8 percent of representatives in parliaments across the world. With 56 percent representation, Rwandese women are sitting on top of the world rankings of women in national parliaments. A few other African countries such as South Africa, Mozambique Angola and Uganda, have already attained the critical mass threshold of 33% women representation in decision-making. Furthermore the SADC countries of Southern Africa have already a Protocol on Gender and Development that commits member countries to work towards the goal of having 50% women in political and decision-making positions by 2015.

Women sometimes actively chose not to be involved in institutionalized power structures because they feel they can better use their energies on the outside and retain their integrity as well have flexibility to deal with caring responsibilities. Where there is full support for the caring

responsibilities of women, they are more likely to be involved in formal decision - making and leadership positions though often channeled into stereotypical areas. Women have a better chance of making a difference where there is support from inside and outside political parties. In the society women are not seen to fit leadership ideal, their leadership are also evaluated against masculine leadership norm

Andersen's research in Tanzania (1992) shows that all women local leaders – despite internal differences – have had to fight hard in order to get education and to conquer male resistance against their political activity. Many of them have experienced one or more divorces and today about half of the women live as single women. Accusations against female leaders of being prostitutes, witches etc. are frequent and indicate that the women leaders actually challenge some very fundamental values concerning the proper distribution of tasks and responsibilities between men and women. They challenge prevailing gender ideologies and gender identities in the area. Women's participation also depends on the gender equality policies within a country. The existence of women's organizations to promote the political participation of women and to give support to elected women is very important as well.

2.5 Gaps identified from literature review

Women are active in participatory democracy often taking on leadership roles. Women sometimes actively choose not to be involved in institutionalized power structures because they feel they can better use their energies on the outside and retain their integrity as well have flexibility to deal with caring responsibilities. Where there is full support for the caring responsibilities of women, they are more likely to be involved in formal decision - making and leadership positions though often channeled into stereotypical areas. Women have a better

chance of making a difference where there is support from inside and outside political parties. In the society women are not seen to fit leadership ideal, their leadership are also evaluated against masculine leadership norm as stated by Olojede (2009).

Several obstacles have been identified that generally prevent women from advancing to political spheres. Adhiambo-Oduol (2003) identifies socio-cultural beliefs, attitudes, biases and stereotypes as major barriers. These emphasize the superiority of men and the inferiority of women. Men dominate public decision-making processes; it is the male values that are reflected in the decision-making bodies according to Obura (2008). Karl (2001) also explores some of the factors affecting women's political participation worldwide.

The factors Obura (2008) cites include: house-hold status; work related rights (maternity leave, job security, provision of child-care); employment and remuneration; double burden of work; education and literacy; access to financial resources; legal rights; traditions, cultural attitudes and religion; socialization and self-reliance; violence against women; the mass media; health; ability to control fertility. Cooper and Davidson (2002) also carried out a study on the problems that women in leadership positions generally face. They found that women face stress from both the work, home and social environments. In addition, women have to acquire male leadership and managerial skills (for example, being aggressive, assertive, confident), as well as multiple demands in running a career and a family.

According to Kabira & Nzioki (1995), there is evidence that women may be more aware than men of the potential costs of leadership. Women do worry about the contradictions between acceptable feminine behavior and the requirements of powerful positions. Young women asked to imagine themselves in powerful positions rate such positions as be less positive than young

men do. Furthermore, the women betray awareness of the possibility that relationship problems could ensue if they were to hold such positions. Some describe themselves as potentially very unlikable in such roles; using words such as “dominating, aggressive,” “opinionated,” “power hungry, mean,” “bossy, direct and aggressive.” Clearly, they recognize the near-impossibility of “softening” one’s image while yet maintaining the air of authority, determination and competence necessary to convince others that one can exercise strong leadership.

Olojede (2009) in his study observed that women already in leadership positions even those in male-dominated contexts while acutely aware of the narrow path they must tread, find rewards in these roles. They also find a sense of competence and of positive impact and the opportunity to empower others. These rewards, they say, help compensate for the heavy demands and the caution demanded by the contradictory expectations associated with their leadership roles. However, there is no telling how many women never get to this point turned away from aspirations to leadership because of the difficulties and costs they anticipate, Olojede (2009). In general, women face the most resistance to their leadership and influence in roles that are male-dominated and characterized as masculine.

This study envisaged to investigate into how far these organizations have enhanced women’s participation in electoral politics in Kenya. Women’s organisations are also very important in mobilizing women voters and in lobbying for more women in political leadership. They can be seen as a recruitment pool for political posts. Women can gain experience in organizations like water or school committees. Female politicians coming from the women’s movement tend to be more committed to both ensuring that the political system is made accessible to other women, and to promoting women’s issues.

Bhasin & Kamla (1993), in their study "What is Patriarchy," demonstrate that Kenya political system is patriarchal in nature. Most of the parties are established by men who rarely accommodate the women. Also a lot of the women do not have the financial capacity to operate in most of these political parties, because our political system has been highly monetized. The nature of Kenyan politics also discourages women's participation. Political meetings are often held late at night on an ad hoc basis, making attendance difficult for women, who face greater personal risk in travelling alone at night and often have to arrange for assistance to care for families. More generally, politics is considered to be a 'dangerous' pursuit in Kenya and female politicians are frequently considered of dubious moral character, given their desire to be involved in this profession. The men tend to adhere strictly to the popular saying that the position of women ends in the kitchen or in household. Kenyan women did not fully participate in elective political positions in the just concluded general elections, despite the new constitution providing a fairer playing ground for women candidates. This research will therefore aim at filling the research gap by carrying a research on women participation in politics in Seme constituency.

Women, however, should have taken solace in the constitutionally backed affirmative action that created a position of women representatives in every county. However they also benefited from the same constitutional provision that required at least one-third of people appointed in certain positions to be women. Kenya has remained greatly challenged with regard to women ascending into public political leadership positions. The low participation of women in these positions affects their progress in improving the legal and regulatory framework for promoting gender equality and equity since very few women are influencing the legislative process. There is no sufficient data on the factors affecting women's involvement in political dispensation in Seme constituency. The study will be a post-election analysis of women's participation in the last

general elections, which ushered in a new political dispensation Kenya, therefore this study intends to contribute to affirmative action policies that will enhance gender mainstreaming and equal participation in all leadership and development processes, Kenya in General and Seme Constituency in particular.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methodology that will be used in data collection and analysis. The methodology focuses on the design, target population, sampling techniques, and sampling size, research instruments that were used in data collection, their validity and reliability of data collection process and analysis.

3.2 Research Design

The researcher employed cross sectional descriptive research design. Cross sectional descriptive research design sought to uncover the nature of factors involved in a given situation, the degree in which it existed and the relationship among them as pointed out by Bell (1993). Cross sectional descriptive research design was undertaken in order to ascertain and describe the characteristics of the variables of interest in a situation. It was used to describe the characteristics of women who are currently engaged in politics and those who had failed in political turbulence. Cross sectional descriptive research design was employed because it allowed the researcher to adopt a holistic approach of the study sampled.

3.3 The Study Area

Seme constituency is situated in Kisumu County which is in the Western part of Kenya positioned on the shores of Lake Victoria, the largest fresh water lake in Africa. The Constituency lies within longitude $33^{\circ} 20^{\circ}$ and $35^{\circ} 20^{\circ}$ E and latitude $0^{\circ} 20^{\circ}$ s and $0^{\circ} 50^{\circ}$ s. Seme Constituency is bordered on the Western and the Southern sides by Lake Victoria and on the Eastern and Northern sides by the main road from Kisumu to Uganda. The Constituency has a mean annual rainfall of 1630mm, (Republic of Kenya, 2009). The study was conducted in the four wards within Seme Constituency namely West Seme, East Seme, Central Seme, and North

West Seme. In Seme Constituency, no female had been elected to parliament and even vied for the same position since 1992. This situation has been contributed to by the cultural, socio-economic and institutional factors. These factors to great extent have hindered women's participation in political power structures and decision-making in Seme.

3.4 Study population

The study focused on registered voters, chief campaigners, lobby groups and coalitions. These provided an adequate target population since they engaged in issues that affect women in socio-political realms. The population of the wards studied was as follows: West Seme-28,456, East Seme-21,688, North Seme-25,448, Central Seme-23, 213. The total population size in the constituency is 98,805 persons according to the (National Census, 2009). Population proportional to size (PPS) sampling technique was used to sample respondents from the four wards as shown on table 3.1 below.

3.5 Sampling Procedure & Sample Size

Table 3.2: Study population and sample size for the study

WARDS	Area (Sq. Km)	TOTAL	Respondents
West Seme	77.10	28,456	111
East Seme	55.70	21,688	84
North Seme	70.90	25,448	99
Central Seme	63.60	23,213	90
Total		98,805	384

Source: (National Census, 2009)

The study sample was determined using the formula adopted from Mugenda (2003). The researcher used the prevalence rate of 50% to calculate the sample size as follows.

$$n = \frac{Z^2 \cdot p \cdot (1 - p)}{d^2} \text{ or } \frac{Z^2 \cdot p \cdot q}{d^2}$$

(z. =1.96, d.=0.05, p.= this can be determined or use the 48% = 0.48, q.=1-p =

1- 0.48 = 0.52)

$$n = \frac{1.96^2 (0.48 \times 0.52)}{0.05^2} = \frac{3.8416 \times 0.2494}{0.0025} = \frac{0.95886336}{0.0025} = 383.545344 = 384$$

The sample size is 384 respondents.

3.3.1 Sample selection

The study used simple random and purposive sampling approaches. The researcher employed these sampling techniques because they enabled an in-depth knowledge of the study using a small population sample from each of the selected respondents. Simple random sampling enabled the researcher to give the respondents an equal chance of being selected, therefore, minimizing gender bias in the research. This technique was applied when selecting respondents who were engaged in the structured questionnaire. Whereas Purposive sampling was used to reach focus group discussants and key informants interviewees. The technique allowed the researcher to use cases that had the required information with respect to the objectives of the study. According to Oso & Onen (2008), registered voters and chief campaigners together with women who had vied and lost were selected using population proportional to size (PPS)

sampling technique. Under population proportional to size sampling technique, respondents were included in the sample depending on their numerical strength. Cluster sampling is applied and in each of the wards, equal numbers of questionnaires are administered per cluster to ensure equal representation. Therefore, an average sample of 96 respondents per ward is selected from the respondents.

3.4 Data Collection Techniques

Data was from two main sources; primary and secondary. In using Primary sources data was collected from sampled respondents, both men and women using Focus Group Discussions guides, Key Informant Interview Guides and Household Questionnaires. Secondary sources include relevant documents and reports. The researcher employs the technique to pick information that is available from these reports.

3.4.1 Primary data

The study involves both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The use of the two approaches at the same time in basic research is recommended by Gay (2006) as the best way to get sufficient results.

3.4.1.1 Questionnaires

The structured questionnaires were the main instrument that was used to gather quantitative data. The researcher prefers to use this method because of its ability to solicit information from respondents within a short time as supported by Gupta (2009). Both Open and closed ended questionnaires were administered. This is because Close ended questionnaires are easier to analyze since they are in an immediate usable form and again each item may be followed by alternative answers. Open ended questions permit a great depth of response. A respondent was

allowed to give a personal response. Usually, the response given is directly or indirectly included in the study. Data from respondents focuses on the knowledge the households have, the source of this knowledge, whether they practice what they know and the general attitude towards women participation in elective leadership positions. A total of 304 questionnaires are administered in the study.

3.4.1.2 Focus group discussion guide

Focus group discussants are groups of people whose opinions and experiences are solicited simultaneously. This is efficient in that it generates a lot of dialogue. The composition of the groups is limited to those with similar characteristics, such as socio economic status, so that the members can feel free in contributing to the issues at hand. This allows members to share their views, experiences and opinions. Focus group discussions were employed to gather data from lobby groups, five women who vied and lost the last general elections, and political parties on the cultural and socio-economic issues impeding women from participating in political dispensation. A list of registered political parties active in this constituency was obtained from the registrar of societies. Offices of the leading women's political lobby groups such as the Kenya Women's Political Alliance (KWPA), League of Women Voters, National Women's Convention (NWC), were also visited where a focus group discussion guide was employed. In this category data was gathered to establish the efforts made to actively involve women in electoral politics while a total of 60 respondents were selected based on the targeted organizations.

3.4.1. Interviews Schedule

Key informant interviews were used for the Lobby Group Leaders, women who vied and lost the last general elections and Chief Campaigners on the cultural and socio-economic issues impeding women from participating in political dispensation. Interviews are designed in such a way that more specific and truthful answers that relate to the topic are realized. Interviews are preferred because according to Gupta (2009), they give an opportunity to probe detailed information on an issue. Interviews make it possible to obtain data required to meet specific objectives of the study. Interviews are more flexible than questionnaires because the interviewer can adapt to the situation and get as much information as possible. Registered voters in Seme Constituency irrespective of gender and party affiliation are the key informants in this study. The category yields crucial data on the challenges women face first because of being women and secondly for being politicians. A total of 20 respondents are engaged in this study in the KII process.

3.4.2 Secondary data

The data is availed from relevant literature like, data from surveys, text books from various libraries and reports on political dispensation that is used in the study to verify/qualify some of the findings.

3.5. Piloting testing of the study

A pilot study is usually carried out on members of the relevant population, but not on those who form part of the final sample. This is because it may influence the later behavior of research subjects if they have already been involved in the research, (Van Teijlingen & Hundley 2001).

The researcher employs convenient sampling technique in Bondo and its environs, a total of 10

respondents are employed to test the data collection tools that are adopted namely; focused group discussion guides and Questionnaires. This sampling technique is preferred by the researcher because it is fast, inexpensive, and easy and the subjects are readily available.

3.6 Data analysis and presentation

The research involves both qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative data from FGD and KII was analyzed according to the emerging themes and sub themes. This is done through selection of similar statements hence qualitative findings are synchronized with quantitative findings. Quantitative data is coded to be entered into database and analyzed through descriptive statistics (frequency, percentages, mean, range). Qualitative data is used to describe the population. The questionnaire were first cleaned and sorted then coded and entered into an excel sheet, the data is then screened on Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) computer software version 20 for analysis of quantitative data. Then the frequencies established were linked to the qualitative data. Chi-square tests enables the researcher to compare observed and expected frequencies objectively, since it is not always possible to tell just by looking at them whether they were different enough to be considered statistically significant. Statistical significance in this case implies that the differences are not due to chance alone, but instead is indicative of other processes at work.

3.7 Ethical consideration

The Researcher ensures that participants are well informed of the intentions of the study so that they can participate from a point of information. The purpose, procedure and benefits of the study are explained; inclusion is voluntary. Informed written consent is sought from the study participants. Consent is translated and simplified in Kiswahili and dholuo by the research assistants to facilitate understanding of information contained therein. The researcher also ensures that data collected is analyzed professionally and that it is not fudged to conform to a predetermined opinion.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and interpretation of the study. The chapter has been subdivided into sections and subsections. The demographic information of the respondents such as gender and age has been presented first. After the demographic findings of the study have been discussed the researcher presented the research findings on the basis of the study objectives. The quantitative data was analysed using both descriptive and inferential statistics. The descriptive statistics was used to describe and summarize the data in form of charts, tables, frequencies and percentages. The inferential statistics was used to help make inferences and draw conclusions. Statistical tests including Chi-square test (χ^2), was used to compare the variables under study. The chi-square test enables the researcher to explain whether or not two attributes are associated (Kothari, 2008). All tests of significance was computed at $\alpha = 0.05$. For the qualitative data a thematic analysis approach was used. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 22 was used to analyse the data.

4.2 Demographic information of the respondents

The data used in this study was drawn from a sample of 384 respondents in the 4 wards in Seme. The sampled respondents were 384 registered voters ($n=384$) and 4 wards ($n=4$). Hence from the 4 wards the return rate was 248 respondents. The return rate of the questionnaires was 82% from the voters' respondents. The return rate was high due to the fact that the researcher administered questionnaires by himself. The demographic characteristics of the respondents were summarized below.

4.2.1: Gender distribution of the respondents

Table 4.1 Gender of the respondents

	Frequency (f)	Percentages (%)
Male	140	56
Female	108	44
Total	248	100

The findings in the table 4.1 above shows that more than a half 56% of the respondents were male respondents while 44% of the respondents were female respondents. The disparity in gender distribution was due to the fact that most the number of male registered voters were more than female registered voters. In addition the research was able to collect data across all genders hence there was no gender bias.

4.3.2: Age group of the respondents

Information on age group of respondents was sought and the results are presented in the figure 4.1

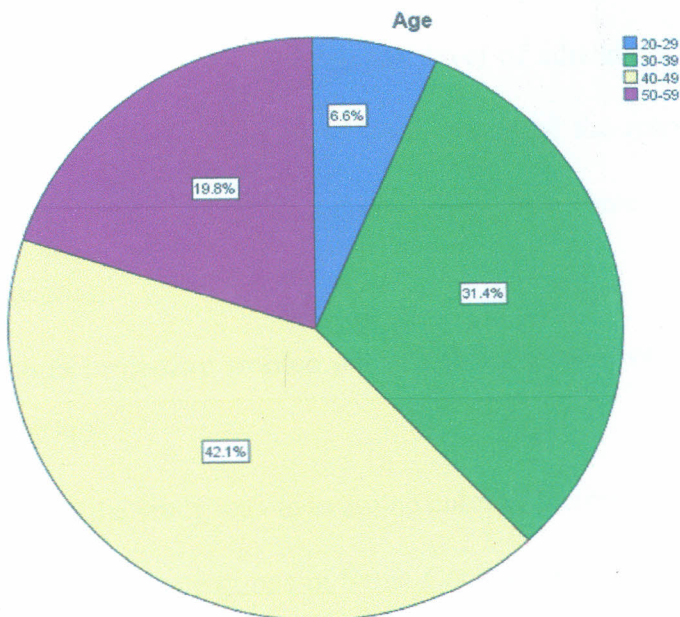


Figure 4.1 Respondents age groups

The findings in the figure 4.1 shows that majority 42.1% of the respondents were between the age group of 40-49 years, 31.4% of the respondents were between 30-39 years while 19.8% were between 50-59 years finally only 6.6% of the respondents were between 20-29 years. The study was carried across all the age groups, majority of the registered voters were between 40-49 years, the findings were contrary to that of Nzomo (2012) in his study he cites that majority of voters are in youths between 25-39 years.

4.2.3 Respondents level of education

Respondents' level of education was sought and findings presented in the table below

Table 4.2: Distribution of respondents by their level of education

Level of education	Frequency (f)	Percentages (%)
No education	35	14
Primary	68	27
Secondary education	84	34
Tertiary level of education	61	25
Total	248	100

The findings in Table 4.3 show the respondents' level of education and depicted that (14%) had no any level of education, (27%) had primary level of education. Majority of the respondents 34% had secondary level of education while a quarter of the respondents had tertiary level of education. Generally according to the findings more than three-quarter of the respondents had basic level of education.

4.3 Cultural factors impeding women participation in elective political leadership positions in Seme Constituency.

The first objective of the study was to examine cultural factors impeding women participation in elective political leadership positions in Seme Constituency. To address this research objective, research questionnaire were carefully developed for the respondents who were registered voters;

The items in the questionnaire were related to facts/perceptions which were linked to actions influencing women participation in elective political leadership position that were deemed to have bearing on cultural issues. The respondents were presented with statements that had cultural factors connotations and were Likert-scaled. The respondents were to choose from 5-point score; Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neutral (N), Disagree (D) and Strongly Disagree (SD). The respondents were asked to score on each statement based on their perception on the statement in regard to cultural factors impeding women participation in elective political leadership positions in Seme constituency.

Table 4.3: Percentage responses of respondents on items of cultural factors

Statements	SA	A	UD	D	SD
Cultural structures and processes reinforce the subordinate positions of women in political dispensation.	53(24)	109(44)	15(6)	39(16)	32(13)
Women are still locked out of political parties and denied effective political representation due to cultural related issues.	88(35)	97(39)	10(4)	31(13)	22(9)
Women are supposed to be led by men	50(20)	43(17)	24(10)	56(23)	73(29)
Women still appear indifferent to, and ignorant of, political negotiations and procedures.	29(12)	38(15)	16(6)	77(31)	88(35)
According to cultural believes it's a taboo for women to participate in political leadership.	23(9)	37(15)	33(13)	98(40)	59(24)
According to gender norms and roles men cannot be ruled by women.	48(19)	34(14)	21(8)	79(32)	66(27)
People believe that women's role is only to bear children and take care of the family in the society	65(26)	89(36)	12(5)	45(18)	36(15)

The findings in the table 4.4 showed that majority; 24% of the respondents strongly agreed and 44% agreed that cultural structures and processes reinforce the subordinate positions of women in political dispensation. Surprisingly significant proportion of the respondents 29% did not accept on the same. In addition the majority; Strongly agreed, 35%: Agreed, 39% of the respondents accepted that women were still locked out of political parties and denied effective political representation due to cultural related issues. The findings were in agreement with Adhiambo (2003) who found that women and men roles in leadership are conditioned by social structure traditionally dominated by men.

The study also found that 31% disagreed while 35% strongly disagreed to the statement that women still appear indifferent to, and ignorant of, political negotiations and procedures. However significant proportion of the respondents 27% accepted that women still appear indifferent to, and ignorant of, political negotiations and procedures. Even though 40% disagreed

and 24% strongly disagreed that according to cultural believes **it's** a taboo for women to participate in political leadership, nearly a quarter 24% accepted that it was a taboo for women to participate in political leadership.

People still had the notion that women's role is to bear children and take care of the family in the society as depicted in the study findings, majority of the respondents 62% accepted that women role is to bear children and take care of the family in the society. In addition majority were not in agreement with the statement that men cannot be ruled by women, since 32% disagreed while 27% strongly disagreed to the statement. The findings were contrary to Olojede (2009) who found that all women who are seeking leadership are sometimes advised to eschew feminine modesty and promote their own abilities, strengths and accomplishments because they are stereotyped as less competent than men

The study also found that 37% of the respondents accepted that women are supposed to be led by men. However more than a half of the respondents, 23% disagreed and 29% strongly disagreed to the statement. The findings were in agreement with that of Obura (2008) who found that men dominate public decision-making processes; hence it is the male values that are reflected in the decision-making bodies.

4.3.1 The association between cultural factors and women participation in elective political leadership

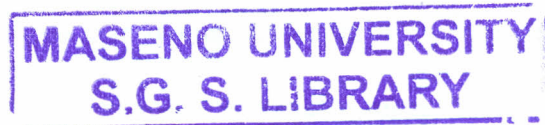
To address the first objective of the study, the association between cultural factors and women participation was sought. To do this a Chi-square test was conducted. The set scores on the cultural were used as the independent variable while scores from women participation was used as the explanatory variable (dependant variable). The results of the chi-square are presented in table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Statistical Significance of cultural factors and women participation Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	34.621 ^a	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	42.049	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.083	1	.773
N of Valid Cases	206		

a. 3 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.41.

The chi- square test shows that there was a statistically significant association: $\chi^2 (6) = 34.6, p < .001$ between cultural issues and women participation political leadership positions. The findings were similar to that of Adhiambo (2003) who also found that socio-cultural beliefs and stereotypes are major barriers to women’s political participation in elective leadership’s positions. The findings were also in agreement with that of Nzomo (2012) who found that inadequate voter education, political patronage and cultural beliefs are hurdles for women eying County representative seats



4.4 Socio-economic factors impeding women participation on elective political leadership position in Seme Constituency.

The second objective of the study was to investigate socio-economic factors impeding women participation on political leadership positions in Seme constituency. To address this research objective, research questionnaire were carefully developed for the respondents; the questionnaires were investigating on the socio-economic factors impeding women participation on elective political leadership position.

Table 4.5: Percentage responses of respondents on items of socio-economic factors

Statements (N=248)	SA	A	U	D	SD
The community value Men who are educated more than women in leadership positions	72(29)	123(50)	10(4)	23(9)	20(8)
Women do more domestic chores like fetching firewood, water, grinding maize, taking care of family thus cannot be effective.	101(41)	104(42)	5(2)	15(6)	13(5)
Women are financially incapable of sponsoring themselves to elective leadership positions	78(31)	113(46)	14(6)	32(13)	11(4)
The community does not care whether women participate in leadership positions or not.	87(35)	103(42)	35(14)	10(4)	12(5)
Low participation of women in these positions affects their progress in improving socio-economic development.	117(47)	89(36)	8(3)	19(8)	15(6)
Most women have low socio-economic status and cannot afford to pay nomination fee	69(28)	125(50)	24(10)	20(8)	10(4)
Most women are living in poverty and cannot afford the campaign fee	85(34)	109(44)	5(2)	32(13)	7(3)
Corruption is a significant problem that impedes women participation in elective leadership positions in the political system	37(15)	48(19)	12(5)	93(38)	58(23)

The study found that more than three-quarter of the respondents, 79% accepted that the community valued Men who were educated more than women in leadership positions. Similarly 31% strongly agreed while 46% agreed that women were financially incapable of sponsoring themselves to elective leadership positions. Even though the majority, 61% of the respondents

cited that Corruption was not significant problem that impedes women participation in elective leadership positions in the political system, a significant proportion, 34% of the respondents viewed it as a problem and this was in agreement with the findings from FGDs as

The interview session established that:

“Selection criteria of candidates for election and party leadership did not favor women, despite women participation being anchored in the constitution and political parties act, unlike other countries Kenyan Political; parties disregarded the law with a lot of impunity”.

The study also found that majority of the respondents cited that women do more domestic chores like fetching firewood, water, grinding maize, taking care of family thus cannot be effective, this was depicted in the findings whereby 41% of the respondents strongly agreed to the statement while 42% agreed on the same. The findings were in agreement with Karl (2001) who found that factors influencing women participation in political elective positions were house-hold status; work related rights (maternity leave, job security, provision of child-care); employment and remuneration; double burden of work; education and literacy; access to financial resources; legal rights; traditions, cultural attitudes and religion; socialization and self-reliance; violence against women; the mass media; health; ability to control fertility. Similarly to the study findings Cooper and Davidson (2002) also found that women face stress from both the work, home and social environments. In addition, women have to acquire male leadership and managerial skills (for example, being aggressive, assertive, confident), as well as multiple demands in running a career and a family.

Poverty was a major barrier towards women participation in elective political leadership positions in Some constituency as depicted in the study findings, majority of the respondents; 34% strongly agreed; 44% agreed that most women are living in poverty and cannot afford the campaign fee. Similarly 28% of the respondents strongly agreed while 50% agreed that most women had low socio-economic status and couldn't afford to pay nomination fee. The findings were in agreement with Olojede (2009) who found that the issues of voter manipulation and voter bribery were common and elections were not issue- based with uneven electoral playing fields where women are further disadvantaged, especially due to lack of campaign financing.

4.5.1 The relationship between socio-economic factors and women participation in elective political leadership

To address the second objective of the study, the relationship between socio-economic factors and women participation in elective political leadership was sought. To do this a Chi-square test was conducted. The set scores on the socio-economic factors were used as the independent variable while scores from women participation was used as the explanatory variable (dependant variable). The results of the chi-square are presented in table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Statistical Significance of Socio-economic factors and women participation

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.145 ^a	8	.173
Likelihood Ratio	18.379	8	.302
Linear-by-Linear Association	61.34	1	.013
N of Valid Cases	248		

a. 18 cells (81.8%) have expected count less than 3. The minimum expected count is .02.

The Pearson chi-square test analysis for the socio-economic factors was computed, ($\chi^2 (8) = 21.14, p < .001$) indicated that there was a statistically significant association between socio-economic factors and women participation on elective political leadership factors in Seme constituency. The findings were in agreement with that of APEC women and the Economy Summit (2011), who found that most women were living in extreme poverty and a positive a statistical significant association between socio-economic factors and women participation on elective political positions in Nigeria.

4.6 The Institutional factors influencing women participation in political power structures and decision-making in Seme Constituency.

The third objective of the study was to examine institutional factors influencing women participation in elective political leadership positions in Seme Constituency. To address this research objective, research questionnaire were carefully developed for the respondents who were registered voters; the questionnaires were investigating on the institutional factors influencing women participation in elective political leadership positions in Seme Constituency

Table 4.7: Percentage responses of respondents on items of institutional factors

Statements (n=248)	SA	A	U	D	SD
The Community has increased the number of interactions and dialogue with women who are in politics.	48(19)	52(21)	16(6)	66(27)	86(35)
The community appreciates the role that women play in elective political positions	12(5)	39(16)	37(15)	82(33)	78(31)
Members of the community support the role that women play in politics	72(29)	85(34)	13(6)	41(17)	37(15)
Women are adequately represented in political institutions	82(33)	89(36)	12(5)	39(16)	26(10)
There are alternative strategies that can be used to enhance women's participation in electoral politics in Kenya	79(32)	106(43)	9(4)	28(11)	26(10)
Institutions can reinforce the subordinate positions of women in political dispensation	52(21)	65(26)	48(19)	52(21)	31(13)

The study found that the community doesn't appreciate the role that women play in elective political positions as depicted in the findings, as 33% disagreed; 31% strongly disagreed to the statement that the community appreciates the role that women play in elective political positions, however a significant proportion 21% of the respondents accepted that, the community appreciates the role that women play in elective political positions.

The study also found that three-quarter of the respondents, 32% strongly agreed; 43% agreed that there were alternative strategies that can be used to enhance women's participation in electoral politics in Kenya. Even though three-quarter of the respondents accepted that there were alternative strategies that can be used to enhance women's participation in electoral politics in Kenya, a significant proportion, 21% of the respondents cited that there were no alternative strategies to enhance women participation in electoral politics. The findings were in agreement with Nzomo, (2012) who found that some African countries such as South Africa, Mozambique Angola and Uganda, have already attained the critical mass threshold of 33% women

representation in decision-making. In addition the SADC countries of Southern Africa have a Protocol on Gender and Development that commits member countries to work towards the goal of having 50% women in political and decision-making positions by 2015.

Women are adequately presented in the political institutions according to the study findings, 33% strongly agreed while 36% agreed of the respondents cited that women were adequately represented. However 26% of the respondents had the opinion that women were not adequately represented in political institutions. The study findings were contrary to Nzomo, (2012) who found that despite UN Security Council's Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security reaffirming the importance of equal participation and full involvement of women in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, as well as the need to increase women's role in decision making there still exist a challenge of gender imbalance in political leadership. In addition 47% of the respondents felt that institutions could reinforce the subordinate positions of women in political dispensation while a significant proportion of the respondents, 34% felt that institutions couldn't reinforce the subordinate positions of women in political dispensation

Most of the communities have not fully increased the number of interactions and dialogue with women who are in politics as depicted in the study findings since only, 40% of the respondents felt that the community had increased the number of interactions and dialogue with women who were in politics. The findings were also in agreement with the findings of focus group discussion as majority of respondents during the focused group discussion felt that:

“The measures the government and political parties were taking to increase women representation was merely anchored on the constitution therefore they lacked the inherent good

will to encourage and empower women participation on political activities, this they stated was because none of the political players had spearheaded an initiative to encourage women political participation as a requirement for fostering development”.

4.6.1 The relationship between institutional factors and women participation in elective political leadership

To address the third objective of the study, the association between institutional factors and women participation in elective political leadership was sought. To do this a Chi-square test was conducted. The set scores on the institutional factors were used as the independent variable while scores from women participation was used as the explanatory variable (dependant variable). The results of the chi-square are presented in table 4.8.

Table 4.8: Statistical Significance of institutional factors and women participation

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	27.221 ^a	9	.000
Likelihood Ratio	16.919	9	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.083	1	.773
N of Valid Cases	248		

b. 28 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.02.

The chi square results revealed that there was statistically significant association between institutional factors and women participation in elective political leadership positions at level 0.05 ($\chi^2 (9) = 27.22; p < 0.001$;). The findings were in agreement with APEC women and the economy Summit (2011) who found that despite concerted efforts by women activists to build female political leader’s political capacity and that of voters since the first 1963 parliament, only

a total of (3 %) of 1,846 elected members of parliament have to-date been women due to institutional factors within the government impeding the implementation of appropriate policies. At the same time, the implementation of Gender Quotas has become a hostage of the institutional weakness of Kenya's electoral system and the unyielding political culture of winner-take-all electoral system and the deeply embedded patriarchal power structures.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with discussions, summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations.

5.2 Summary of the findings

This study used a cross-sectional descriptive study design to establish factors impeding women participation in elective political leadership positions in Seme Constituency, Kisumu County. Quantitative data was collected using researcher administered questionnaires while qualitative data were collected through focus group discussions

5.2.1 Cultural factors impeding women participation in elective political leadership participation.

Cultural factors were a barrier to women participation in elective political participation in Seme constituency. Such factors included cultural structures, notion that gender stereotypes that men cannot be led by women and gender roles. Chi square test also showed a statistical significant association between cultural factors and women participation in elective political leadership.

5.2.2: Socio-economic factors influencing women participation in elective political leadership.

The second objective investigated socio-economic factors influencing women participation in elective political leadership participation. Pearson Chi-square test showed a statistical significant association between socio-economic factors and women participation in elective political leadership. Women low socio-economic status and poverty were the key socio-economic challenges hindering women participation in elective political leadership.

5.2.3: The Institutional factors that influence women's participation in political power structures and decision-making in Seme Constituency.

The third objective investigated institutional factors influencing women participation in elective political leadership participation. Pearson Chi-square test showed a statistical significant association between institutional factors and women participation in elective political leadership. Institutional factors that influenced women participation in elective political leadership participation included availability of alternative strategies that can be used to enhance women's participation in electoral politics in Kenya and women being adequately presented in political institutions.

5.3 Conclusions

Based on the study findings the study concluded that most women do not actively participate in women participation in elective political leadership. The researcher concluded that, cultural imbalance has pauperized women political fortune in Kenyan democratic politics where the rights of women have been trampled upon; the importance of women's contribution to future economic growth needs to be disseminated. Women's equitable and effective political representation should not be treated as a women's issue but a national governance issue, to which all Kenyans have a responsibility to contribute and IEBC should conduct a focused drive on female voter registration and run specific voter education campaigns for women during elections.

5.4 Recommendations

In line with the first objective the researcher recommended that, biased cultural practices, attitudes and utterances such as ‘women position is in the kitchen should be discarded, ‘women should not talk where men are’’ should also be discarded or that ‘women are there to be seen and not be heard’’ should also be discarded. The Media should continue to sensitize the general public in the area of gender equity so as to avoid socio-cultural traditions of the Kenyan society. This could be done through radio, television, newspapers and traditional rulers.

The researcher recommended on the second objective that, nomination fees by both the political parties and the IEBC should be reduced to accommodate women who are not economically privileged. There is need to set criteria and mechanisms for enforcing accountability among political office seekers, bearing in mind that once in government, some female and male politicians may only symbolically ‘stand for’ women and other citizens, rather than genuinely and substantively represent or ‘act for’ for them.

The researcher recommended on the Third objective that, there should be more advocacy and civil education on women to participate in the process of identifying women who will participate in the political leadership arena, in the same strength civil society organizations should advocate and promote gender balance and orientation for political parties.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The researcher's point of departure was that the study should be replicated in other Constituency throughout the country in order to establish a comparative study on the factors influencing women participation in elective political leadership positions.

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