

**SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN
ELECTIVE LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN HOMABAY COUNTY, KENYA**

BY

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DECLARATION

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DEDICATION

This Project is dedicated to my dad Raphael Oliech Okun.

“You have always been the pillar of my strength”.

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ABSTRACT

Globally, studies have shown that women's participation in elective leadership positions is low. In Kenya, the Constitution of Kenya of 2010 provides for equal opportunities for both men and women in elective positions. However, in the general elections of 2013, no single woman was elected as a member of the County Assembly or National Assembly in Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies, Homa Bay County. Although other studies attribute non-election of women in political positions to lack of awareness among the electorate about policy changes, a lot of sensitization has been going on and it is not known whether it is due to persistence of negative community attitudes, cultural beliefs or gender roles which hold back women from competing effectively with men. Therefore, specifically, the study investigated community attitudes towards women's participation in elective leadership positions, examined cultural beliefs that affect women's participation in elective leadership positions, and lastly to assess whether gender roles in the family influence women participation in elective leadership positions in Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies, Kenya. The study was guided by the social constructionism theory by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman (1966). The study adopted descriptive research design. The study population was 194,408 men and women of Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies in Homa Bay County. Using Kothari's formula, a sample size of 395 respondents was picked using cluster and simple random sampling techniques as well as purposive sampling technique. Structured interviews and key informant interviews were conducted to collect primary data while secondary data were also obtained from journals, books and Daily Newspapers. Quantitative data were analysed using of descriptive statistics with aid of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 16. Qualitative data were analysed thematically. The study findings revealed that community members' negative attitudes towards women's elective leadership have changed. The community members felt women have the potential just like men and should compete on the same front. Although 59.2% community members had a feeling that women do not support fellow women, 40.8% rejected that notion saying they vote according to the qualities exhibited by individual aspirants and not on the basis of gender. More so, no cultural beliefs hinder women from electives positions. Although the study found out that women take care of families and children, there was no significant relationship between gender roles and women's elective positions. However, experiences of former aspirants were that women lack finances and faced with violence and humiliation by their male opponents.

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OPERATIONAL DEFINATION OF TERMS

Participation	Participation has been used in this study to refer to women involvement and women engagement in political activities.
Elective leadership	Elective leadership has been used in the study to refer to Kenya's mainstream electoral process such as general elections and by-elections.
Equality	Has been used to refer to giving equal political opportunities to both men and women.
Discrimination	Looking down upon either of the gender and denying them opportunities.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Factors that affect women's participation in leadership roles are different across the world (Bajdo & Dickson, 2001). Women within a particular society are affected by, the business environment, including taxes, procedures, corruption, competition and finances (World Bank, 2007), fundamental social and development considerations like education, health and physical environment (Fagerberg, 1994). Women are also affected by the political rights and civil liberties within a country (Puddington, 2008) and the political beliefs, norms and expectations of individuals within a particular culture (Leung & Bond, 2004).

The past 20 years have witnessed an impressive rise in the number of women in the national parliaments around the world, with the global average doubling up (Inter Parliamentary Union, 2015). The global average of women in national parliaments has nearly doubled, from 11.3% in 1995 to 22.1% in 2015, with the share of women in American parliament doubling between 1995 and 2015 reaching an average of 26.4%, while Europe has 25% (IPU, 2015). In Arab states women's political opportunities have been expanded from 4.3% in 1995 to 16.1% (IPU, 2015). However, women remain significantly less likely than men to hold elective office at the state or national level, and the more powerful the role, the less likely a woman is to fill it. For example, the percentage of female presidents in U.S. history is currently zero despite their continued attempts (Center for American Women and Politics, 2016; American Association of University Women [AAUW], 2016). This has been attributed to rigid stereotypes about women and political leadership—often captured in biased media coverage of female candidates, which influence voters' perceptions of women candidates and discourage women from entering into politics (AAUW, 2016). That is, women leaders are still perceived as masculine and are sometimes negatively stereotyped as “lesbians” (AAUW, 2016). For example, Hillary Clinton has been described (derogatorily) as a lesbian by multiple U.S. media outlets (Wakeman, 2014, as cited in Worthen, 2014). Christ (2014) attributed it to customs and laws in every major religion which are against female

leadership. However, such socio-cultural factors which hinder women's political leadership may vary from one context to another.

Similarly, women representation made progress in sub-Saharan African countries, where their average share of parliament grew from 9.8% in 1995 to 23.3% in 2015 (IPU, 2015). However, there are country variations in terms of women's representation in parliament. For example, Rwanda made a major progress by electing 63.8% of women in parliament in 2015, hence became the country in Africa with the highest number of women in parliament (Rosenbluth, Kalla & Teele, 2015; IPU, 2015). Women in Rwanda were not only elected to the seats reserved by Rwanda's 2003 Constitution but also won half of the non-reserved seats (Rosenbluth et al., 2015; IPU, 2015). In Rwanda, the dramatic gains for women were as a result of specific mechanisms used to increase women's political participation. These include the 2003 Constitutional Framework, which is progressive in terms of equal rights, gender equality and women's representation, a quota system which gives 30% women's reserved seats, innovative electoral structures, organized women's movement and civil society mobilization, significant changes in gender roles in post-genocide Rwanda, and the commitment of Rwanda's ruling party, the RPF, to gender issues (Powley, 2005).

Other countries such as Senegal have also increased their share of women in parliament from 11.7% in 1995 to 42.7% in 2015 (IPU, 2015). This was made possible with the amendment of election laws in 2012 that mandated full gender parity stipulating that all party lists must be composed of equal numbers women and men (IPU, 2015). In January 2006, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf became President of Liberia and Africa's first elected woman president (Economic Commission for Africa, 2009). Other African countries, for example Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and South Africa have also set quotas for women in national and local legislative bodies, a sign of a renewed commitment to have more women in political leadership (IPU, 2015). However, according to Ndlovu and Mutale (2013) women in politics continue to face varying impediments. These authors argue that, while quotas are important in addressing the exclusion of women from the public political sphere, women have not fully benefitted much from the system in that women in the reserved seats as result of the quota systems have been like chess pieces, as they have

been moved by men. It is not known how this may lead to continued ridicule by male political counterparts and lack of voice in decision making processes. At the same time, in Ethiopia, Hola (2014) writes that women are bounded by heavy domestic work making it hard for them to ascend to political positions. However, this idea may be disputed due to the fact there have been many women running for many political positions. The reasons why the electorates fail to vote women in the elective positions remain the biggest question.

Although Kenya can be considered a democracy that holds periodic elections, the country's performance on women's representation has been dismal compared with her East African neighbours (Federation of Women Lawyers [FIDA] Kenya, 2013). In the 10th Parliament (2008-2013), women comprised only 9.8% of the parliament, compared with Rwanda's 63%, Tanzania's 36%, Uganda's 35%, and Burundi's 30% (FIDA-K, 2013). Overall, Kenya is 10% below the EAC's regional average of 20% representation of women in parliament (FIDA-K, 2013). In the 11th Parliament, the number of women in parliament rose to 19.7% in 2013 with some of Kenya's strong women taking up elective leadership positions amidst all odds (IPU, 2015). It is worth noting that several improvements in the number of Kenyan women in parliament in early 1990s was attributed to various factors. These include advocacy by civil society which advocated for inclusion of women representation in the national assembly thus the numbers rose to reflect 3.5% from constant of 2.0% throughout previous years (Oyugi, Wanyande & Mbai, 2003). Some of these organizations include non-governmental organizations, notably the League of Kenya Women Voters (LKWV), the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW), the Education Centre for Women in Democracy (ECWD), the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-K), the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK) and the Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development (CCGD) among others, that initiated civic education with the following components: gender sensitization for men and women, training curriculum aimed at political empowerment and capacity building, especially for women as candidates and voters for electoral politics (Oyugi, et al., 2003).

The increased women's representation in parliament is also attributable to affirmative action legislative framework which was first tabled as a motion by Hon Phoebe Asiyo in

1997, which later culminated in the Constitutional Reforms and the subsequent entrenchment in the Kenya Constitution (KC) 2010 (Kanyi, 2016). The Constitutional affirmative action quota provides that “not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender (Republic of Kenya, 2010; IPU, 2015; Kanyi, 2016). However, in the March, 4th 2013 general election in Kenya, first held under Constitution of 2010, only 16 women leaders were elected as Members of National Assembly out of 290 seats accounting for 5.52%, while the senate had no elected woman except those nominated (FIDA-K, 2013). This was yet a reduction from 8% of directly elected members to the National Assembly (FIDA-K, 2013). On the other hand, only 82 women were directly elected from among the 1,450 wards, representing only 5 per cent of the directly elected Members of the County Assemblies (FIDA-K, 2013). Although the implementation of the constitutional affirmative action quota has seen increased number of women in the county assembly, the county executive, the national assembly and senate, the third rule is yet to be met in elective positions (Kanyi, 2016). According to Kanyi (2016), the main challenge in regard to the affirmative action is that the changes predominantly occurred at the policy level while majority of *wanjiku*'s (the electorate at the grassroots) still remain ignorant of such changes. However, a lot of civic education has been going on (Oyugi, et al., 2003; FIDA-K, 2013), hence sometimes the problem may not be ignorance of those policy changes. It is not known whether community attitudes, cultural beliefs and gender roles continue to work against women's elective positions.

In Kenya, Kisumu County has the highest number of women (7) elected as members of County Assembly (Association of Media Women in Kenya [AMWIK], 2014). Kisumu County Assembly is also the first in Kenya to have an all-women duo of Speaker and Deputy Speaker as well as the minority whip (AMWIK, 2014). The County has also been recognised as the most balanced assembly, with 19 female and 30 male Members of the County Assembly, thus meeting the two-thirds maximum threshold of either gender to elective and appointive offices, as stipulated in the Constitution (AMWIK, 2014). Earlier, Kisumu County was the first to produce an elected mayor, Grace Akech Onyango of the then Kisumu Town in 1967 (FIDA-K, 2013). Grace Onyango held a high-profile office that was exclusively preserve of men (FIDA-K, 2013). Other Luo women elected

political leaders include Grace Ogot of Gem, Siaya County and Phoebe Asiyo of Homa Bay County (Thibon, Ndemba, Mwangi & Aude, 2014). This shows that an election of women in political positions is not a new thing among the Luo. However, comparing with the other counties which are equally predominantly inhabited by the Luo ethnic community, Siaya and Migori County Assemblies had only one and two elected women respectively, while Homa Bay County had two MCAs and one elected member of the National Assembly, Millie Odhiambo, the MP for Mbita Constituency (Thibon, Ndemba, Mwangi & Aude, 2014). The IEBC (2013) list shows that Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies had no women elected in the County Assembly or National Assembly despite cosmopolitan environment of Homa Bay Town.

According to Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2010) women make up to about 52% of the population and they are always the majority voters with a turnout of exceeding 55% in all polling stations countrywide but fail to vote one of their own (Wanjiku & Wasamba, 1998). This has led some authors such as Thibon et al (2014) to conclude that women are their own enemies as they do not vote their own. This argument is contestable. A question that arises out of it is why women would hate their fellow women contesting for political positions. However, one underlying problem for women in politics has been the difficulty in dealing with the inherent patriarchal structures that pervade the lives of people, the processes of state and the party (Nzomo, 1997; Sadie, 2005). Elsewhere, Sadie (2005) says that traditional beliefs and cultural attitudes regarding the role and status of women in society are still prevalent and many women are part of this system and finding it difficult to break from such chains. For example, while woman's role is typically one of homemaker, the man, on the other hand, is bread winner, head of household and has a right to public life (Sadie, 2005). Thus, confining women's identity to the domestic sphere is one of the barriers to women's entry into politics and politics by its nature catapults one into public life, making it hostile to women's involvement in politics (Nzomo, 1997; Sadie, 2005). Therefore, despite the ongoing civic education, it is not known whether negative attitude towards, cultural beliefs and gender roles may be still continuing to hamper women's elective positions even under a new dispensation, Constitution of Kenya 2010.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In Kenya, despite efforts made to ensure women participate in elective leadership positions, women are still underrepresented and substantial changes have not been realised concerning women participation in elective leadership positions. Although some studies attribute the dismal performance of women in elective positions to ignorance among voters at the grassroots, this may be contested. Among Luo ethnic community, there have been women elected into positions since 1960s, yet Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies never had even one woman elected as MCA or MP even in the 2013 general election. It is not known whether community members continue to exhibit negative attitudes towards women's elective positions. Although in the past, there were cultural beliefs that women should be under men in any leadership, these were expected to change over time with policy changes and civic education. Yet it is not known whether these are changing with the continued civic education. Other studies have also shown that women's gender roles have been a hindrance to their elective positions. It is not known whether this also limits women from effectively competing against their male opponents. At the same time, it is not known whether women's roles at the family or households may limit them from participating in the voting exercise. The study therefore sought to investigate the socio-cultural factors affecting women participation in elective leadership positions in Rangwe and Homabay Town constituencies, Homa Bay County.

1.3 Research Questions

This study had the following research questions;

1. What is the community attitude towards women participation in elective leadership positions in Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies?
2. How do cultural beliefs affect women's participation in elective leadership positions in Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies?
3. How do gender roles in the family, influence women participation in elective leadership positions in Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The broad objective was to establish the socio-cultural factors hindering women from participating in elective leadership positions in Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

The study aimed at achieving the following specific objectives:

1. To investigate community attitudes that affect women participation in elective leadership positions in Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies.
2. To examine cultural beliefs that affect women's participation in elective leadership positions in Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies.
3. To assess whether gender roles in the family influence women participation in elective leadership positions in Homa Bay town and Rangwe constituencies.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The study may be useful in continued women's empowerment process to ensure that their numbers increase in elective political positions. Specifically, it may help achieve Sustainable Development Goal number five which aims to achieve gender equality and empowerment of all women (UN, 2015). It will help deal with any forms of cultural attitudes and beliefs that undermine women's participation in elective leadership positions. In case there are already changes, then it will help enhance further campaigns for more changes. That is, the study will be useful to policy makers, researchers, students, non-governmental organizations and even other people who have close interest on the subject matter and expand their knowledge on matters relating to women empowerment and gender mainstreaming and more so on women participation in elective leadership positions. In the academia, the study adds on to the existing literature on women participation in elective political leadership positions.

1.6 Scope of the study

This study was undertaken in Homa Bay and Rangwe constituencies both in Homabay County. These two constituencies were chosen for research because Homa Bay Town

Constituency was part of the larger Rangwe Constituency until the year 2012 when it was split to form the two constituencies. Thus most of the information and population statistics were still represented in the larger Rangwe constituency. The two constituencies were chosen for having failed to elect any woman even in County Assembly in the March 2013 election. The study focused on the socio-cultural factors affecting women participation in elective leadership positions in, looking at the community attitude towards, cultural beliefs and gender roles that also influence women's participation in elective leadership positions in Homa Bay and Rangwe Constituencies.

1.7 Limitations of the study

The political issues are personal and sensitive matters thus some people were not able to answer all questions freely, despite assuring them that their identity will be kept confidential. To address this, the researcher triangulated information provided by respondents and conducted interviews with women Politian's who had participated in the 2013 general elections and failed. The study may not be generalized beyond the study sample due to differences in the location and social contexts.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The study was guided by the social constructionism theory by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, with their 1966 book "social construction of reality". The interest of social constructionism is to discover the ways social realities and social phenomena are created, institutionalized and made into tradition. According to this view, the society and culture creates gender roles, and these roles are what are being considered ideal or appropriate behavior for a person of that specific gender. Burger and Luckman's account of social life argues that human beings together create and sustain all social phenomena through social practices indicating that the world can be socially constructed by the social practices of people but at the same time experienced by them as if the nature of their world is pre-given and fixed (Burger & Luckman, 1966)

Social constructionism argues that the ways in which the society commonly understands the world, the concepts and categories they use, are historically and culturally specific. Whether one understands the world in terms of men and women, children and adults

depends upon where and when in the world one lived. Thus as a culture or society we construct our own versions of reality between us (Burr, 2015)

Social constructionism also believes that knowledge is sustained by social process and constructed by people. It is through daily interactions between people in the course of social life that our versions of knowledge become fabricated leading to social interaction of all kinds including gender relations and the division of labour in the society (Burr, 2015). Burr continues to say that the social construction of the world is therefore also bound by power relations because they have implications for what it is permissible for different people to do, and how they may legitimately treat others.

Lorber (1994) states that society construct and creates social differences that define a man and woman throughout their lives. Individuals learn what is expected, act and react in expected ways thus simultaneously construct and maintain gender order. Political power, control of scarce resources and violence uphold the gendered social order in the face of resistance and rebellion, with men commanding more power than women in the society. Gender norms and expectations are also socially constructed and enforced to clear show what is appropriate for a man or a woman (Lorber, 1994). Lorber looks at societies like Saudi Arabia, where women are kept out of sight behind walls and veils, have no civil rights, and often create a cultural and emotional world of their own.

The sources of gender differentiation lie more in social and institutional practices than in fixed properties of the individual. Drawing on diverse bodies of research, Geis (1993) documents masterfully the social construction and perpetuation of stereotypic gender differentiation. Gender stereotypes shape the perception, evaluation and treatment of males and females in selectively gendered ways that beget the very patterns of behavior that confirms the initial stereotypes. Many gender differences in social behavior are viewed as products of division of labour between the sexes that get replicated through socio-structural practices governed by desperate gender status and power (Eagly, 1987).

The theory of social constructionism according to its proponents states that society is socially constructed in all aspects such as gender roles, political matters, division of labour and cultural beliefs among others. The theory of social constructionism therefore

relates to the study, as it states that factors affecting women participation in elective leadership positions are socially constructed. It is the society that constructs gender roles and division of labour that makes men to be superior to women including also participation in elective leadership positions and political matters.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviewed literature on socio-cultural factors affecting women participation in elective leadership positions. The first section focus on community attitude towards women participation in elective leadership positions, second section focuses on cultural beliefs and third section on influence of gender roles within the family on women participation in elective leadership.

2.2 Community Attitude towards women participation in elective leadership

According to IPU (2015), the past 20 years have witnessed an impressive rise in the share of women in national parliaments around the world, with the global average nearly doubling during that time – and all regions making substantial progress towards the goal of 30 per cent women in decision-making. This impressive progress is attributed to the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, which called for the removal of all “obstacles to women’s active participation in all spheres of public and private life” (IPU, 2015). The Platform set a 30% target for women in decision-making, to be achieved through a wide range of strategies, including positive action, public debate, and training and mentoring for women as leaders (IPU, 2015). This has seen the global average of women in national parliaments has nearly doubled, from 11.3 per cent in 1995 to 22.1 per cent in 2015 (IPU, 2015). However, the 30% target set in the Beijing Platform has not been met.

According to IPU (2015) women face a host of difficulties in gaining access to parliament: cultural norms, gender roles, party practices and a traditionally masculine work environment among others – which together tend to favour and attract men and discriminate against and discourage the participation of women. Across the globe, IPU (2015) notes that women face sexism in traditional media coverage, as well as the new social media, through the dissemination of demeaning messages and images of women in politics, which communicate the same messages that women do not belong in politics. IPU (2015) continues to add that women face physical and psychological violence,

including acts affecting a woman's bodily integrity or acts of bodily harm to members of their families, - including murder, kidnapping, and beating as well as death threats, rape, character assassination. For example, in the US, women remain significantly less likely than men to hold elective office at the state or national level, and the more powerful the role, the less likely a woman is to fill it (AAUW, 2016). For example, the recent US 2016 general election, where former Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton of Democratic Party lost her presidential bid to Donald Trump. The AAUW (2016) reports how Hillary Clinton was faced with rigid stereotypes where she was often negatively represented as a "lesbian" in the media coverage. This was not the first time. Questions about Hillary Clinton's sexual orientation have surfaced regularly since the mid-1990s (Worthen, 2014, as cited in AAUW, 2016). Falk (2010), examining the campaigns of nine women who ran for president through 2008-Victoria Woodhull, Belva Lockwood, Margaret Chase Smith, Shirley Chisholm, Patricia Schroeder, Lenora Fulani, Elizabeth Dole, Carol Moseley Braun, and Hillary Clinton, finds media portray female candidates as unviable, unnatural, and incompetent, and often ignores or belittles women instead of reporting their ideas and intent. Falk (2010) reveals how this sexist treatment of women politicians still persists today. Dolan and Lynch (2014) say that gender related attitudes are still often at the forefront of women's experiences as political candidates in the US. It entails a situation where a candidate is being called an "empty dress," often being asked whether a woman could be both a good office-holder and a good mother (Dolan & Lynch, 2014). They conclude that political environment still places a focus on candidate sex and the gendered issues their sex raises (Dolan & Lynch, 2014).

In Asia and Pacific, according to True, George, Niner, & Parashar (2014) region share traits that strongly resist women's participation in public life as evident in the formal statements of leaders and politicians and in the publicly expressed attitudes of the broader societies. True et al. (2014) add that cultural, customary, and religious discourses are frequently used to moralize that the "rightful" place of women is not in politics. Furthermore, experiences of violence against "political" women who speak up in public, defend human rights, or seek political office is very common, especially in conflict-affected countries and regions across Asia and the Pacific (True et al., 2014). This implies that women are portrayed as weak and not incapable of holding political offices.

In the African context, Rwanda ranks top globally as it has more than fifty percent of women in its elected public offices and it is now a referenced landmark not only in Africa, but worldwide (Cole,2011; IPU 2013, 2015). Other African countries such as Senegal, South Africa, Mozambique, Uganda and Angola have also been highly ranked for their level of women's representation parliament (IPU, 2013, 2015). However, in Ethiopia, women's participation in decision making, especially in parliament is low (Cherinet & Mulugeta, 2003; Hora, 2014). Cherinet and Mulugeta (2003) add that policy formulation on women and ratification of conventions have been made but implementation has often been a problem, mainly due to attitudinal problem with regards to gender equality, and often there are competing priorities, and it is often women's issues that are pushed away. The enduring division of sex roles within a society especially traditional attitudes towards women in the private and public spheres has long been emphasized (Cherinet & Mulugeta, 2003; Hora, 2014; Kassa, 2015). Hola (2014) says that it is believed that women would not be successful in leadership and decision making professions as compared to their male counterparts. According to Hola (2014) the society believes that women fail in leadership positions due to the fact that the position needs high energetic and high influencing power (ability) up on their followers, yet they lack experiences. Kassa (2015) says that socialization theorists argue that these attitudes are acquired early in life through formative agencies, including the existence of traditional sex role learnt in the home and family, local community, and in schools and the workplace. Thus, an indication that traditional community attitudes towards gender equality influence women's advancement in political participation (Kassa, 2015).

In the case of Kenya not only are traditional community attitudes towards women in politics negative; female Members of Parliaments are seen even by their more open-minded peers as ineffective (Steel, 2015). This is in part due to the fact that the majority of female parliamentarians hold their seats as a result of the current top-up system, where women hold 'County Representative' seats rather than being directly elected MPs (Steel, 2015). The notion that men make better leaders than women is still common in Kenya today. Although the number of female leaders in elective leadership positions has increased, many communities in Kenya believed that men lead and women follow (Kamau, 2008). According to Muhammad (2010) politicking is time consuming with

politicians travelling far and wide and often staying overnight in hotels far from their homes during political rallies, which lead to branding of such women as promiscuous.

The threat of political violence especially during political campaign periods, continues to be a major challenge to women who aspire to political positions. Violence is often used by men who pretend to be advocating against it as a way of discouraging women from participating in the electoral process (Okumu et al., 2008). Violence or the threat of it has traditionally been used during electioneering periods to silence aspiring women leaders and women's activism in general (Okumu et al., 2008).

According to the sex role theory, being a man or a woman means enacting a general role as a function of one's sex. But this theory also uses the words masculine and feminine, asserting that the feminine character in particular is produced by socialization onto the female role. According to this approach, women acquire a great deal of sex role learning early in their lives, and this can lead to an attitude of mind that creates difficulties later, during their working lives. It's a form of "culture trap" (Claes, 1999). This "culture trap" that Claes (1999) refers to is caused by the subconscious attitude of mind that women have about what is expected of them in the society due to their gender, often affecting their behaviors in the workplace and their leadership styles. This also leads women to convince themselves that they are subordinate to men causing the perception of women in the society to be that they are, in fact, second class to men. This leads to the association of a status characteristic with gender as men are seen as superior to women with more access to power and resources than women do thus giving them more opportunities to succeed in elective positions (Merchant, 2012)

Scholarly thinking on women in politics has long suggested that public support for these women would be critical to their success. Indeed, for much of our nation's history, public antipathy was a significant limitation on women's political opportunities. Yet today we have evidence of greater support for women in political life than ever before. Gender stereotypes appear to be easing and general attitudes about women's integration into politics are largely positive or neutral.

2.3 Cultural beliefs affecting women participation in elective leadership

Globally, cultural beliefs have been noted as greatest hindrance to political participation ever since struggle for gender equality began (Duverger, 1955; IPU, 2000, 2015, Norris & Inglehart, 2000; UN, 2000). A recent study on women's political representation in the Philippines, Cambodia, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Timor Leste, identified patriarchal constraints on women's participation in politics (Venny, Rahayu, Llorin, Sichongco, Nazreen, Shi, Maia, Exposto, Chanthya, Chairiyah, 2014). Venny et al., (2014) notes, for example, that low representation of women in politics in Malaysia is due to the politicization of religion- where Islam is the source of public and state policies, regulating how Islam should be practiced and obeyed by its citizens. Conversely, the perspective of Islam adopted by the state determines that women may not be leaders, and this affects how women are regarded and treated, whether in private domain or in their political participation (Venny, et al., 2014).

In Africa, Ndlovu and Mutale (2013) say that women's increasing presence in governance institutions has generally not had much transformative impact on the subtle patriarchal cultures and practices. They add that due to the influence of patriarchy, men continue to be in authority of the state of affairs and make decisions almost exclusively, even when the issues border on women (Ndlovu & Mutale, 2013). Such kinds of cultural beliefs are also reinforced by religious beliefs. For example, in Nigeria, Tawo et al. (2009) observed that women have remained victims of oppression, discrimination, alienation, humiliation, marginalization and exploitation due to male domination as emphasized by Islam. In the Northern part of the Nigeria and Sudan, many women are in the purdah system of marriage, and are often marginalized and not included in the decision-making process (Tawo et al., 2009). Purdah is the practice where women are physically segregated from men, required to cover their bodies, and required to limit activities outside their homes (Tawo et al, 2009). Thus, married women are restricted to their homes so they would not expose themselves to any vices (Tawo et al., 2009). In addition, in many other African countries, women are taught to be submissive and obedient to their partners, and a man's honor often depends on his ability to control his wife's behavior (Institute of Economic Affairs, 2008). This is also reinforced not only by Islam but also Christianity in many parts of Africa (Gouzou, Eriksson-Baaz, Olsson,

2009; AAUW, 2016). All these probably explain why few women would come out to compete for elective positions or freely vote for a person of their choice. A husband would influence how the wife votes.

A lot of traits women and men gain through socialization processes, which also have political implications. Whereas men are socialized to be confident, assertive, and self-promoting, cultural attitudes toward women as leaders continue to suggest to women that it is often inappropriate or undesirable to possess those characteristics (Koenig et al., 2011 as cited in AAUW, 2016). AAUW (2016) continues to say that in a meta-analysis of 69 studies on stereotypes and leadership, researchers found that stereotypes about leadership are decidedly masculine. Stereotypically male characteristics—independence, aggression, competitiveness, rationality, dominance, objectivity—all correlate with current expectations of leadership (Crites et al., 2015 as cited in AAUW, 2016). However, countries like Rwanda have achieved gender parity due to their progressive 2003 Constitutional Framework, the quota system which gives 30% women's reserved seats, innovative electoral structures, organized women's movement and civil society mobilization, significant changes in gender roles in post-genocide Rwanda, and the commitment of Rwanda's ruling party, the RPF, to gender issues (Powley, 2005). Although Uganda has attained over 30% representation of women in elective positions (IPU, 2016), women still face patriarchal challenges- including being perceived as possessions and known to be wives/mothers/caretakers and women who strive to take part in leadership are ridiculed as wanting to be “men”, money minded, ambitious, immoral and unruly (Kadaga, 2013). Kadaga (2013) add that men do not allow their wives to attend meetings as they fear that women are being lured into relationships with other male leaders. However, it is worth noting that ongoing gender parity campaigns are likely to bring some change towards attaining women's political emancipation, which studies are yet to show.

In Kenya, Institute of Economic Affairs (2008) states that social, cultural and traditional practices and traditional norms deny women various opportunities to effectively participate in political positions. Most Kenyan cultures still regard the place of a woman as being in the kitchen and raising children as part of the reproductive role (Institute of

Economic Affairs, 2008). This kind of socialization makes it hard for many men to fathom the idea that they can share the same platform with a woman. By joining politics women in such cultures are still considered as breaking the rules that govern gender roles (Institute of Economic Affairs, 2008). Despite gender equality campaigns, FIDA-K (2013) reports that women leadership still suffers setbacks by virtue of cultural and patriarchal stereotypes and beliefs. FIDA-K (2013) adds that there are some parts of the country where communities still believe that it is a curse for a woman to lead. During the campaign period, various media houses featured the story of a female aspirant in Kajiado County, Peris Tobiko, who was cursed by community elders for aspiring for a parliamentary seat, saying it was against tradition (FIDA, 2013).

At the same time, political campaigning requires that one travel extensively, spend nights away from home, go into bars, and for women it means meeting men, which are not easily accepted for women (Tripp, 2001; FIDA-K, 2013). Women who vie for public office have to consider the risk of being labeled 'loose' or 'unfit' as mothers and wives, and being socially stigmatized (Kiamba, 2008; FIDA, 2013). Such considerations make many women shy away from politics, and positions that put them in the public eye (Kiamba, 2008). However, more campaigns and policy interventions on gender party have continued to come up and all these kinds of cultural setbacks are expected to continue dying away, which in turn requires studies to verify.

Moreover, some traditional practices governing land and livestock ownership, access and control over land, and benefits accruing to land produce tend to favor men compared to women (Institute of Economic Affairs, 2008). This to a large extent disadvantages women in accessing credit especially when collateral is required. In 2004 only 1% of land titles in Kenya were held by women and 5-6% was owned jointly. Restrictions on owning property, saving or borrowing, or making labor contracts would qualify as disincentives to growth, while freedom to exercise these activities would be associated with poor participation in elective political positions (Mikkola, 2005). However, since promulgation of the Constitution of 2010, which provides for gender equality and ownership of property (Republic of Kenya, 2010), no studies have been conducted to show implications it has on women's participation in elective positions.

As Kiamba (2008) notes, some women have been able to transcend cultural barriers and rise to positions of leadership (whether in politics or elsewhere), but more often than not, it meant having to juggle cultural expectations with their leadership roles. The most notable examples in literature is Grace Onyango who in 1969, was the first female elected Member of Parliament in Kenya, and had previously held several leadership positions including that of mayor of the third largest City in Kenya (Trip 2001 cited in Kiamba, 2008). The Luo, like many ethnic communities in Kenya is patriarchal but Grace Onyango, was well versed with the Luo traditions, respected and even adhered to them, while at the same time playing into the political/official role of mayor, then parliamentarian (Trip, 2001; Kiamba, 2008). Not only Grace Onyango has made it to parliament, others such as Phoebe Asiyo and Grace Ogot are among the Luo women to have made it to parliament despite stiff competition from male politicians (Kamau, 2010; Thibon, Ndemba, Mwangi & Aude, 2014).

Within the devolved government, Kisumu County, which holds Kisumu City, the capital of Luo ethnic community, the county leads in the representation of women in the County Assembly (AMWIK, 2014). In Homa Bay County, Millie Odhiambo was directly elected to the 11th parliament (Thibon, Ndemba, Mwangi & Aude, 2014). This shows that the Luo community may not be looking at gender-related beliefs but considering an individual's level of competence, especially education and work related achievements, which are yet to be revealed through studies. However, based on this background, questions are raised why Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies had no women elected in the County Assembly or National Assembly, yet other parts of Luo ethnic community have.

2.4 Influence of gender roles within the family on women participation in elective leadership.

Globally, many studies have shown that balancing work and family responsibilities is one of the most challenging obstacles for women seeking leadership positions (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Sandberg, 2013; AAUW, 2016). Women are usually the primary (if not the only) parent caring for children and other family members during their peak years in the workforce (AAUW, 2016). Under the auspice of Women in Parliament Global Forum

(WIP) Rosenbluth, Kalla and Teele (2015) conducted a study in 89 countries around the world, to understand the hurdles women face in launching and sustaining successful political careers. It realized that family roles continue to affect political career of women, where female politicians tend to start their careers later, have fewer children, spend more time caring for their families, and arrange their lives to have shorter commuting times than their male counterparts ((Rosenbluth et al., 2015). The survey continues to give evidence that female politicians continue to be burdened disproportionately with family work, hence have to delay their political career (Rosenbluth, et al., 2015). For example, while men tend to get elected to their first political job at around the age of 40, more females wait between 45 and 50 when their youngest child is school-aged ((Rosenbluth, et al., 2015 pp 18). The study also gives evidence that single female politicians-separated, divorced or widowed, experience extra challenges running for political positions not only due to stigma relating to their marital status but balancing family and political career, hence get discouraged from running for office in the first place (Rosenbluth, et al., 2015).

In Africa, for example, in Ethiopia, Kassa (2015) says that there is a traditional belief that, women take care of children and do kitchen works than participating outside home activity- the division of work implies that home activities belong to women and outside home activities belong to men. Women are overburdened with different household activities like cooking, take caring kids, washing and so on, which make women busy in the household and impede their involvement in the politics of the country (Kassa, 2015). According to Gouzou, Eriksson-Baaz and Olsson (2009) in Congo, due to gender division of roles, many male politicians campaigned on the lines of gender roles- where they normally ask the electorate about who would take care of children if a woman gets involved in politics and wins a mandate. Such kinds of questions discourage voters from voting women into political positions. In many African countries, ethnic communities have high value for children (Mair, 1969; Fortes, 1978). This implies that anybody deemed to interfere with the children's lives, whether in terms of care, may not be tolerated.

In Kenya, Kiamba (2008) says that cultural gender roles are hostile to women's involvement in politics. Midamba (1990) argues that the status of Kenyan women

deteriorated during colonial rule. This deterioration was particularly noticeable because in the pre-colonial era, although women were to some extent subordinate to men under the African Customary Law, in many respects the roles of men and women were complementary in nature (Midamba, 1990). Onsongo (2005) states that colonial laws disrupted and displaced women's gender roles. This was done through introduction of cash crops, formal education and the monetary economy, where while some men secured employment either in large cash crop farms or as clerks in government offices, many women remained in rural areas producing subsistence food (Onsongo, 2005). Kiamba (2008) adds that, despite women's education and entry into the job market, the woman's role is typically one of the home maker, while men are the bread winner, head of households and has a right to public life. Hence, Kiamba concludes that confining women's identity to the domestic sphere is one of the barriers to women's entry into politics and politics by its nature catapults one into public life. Kamau (2010) also says that, in Kenya, many women would rather join politics when children have grown up or after their husbands have passed on. This has been the case with a number of women politicians, who joined politics after the demise of their husbands (Kamau, 2010). In a number of cases, a majority of the women in politics are either widowed, divorced or never married (Kamau, 2010). In exceptional cases married women get to politics, but they have to get the full support of their husbands before joining politics (Kamau, 2010). This does not apply to men, many of who have joined politics with fairly young families and whose wives are expected to not only support them, but also continue looking after the children (Kamau, 2010). However, as Kamau (2008) concludes, there are a few cases where men are beginning to accept reversed roles, where they are able to stay with children when the wife get into politics. It implies that sharing of gender roles is beginning to take effect as more campaigns continue to remove all gender barriers to women's political leadership.

There are literatures about the Luo customs, but rarely depicted the role women played in political leadership (Mboya, 1938; Masundu, 2006). In her review of Paul Mbuya's book known as *Luo Kitgi Gi Timbegi*, Masundu (2006) notes that political structural set-up, the occupation of political offices among the Luo appears to be solely a male affair. Masundu (2006) says that ascending of Grace Onyango to political leadership was a sign of the

changing political space of the Luo community. Although her husband gave her total support and would accompany her in many of her functions, she had to appoint someone to serve her role as wife (Masundu, 2006). Since 1960s, the time of Grace Onyango, other women from the Luo ethnic community have made it to elective positions. Namely Grace Ogot and Phoebe Asiyo among others. This implies that gender mainstreaming campaigns begin to bear fruits where changes are being observed on what has been male dominated to equality where women also have a chance (Thibon, Ndemba, Mwangi & Aude, 2014). Thus, it remains unclear Homa Bay and Rangwe Constituencies failed to support even one women candidate to any elective political office.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology to be used in the research study. It describes the type of research design that was used, target population, sample design, Data collection, validity and reliability of data collection instruments, data analysis techniques and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Design

Descriptive research design was adopted, as it is a scientific method which involves observing and describing the behavior of a subject without influencing it in any way. It is concerned with describing the characteristics of a particular individual or of a group (Kothari, 2004). The research described the perception of the respondents and behavior towards women participation in elective leadership position. The research engaged both quantitative and qualitative research methods to get the opinion of the respondents on the subject matter. The study also explored informant's perception on factors affecting women participation in elective positions.

3.3 Study Area

The study area was Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies, both in Homa Bay County, Kenya. Homa Bay County is located in the now defunct Nyanza Province. It borders Lake Victoria to the West and North, and the following counties; Kisumu and Kericho to the North East, Nyamira and Kisii to the East, and Migori to the South. Its administrative Headquarter is Homa Bay Town, which is located 105 kilometres South of Kisumu City and 405 kilometres southwest of Nairobi the capital city of Kenya. The County covers an area of 3,183.3Sq Km.

The study was done in the two constituencies since Homa Bay Town Constituency was part of the larger Rangwe Constituency until the year 2012 when 80 New Constituencies were created by the Independent Electoral and Boundary Commissions (IEBC), which is a constitutional body in Kenya mandated to handle all matters of Kenya's internal

boundaries and electoral matters. Thus most of the information and population statistics are still represented in the larger Rangwe constituency.

3.4 Study Population

The population for this study consisted of 102,053 women and 92,355 men totalling to 194,408 individuals of Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies in Homa Bay County, Kenya (KNBS, 2010). It is from this population that the sample size was derived. The population categories consisted of Men, women and key informants who were female politicians who had participated in elections and failed.

3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

Sample Size

Sample size was determined using Kothari's formula.

$$n = \frac{Z^2 \cdot p \cdot q \cdot N}{e^2(N - 1) + Z^2 \cdot p \cdot q}$$

Where e= Margin of error,

Z= the value of normal distribution,

p= the proportion of the population and

q= (1-p).

n= sample size.

On applying this formula to a finite population, N=194,408.

$$n = \frac{(1.96)^2(0.5)(0.5)(194,408)}{(0.05)^2(194,408 - 1) + (1.96)^2(0.5)(0.5)} = 385$$

Out of the 194,408 population, 385 were selected as sample size. This was then distributed proportionately to the two constituencies as well as in the ratio of men to women. Thus, based on census data, a total of 105 women and 88 men were selected

from Homa Bay Town Constituency, while another 105 women and 87 men were selected from Rangwe Constituency as indicated in the table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Sample Frame of the Study

Categories		Number	Percentage
Women	Homa Bay Town	105	27.28
	Rangwe	105	27.28
Men	Homa Bay Town	88	22.86
	Rangwe	87	22.60
Total		385	100.02

Sampling procedure

The study used cluster sampling and simple random sampling techniques. Kothari (2004) states that if the total areas of interest happens to be a big one, a convenient way which a sample can be taken is to divide the area into a number of smaller non-overlapping areas and then randomly select a number of these smaller areas usually called clusters. Since the study area is in two sub counties cluster sampling was used to place Homa Bay and Rangwe constituencies into clusters. The population of women and men was also put into 35 clusters (sub-locations), out of which 6 clusters were randomly selected for inclusion in the overall sample. Thereafter, simple random sampling was also used to select respondents for the study from the various clusters. Simple random sampling is the basic sampling technique where we select a group of subjects for the study from a larger group or population. Each individual is chosen entirely by chance and each member of the population has an equal chance of being included in the sample (Kothari, 2004).

Purposive sampling was used to select Key informants who were 10 women politicians who had participated in the elections and failed. In purposive sampling, according to Mugenda (2010), the researcher deliberately hand-picks the sample while choosing instances that are likely to produce valuable data to meet the purpose of the research. The 10 women were sampled because of having participated in elections.

3.6 Data Collection Techniques

Data collection techniques included both quantitative and qualitative. These included structured interviews as well as key informant interviews. The instruments used were structured questionnaires and key informant interview schedule that collected primary data. Secondary data were also collected through reviewing of existing literature. The questionnaires were administered to individual respondents through enumerators while Key interviews were conducted with 10 women politicians who participated in 2013 general elections and failed.

3.6.1 Structured Interviews

Structured interviews were suitable to this study because it allowed the researcher to reach a large sample. It also allowed the researcher to preserve anonymity of the respondents with the possibility of gathering more candid and objective responses (Cohen & Marion, 2000). The questionnaires were administered to 385 respondents, both men and women from the community. In this study, questionnaire was used as the main instrument of data collection and was administered by enumerators to 385 respondents.

3.6.2 Key Informant Interviews

The interviews were carried out on key informants- women politicians, to get their views on Socio – Cultural factors hindering women from ascending to political leadership in Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies in Homa Bay County, Kenya. Interviews also helped the researcher to follow up the respondents' answers in order to obtain more information and clarify vague statements. They also can build trust and rapport with respondents, thus making it possible to obtain information that the respondents would not reveal by use of the questionnaires.

3.7 Data Analysis

The analysis of data requires a number of closely related operations such as establishment of categories, the application of these categories to raw data through coding, tabulation and then drawing statistical inferences (Kothari, 1990). In analysing quantitative data the completed questionnaires were edited for completeness and consistency checked for

errors and omissions and then coded to SPSS and then analysed using descriptive statistics and presented in table of frequency and percentages.

On the other hand, qualitative data obtained from the key informant interviews, were first transcribed and analysed thematically. This involved reading through all the data sets, seeing patterns emerging. These qualitative data were picked as verbatim quotes to corroborate data from quantitative sets.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

The study was conducted following ethical guidelines. First, a research approval was sought from the University of Maseno Postgraduate Committee and consent sought from the provincial administration of the two constituencies. The respondents were then explained to the purpose of the study and informed consent was obtained. They were also assured that the information given would be treated as confidential and their names will never be mentioned. The findings were then presented in a generalised manner.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of data collected from the field. The results are presented in tables to highlight the major findings. The work is arranged objective by objective, this ensured logical flow and made it easy to organise the work for analysis, discussions and interpretations.

4.2 Demographic and social characteristics of respondents

Table 4.1: Gender of respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Men	175	45.5
Women	210	54.5
Total	385	100

As shown in Table 1 above, a total of 45.5% of respondents were men while women were 54.5%.

This is attributed to the fact that women are the majority in these two constituencies, which of course is reflected even in the clustering. This also reflects the 2009 population census data where there were 102,053 women and 92,355 men totalling to 194,408 individuals of Homa Bay Town and Rangwe Constituencies in Homa Bay County, Kenya (KNBS, 2010). Men were slightly less than 50% of the total adult population within these two constituencies.

The results presented in Table 4.2 below shows that a majority of the respondents 62 (16.1%) were aged 24 years and below, while 78 (20.3%) were between age 26 years to 30 years and 87 (22.6%) of the respondents were between 31 to 35 years. This shows that a majority (59%) of the respondents were in their youth. Among those aged over 35 years, 20.8% were between 36 to 40 years, whereas 7.0% were between 41 to 44 years and the least group, 2.6% included mainly those aged above 50 years. This reflects 2009 census data (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2010).

Table 4.2: Distribution of Age

	Frequency	Percent
≤ 25 years	62	16.1
26 - 30 Years	78	20.3
31 - 35 Years	87	22.6
36 - 40 Years	80	20.8
41 - 45 Years	27	7.0
46 - 50 Years	41	10.6
Over 50 Years	10	2.6
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field data.

Table 4.3 below shows that a majority (60%) of the respondents were married, while followed by 18% who were widowed. In Homa Bay County, there has been high rate of HIV and AIDS prevalence of 26% against the national prevalence of 5.7% (NACC, 2016), which may have led to high rate of widowhood. The high burden of HIV and AIDS in Kenya accounts for an estimated 29 per cent of annual adult deaths (NACC, 2016).

Table 4.3: Marital Status

Marital status	Frequency	Percent
Single	46	12
Married	231	60
Widowed	69	18
Separated	27	7
Divorced	12	3
Total	385	100

In terms of level of education, only 2.6% of the respondents had primary school certificate, while a majority (Diploma or Certificate) level of education. See Table 4.2 below:

Table 4.4: Level of Education of the Respondent's

	Frequency	Percent
Primary Certificate	10	2.6
Secondary Certificate	101	26.2
Diploma/Certificate	195	50.7
Bachelor's Degree	39	10.1
Post-Graduate Degree	25	6.5
Other	15	3.9
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field Data.

From the table 10 respondents with a percentage of 2.6% had primary level certificate, 101 respondents consisting 26.2% had secondary level certificate. 195 respondents consisting of 50.7% had diploma or certificate level qualifications, 39 respondents consisting of 10.1% had Bachelor's degree, 25 respondent consisting of 6.5% had post graduate degree while under the "other" category 15 respondents which accounted for 3.9%. This finding indicated that majority of the respondents are literate.

4.3 Community Attitudes towards Women Participation in Elective Leadership Positions

The respondents were asked to rate the extent to which community attitude affect women's participation in elective leadership positions. They were asked whether women are regarded as weak to make strong leaders. As contained in Table 4.4 over leaf, the findings showed that only 18.2% agreed with the idea that women are weak to handle political leadership while 81.8% rejected the statement. This clearly shows that women are no longer considered to be weak to make strong leaders. This is in total agreement with what has been happening among the Luo community from other counties which have often produced many women political leaders despite strong male opposition.

Table 4.5: Women are weak to make strong leaders

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	26	6.8
Moderately Agree	25	6.5
Agree	19	4.9
Disagree	104	27.0
Strongly Disagree	211	54.8
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2014

It is clear that the perception that had existed for a long period of time that women are weak to make strong leaders has changed and now the community has to a larger percentage accepted women to be people who can take up political leadership. This idea was supported by the key informants who had participated in the election and failed. They said that for development to be achieved in any country women leadership is much needed. See the excerpt below:

For a long time, our community continued to look at women as people who are weak to make strong leaders. However, this is slowly changing. As women politicians, we have all it takes to participate in any elective leadership position in the political arena and we stand very high chances of winning. What we need is to be granted that equal political playing ground to compete with men to be elected as leaders. (A key informant who participated in elections and failed)

All the other key informants agreed with this opinion stating that no woman is weak to handle political issues and make strong leaders and currently women are taking up the elective positions. In the past, women are portrayed as weak to make strong leaders and incapable of making smart decisions (Kiamba, 2008). They are also depicted across generations to be only capable of trivial matters, constantly engaged in gossip and hearsay, utterly incompetent and less intelligent (Kiamba, 2008). This was projected and reinforced through the years through male-dominated institutions and patriarchal societies which internalized the idea that the woman was inferior (Kamoth, 2015). With the constant reinforcement of the notion that women are inferior in every aspect, it became hard for women to pursue their political rights as an active participant (Kamoth, 2015). Although in the past women were conventionally regarded as weaker gender and often excluded from leadership (Kiamba, 2008; Komath, 2015), this is slowly changing

as reflected in the findings. However, the truth is a few individuals still hold that they are weak just in this study where 18.2% still felt so. They still exist in some societies all over the world today in both developed and developing countries too (Komath, 2015), but only held by a minority of the society.

Similarly, when respondents were asked women are supposed to politically support men, the findings, as contained in Table 4.5 below shows that, only 11.9% agreed that women are supposed to politically support men, while remaining 88.1% of the respondents disagreed with the statement saying are equally up to the task.

Table 4.6: Women are supposed to politically support men

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	14	3.6
Moderately Agree	11	2.8
Agree	21	5.5
Disagree	113	29.4
Strongly Disagree	226	58.7
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

Although data from key informant interviews seemed to differ a bit. According to one key informants who participated in elections, though never succeeded;

Many men during campaigns try to convince women to step down and give support to male candidates of their preferences, none of them has tried to convince voters to vote women in. They just believe that women are supposed to support men and not to contest, as a woman leader no one should dictate that I should support a man in his quest for elective leadership position.

From her opinion, it may be deduced that having failed in the elections could be the motivating factor towards her response. She feels the community does not support women, which is contrary to what data from structured questionnaires. It could be that the community felt she did not have the right qualities, but not on the basis of gender. The change could be an indicator towards the increasing number of women in elective

positions from other counties. Although other studies such as Kiamba (2008) say that in African cultures, there still exist the attitude that men lead and women follow, this is slowly changing.

Elsewhere, Dolan and Lynch (2014) wrote that, for much of political history in the United States of America, one of the major obstacles to women's participation as candidates and office holders was the lack of support for that participation among the general public who believed that women are politically to support men. It is only in the mid-twentieth century that we see the beginnings of a steady, though slow, integration of women into candidacy and office-holding. This period of change is marked by shifts in public attitudes about the possibility of political leadership for women, which occurred during a time of women's greater success in running for and winning elected office (Dolan & Lynch, 2014).

In other cases, there have been claims that can only lead in pure women's organizations. When respondents were asked about it, the findings showed that only 11.9% agreed with the statement that women should only lead in women's organizations, while the remaining 88.1% disagreed. See the table 4.6 below.

Table 4.7: Women lead only in pure women organizations

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	13	3.4
Moderately Agree	10	2.6
Agree	23	6.0
Disagree	215	55.8
Strongly Disagree	124	32.2
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2014

According to one key informants who participated in elections;

Today women are able to take up leadership positions in different sectors in the country, not only in pure women organizations a clear indication of women having the leadership capacity to participate and win political elective positions and make up good leaders. (Key Informant)

The other key informants were in agreement that women are able to lead in every sector. This shows that the society has changed. The experts noted that in the last ten years there has been progress towards the equal representation of men and women in decision-making. As of September 2005, the global average for women in parliaments stood at 16.0 percent (IPU, 2005). This is an indication showing that women not only lead in pure women organizations but they lead in different sectors of the economies including in political positions in the world and in Kenya. This shows that women can also take political leadership effectively and not only lead in pure women organizations. From the findings, it is very evident that the community attitudes have changed and they no longer look at women in relation to pure women organizations but they can take responsibilities in all elective leadership positions.

In others situations women who venture into politics have been regarded as immoral (see IPU, 2015). In this community, 84.3% of the respondents disagreed that women who get into politics are immoral. Only 15.7% agreed with the statement that women in politics are immoral. See the table 4.7 below.

Table 4.8: Women venturing into politics are immoral

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	13	3.4
Moderately Agree	11	2.9
Agree	36	9.4
Disagree	105	27.3
Strongly Disagree	220	57.0
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2014

Key informants were in agreement that only few people, especially men, believe such women are immoral. According to one key informants who participated in elections,

Few men in the community where I come from still think and look at women venturing into politics as immoral. This is because most often these women are seen in the company of other men. However, as a woman leader there is nothing

wrong being in the company of men during campaigns for elective leadership positions, thus venturing into politics is not immoral. It is a constitutional right. It is also good to state that this perception is also changing in my community.

According to Muhammad (2010) politicking is time consuming with politicians travelling far and wide and often staying overnight in hotels far from their homes during political rallies. Given such scenarios, women politicians are generally seen as promiscuous in the society that believes women’s role should be confined in domestic management (Muhammad, 2010). This notion is changing as the findings clearly show only a few members of the community look at women who venture into politics as being immoral. It implies that a majority of the members are changing their attitude towards gender sensitive leadership. This now places women in a better position to engage in elective political issues, engage effectively in elective leadership without major obstacles resulting from community attitudes.

The study also asked whether the community feels women are weak to handle politics. In their response, 81.1% disagreed with the idea that women are weak to handle politics. Only 18.9% of the respondents agreed that women are weak to handle political campaigns as shown in Table 4.8 below.

Table 4.9: Women are weak to handle political campaigns

	Frequency	Percent
Moderately Agree	73	18.9
Disagree	125	32.5
Strongly Disagree	187	48.6
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2014

According to one key informant,

Women have all it takes to handle political campaigns, if given enough resources and clear level playing ground during campaigns they can outdo men and win the elections at all times. The major factor that hinders women like us during political campaigns is violence instigated by men, including abusive languages.

The few who believe that women are weak are men who use such kinds of language to pull women down. This was supported by all key informants who said, some of those

men instigate violence in order to create fear in women aspirants. Most women face humiliations from their male counterparts through dirty and vulgar languages which mostly tainted their characters. Apart from dirty language, others humiliate women through political thuggery to make women shelve their political ambitions. Studies have shown that most of the cultural norms in the communities where gender based violence is rampant not only encourage male violence against women but also serve to entrap women in violent relationship by teaching them that violence is normal and deserved (Okumu, Oduol, Ombati, Kamau & Okoiti, 2008). The threat of political violence especially during political campaign periods, continues to be a major challenge to women who aspire to political positions (Okumu, et al., 2008). The threat of violence is often used by men who pretend to be advocating against it as a way of discouraging women from participating in the electoral process. Similarly, other studies (such as Okumu, et al., 2008) assert that male aspirants that violence or the threat of it has traditionally been used during electioneering periods to silence aspiring women leaders and women’s activism in general.

As part of attitude test, respondents were asked whether they view women as poor political mobilizers. As presented in table 4.9 below, a majority (64.4%) disagreed that women are poor political mobilizers. Only 35.6% of the respondents agreed that women are poor political mobilizers.

Table 4.10: Women are poor political mobilizers

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	58	15.1
Agree	79	20.5
Disagree	66	17.1
Strongly Disagree	182	47.3
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2014

According to one key informant,

I do not believe I am a poor political mobilizer. Women are often grouped as poor political mobilizers but we are not. It is lack of adequate resources is what

contributes our failures. When given adequate resources, women can beat men in political mobilizations and win in any elective leadership position. (Key Informant)

The idea of women being poor political mobilizers may be one of the tools used by male aspirants to brig women down. As the key informants put it, political campaigning exercise is very distressful particularly in terms of financial expenditures. Studies have shown that, whereas men are able to mobilize financial resources through several ways including sale of property such as land, women were constrained because property ownership in most communities is dominated by men (Institute of Economic Affairs, 2008).

Some studies (such as Wanjiku & Wasamba, 1998; Thibon et al., 2014) have concluded that women hate their own fellows who vie for political positions. This follows that fact that they are the majority (52%) in terms of population (KNBS, 2010) and as voters, they often have a turnout exceeding 55% in all pooling stations countrywide but fail to vote one of their own (Wanjiku & Wasamba, 1998). This study also seems to concur as 59.2% of the respondents agreed that women fail to support one of their own. See table 4.10 below.

Table 4.11: Women fail to support fellow women for elective leadership during voting

	Frequency	Percent
Moderately Agree	116	30.1
Agree	112	29.1
Disagree	74	19.2
Strongly Disagree	83	21.6
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2014

The study established that most women supported male candidates and gave their backs to the female candidates and as such a major undoing by the women caucus.

According to one key informant,

It is very sad during the election to see how majority of women rally behind male counter parts in the elections and supported them just because they were promised

to be given money or other offers. If only women would fully support women participating in elective leadership during campaigns and voting, women would lead in all positions since women are the majority. (Key informant)

This implies that key informants in the study had similar agreement that failure of women to support fellow women participating in elective leadership position is a major challenge. According to the population structure, women are the majority in the study area, and if they were to vote as a block to one of their own, things would have been different for the male counterparts in terms of representation in elective leadership positions. However, it should not be taken that there is disunity among women during elections. In as much as this argument may be valid due to women’s numerical strength, it may not be just voting for women for the sake of being women, but there could be other qualities the electorate want. This follows what has been discussed in the other sections of this chapter that the then negative attitude towards women’s leadership is changing.

4.4 Cultural Beliefs Hindering Women Participation in Elective Leadership Positions

The second objective of the study sought to know whether women who challenge men in politics are considered unfit to be wives. As contained in Table 4.11, a total of 69.9% disagreed with that idea, while only 23.1% agreed with the statement.

Table 4.12: Women challenging men are considered unfit to be wives

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	89	23.1
Strongly agreed	0	0
Disagree	68	17.7
Strongly Disagree	228	59.2
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2014

Key informants were also in agreement that only a few people believe women in politics are unfit to be wives. See the excerpt below:

Some few men and women in Homa Bay and Rangwe constituencies still believe that women who participate in politics are unfit to be wives, since they look at

them to be interacting with other men in their quest for mobilizing resources, they are often branded with all kinds of names, making women to fear venturing into politics, because of abuses and insults.

According to those who agreed, political campaigning requires that one travel extensively, spend nights away from home, go into bars, and subsequently not getting time to be with their husbands. All of these things are not easily accepted for women in many communities (Kiamba, 2008). Kiamba (2008) adds that women who vie for public office have to consider the risk of being labeled ‘loose’ or ‘unfit’ as mothers and wives, and being socially stigmatized. This is not only in Kenya, but a global problem. This has been witnessed even in the US elections where Hilary Clinton was stigmatized and labelled unfit (IPU, 2016). However, it is worth asserting that such kinds of views are changing as reflected in the findings.

The respondents were asked whether women should not speak where men. This question was provoked by some old thought that women should not talk before men as was raised during key informant interviews. See the excerpt below:

Every time women are participating and involved in elective leadership positions in the area and interact with men in the rallies or different platforms, men shut them down saying they are not supposed to speak where they are, because they still believe in old societal beliefs, however the society has changed and women can speak actively and freely even where the men are. (Key Informant)

The responses were as on the table 4.12 below. Only 14.6% agreed that women should not speak where men are while the remaining 85.4.0% disagreed with the statement.

Table 4.13: Women should not speak where men are

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	17	4.4
Moderately Agree	15	4.0
Agree	24	6.2
Disagree	114	29.6
Strongly Disagree	215	55.8
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2014

It was also followed with another question that women should not participate in any decision-making process where men are. The finding presented in the table 4.13 below shows that only 16.4% of the respondents agreed that women should not participate in decision making where men are. The remaining 83.6% of the respondents disagreed with the statement. According to the key informants;

Women have to participate in decision making process whether with men or alone because they have issues that affect them. Women today participate in decision making right from the lowest to the highest level of the family including in others different structures. Women also make great decisions more than men.

Table 4.14: Women cannot participate in decision making where men are

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	22	5.7
Somewhat Agree	22	5.7
Agree	21	5.5
Disagree	60	15.6
Strongly Disagree	260	67.5
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2014

As the key informants indicate in the above excerpt, it is important to note that several international documents have continued to recognize the need for equality between men and women and the rights of women to participate in elective leadership positions. At the same time, the Constitution of Kenya of 2010 espouses the rights of women as being equal to men and entitled to freedom of expression (Republic of Kenya, 2010). All these have helped to improve the status of women and they can freely talk and communicate where men are including in political arenas. Now, when it comes to women participating in decision making, the community has to come to terms with it and as such, the community no longer bar women politicians from participating in decision making alongside their male counterparts. This was contrary to the Women Shadow audit which had indicated that, men dominate the influential decision-making structures in most political parties, thus, women concerns are not adequately addressed. The Women Shadow Parliament-Kenya, indicate that women get short-changed women during

political party nominations as most parties nominate very few of the women who present themselves for party nominations. It continues to indicate that women in leadership positions are passive and lack grassroots support owing their loyalty to male leaders who put them there (The Women Shadow Parliament-Kenya, not dated).

Lastly, it also emerged from key informants that few members of the community believe that it is a taboo for women to challenge/compete with men in elections. See excerpt below.

The constitution of Kenya gives women authority to contest in elective leadership political positions Kenya. It is only some few members in the community who still think it is a taboo for women to compete with men in elective positions, but for us we are only exercising our constitutional right.

When respondents were asked whether it is a taboo for women to challenge men in elective positions, only 17.7% agreed with the statement, while the remaining 82.3% disagreed. See table 4.14 below.

Table 4.15: It is a taboo for women to challenge Men in elective Positions

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	21	5.5
Moderately Agree	15	3.9
Agree	32	8.3
Disagree	119	30.9
Strongly Disagree	198	51.4
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2014

Even though majority were against this statement, it was still an indication that to some extent this aspect is still held by some few community members. The 17.7% cannot just be wished away. It may have been a contributing factor to women failing to participate actively in elective leadership positions in politics. The Women Shadow Audit further revealed that some of the challenges hindering women participation in elective positions include, male-oriented norms, which have continued to be against women who challenge men in elective positions (The Women Shadow Parliament – Kenya, not dated).

Further, 79.2% of the respondents disagreed with the statement that women must be submissive to their husbands including political matters. Only 20.8% of the respondents agreed with the statement. Key informant interviews also support the same view.

Men expect women to be submissive to them in all issues and that our roles include taking care of homes and children, not participating in politics thus undermining women in their quest into political leadership. As women there is no written document compelling women to politically be submissive to men.

Even when the question was twisted to read that women must be submissive to men in all matters including politics, the study findings were very clear that the respondents did not agree to this statement that women must be obedient to men getting political directives. The findings indicate that only 19.8% of the respondents agreed with the statement, while 80.2% disagreed as illustrated below in table 4.16

Table 4.16: Women must be obedient to men’s political directives

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	1	0.3
Moderately Agree	10	2.6
Agree	65	16.9
Disagree	139	36.1
Strongly Disagree	170	44.1
Total	385	100

Source: Field Data, 2014

The key informants also indicated that:

Today we are able to decide on the way we run our political agenda and issues, as much as few members in the community believe that we must be obedient to men’s political directives, time has changed and now we can decide what to do without depending on directives from men.

The findings show that some people (20.8% of the respondents) still believed that women must be submissive to their husbands including matters related to politics. Such individuals may be among the few who still create bottle necks for women in their quest for elective leadership positions. Institute of Economic Affairs (2008) states that women are taught to be submissive to their partners, and a man’s honor often depends on his

ability to control his wife’s behavior. Coob (2005) also states that, Shona people view women to be submissive role to men. However, in this study the belief that women have to be submissive to men is changing as both have equal roles in the society and in political matters as provided for in the new Constitution of Kenya of 2010 (Republic of Kenya, 2010). The Constitution of Kenya of 2010 gives women an opportunity to engage in political leadership without being compelled to follow the directives of men in politics.

4.5 Influence of gender roles in the family on Women Participation in Elective Leadership Positions

The last objective sought to determine how gender roles in the family influence women participation in elective leadership positions in Homabay and Rangwe constituencies. These included caregiving roles and home management matters. When the respondents were asked whether it is men’s role to provide for the family, the study findings presented in the table 4.17 below shows that 73.2% agreed with the statement. Only 26.8% of the respondents disagreed with the statement saying both men and women have equal responsibility to provide for their families.

Table 4.17: It is Men’s Role to provide for families

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	92	23.9
Moderately Agree	96	24.9
Agree	94	24.4
Disagree	65	16.9
Strongly Disagree	38	9.9
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2014

According to the key informants:

In this our community both men and women believe that it is men’s role to provide for families. This why they look at men as the head of the family and are meant to lead in all aspects including political matters. This has affected our participation in politics. (Key informant)

The findings are not different from what other studies had confirmed. According to Institute of Economic Affairs (2008) most Kenyan communities still regard the place of a

woman as being in the kitchen and raising children as part of the reproductive role while men provide food for the families. Kiamba (2008) also states that despite women's education and entry into the job market, the woman's role is typically one of a homemaker while men, on the other hand, are bread winners, heads of households and have a right to public life. Confining women's identity to the domestic sphere is one of the barriers to women's entry into politics and politics by its nature catapults one into public life. This kind of socialization makes it hard for many men to fathom the idea that they can share the same platform with a woman. Consequently, women are locked out of political representation and hence locking them out of participation in decision making forums. It implies that by joining politics, women in such like this community are still considered as breaking the rules that govern gender roles. Generally, cultural gender roles are hostile to women's involvement in politics.

On the other hand, the respondents were asked who takes care of homes and children. The study findings as shown in table 4.18 show that 76.9% of the respondents agreed that women are the ones who take of homes and children, while 23.1% of the respondents disagreed.

Table 4.18: Women to take care of homes and children

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	99	25.7
Moderately Agree	110	28.6
Agree	87	22.6
Disagree	24	6.2
Strongly Disagree	65	16.9
Total	385	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2014

The quantitative data was supported with key informant interviews which also gave a similar view. See the excerpt below;

It is time that members of the community to understand that women can participate in political issues and to take care of our homes and children in an organised way. My community where I come from still hold the value that when

we engage in politics of elective positions then we neglect or our homes which is not the case. There are so many successfully women political leaders with well organised homes. (A Key informant).

The findings in this area clearly shows that women in the study area are still regarded as people to take care of the home and children and not to participate in political issues. This shows that the community is still dominated with male-oriented norms and structures that mitigate against women's public participation, including political party schedules that are difficult to reconcile with parental and family responsibilities. This probably what keeps women out of politics till late in their lives. According to Rosenbluth et al., (2015) around the world family roles continue to affect political career of women, where female politicians tend to start their careers later, have fewer children, spend more time caring for their families. In their survey, they give evidence that female politicians continue to be burdened disproportionately with family work, hence have to delay their political career (Rosenbluth, et al., 2015). For example, while men tend to get elected to their first political job at around the age of 40, more females wait between 45 and 50 when their youngest child is school-aged ((Rosenbluth, et al., 2015 pp 18). Rosenbluth et al. (2015) concludes that single female politicians-separated, divorced or widowed, experience extra challenges running for political positions not only due to stigma relating to their marital status but balancing family and political career, hence get discouraged from running for office in the first place.

It should be noted that gender roles have also changed with the present situation with women specifying different roles that women should engage in; women should contribute their own quota to governance, interested women should participate in politics like men, hold leadership positions at any governance level and to participate in elections (Kimari et al., 2014). Both men and women have equal chances in politics and play family roles at equal levels (Republic of Kenya, 2010).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents summary of the findings in chapter four and their interpretations, conclusion and recommendations. The summary are presented according to the three objectives.

5.2 Summary of the findings

The first objective of the study was to establish community attitude towards women's participation in elective leadership positions. The findings revealed that a majority of the community does not view women as a weak gender to make strong leadership. This shows that what was initially held that women were weak to hold leadership is changing. The findings show that this study community can elect women into political offices as long as they have right qualities. That is, it does not matter whether it is a man or a woman, both genders are deemed fit for elective positions as long as they have the right qualities and qualifications the community feels is required for a particular position. In certain literature, women have been branded as "enemies of their own" since they have the numbers yet fail to elect one of their own gender. However, this does not arise here in this community. In the community women, do not just use their large numbers to vote for fellow women for the sake of it, unless they have the right qualities.

Although studies from elsewhere such as US have shown that women fighting for elective positions are branded as immoral, this notion was rejected by a majority of the respondents in this study. The study participants said such kinds of attitudes existed long ago but have no space in the current political spheres. This implies that such kinds of stigmatizing attitudes are slowly changing and may not hold women back any more. In general, according to the community, politics require a lot of time out and mingling with both men and women. That in itself does not show that such women are immoral. The community recognizes that they have their constitutional right to freely associate with people and compete effectively just like men do.

In terms of political mobilization, women can equally do well just like men except that sometimes they are faced with violence and lack of financial power. Male opponents use vulgar language, physical violence and all manners of intimidation to bring down women. This was evident from key informants, especially women who vied for positions in Rangwe and Homa Bay Town Constituencies though did not succeed. They often reiterated that women failed to garner enough votes for lack of money and threats from male competitors. Therefore, in as much as the community members- that is, the general electorate feels that women have the capacity to compete favourably with men, sometimes male opponents may invoke such old approaches of intimidation to bring women down.

The second objective was to establish whether cultural beliefs affect women's participation in elective leadership positions. This was tested by asking whether it was a taboo for women to challenge men in elective leadership positions. This was rejected by the respondents saying there is no such a taboo. They were also asked whether the community believe women who aspire for political positions are unfit for wives. The respondents categorically said such believes no longer exist. The respondents cited several cases of women who have been in politics yet protected their marriages. They often gave an example of Phoebe Asiyo who hailed for Karachuonyo, which is a neighbouring constituency, whose family has been intact ever since she got into politics. At the same time, the study asked whether there is a belief that women should never talk where men are and how that would stop women from making it into political offices. The community disagreed with that idea saying that both men and women have a right to speak. This shows that the community has risen above cultural beliefs that for a long time compelled women not to speak where men were. The society no longer bars women from participating in decision making alongside their male counterparts. Generally, the study findings showed that 79.2% of the respondent did not agree that women are supposed to be submissive to their husbands, including political matters. This is a clear indication that the community now view women as people who could be able to make their own political initiatives and even participate in political elective leadership positions without their husbands' interference.

The third objective of the study was to investigate influence of gender roles in the family on women participation in elective leadership positions. From the research findings, the respondents strongly agreed that it is the role of men provide for their families. However, the respondents asserted that currently things have changed. Both men and women provide for their families, even though not equally in certain cases. There are cases where mostly women provide for family needs and some the reverse is true. They noted that women of reproductive age may find it difficult to get into political leadership because of family responsibilities especially caring for children as well as ensuring that they cook for their husbands. A total of 76.2% respondent agreed women are the ones taking care of children and other household duties like cooking, fetching firewood and water among others.

5.3 Conclusion

From the findings, it is concluded that the community no longer views women as a weak gender in political spheres. It does not matter whether it is a man or a woman, both gender are deemed fit for elective positions as long as they have the right qualities and qualifications the community feels is required for a particular position. Even the idea that “women are their own enemies” does not hold here. Both men and women are rated equally. It all depends on how they sell their policies to convince the electorate.

At the same time, no beliefs exist in this community that stops women from competing effectively with men. Women are free to talk and sell their policies in any political forum. They are neither viewed unfit for wives nor immoral women. Meaning, the community is no longer judgemental on women’s political quest. Women are free to mingle with men as long as they are keen to keep their integrity. However, only male opponents sometimes invoke such old practices of intimidating women aspirants to convince the electorate that women are not fit for elective positions. Sometimes, they face violence from the male opponents, especially during political campaign periods. But strong women still make it.

Lastly, gender roles were observed as a factor that can potentially deny women the opportunity to compete with men in political leadership. Although currently both men and women provide for their families, there are cases where mostly women provide for family needs. Women reproductive age may find it difficult to get into political

leadership because of family responsibilities especially caring for children as well as ensuring that they cook for their families. Women do other household duties like cooking, fetching firewood and water among others, which equally take much of their time. However, currently they can employ house-helpers to help them while they are away.

5.4 Recommendations of the Findings

Based on the research findings, it is recommended that:

- Although negative attitudes towards women's leadership is changing, still there is need for civic education and extensive campaigns to create public awareness that women are equally fit to run for elective positions. At the same time, women who aspire need to know that political ground is softening and they should come up to compete effectively without any fear of intimidation.
- As the study revealed that male opponents are the ones perpetrating violence, the government needs to put effective structures to handle such politicians who intimidate colleagues on such retrogressive ideologies.
- More campaigns need to be conducted to ensure that men may also support their wives with family duties especially when they show interest in political leadership.

5.5 Suggestions for further Research

1. A study could investigate how major political parties can support women to participate in elective politics.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

MASENO UNIVERSITY

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

22nd February, 2014

To

Whom It May Concern,

REF: OLIECH IMMACULATE AMONDI-PG/MA/6004/2012

This is to confirm that the above named person is a student of Maseno University and is pursuing a research on “Socio-cultural factors hindering women ascendancy to elective leadership positions in Homa Bay town and Rangwe constituencies in Homa Bay County, Kenya.”

You have therefore been selected to take part in this study. Herein attached, find a questionnaire designed to assist in collecting pertinent information for the research. The study is purely for academic purpose and all information collected from you shall be treated with utmost confidentiality. In no way shall your name nor the name of your organization appear in the final report. Upon your request, a copy of the final document shall be availed to you.

Your assistance, cooperation and response will be highly appreciated. Thank you.

Yours faithfully

Dean School of Arts and Social Sciences:

Signature.....

Date.....20.....

Appendix 2: Questionnaire

Section A: Background Information

1. Your Name (optional)

.....

2. Your age bracket (Tick whichever appropriate)

a) Below 24 Years []

b) 25 - 30 Years []

c) 31 - 34 years [],

d) 35 - 40 years [],

e) 41 - 44 years [],

f) 45 - 50 years [],

g) Over- 51 years []

3. What is your marital status?

a) Single

b) Married

c) Separated

d) Divorced

e) Widowed

3. What is your highest education level? (Tick as applicable)

a) Primary certificate [],

b) Secondary certificate [],

c) Diploma/certificate [],

d) Bachelors' degree [],

e) Postgraduate degree [],

f) Others-specify.....

4. Have you been in political leadership position? Yes [], No []

5. If Yes, for how long?

- a) Less than 2 years (),
- b) 2-4 years (),
- c) 4-6 years ()
- d) More than 6 years ()

Section B: Community attitudes towards women leadership

The questions in this section are aimed at obtaining views of the respondent about the attitudes of community members on women’s leadership in Homa Bay County, Kenya.

Please tick the appropriate box that best represent your opinion on the question.

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Women are weak and thus cannot make strong and firm leaders.					
Women are supposed to support men, but not to be leaders themselves.					
Women can only lead in purely women organizations such as women groups.					
Women who venture to political leadership are considered socially immoral.					
Women are weak to handle political campaigns.					
Women are poor mobilizers of political supporters.					
Women fail to support fellow women to elective leadership positions because of jealousy.					

Section C: Cultural beliefs and women leadership

Indicate your opinion on each of the questions below by ticking (√) on the appropriate box

	Strongly agree	Moderately agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Women who challenge men in leadership are considered unfit to be wives in your community.					
Women should not speak where men are unless they are disobedient.					
It is a taboo for a woman to challenge a man in elective positions.					
Women cannot participate in decision making where men are also involved.					
Women MUST play obedient role to men’s political directives.					

Section D: Influence of gender roles on women political leadership

Please indicate your opinion on each of the questions below by ticking (√) on the appropriate box

	Strongly agree	Moderately agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongest disagree
It is the role of men to provide for families and so women should never bother to seek political posts.					
Women should take care of homes and children and not other public resources through politics.					

THANK YOU

Appendix 3: Interview Schedule for Key Informant

1. How does community view women leadership especially political leadership?
2. What cultural issues hinder women's elective leadership positions?
3. What is the community's attitude towards women ascending to elective positions?
4. How does gender role within a family structure affect women in elective political positions?
5. What interventions are made in your community to encourage more women to political elective leadership positions?
6. Who are the people or institutions offering such interventions in your community?

Appendix 4: Map of Homabay County where Homabay and Rangwe constituencies are located

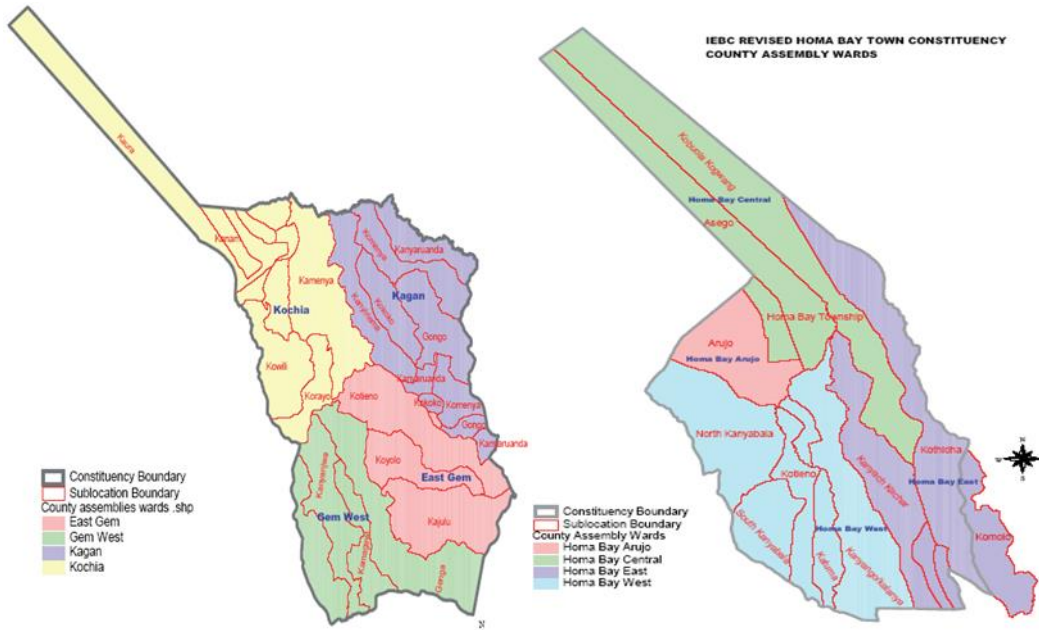


Figure 1: Map of Rangwe and Homa Bay Town Constituencies