

**PSYCHOSOCIAL CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN  
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN KENYA: A SURVEY OF KAKAMEGA COUNTY**

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### **DECLARATION**

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

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this research proposal to my beloved mother and my family.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I convey my sincere appreciation to all who have contributed to the successful completion of this proposal. Special thanks to Maina Komu who is my supervisor for his immense support and guidance. My sincere gratitude goes to my lecturers and staff of Management University of Africa for ensuring I complete my course in due time. I sincerely thank the administration of Kakamega County for permitting the data to be collected from the county. I also thank my family who supported me both morally and spiritually throughout my learning period.

## ABSTRACT

The general objective of the study is to establish the psychosocial challenges women face in political leadership in Kakamega County Kenya. The specific objectives of the study were to establish the effect of marginalization on women participation in political leadership; to determine the effect of patriarchal biases on women participation in political leadership; to find out the influence of lack of family support on women participation; to investigate the effect of political barriers on women participation in political leadership. This study adopted correlation design where both quantitative and qualitative data was collected. The target population comprised of women political leaders who participated in political leadership in Kakamega County. The census of all the 48 women was sampled, with data collected using questionnaires. Data analysis was aided by Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software version 23. Qualitative data was analyzed by narrative reporting, while quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics. The response rate was at 91.67 % which was above average and sufficient to continue with the data analysis. Marginalization had a positive linearly significant influence on participation of women in political leadership. Women participating in elective positions are considered as unruly characters in society with society dissuading women from elective positions. Patriarchal biases had a positive linearly significant influence on participation of women in political leadership. Family support had a positive linearly significant influence on participation of women in political leadership. The findings established that women rarely get financial backing from the family members for elective positions with financing of women for political leadership viewed as waste of resources. The study established that political barriers had a positive linearly significant influence on participation of women in political leadership. Political barriers was the most important factor in influencing participation of women in political leadership followed by marginalization, family support and the least was patriarchal biases. The study concluded that political barriers were the most important factor in diminishing participation of women in political leadership. The study concluded that marginalization is a common feature in diminishing the prospects of women participation in elective positions. The study concluded that for women to succeed and fully participate in politics, fighting and overcoming patriarchal obstacles is a necessity in order to achieve the 30% quota desired by the constitution. The study concluded that support of women by family and society at large is an important component of empowering women aspiration and prospect for participation in politics. The study recommendation is that since marginalization is a common challenge, there is need for positive social change to educate public on elimination of discrimination to support equity for women to participate fully in the political process. The study recommended that to overcome patriarchal biases and ensure fairness in political participation of women, measures should be taken to compensate for historical and political psychosocial disadvantages that prevent women from participation in politics. The study recommended that to reinvigorate family support for women participation in politics, economic empowerment of women, education and access to information, may act as an effective tools. On areas for further studies and for comparative analysis, the study on psychosocial challenges women face in political leadership in Kakamega County Kenya may be cascaded to other regions in Kenya.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

|                                                                                    |             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| <b>DECLARATION .....</b>                                                           | <b>II</b>   |
| <b>DEDICATION .....</b>                                                            | <b>III</b>  |
| <b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....</b>                                                       | <b>IV</b>   |
| <b>ABSTRACT .....</b>                                                              | <b>V</b>    |
| <b>TABLE OF CONTENTS .....</b>                                                     | <b>VI</b>   |
| <b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>                                                        | <b>XI</b>   |
| <b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>                                                       | <b>XII</b>  |
| <b>OPERATION DEFINITION OF TERMS .....</b>                                         | <b>XIII</b> |
| <b>ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS .....</b>                                            | <b>XIV</b>  |
| <b>CHAPTER ONE .....</b>                                                           | <b>1</b>    |
| <b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>                                                          | <b>1</b>    |
| 1.0. Introduction .....                                                            | 1           |
| 1.1 Background of the Study .....                                                  | 1           |
| 1.1.1 Global Participation of Women in Political leadership .....                  | 2           |
| 1.1.2 Participation of Women in Political Leadership in Africa .....               | 4           |
| 1.1.3 Psychosocial Challenges in Women Participation in Political Leadership ..... | 8           |
| 1.2 Statement of the Problem .....                                                 | 10          |
| 1.3 General Objective .....                                                        | 12          |
| 1.3.1 Specific Objectives .....                                                    | 12          |
| 1.4 Research Questions .....                                                       | 12          |
| 1.5 Significance of the Study .....                                                | 13          |
| 1.6 Scope of the Study .....                                                       | 14          |
| 1.7 Chapter Summary .....                                                          | 14          |

|                                                                                   |           |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| <b>CHAPTER TWO .....</b>                                                          | <b>15</b> |
| <b>LITERATURE REVIEW.....</b>                                                     | <b>15</b> |
| 2.0 Introduction .....                                                            | 15        |
| 2.1 Theoretical Framework .....                                                   | 15        |
| 2.1.1 Liberal Feminist Theory .....                                               | 15        |
| 2.1.2 Radical Feminist Theory.....                                                | 16        |
| 2.1.3 Feminist Theory .....                                                       | 19        |
| 2.2 Empirical Literature .....                                                    | 22        |
| 2.2.1 Marginalization on women participation in political leadership.....         | 23        |
| 2.2.2 Patriarchal biases on women participation in political leadership .....     | 25        |
| 2.2.3 Lack of family support on women participation in political leadership ..... | 27        |
| 2.2.4 Political Barriers.....                                                     | 28        |
| 2.3 Empirical Studies.....                                                        | 29        |
| 2.4. Summary of Research Gaps .....                                               | 34        |
| 2.5. Conceptual Framework .....                                                   | 37        |
| 2.6. Operationalization of Variables .....                                        | 38        |
| 2.7 Summary of the Chapter .....                                                  | 39        |
| <b>CHAPTER THREE.....</b>                                                         | <b>40</b> |
| <b>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....</b>                                                 | <b>40</b> |
| 3.0 Introduction .....                                                            | 40        |
| 3.1 Research Design .....                                                         | 40        |
| 3.2 Target Population.....                                                        | 40        |
| 3.3 Sample and sampling technique .....                                           | 41        |

|        |                                                                   |           |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 3.4    | Research Instrument.....                                          | 41        |
| 3.5    | Pilot Study .....                                                 | 42        |
| 3.5.1. | Validity and Reliability of Instruments.....                      | 42        |
|        | Validity of Instruments .....                                     | 42        |
|        | Reliability of Instruments.....                                   | 42        |
| 3.6    | Data Collection Procedure.....                                    | 43        |
| 3.7    | Data Analysis.....                                                | 44        |
| 3.7.1  | Regression model .....                                            | 44        |
| 3.8    | Ethical Considerations .....                                      | 45        |
| 3.8.1  | Consent and confidentiality .....                                 | 45        |
| 3.8.2  | Human relational issues .....                                     | 46        |
| 3.8.3  | Legal basis of respondents .....                                  | 46        |
| 3.8.4  | Logistical issues .....                                           | 46        |
| 3.9    | Summary of the Chapter .....                                      | 46        |
|        | <b>CHAPTER FOUR .....</b>                                         | <b>47</b> |
|        | <b>RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION .....</b>                     | <b>47</b> |
| 4.0.   | Introduction .....                                                | 47        |
| 4.1    | Presentation of Research Findings.....                            | 47        |
| 4.1.1  | Response rate .....                                               | 47        |
| 4.2.2  | Demographic Characteristics.....                                  | 47        |
| 4.2.3  | Age bracket .....                                                 | 48        |
| 4.2.4  | Level of Education .....                                          | 48        |
| 4.2.5  | Consideration of resources before electing women candidates ..... | 49        |



|       |                                                                                |           |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 4.3   | Descriptive Analysis of Study Variables .....                                  | 49        |
| 4.3.2 | Marginalization of women.....                                                  | 49        |
| 4.3.3 | Effect of society expectations on women inclusivity in elections .....         | 50        |
| 4.3.4 | Patriarchal biases.....                                                        | 51        |
| 4.3.5 | Negative society expectations affecting women candidates.....                  | 52        |
| 4.3.6 | Family support of women candidates.....                                        | 53        |
| 4.3.7 | Support of women candidates by family .....                                    | 54        |
| 4.3.8 | Political barriers .....                                                       | 55        |
| 4.3.9 | Presence of policies supporting women in politics .....                        | 56        |
| 4.4   | Inferential statistics .....                                                   | 57        |
| 4.4.1 | Reliability Analysis .....                                                     | 57        |
| 4.4.2 | Normality test.....                                                            | 57        |
| 4.4.3 | Correlation Analysis.....                                                      | 58        |
| 4.4.4 | Regression Analysis .....                                                      | 59        |
| 4.4.5 | Analysis of Variance (ANOVA).....                                              | 60        |
| 4.4.6 | Coefficients analysis.....                                                     | 61        |
| 4.5   | Limitations of the Study.....                                                  | 63        |
| 4.6   | Chapter Summary .....                                                          | 63        |
|       | <b>CHAPTER FIVE .....</b>                                                      | <b>64</b> |
|       | <b>SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION.....</b>                            | <b>64</b> |
| 5.0.  | Introduction .....                                                             | 64        |
| 5.4   | Summary of the Study.....                                                      | 64        |
| 5.4.1 | Effect of marginalization on women participation in political leadership ..... | 65        |

|                                              |                                                                                          |           |
|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 5.4.2                                        | Effect of patriarchal biases on women participation in political leadership .....        | 66        |
| 5.5                                          | Influence of lack of family support on women participation in political leadership ..... | 66        |
| 5.5.1                                        | Effect of political barriers on women participation in political leadership .....        | 67        |
| 5.6                                          | Conclusions .....                                                                        | 67        |
| 5.7                                          | Recommendations.....                                                                     | 68        |
| 5.8                                          | Area for Further Studies .....                                                           | 69        |
| <b>REFERENCES .....</b>                      |                                                                                          | <b>70</b> |
| <b>APPENDICES .....</b>                      |                                                                                          | <b>74</b> |
| <b>APPENDIX I: INTRODUCTION LETTER .....</b> |                                                                                          | <b>74</b> |
| <b>APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE .....</b>      |                                                                                          | <b>75</b> |

## LIST OF TABLES

|                                                                         |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Table 2. 1 Summary of research gaps .....                               | 34 |
| Table 2. 2 Operationalization of variables .....                        | 38 |
| <b>Table 3. 1</b> Target population .....                               | 41 |
| <b>Table 4. 1</b> Target population .....                               | 47 |
| <b>Table 4. 2</b> Demographic characteristics .....                     | 47 |
| <b>Table 4. 3</b> Marginalization of women in political leadership..... | 50 |
| <b>Table 4. 4</b> Society expectation on women in politics .....        | 51 |
| <b>Table 4. 5</b> Patriarchal biases .....                              | 52 |
| <b>Table 4. 6</b> Society expectations affecting women candidates ..... | 53 |
| <b>Table 4. 7</b> Family support of women politicians .....             | 54 |
| <b>Table 4. 8</b> Role of family in supporting female candidates .....  | 55 |
| <b>Table 4. 9</b> Political barriers .....                              | 56 |
| <b>Table 4. 10</b> Policies supporting women inclusion in politics..... | 57 |
| <b>Table 4. 11</b> Reliability of study variables .....                 | 57 |
| <b>Table 4. 12</b> Normality test.....                                  | 58 |
| <b>Table 4. 13</b> Correlation analysis .....                           | 59 |
| <b>Table 4. 14</b> Model summary.....                                   | 60 |
| <b>Table 4. 15</b> Analysis of variance .....                           | 60 |
| <b>Table 4. 16</b> Coefficients analysis.....                           | 61 |

## LIST OF FIGURES

|                                               |    |
|-----------------------------------------------|----|
| <b>Figure 2. 1</b> Conceptual framework ..... | 37 |
|-----------------------------------------------|----|

## OPERATION DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Marginalization** refers to the perception and practice of negating the role of women to household chores and restricting them from participation in electoral politics.

**Patriarchal biases** refers to the pre-determined and psychologically related negative stigma of perceiving women as being unsuitable to fully participate in educational, religious, and other related institutions resulting to restrictions in participating in a country's political system.

**Political Barriers** are the bottle necks placed by the male dominated society, political parties and agents of political socialization that entails restrictions on the extent of women participation in politics.

**Participation of women in political leadership** refers to the practice and extent of involvement of women in politics especially in the African context.

**Psychosocial Challenges** refers to psychological and social stereotypes that create a disabling environment for women participation in political processes.

## **ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

|               |                                          |
|---------------|------------------------------------------|
| <b>FGM</b>    | Female Genital Mutilation                |
| <b>KEWOPA</b> | Kenya Women Parliamentary Association    |
| <b>LGBT</b>   | Lesbians, Gay, Bi-sexual and Transgender |
| <b>MCA</b>    | Member of the County Assembly            |
| <b>MDGs</b>   | Millennium Development Goals             |
| <b>MP</b>     | Member of Parliament                     |
| <b>NRC</b>    | National Resistance Army                 |
| <b>SDGs</b>   | Sustainable Development Goals            |
| <b>SPSS</b>   | Statistical Package for Social Sciences  |
| <b>UN</b>     | United Nations                           |

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.0. Introduction**

This chapter presents the background of the study on psychosocial challenges facing women in political leadership in Kakamega County, Kenya. It follows with the discussion of the statement of the problem, objectives and research questions. Finally, the significance and scope of the study are highlighted.

#### **1.1 Background of the Study**

According to United Nations (UN) Women (2019), women and men perceive the political world differently. These differences are reflected in policies and government decisions depending on the personality and gender of the person. Wallace (2008) provides that women have grown up navigating through social and cultural norms that are by their very nature disadvantageous to them. The women's experiences ought to be captured in policies development processes. When women are involved in governance, there is a noted improvement in quality of services, enhanced cooperation and a level of sensitivity on some issues that elude men such as parental leave for child care or gender based violence (Al Ansar & Bezanson, 2018).

In the last several years there have been a good number of campaigns to have women involved in political leadership (Wallace, 2018). Some United Nations Human Rights Conventions such as elimination of all forms of discrimination against women upholds the right of women to fully participate in public life (Radovic, 2019). The Beijing Platform for Action calls on elimination of all barriers that frustrate equal participation of women, including in political processes. The just phased out millennium development goals and the current Sustainable

development goals have strongly emphasized women's involvement public policy, governance and politics (UN Women, nd).

### **1.1.1 Global Participation of Women in Political leadership**

However, participation of women in political leadership has been poor over the years and continues to be so to date. By February 2019, only 24% of parliamentarians' at national levels were women across the world. This is very slow growth rate considering they were 11% by 1995 (Radovic, 2019). It is sluggish growth considering the amount of time and resources spent by global players in enhancing women participation in political offices. Only 11 women were serving as heads of states and only another 12 were heads of governments out of close to 200 countries on the globe (UN Women, 2019).

In 27 countries, the current parliaments have less than 10% women with three have no woman at all (Dudman, 2017). Looking at regional levels in terms of women involvement in political leadership as measured through parliamentary membership; Nordic countries lead the world with 42.5% (Wallace, 2018). North American region has a 30% women leadership in parliaments while Europe has a 27% women representation. In Asian and Arabic countries, their score is particularly poor at 19% alongside Pacific nations which record 16% (UN Women, 2019). The situation is no different at governmental level. Globally, only 21% of government ministers are women with most of the positions being in social services and children ministries. At local government levels in 103 countries across the world, only 26% is made up of women membership.

This impacts the kind of leaderships and decisions made. There is evidence that when women take government leadership, policies friendly to families are prioritized (Wallace, 2018). Studies done on Indian local council reported that in the councils where leadership was held by



women, drinking water projects were 62% likely to be implemented than in the councils led by men. Similarly in Norway, it was noted that whenever women leadership increased, chances of child welfare programs starting in local neighborhoods increased (UN Women, 2019). Evidence is available that shows that when women are involved in political leadership, the welfare of women improves. Women leadership is more tolerant of political differences. They are much more capable of reaching out across political divide and settle differences especially on matters that affect families, women and children (Dudman, 2017).

Various lobby groups and institutions have been established to advocate for greater women participation in political processes and an increase of their leadership position in political and government bodies. These institutions provide public sensitization on need for women involvement in political processes, decision making structures and such policy and political engagements (Wallace, 2018). Other lobby groups are championing engagement of young women in public policy making processes (UN Women, nd). Affiliated to United Nations is UN Women Advocates for Legislative and Constitutional Reforms. The lobby group advocates for women fair access to political spheres as voters, candidates, and observers, elected officials or civil servants. All these institutions work alongside United Nations to create an environment facilitative of women engagement in politics (UN Women, nd).

Women leadership in Europe is increasing though it has not always been so. In 2017, UK general elections, a record 208 women were elected into parliament. This is a significant increase considering that before 1987, not more than 5% of any parliament was made up of women. Currently, Scottish parliament has a 35% women representation (Wallace, 2018). The National Assembly in Ireland has a 30% representation while in Welsh parliament has a 42% women representation making it the highest in UK (Dudman, 2017). France has also been keen

to ensure enhanced women participation in government policy making institutions. The current government led by Emanuel Macron has 22 cabinet members half of who are women (Holzer, 2018).

In North America, Canada has continued its pursuit for enhanced women participation in leadership on the political sphere. Justin Trudeau, the current prime minister of Canada created an equal male/female representation in 2015 (Bygall, 2019). Arab countries have a very poor record of women participation in political leadership. In almost all the countries, women in political positions are less than five percent. In several countries such as Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Oman, and United Arab Emirates women are prohibited by law to contest for political leadership in key positions such as parliament (Dudman, 2017). Though leaders in Arab countries continue to make public decrees of their intent to involve women more fully in political leadership actualization of the same is poor. The actual situation is that countries are continually erecting new barriers for women engagement in political process and general public participation (Krafft, Elbadawy & Sieverding, 2019).

### **1.1.2 Participation of Women in Political Leadership in Africa**

Involvement of women in political leadership has been recorded in Africa right from pre-colonial periods. Kingdoms led by women in Africa are recorded to have been more developed than those led by men and had more advanced militaries (Tamale, 2018). Women provided leadership as full chieftains or queens while others offered leaderships as assistants to kings either as king mothers or sisters (Tripp, 2017). In some governments, there were agreements that shared leadership across men and women leaderships. Some tripartite agreements ensured governance decisions were made by a king, king's mother and sisters. In

other kingdoms women were part of councils that made critical decisions for their kingdoms (Tamale, 2018).

However, changes that started coming to Africa served to water down and almost diminish women involvement in political arrangements. First, was Islamization of large swathes of Africa. Islam religion in its core practice is not facilitative of women in leadership (Dudman, 2017). Christianity followed and its interpretation in Africa was that women needed to further fall in importance as far as political leadership was concerned. Colonization again brought with it chauvinistic cultures of Europe (Tripp, 2017). Though African women participated alongside men in nationalistic movements aimed at independence, their motivations would in several cases be remarkably different from men's.

Women tended to pursue changes that affected the family, or touched on women education and child welfare while men looked for grand political and economic changes that favored women less. After Africa gained independence from European colonialists, women were further sidelined in political leadership (Roberts & Karambayya, 2017). It took almost three decades after many African countries gained political independence for women to start slowly reemerging in political leadership. Political space in Africa started opening up with the end of cold war (Andreasson, 2013). With this came women activists' organizations, coalitions and movements that strongly pushed for increased role of women in politics. This trend accelerated after 2000 when civil wars and violence reduced in Africa.

There was high pressure from UN, donor communities and international lobby groups for African governments to create an environment enabling of women political participation (Tripp, 2017). Since the revival of women involvement in politics, Africa has shown commitment to women centered political leadership. African Union dedicated 2010-2020

decade as one for women (Omotosho, 2015). AU has since made initiatives to accelerate the continent's commitments on gender equality and empowerment of women. The goal has been to ensure women leadership is engrained at all levels of leadership from local to continental political positions (Wilson Center, 2016).

Today, Africa is leading in women representation in parliament compared to other regions of the world. In Rwanda 64% of national parliament members are women (Rosen, 2018). In South Africa, Senegal and Seychelles, more than 40% of national parliamentary positions are held by women. Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania and Uganda have at least 35% women representation in parliament. This is a significant position while contrasted with USA where only 18% of the House and 20% in the senate are held by women (Tripp, 2017). To date, 25 out of 48 African countries have adopted formal processes either in their constitutions or policies that provide quotas those women have to assume in political seats and governance structures (Rosen, 2018).

Women participation in political leadership has been on progress albeit with numerous challenges. There has been gradual increase in women political leadership in Uganda since 1986 when National Resistance Movement came to power (Roberts & Karambayya, 2017). National Resistance Council organized for deliberate inclusion of women in national political platforms right from 1989 where 34 women were elected in political positions left open for women while more women were regularly elected. In its first parliamentary sitting of 1989, there were 17% women representations (Rosen, 2018). Since then women involvement in national leadership has been on the rise standing at 35% women representation in parliament currently (Tripp, 2017).

Current Ethiopian government has been hailed as transformative has a cabinet of 50% women (Dodsworth, 2019). While women in political leadership have been on the rise in Africa,

Kenya has made attempts at the same but it has been a rather slow progress. Patriarchal cultures in Kenya frustrate women involvement in political processes (Roberts & Karambayya, 2017). This is in spite of women being the majority of the Kenyan total population and the majority voters at 47% of the total 19 million registered voters (Ngele & Begisen, 2017).

Kenyan women however have been vocal in having their voice heard in the political sphere. Women are seeking meaningful participation in public life way back since Kenyan independence in 1963 (Nzomo, 2015). Progress, however was painfully slow in the first three post-colonial decades. This was informed by an ally of factors. There was and still is a deeply entrenched patriarchal culture, undemocratic political structure that was further aggravated by gender blind legal and policy frameworks. There were low levels of awareness on need of gender sensitivity and equity in political issues (Mulji, 2018).

Kenyan women role in political liberation of the country is undisputed. However with a disabling environment women participation in fight for Kenyan freedom never translated into meaningful involvement in political process after the independence (Kivoi, 2014). The first Kenyan parliament did not have a single woman (Kauria, 2018). Women agitation for political involvement was driven by women activists with no legal framework to sustain gains. With the dispensation of new Kenyan constitution promulgated in 2010, women participation has been anchored on the constitution. This has resulted into a sizeable level of women involvement in the political space (Kasomo, 2012).

The constitution dictates a two thirds gender rule that means at least a third of political positions must be filled by women. Attempts have been made to increase women involvement in politics by creating special seats for women in county and national assemblies (Kivoi, 2014). However, the constitutional threshold of at least third women has yet to be met. Male

dominated political leadership has been opposed to initiatives that would have the threshold achieved. Consequently there is pressure to reduce women representation in both county and national assemblies (Kauria, 2018).

### **1.1.3 Psychosocial Challenges in Women Participation in Political Leadership**

As suggested by Ekpe, Eja and John (2014) in a study of critical analysis of women and gender equality in Nigeria, marginalization, patriarchal biases, family support and political barriers are the critical psychosocial challenges women in political participation. Marginalization of women participation in electoral politics is witnessed through negation and mainstreaming of women as only good as homemakers thus restricting them to those roles. These stereotypes create a disabling environment for women participation in political processes across Africa (Omotosho, 2015). Patriarchal culture defines roles women should play which exclude them from political involvement (Okafor & Akokuwebe, 2015). As suggested by Inter-parliamentary Research (2013), gender stereotyping is highly discriminatory against women in policies and political institutions.

According to Pridham (2016) women face challenges on property ownership like land even when this is demanded by the constitution. Such socio-economic challenges create barriers for women politicians to mount successful political campaigns which are normally very expensive. The discrimination of women in productive economy and assets acquisition such as land has led to two level of women involvement in politics (Wanjala & Odongo, 2010). As suggested by La Palombara and Weiner (2015), women politicians are generally perceived as weak and undeserving of their positions. Women in politics are usually targeted through political violence and hooliganism in political campaigns. This is meant to discourage women from participation in elective politics and competing with male politicians. Mittulah and Owiti

(2011) reasoned that lack of political goodwill by male dominated leadership to include women in governance has led to limited involvement of women in political space.

There are differences between women and men in biological and physiological set up but this does not mean they are different in such aspects as educational, social economic and occupational status (Kasomo, 2012). Yet, they are marginalized in virtually all spheres of public life. In growing democracies there are certain psychosocial factors that inhibit women from full participation in political leadership and involvement in governance (Ekpe, Eja & John, 2014). Some of the psychosocial factors include but are not limited to the following: obnoxious socio-cultural practices such as widowhood practices, female genital mutilation (FGM), restrictive religious practices.

Many of these psychosocial practices create barriers to women empowerment and gender equality, thereby placing a clearly greater burden on women participation in leadership. The shrouding different exclusions and deprivations faced by women in cultural and traditional beliefs often deprive them access to information, education and wealth-creating assets, such as land, capital (including credit facilities), labour, and entrepreneurial skills (Aina, 2012). These restrictions created by psychosocial practices can be blamed for the poor participation of women in politics and leadership positions.

Okafor and Okakuwebe (2015) studied women in leadership in Nigeria. They observed that political leadership being a male dominate space, with all its aspects such as financial, commercial negotiations happening away from home, women are in essence excluded from decision making processes. This effectively reduces women's chance of contesting elections. Psychosocial challenges affect women in political leadership in Kenya because gender roles are psychologically and socially created and perpetrated and some gender roles limit women's

participation in political leadership. Definition and limitation of women roles into domestic sphere narrows the opportunities for women engagement in political space.

Perception of women duties within domestic circles narrows the path to not only economic freedom and empowerment but also dims political ambitions (Kivoi, 2014). In such psychosocial settings, women are only useful in voting rather than political leadership. Kivoi (2014) further observed that African communities hold poor perception of women involvement in mainstream political leadership looking at them more as home workers. There is evidence of the far-reaching impact of psychosocial practices that decimate the chances for women's participation in political leadership.

Psychosocial factors are linked to stereotypes and beliefs about ability of women across many communities. The perceptions informed of local cultures Kivoi (2014) writes discourage women from active political involvement. Practices such as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and domestic violence degrade women's worth and expose them to psychosocial factors that further thwart active political participation and leadership. Some social cultural practices like FGM have women disadvantaged in matters like access to education, and health services which has a negative effect on their chances in politics (Kasomo, 2012).

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Over half of the Kenyan population is made of women. They form a critical portion in enhancing democracy in political systems. However, as evidence indicates, women are poorly represented in political and government positions. Article 27, section 8 of the Kenyan constitution directs that at least one third of all political positions should be of alternative gender, geared towards enhancing women representation (Rift Valley Institute, 2016). Even with the constitutional guarantees, women participation in political processes in Kenya and



specifically their assumption of political leadership position has been slow. For example, less than a third of women in National assembly, Senate or County Assemblies are women. As witnessed in 2013 and 2017 general elections women continued to face hurdles that are social, economic, psychological or political in nature. In 2017, women were faced with gender based violence of unprecedented proportion in the political processes happening then. This had them need special protection from security organs as they campaigned for different political positions (Women Deliver, 2018).

In Kakamega County just like the rest of Kenya, there is a perception that women are inferior to men. According to Tundi (2015), over 70% of male voters have unwavering belief and perception that a woman should not be accorded political leadership. Additionally, Tundi (2018) suggested that the society in Kakamega County upholds practices and attitudes that subordinate women to men. This is despite there being a law requiring at least a third of political positions in Kenya being held by women. Indeed, Kakamega county assembly has not satisfied this law (Tundi, 2018). It is out of this perception and belief that men continue their domination over women in political matters in Kakamega County which extend to economic, social and religious spheres. Women political achievements and roles are not recognized by the society. This leads to the necessity for empirical understanding of the psychosocial challenges facing women to ensure that women are empowered to more fully participate in political processes.

There are several psychosocial inhabitants that have been identified by scholars that frustrate women involvement in politics. Kasomo (2012) lists attitudes, social cultural beliefs, biases and stereotypes as major barriers. These are significant part of socialization right from when children are growing up. Mwatha, Mbugua and Murunga (2013) held that psychosocial

challenges include low resource levels, poor confidence, and fear of negative publicity, cultural inhibitions, violence and lack of family support. Ekpe, Eja and John (2014) holds that women marginalization, social discrimination, low levels of education, patriarchal societies, early marriages and early marriages are the major psychological challenges in political participation in Africa. It is from this background that this study aimed at establishing the psychosocial challenges facing women in Kenya while pursuing for political leadership.

### **1.3 General Objective**

The main objective of the study is to establish the psychosocial challenges facing women participation in political leadership in Kenya: a survey of Kakamega County, Kenya.

#### **1.3.1 Specific Objectives**

The specific objectives of the study are:

- i. To establish the effect of marginalization on women participation in political leadership in Kakamega County.
- ii. To determine the effect of patriarchal biases on women participation in political leadership in Kakamega County
- iii. To find out the influence of lack of family support on women participation in political leadership in Kakamega County.
- iv. To investigate the effect of political barriers on women participation in political leadership in Kakamega County.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

- i. What is the effect of marginalization on women participation in political leadership in Kakamega County?

- ii. What is the effect of patriarchal biases on women participation in political leadership in Kakamega County?
- iii. What is the effect of lack of family support on women participation in political leadership in Kakamega County?
- iv. What is the effect of political barriers on women participation in political leadership in Kakamega County?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The findings of the study inform the legislative bodies on the various psychosocial challenges facing women in political leadership in Kenya. As such they will actualize legislations that will create policies to support more inclusivity in political leadership in Kenya. The findings of this study is important as a source of information for political policy makers in Kenya since knowledge of psychosocial challenges facing women in political leadership will be disseminated. The findings will create a platform for the socio-political leadership in Kenya to encourage practices in the society that encourages and support full participation of women in political leadership in Kenya.

The study will instill understanding at the family level on the necessity for family support for women aspiring for political leadership in Kenya. This will ensure that family practices support and act as future catalyst for catapulting and supporting and sponsoring women for political leadership in Kenya. The findings gathered from this study will lead to new affirmative action policies that will enhance gender mainstreaming and equal participation of women in all leadership and development processes. The data will also be resourceful to future scholars in advancing feminist theories and also contribute to the inadequate literature on women participation in electoral politics in Africa in general and Kenya in particular.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The current study focused on psychosocial challenges facing women participation in political leadership in Kenya. Four independent variables guided the study: marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support and political barriers, the dependent variable is women participation in political leadership. The study focused on women leaders in political positions during the 2017 general election. The focus of the study was on women leaders who vied for governorship, parliamentary, senatorial, women and ward political positions in 2017 general election in Kakamega County. The study covered the period 2017-2020.

## **1.7 Chapter Summary**

Chapter one comprises of background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives, significance and scope of the study. Chapter two highlights the theoretical and conceptual literature, conceptual framework, and empirical review and study gaps. Chapter three comprises of methodology of the study. Chapter four enumerates the interpretation and discussion of findings. Chapter five explains the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study as well as areas for future studies.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the literature review that highlights the relationship between psychosocial challenges and women participation in political leadership. This is followed by empirical review and conceptualization of study gaps. Theoretical and conceptual frameworks are also presented.

#### **2.1 Theoretical Framework**

This study is anchored by three theories. These are Liberal Feminist theory as conceptualized by John Stuart Mill and which is the anchoring theory, Radical Feminist theory by Ellen Willis and Shulamith Firestone and Feminist theory as proposed by Wilhelmina Drucker.

##### **2.1.1 Liberal Feminist Theory**

This theory was advanced by John Stuart Mill in 1850s. This theory is focused on having equality between men and women by placing emphasis on individual people's power to change discriminatory tendencies towards women (Scarince, 2015). This theory aims at individuals using their own abilities in the democratic process to help women and men become equal in the eyes of the law, society and work place. Liberal feminists make use of available resources and tools to advocate for change in gender based discrimination. They do this by organizing women into large groups that are able to speak at higher levels, lobbying to various policies making institutions and raising awareness on gender biasness (Scarince, 2015).

Liberal feminism operates within an existing political structure to fight and eradicate all forms of women discrimination that are psychosocial like sexual abuse (Ford, 2010). It is focused on addressing inequalities at societal level aiming to change mindset, legal and political landscape

to a level they address inequalities of opportunities available to women (Worrel & Remer, 2003). Women as political leaders must be able to participate in the democratic processes. They ought to fully participate in public political discourse (Nthiiri, 2014). Liberal strategists mobilize political and legal support for oppressed populations especially women.

This is because women remain oppressed by psychosocial issues such as patriarchy and entrenched beliefs which by extension have been extended to political spaces such as national assemblies. Therefore, Liberal Feminism attempts to increase women's participation in public and electoral politics which has been male dominated. Acknowledging women as marginalized populations is an effective mobilization tool in gaining political thrust in fighting for their equality and equal opportunities (McLaren, 2002). Women's position can only improve when they become self-reliant and exercise full control over decisions they make in their lives.

Liberal enlightens combined with thought rationalism and rights philosophies are essentially the root from which liberal feminism shot from (Worrel, 2002). Liberal feminism fits well with this study because it focuses on marginalization of women, patriarchal biases and celebrates women strengths rather than placing emphasis on their physiological and psychological differences between sexes (Parrish, 2014). The fact that many patriarchal cultures in Kenya do not acknowledge gender inequalities biased against women or look at efforts for gender equality as a challenge to male dominance, makes liberal feminism even a more relevant theory to this study.

### **2.1.2 Radical Feminist Theory**

The proponent of this theory is Ellen Willis and Shulamith Firestone in 1969. Radical feminism emerged from women discussion on ordinary issues surrounding their lives such as pregnancies, child bearing, housework, menopause and menstruation etc. It then evolved to

discuss gender inequalities beyond ordinary daily lives of women (Daly, 1978). It focused on deep seated causes of women discrimination in social spheres, and political spaces. Dynamics of power both within the public and private circumferences is notable where demonstration of sexism was evident. These biases were realized to be social constructs rather than natural (Daly, 1978).

Gandhi (1988) reports that according to radical feminism, traditional social systems was overtaken by events and was only enshrined in social system to legitimate men's dominance over women. Furthermore, Mackinnon (1982) argues that patriarchy was difficult to do away with due to deeply embedded belief that women were way too inferior to men. According to Brookes (2008), issues so particular to women such as family planning and sexual health should as far as possible be left to women to decide on. Unfortunately, with men being major policy makers in the world, they end up being the ones to decide on such matters

While making an explanation on radical feminism, Tong (2013) holds that sexual framework of the society is responsible for oppression women experience. Male dominance of both public and private spheres results to different frameworks of human control. Men are dominant in various aspects of setting laws which eventually inhibit women from accessing public spaces of influence (Tong, 2013). Patriarchy rule, according to radical feminism is a bed rock of inequality existing between men and women and explains the social predominance of men over women.

The consequence of this is men attaining privilege over men in all humans' aspects from political, social and economic. Radical feminism considers sex war as critical in political struggle against male domination and patriarchy. This gives scholars interest to study male physical dominance over women as a pathway of social political control and look at ways to

reduce it (Daly, 1978). Philosophy of radical feminism is perceived as a huge contribution to liberation of women globally.

Women rights activists were aggressive in the fight for women rights among 1967-1975. Radical feminism questioned the roles men and women were assigned in the society based purely on gender and sexuality. This theory holds that gender roles are socially constructed and not biological (Daly, 1968). This may mean that gender has no role in determining ones capabilities in career or political matters. Other factors such as experience and passion are relevant in ascending in political offices but not gender orientation (Daly, 1968). Radical feminists are much more aggressive than other fighters of liberation of women while deconstructing disabling social constructs. According to Connell (2005), traditional societal systems build a masculine hierarchy that led to men rising in leadership that legitimates patriarchy.

Radical feminists deconstructed complexities that were grounded on masculinity such as war, violence, rape, sexism and homophobia. Masculinity was considered a tool through which female gender is legitimated as neither weak nor capable of assuming political power. Masculinity was linked to leadership that allowed men to dominate all levels of political office (Connell, 2005). From these theories, an explanation is provided on how women participation in politics varies from country to country. It is largely based on social, cultural and religious perceptions. According to Kabira (2016), patriarchal culture of many African countries explain male domination in politics. Laboso (2017) reports that in Kenyan national and county parliamentary seats, most women are not elected but rather nominated. This is an indication that women lack support to compete for political positions. In contrast, countries on the front line to make gender sensitive policies are seeing more women engaged in active politics. The



theory anchors marginalization of women and patriarchal biases as impediments to political participation of women,

### **2.1.3 Feminist Theory**

This theory was proposed by Wilhelmina Drucker in 1901. It observed gender in relations to power. Feminism attempts to remove all psychological or social and legal obstacles to women behaving independently. Women should be able to compete in the economic landscape if the society is to be close to perfection (Evans, 1995). The movement entails rethinking and reshaping of the entrenched psychosocially entrenched myths in which women are seen as passive agents of change. The theory thus recognizes avenues such as organizations that enable women to take an active role in the process of change in the society.

Feminism advocates for women rights and equality in the political and economic spheres. It identifies fundamental relationships in politics that affects gender and power relations so that women are given equal opportunities and privileges as men (Benhabib, 1987). Feminists and feminists started emerging in the 19<sup>th</sup> century through social movements aimed at ensuring women had equal treatment as men in all aspects of life. The movement fought for basic civil rights of women such as voting rights (Seth, 2011).

Feminism identify that women needed equal representation as men in society and politics (Cott, 1987). This movement started in New York and brought together hundreds of people who focused on civil rights and economic equality of women (Evans, 1995). There are three waves that define the history of feminism. The first wave started in the nineteenth century in North America and Europe. This wave was focused on advocating for equal rights between men and women. These included voting rights, rights to employment, property and inheritance

rights and equal political opportunities (Brookes, 2008). This first wave was successful. Women rights were introduced in European countries seeing women allowed to vote. China, Japan and other countries soon followed suit (Yuan, 2005).

Feminist movement however was passionately resisted in some parts of the world. In India for example, male dominance was positioned as a religious issue. This led to a second wave of feminism. This was more focused on changing behavioral patterns in social and political perspectives that inhibited women liberation (Tong, 1989). Simone de Beauvoir investigated how women were socially constructed as the 'other' in a disempowering way. This second wave looked at social constructs around sexual discrimination, unequal employment and payment of women (Seth, 2011). This is a wave that is arguably still active in many countries around the world to date

Feminist are still fighting against women sexual discrimination, inability to access equal opportunities in employment and equal pay as compared to men. In USA for example, black women have aggressively continued to fight for equal representation in political offices. This has spread in Europe which has resulted to more women in political leadership, some emerging as heads of state and governments (Brookes, 2008).

This gain in women leadership in Europe has built momentum for similar changes across the world. Countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri-lanka have seen women leadership in political spaces rise. According to Thornham (2006), it makes sense to draw a conclusion that when women globally are willing to stand up for their rights they can very well achieve equal political and economic rights. Comparing movement for equal rights that resulted in enhanced

rights for black people in USA resulting to election of a black president in America in 2008; it is an indication that equal rights of women across the world are achievable (Seth, 2011).

A third wave of feminism was closely associated with politics that started in 1980s and has continued to date. This resulted from criticism on second wave that though fighting for such rights as sexual rights of women was little concerned with some other rights that touched women on sexuality such as lesbians, gay's bisexuals and transgender. It was also perceived not so concerned with poverty of neither women nor women of color (Tong, 2013).

Therefore this third wave started interrogating deeper issues around racism, homophobia, and Eurocentric behaviors (Mackinnon, 1982). One can hence reason that feminism theory focuses on equality of women through responsible choices and actions (Brookes, 2008). Achievement s of these rights is clearly far from being achieved. The reality is that women are still judged from male dominated lenses and with prejudices that are masculine. In recently concluded American elections democratic candidate Hillary Clinton to a documented misogynist despite being a more qualified and politically experienced candidate (Scaramucci, 2017).

There is a forth wave of feminism that is theoretically taking shape. This is claiming for women rights around career, education, business and politics (Rampton, 2015). The expanded lists of rights in this wave include abortion rights, rights for contraception, acceptance of female sexuality and general women rights (Rampton, 2015). There is greater effort to protect women from gender based violence providing supportive infrastructure for organizations offering women protection from oppression. This fourth wave is giving attention to issues about women that were ignored in previous waves. Issues such as sexual abuse, rape, gender based violence, transgender, lesbianism and others have been receiving a lot of press coverage

in recent years. Like all the other feminism waves, this fourth one is calling for overarching gender equality (Rampton, 2015).

This theory is appropriate in informing this study because it helps expound family support and political barriers as reasons why women lag behind in political participation as opposed to the male counterparts. Secondly, it helps analyze the existence and operation of the women's organizations in public sphere by contextualizing their activities as a function of certain psycho-sociological occurrences and hence proposes corrective mechanisms. In order to understand how the psycho-sociological marginalization is being redressed the study looks at women's organizations as a mechanism of restoring justice to rectify historical injustices that have resulted to the marginalization of women.

## **2.2 Empirical Literature**

Ndirangu, Onkware and Chitere (2017) discussed the challenges women face in political participation with a specific reference to Nairobi City and Kajiado Counties in Kenya. The research design was descriptive with data collected through questionnaires. The study found that political participation is expensive and one needs a level of financial muscle to stand a chance. Political parties required huge nomination fees for participation in politics through them. Financiers of politics in Kajiado and Nairobi had clear reference for male aspirants based on social assumption that politics is masculine and male candidates stood better chances. This study recommended that political partners be regulated and forced to include gender sensitive policies facilitative of women participation in politics.

Kivoi (2014) investigated factors that frustrated participation of women in political processes in Kenya. It was a desktop based research that involved investigation of socially constructed

characteristics as well as cultural and psychological traits linked to socialization defining feminist and masculinity. The study established that traditional beliefs perceptions and stereotypes showing women as less capable than men resulted to their marginalization. Considering the data of elected women in political offices in Kenya showed that gender equality in political participation is far from achieved.

Kasomo (2012) studied factors influencing participation of women in African politics. He used explorative, descriptive and survey research designs. Data was collected through self-administered questionnaires, focus group discussions and in depth interviews. The research found that in Kenya, perception of female inferiority informed Kenyan politics and resulted to their poor participation. The effect is men continue their domination to women not only on the political but also social and economic aspects.

Stewart and Gold-Steinberg (2010) investigated midlife women political awareness in United States of America. The study highlighted three case studies that informed female involvement in politics in midlife. These were childhood political ideology, early adolescent and adulthood political activity. Influences of given social historical events also played a role. The other was desire to be generative or have an impact. Parental influence was seen as important alongside personal resources and individual energy. Political activity needed to be defined in a manner meaningful to women. Finally satisfaction of acknowledging one's life commitment needed to be appreciated as women's midlife political awareness. This study concluded that midlife women political consciousness is influenced by prior occupation.

### **2.2.1 Marginalization on women participation in political leadership**

Many African cultures negate the role of women to household chores and restrict them to that. Psychosocial factors have been linked to these stereotypes regarding women capabilities

(Omotosho, 2015). Patriarchal ideologies provide more contexts that explain women's subordinate roles. Sex stereotypes are credited for being the most entrenched psychosocial obstacles to elimination of gender inequality (Okafor & Akokuwebe, 2015).

The psychosocial perception discourages women from participating in politics. Religious power and authority is severally apportioned to men (Aina, 2012). Women are hence left to play subsidiary roles away from major decision making circles. Women are disallowed to address men in public places. In many other cultures, a woman is only valuable in marriage when they give birth to male children (Ekpe, Eja & John, 2014).

The result is realized in social psychological level where women are relegated to subservient roles in community and national development matters. Inheritance laws in Kenya tend to favor men. Property in a family are controlled and distributed by men with women rarely getting a chance to inherit property from their parents. This disadvantages women at social economic and psychological level. In communities where retrogressive practices like female genital mutilation, early or forced marriages happen, women who refuse to be part of these practices are never considered mature and hence are not allowed to lead or hold any political positions.

In pastoral communities life is organized in lines of clans where authority lies with council of elders. This council selects who runs for political positions. They are often unwilling to give women opportunities to run. Women, regardless of their suitability for political offices are hence locked out (Kivoi, 2014). Voters are also psychologically biased against women holding the perception that women can only make poor political leaders. In some Kenyan communities unmarried women are not allowed to run for political offices. The amount of ridicule and intimidation they face in public is enough deterrent. Societal norms are extremely unfriendly

to women. It is ironical that single or divorced men are not treated the same way (Ngele & Begisen, 2017).

According to Chafetz and Dworkin (2006) have had to contend with psychosocial belief that politics is a male domain. The psychosocial stereotypes can affect women's level of representation in politics starting from individual women's decision to engage in politics, going to political parties' facilitation of women inclusion to the actual voting patterns biased against women (Ekpe, Eja & John, 2014). Religion is another tool used to discriminate against women in leadership. All dominant religions present women as inferior to men. Religion has been used to exclude women at combined psychological, social, political and religious levels all over the world (Omotosho, 2015).

Women tend not to support other women in politics. Women have internalized yje long held psychosocial and anachronistic perception that politics is an aggressive dirty game preserved for men. Psychosocial and communal stereotypes that have run for generations tend to negate women involvement in politics and their general empowerment (Mulgi, 2018). Politically active women are seen as irresponsible and not capable of being good wives. In other cases they are equated to morally bankrupt women. Men in virtually all cultures in Africa are socialized to be aggressive, dominant and autocratic especially towards women while women are socialized to be emotive, submissive, and fragile (Ngele & Begisen, 2017).

### **2.2.2 Patriarchal biases on women participation in political leadership**

Inter-parliament research (2013) identifies gender stereotyping that actively persists within state policies and political institutions. 'Politics' still bears the negative stigma of being unsuitable for women, a notion that is maintained by educational, religious, and media

institutions. As a result, even though the country's political system has opened its doors to women, enabling women to participate in elections for parliamentary representatives, women are still assigned to subordinate positions determined by the state's psychosocially established patriarchy system.

Despite the 30% quota to ensure women's representation in political institutions, patriarchal tradition does not immediately accept it as state policy. Women are still required to fight to overcome patriarchal obstacles in order to achieve the 30% quota. Agbalajobi (2010) studied women participation in politics in Nigeria. He reported that women had long been prejudiced by several forms of psychosocially oriented gender discrimination, exclusion, and inequality in politics. The movement targeting elimination of gender discrimination has multiple effects of these systems of beliefs and cultural values and norms.

Agbalajobi (2010) further reasoned that the psychosocial beliefs, combined with ethnic, religious norms and doctrines have turned into self-fulfilling prophecies. Sex roles socialization gives specific and in many cases unequal work and political positions based on biological sex that turns them into social distinct gender economic labour division. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) (2013) reports that gender equity is all about being fair to women as well as men. For this fairness to be achieved historical biases and injustices that have denied women a fair playing ground must be compensated for.

Equality is a result of equity. Gender equality would dictate that both men and women have same status. It means that both men and women have equal opportunities to realize their full potential and contribute equally in economic and political affairs and the resulting benefits. Gender equality is both qualitative and quantitative. Quantitative aspects include physical gender balances numerically. Qualitative aspects look at power distribution (Pridham, 2016).



Cooper and Davidson (2008) looked at the problem women in political leadership face. They established that women face stress at multiple levels at home, work and in their social environments. Women have to acquire leadership and managerial skills that are male like. For example they have to be aggressive and highly assertive needing to lose their softness. They have to balance the demands of home running and public life. Other sources of stress include having to work under aggressive male bosses who do not understand the multiple roles as career women and home keepers. The men sexually harass them; provide limited promotion opportunities and career development chances (Ngele & Begisen, 2017).

### **2.2.3 Lack of family support on women participation in political leadership**

Psychosocial status of women has a major role to play in women's participation in political decision making and representation. Access to production means and finances has a direct relationship on women participation in political processes. In many Kenya communities women have no land rights or access even when the constitution demand so (Pridham, 2016). It hence logical to conclude that limited access by women to production assets like land contributes to women's low engagement in politics and governance. Wanjala and Odongo (2010) noted that women make only 23% of Kenyan savings and credit cooperatives, a major source of investment finance for low income earners. Women are hence further marginalized in economic empowerment and push for political leadership.

According to Afifu (2008) women in rural settings face various forms of poverty that limits their capabilities to run for political offices. According to Census Report, (2019) there is big economic gap between urban and rural communities in Kenya. Kenyan rural and urban populations are 41% and 59% respectively (Kenya Bureau of Statistics, 2019). Majority of women are in rural areas with limited access to economic resources as compared to their urban

counterparts. This frustrates their effort to compete on equal terms with men both nationally and regionally.

For women to adequately engage in active politics they need to be economically empowered. This would be possible if they are given access to education and information (Pridham, 2016). Economic empowerment allows women gain resource prerequisite for sustained political competition. Political competition is an expensive affair with high nomination fees, high cost of campaigns, publicity and huge costs levied by independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). When women are active in politics they have greater chance to influence policies that are favorable to circumstances of daily life of women (Kivoi, 2014).

#### **2.2.4 Political Barriers**

Jonyo (2013) argued that political parties act as agents of political socialization that entails individuals getting inducted into a society's political culture. This role has got to do with the molding of the people's psychosocial attitudes towards the political system. This often has an effect of attitudinal and behavioral changes within a society culminating to an arousing of a sense of public participation. This function of the party would thus entail the development and institutionalization of positive psychosocial attitudes and beliefs towards a political system.

Kajirwa (2008) noted that the nature of structure politically would influence extent of women participation in politics. Some of the political bottle necks that women face are masculine perception of Kenyan politics. Therefore "a men only affair"; thus making men dominate most political parties. This creates a psychosocial difficult for women to have political networks for mobilization. In Kenya women have never been psychosocially aligned to politics. The violent

nature of Kenyan politics scares away most women and that electoral related violence is also another impediment that hinders the full participation of female candidates.

On the other hand, La Palombara and Weiner (2015) hold that since African communities perceive women as the weaker gender, women are more vulnerability to violent attacks and harassment as they attempt for various political positions. Male political contestants are more likely to introduce violence to political processes. Female candidates are harassed by their male counterparts with their families often getting threatened. This often makes women shun politics all together (Pridham, 2016).

According to Mittulah and Owiti (2011) there is limited good will amongst male political leaders to create a political landscape that is facilitative of women engagement. Ignoring women in politics has beyond sentimental effects. Policies that affect serious matters like maternal health, child welfare etc. result to high death rates and low economic performance (Abidi, 2012). Thus involvement of women in decision-making is a big step towards improving their psychosocial mindset thus reducing poverty and reducing huge income inequalities between men and women.

### **2.3 Empirical Studies**

Mutabai (2017) investigated political challenges women in Kenya face. The research was qualitative with information gathered from literature such as journals, interviews reports and books. The study found that despite women being more than half of Kenyan population they are still under represented in political positions by a wide margin. Though Kenyan constitution provides for at least a third of all political seats be reserved for women, this law has not yet been implemented. However the research also established that that attention given to Kenyan women in politics has improved with more women being able to join active politics. However

the overall conclusion of this study was that women are still under represented in Kenyan politics. The conceptual gap is that this study focused on challenges facing women in political leadership. The current study focuses on psychosocial challenges facing women in political leadership in Kenya.

Anigwe (2014) researched the perceptions of women in political leadership of Nigeria. This qualitative study had an objective of exploring and describing the experiences and perceptions of Nigerian women on gender equality and other issues influencing leadership in the political sphere. The theoretical framework used was Eagly's social role theory and Ayman and Korabik's leadership categorization theory. The research questions were centered on how women perceived and described their political participation and the challenges they faced. The study purposively selected ten women. Data was coded, categorized and analyzed through themes. The study found that women are still under represented in government and political positions even as they strive harder for equality in politics. The implication here are that for there to be positive change in women engagement in politics, there needs to be massive public education campaigns on women's full engagement in politics. The contextual gap is that this study was based in Nigeria while current study is focusing on Kenya.

On the other hand, Okafor and Akokuwebe (2015) investigated women leadership in Nigeria. The study focused on factors that have resulted to wide disparity in women politics and socio economic status as compared to men. Historical and descriptive approaches were used. Patriarchal and liberal feminism theories were employed. The study found that certain political, economic social and systemic practices were a hindrance to women's meaningful participation politics, governance and decision making in Nigeria. The study concluded that if women participation in political activities was to improve in Nigeria there needs to be concerted effort

with government involvement that changes policies and introduces programs aimed at holistic women empowerment. The focus of this study was on political and socio-economic disparity of women in leadership in Nigeria. The current study focuses on psychosocial challenges facing women in political leadership in Kenya.

Abubakar (2015) looked at women and political participation in Kduna state in Nigeria. Qualitative research method was utilized. Nine research informants were used for in depth interviews. The study found that in pre-colonial period, women were actively engaged in politics. However after colonialism, women were denied rights to franchise and consequently their participation in politics decline significantly. The factors influencing political participation of women were identified as political awareness, and reservation of positions in politics. The contextual gap is that this study was based in Nigeria while current study is focusing on Kenya.

Godia (2017) examined the challenges facing women in legislation processes in the Kenya National Assembly of the 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament 2013-2017. The study was guided by Liberal Feminist approach which focuses on achieving equality between men and women and emphasizes power of an individual person to alter discriminatory practices against women. The study reveals that although most of the women in the National Assembly have post-secondary education they are still not strong in performing their role as Members of National Assembly which include representing the people and legislation. The study findings indicate that many women who go to Parliament are still notable to raise bills and motions as indicated by the small numbers compared to men.

The study concludes that women need to have their capacity built in raising important issues through bills and motions and to move away from soft topics that hardly get support in the male dominated parliament. The study also recommends a lot of civic education be carried out in society and among leaders to make them appreciate women in political leadership positions. The conceptual gap is that this study focused on challenges facing women in politics in Kenya. The current study focuses on psychosocial challenges facing women in political leadership in Kenya.

Tundi (2015) researched on factors influencing women participation in politics in Kimilili Constituency Bungoma County in Kenya. Descriptive research design was used. Data was collected through interviews where five women aspirants and six key informants were interviewed. Questionnaires were issued to men and women in eight wards on Kimilili constituency selected through purposive sampling. Data was analyzed through SPSS and presented in tables and charts. The study found out that, men have a negative perception on women ability to lead and thus women fear male discouragements and criticisms. There is minimum support given to women by the government, political parties and social institutions such as churches in supporting women. Though the study was in Kenya, the conceptual gap is that the focus was on factor leading to participation of women in political leadership. The current study focuses on psychosocial challenges facing women in political leadership in Kenya.

Aura (2015) studied attitude towards political representation by women parliamentarians in Nairobi County. The research question centered on how differently women MPs were representing their constituents from male MPS. Registered women voters in Nairobi Central Business district were targeted for this study. The study was descriptive and cross-sectional.

Key informant interviews were used for data collection. The study makes a general conclusion that presence of women is substantively influenced by attitude of women towards past and current representation. The study revealed that women have clarity of their interests and have an expectation that women representatives would articulate them. Thus, the degree to which this occurs influences the number of women elected to parliament. However, this is also influenced by the entrenched socio-cultural traditions and practices that have historically favoured men's interests vis-a-vis women's interests. The conceptual gap is that the focus was on women attitude towards representation in Kenya. The current study focuses on psychosocial challenges facing women in political leadership in Kenya.

Nthiiri (2014) study focused on Kenya Women Parliamentary Association and how it had strengthened Kenyan democracy. It was a cross sectional study looking at contribution of Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA) in enhancing Kenyan democracy. The theory of liberal feminism guided this study. Data was collected through in depth interviews and key informants. The study reported that the caucus serves to consolidate women agenda and provides a platform through which strategic roles in changing legislation happens serving to amplify the voice of women. Gender conscious legislation has been moved through KEWOPA. Nonetheless feminization and poor stereotyping by male parliamentarians coupled by overwhelmingly high proportion of male counterparts in parliament makes it difficult for the caucus agenda to pass through parliament with a lot of effort. The Caucus has low technical capacity and still highly dependent on donor funding to facilitate its activities. The contextual gap is that this study focused on contribution of KEWOPA in strengthening democracy in Kenya. The current study focuses on psychosocial challenges facing women in political leadership in Kenya.

Kassa (2015) examined the challenges and opportunities for women to participate in Ethiopian politics. The study was qualitative and data was collected through secondary sources such as journals, books and reports. The study found that there are a variety of causal factors like economic, social, religious and cultural factors that result to women's dismal participation in local politics. The study demonstrated value for women participation in politics such as avoidance of rent seeking, enhanced accountability, responsiveness to women needs at a political level and general political commitment to women issues. The contextual gap is that this study was based in Ethiopia while the current study is based in Kenya.

## 2.4. Summary of Research Gaps

This section introduces the summary of the research gaps captured under the empirical review.

**Table 2. 1 Summary of research gaps**

| Author         | Title                                           | Independent variables                       | Methodology        | Findings                                                                                                                         | Gaps                                                                                                                                                            |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Mutabai (2017) | Political challenges women in Kenya face        | Political marginalization                   | Qualitative design | Despite women being more than half of Kenyan population they are still under represented in political positions by a wide margin | The methodological gap is that qualitative design was used and the conceptual gap is that this study focused on challenges facing women in political leadership |
| Anigwe (2014)  | Perceptions of women in political leadership of | Gender equality and political participation | Qualitative design | Women are still under represented in government and political                                                                    | The methodological gap is that qualitative                                                                                                                      |



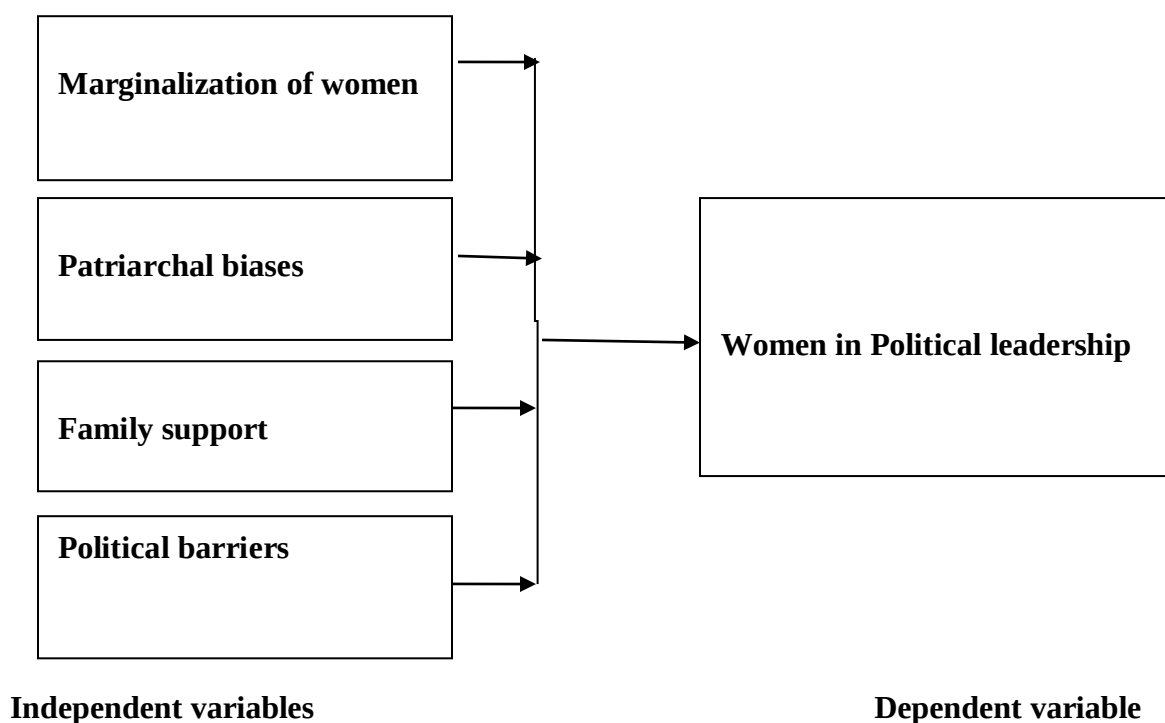
|                                               |                                                                                                                              |                                                               |                                       |                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                       |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                               | Nigeria.                                                                                                                     |                                                               |                                       | positions even as they strive harder for equality in politics                                                     | design was used and the contextual gap is that the study was based in Nigeria                                         |
| Okafor and Akokuwebe (2015)                   | Factors leading to disparity in women politics and socio economic status in Nigeria                                          | Political and socio-economic factors                          | Historical and descriptive approaches | Political, economic social and systemic practices were a hindrance to women's meaningful political participation  | The focus of this study was on political and socio-economic disparity of women in leadership in Nigeria               |
| Abubakar (2015) research method was utilized. | Women and political participation in Kaduna state in Nigeria.                                                                | Political awareness, and reservation of positions in politics | Qualitative research method           | Women are denied rights to franchise and consequently their participation in politics decline significantly       | The methodological gap is that qualitative design was used and contextual gap is that this study was based in Nigeria |
| Godia (2017)                                  | Challenges facing women in legislation processes in the Kenya National Assembly of the 11 <sup>th</sup> Parliament 2013-2017 | Discriminatory challenges and gender inequality               | Qualitative design                    | Women in Parliament are still unable to raise bills and motions as indicated by the small numbers compared to men | The conceptual gap is that this study focused on challenges facing women in politics in Kenya                         |
| Tundi (2015)                                  | Factors influencing women                                                                                                    | Male discouragements and                                      | Descriptive research                  | Men have a negative perception on                                                                                 | The methodological gap is                                                                                             |

|                |                                                                                       |                                                  |                                         |                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                | participation in politics in Kimilili Constituency Bungoma County                     | criticisms                                       | design                                  | women ability to lead and thus women fear male discouragements and criticisms                 | that descriptive design was used and the conceptual gap is that the focus was on factor leading to participation of women in political leadership                               |
| Aura (2015)    | Attitude towards political representation by women parliamentarians in Nairobi County | Attitude of women and clarity of their interests | Descriptive and cross-sectional designs | Entrenched socio-cultural traditions and practices have historically favoured men's interests | The methodological gap is that descriptive and cross-sectional designs were used and the conceptual gap is that the focus was on women attitude towards representation in Kenya |
| Nthiiri (2014) | Kenya Women Parliamentary Association and how it had strengthened Kenyan democracy    | Feminization and stereotyping                    | Cross-sectional design                  | Feminization and poor stereotyping makes it difficult for women political participation       | The contextual gap is that this study focused on contribution of KEWOPA in strengthening                                                                                        |

|                 |                                                                                                                                |                                                                               |                       |                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                     |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                 |                                                                                                                                |                                                                               |                       |                                                                                                                                                      | g<br>democracy<br>in Kenya                                                                                                          |
| Kassa<br>(2015) | Challenges<br>and<br>opportunities<br>for women to<br>participate in<br>Ethiopian<br>politics. The<br>study was<br>qualitative | Challenges<br>and<br>opportunities<br>for women<br>political<br>participation | Qualitative<br>design | Factors like<br>economic,<br>social,<br>religious and<br>cultural<br>factors result<br>to women's<br>dismal<br>participation<br>in local<br>politics | The<br>contextual<br>gap is that<br>this study<br>was based in<br>Ethiopia<br>while the<br>current<br>study is<br>based in<br>Kenya |

## 2.5. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework describe the relationship between the independent variables (marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support and political barriers) and the dependent variable; women in political leadership.



**Figure 2. 1 Conceptual framework**

## 2.6. Operationalization of Variables

Table 2.2 indicates the criteria for the operationalization of the independent and dependent variables. The independent variables are; marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support and political barriers while the dependent variable is women in political leadership.

**Table 2. 2 Operationalization of variables**

| Variables                                          | Measurement of variables                                                                                            | Supporting past studies                                                                                      | Supporting theories                            | Test                                     |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| Independent variables                              |                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                              |                                                |                                          |
| <b>Marginalization of women</b>                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Segregation of women</li> <li>Oppression of women</li> </ul>                 | Nthiiri (2014), Parrish (2014), Brookes (2008), Tong (2013), Connell (2005), Kabira (2016) and Laboso (2017) | Liberal Feminist theory<br><br>Feminist theory | Descriptive and regression data analysis |
| <b>Patriarchal biases</b>                          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Negative perception</li> <li>Male dominance</li> </ul>                       | Nthiiri (2014), Parrish (2014), Brookes (2008), Tong (2013), Connell (2005), Kabira (2016) and Laboso (2017) | Liberal Feminist theory<br><br>Feminist theory | Descriptive and regression data analysis |
| <b>Family support</b>                              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lack of finances</li> <li>Domestic chores</li> </ul>                         | Brookes, 2008), Yuan, 2005), Tong, 2013), Scaramucci (2017) and Rampton (2015)                               | Feminist theory                                | Descriptive and regression data analysis |
| <b>Political barriers</b>                          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Role of government</li> <li>Role of political parties</li> </ul>             | Tong (2013), Scaramucci (2017) and Rampton (2015)                                                            | Radical feminists                              | Descriptive and regression data analysis |
| Dependent variable                                 |                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                              |                                                |                                          |
| <b>Women participation in political leadership</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Number of women in leadership</li> <li>Opportunity for leadership</li> </ul> |                                                                                                              |                                                | Descriptive and regression data analysis |

## **2.7 Summary of the Chapter**

The chapter has presented the theoretical framework of the study, review of literature and empirical review. It has also highlighted the summary of literature gaps, conceptual framework and operationalization of variables. The next chapter presents the methodology of the study.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the research design and methodology that will be used in the study. The chapter is organized under the following sections: research design, population of the study, target population, sample and sampling techniques, sample size, data collection instruments and procedures, pilot testing, data processing and analysis.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

According to Cooper and Schindler (2012), research design is the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. This study adopted correlation design where both quantitative and qualitative data was collected. According to Bryman and Bell (2007), correlational design involves the systematic investigation of the nature of relationships or associations between and among variables. This design was used to examine if changes in one or more variable are related to changes in another variable(s). In view of the current study, a correlation design enabled the researcher to fully establish the psychosocial challenges facing women in political leadership in Kakamega County, Kenya.

#### **3.2 Target Population**

According to Cooper and Schindler (2014), the target population is the entire set of individuals or items that the researcher is interested in and trying to observe their characteristics or behaviour. The target population for this study was all the 48 women who contested for positions in the 2017 general election in Kakamega County. The women vied for governorship, parliamentary, senatorial, women and ward political positions in 2017 general election in Kakamega County.

**Table 3. 1Target population**

| <b>S No</b>  | <b>Constituency</b> | <b>Women candidates</b> |
|--------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 1            | Lugari              | 4                       |
| 2            | Likuyani            | 4                       |
| 3            | Malava              | 9                       |
| 4            | Lurambi             | 3                       |
| 5            | Navakholo           | 3                       |
| 6            | Mumias west         | 2                       |
| 7            | Mumias east         | 0                       |
| 8            | Matungu             | 2                       |
| 9            | Butere              | 2                       |
| 10           | Khwisero            | 3                       |
| 11           | Shinyalu            | 5                       |
| 12           | Ikolomani           | 2                       |
| <b>Total</b> |                     | <b>48</b>               |

### **3.3 Sample and sampling technique**

Sampling is an element of data collection, defined by Bryman and Bell (2011) as the fragment or section of the population that is selected for the research process. The sample was all the forty eight (48) women who contested for political positions in Kakamega County. The study used census method

### **3.4 Research Instrument**

The researcher used a questionnaire to collect data from the participants. Questionnaires were preferred by the researcher in data collection as they are appropriate in correlation studies where the number of respondents is high (Cooper & Schindler, 2014). They were also preferred because they cut on costs and also save on time used in data collection. The questionnaires had two sections. Section one collected the personal details. Section two comprised of matrix questions. These allowed for easy comparison of responses given to different items. The Likert scale had the scale of five items.

### **3.5 Pilot Study**

Welman, Kruger and Mitchell, (2008) argues that a pilot study is carried out for the following reasons: to detect possible flaws in the measurement procedures that may include among others, aspects such as ambiguous instructions or inadequate time limits; to identify unclear or ambiguously formulated items; to notice non-verbal behaviour on the part of respondents. The size of the pilot group may range from 10% of the total subjects depending on the method to be tested but the respondents do not have to be statistically selected (Creswell, 2014). In this study the pilot test was carried out on five women political leader in Kakamega County and who did not take place in the main study.

#### **3.5.1. Validity and Reliability of Instruments**

##### **Validity of Instruments**

Validity refers to the extent to which the measures used in the instruments are truthfully measuring the intended concept and not something else (Sekaran & Bougie, 2009). Validity determines whether the instrument truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are. The instruments were forwarded to the supervisor at Management University of Africa for validation. The appropriate modification based on the experts' advice was made on the pre-tested instruments in order capture the relevant information related to the study objectives.

##### **Reliability of Instruments**

Kombo & Tromp (2006) noted the reliability of an instrument is a measure of how consistent the results of a test are. In this study reliability test is to be carried out by pilot test and computing Cronbach's Alpha. Sekeran and Bougie, (2008) reinforces that pilot test is



necessary for testing the reliability of instruments where the feedback of the pilot study is used to refine the instruments to make it reliable during the study. Cronbach's alpha was used to test the reliability of the measures of the instruments (Cronbach, 1994). Bryman (2011) suggests that where Cronbach Alpha is used for reliability test, a rule of thumb is also used that states that the Cronbach values of the items in the study should not be lower than 0.7. To increase the reliability of the instruments, this study used Cronbach's Alpha for separate domains of the instruments rather than the entire instruments. The Cronbach values were computed as follows:

$$\alpha = K / (K - 1) [1 - (\sum \sigma_k^2 / \sigma_{total}^2)] \quad \dots\dots\dots \text{Equation (1) (Ritter, 2010)}$$

Where K is the number of items,  $\sum \sigma_k^2$  is the sum of the k item score variances, and  $\sigma_{total}^2$  is the variance of scores on the total measurement.

**Table 3. 2Cronbach Alpha**

| <b>Reliability range</b> | <b>Characterization</b> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 0-.6                     | Poor                    |
| .6-.7                    | Marginally accepted     |
| .7-.8                    | Acceptable              |
| .8-.9                    | Good                    |
| .9+                      | Very good               |
| .9.5+                    | Too good                |

### **3.6 Data Collection Procedure**

The researcher sought for an introduction letter from Management University of Africa. Once permission was granted, the researcher booked appointments with the selected respondents for the purpose of creating rapport, confidence and removing any suspicions by assurances of confidentiality on the data that was generated. Instruments were distributed and picked up later at an appropriate and convenient time mutually agreed upon.

### **3.7 Data Analysis**

After the data was collected from the various sources, the researcher coded the data according to the pattern of research questions and objectives. The study employed both descriptive and inferential statistical techniques to allow presentation of data in a more meaningful way and thus simpler interpretation of data. Qualitative data obtained was analyzed by narrative reporting and categorized into themes. Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics. Descriptive measures such as mean, standard deviation were used as well. Inferential statistical technique applying correlation and regression analysis of data were also used. Under regression, Analysis of Variance and regression coefficients tests were conducted.

The descriptive statistics was obtained effectively using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) programme version 23. Responses from open ended questions were coded, interpreted and their frequencies determined through cross-tabulation on differences between respondents and the central tendencies of respondents to each factor. To determine if associations existed between various variables, cross-tabulation was used. The findings were presented using pie charts, bar charts and frequency distribution tables.

#### **3.7.1 Regression model**

Before undertaking the regression model, the suitability of data was analyzed through normality and reliability tests. In addition, correlation test was undertaken to measure the strength of the linear relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Three regression analysis tests were conducted, model summary, Analysis of Variance and regression coefficients. A multiple regression model was used to identify the significance of the linear relationship between variables. The presence of regression coefficient with a p-value of less than 0.05 showed that the variables had significant influence. Therefore, the study used the

following model to test the relationship between the independent variables (marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support and political barriers) and dependent variables; women in political leadership.

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \varepsilon$$

Where Y is; Women in political leadership

$X_1$  – Marginalization

$X_2$  – Patriarchal biases

$X_3$  – Family support

$X_4$  – Political barriers

$\varepsilon$  – is the error term

### **3.8 Ethical Considerations**

Carrying out research does raise a lot of legal and ethical issues that must be well taken care of before proceeding with their involvement in studies.

#### **3.8.1 Consent and confidentiality**

Consent and confidentiality are central and in many cases we find that research can be prevented when the risks seem harmful to the participants in social sciences. Written informed consents were obtained. Information on the nature, purpose, duration, procedure and the benefits and possible risks of research was provided and the participants guaranteed confidentiality of information shared. The participants were given the opportunity to ask questions about any aspect of the research, at any time during or after their participation in the research.

### **3.8.2 Human relational issues**

Human relational issues were clearly spelt out with the respondents requested to take part in the study as participation is voluntary, meaning they have the right to decline. The participants were free to withdraw from study at any level if they felt unable to continue without any form of penalty.

### **3.8.3 Legal basis of respondents**

The legal basis of the respondents was clearly stated, with the rights and privileges in participating in the research well-articulated.

### **3.8.4 Logistical issues**

Logistical issues in the interaction levels of the researcher and the respondents were adhered to with proper coordination measures explained before the actual process commences.

## **3.9 Summary of the Chapter**

This chapter has presented the methodology of the study. The next chapter presents the research findings and limitations of the study.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

#### 4.0. Introduction

The purpose of this study was to establish the psychosocial challenges facing women participation in political leadership in Kenya: a case study of Kakamega County, Kenya. This chapter presents the data analysis results, interpretation and presentation.

#### 4.1 Presentation of Research Findings

##### 4.1.1 Response rate

Table 4.1 indicates that the 44 questionnaires out of 48 administered were returned. The overall response rate was thus found to be 91.67 % which is an above average expected response rate of 50-75% for hand delivered questionnaires and sufficient to proceed with the data analysis

**Table 4. 1 Target population**

| Category        | Frequency | Percentage    |
|-----------------|-----------|---------------|
| Responded       | 44        | 91.67         |
| Did not Respond | 4         | 8.33          |
| <b>Total</b>    | <b>48</b> | <b>100.00</b> |

##### 4.2.2 Demographic Characteristics

This section discusses the results of the general information about the respondents including the gender, education level, and importance of possessing resources by women candidates.

**Table 4. 2 Demographic characteristics**

| Age bracket               | Frequency | Percentages  |
|---------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Less than 25 years        | 5         | 11.4         |
| 26-35 years               | 5         | 11.4         |
| 36-45 years               | 23        | 52.3         |
| 46-55 years               | 9         | 20.5         |
| Above 55 years            | 2         | 4.5          |
| <b>Total</b>              | <b>44</b> | <b>100.0</b> |
| <b>Level of education</b> |           |              |
| KCSE                      | 2         | 4.5          |

|                                                           |    |       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|----|-------|
| Certificate/diploma                                       | 4  | 9.2   |
| Undergraduate degree                                      | 26 | 59.1  |
| Master degree                                             | 10 | 22.7  |
| Doctorate degree                                          | 2  | 4.5   |
| Total                                                     | 44 | 100.0 |
| <b>Consideration of resources for women before voting</b> |    |       |
| Yes                                                       | 32 | 72.7  |
| No                                                        | 12 | 27.3  |
| Total                                                     | 44 | 100.0 |

#### **4.2.3 Age bracket**

Age was important in this study since it is desirable to understand whether all the respondents were above 18 years which is the legally accepted age for contesting for political leadership in Kenya for all the positions apart from presidential seat. The findings indicate that majority of the respondents 52.3% were between the ages of 36-45 years while 20.5% were between the ages of 46-55 years. Further, 11.4% of the respondents were below 35 years. Only, 4.5% were above 4.5 years. This is an indicator that in Kakamega County, all age groups were represented by women candidates in the contest for electoral positions.

#### **4.2.4 Level of Education**

The respondents were asked to indicate the highest level of education. The findings indicate that majority of the respondents 59.1% had undergraduate degree, 22.7% had master degree while 4.5 had a doctorate degree. In addition, 9.2% were diploma or certificate holders. The other 4.5% had a secondary level education. The finding highlights that women candidates in Kakamega County had requisite education and were thus knowledgeable to compete for electoral positions.

#### **4.2.5 Consideration of resources before electing women candidates**

The study sought to establish whether possession of resources was a consideration when electing women leaders in Kakamega County. The findings indicate that majority of the respondents 72.7% considered possession of resources as a requisite factor for electorates to vote in female candidates. A few of the respondents, 27.3% did not consider possession of resources as important for women female candidates vying for electoral positions.

### **4.3 Descriptive Analysis of Study Variables**

#### **4.3.2 Marginalization of women**

The rating of statements measuring marginalization of women is indicated in table 4.3. The results show that 53% of the respondents agreed that they are usually discriminated against during elections with 60% agreeing that men usually discriminate against women candidates during elections. Meanwhile, 72% agreed that women are usually oppressed in allocation of elective positions. Finally, 63% agreed that men are leading in oppressing women during elections.

On the relationship between marginalization of women and participation in political leadership, 87% agreed that discrimination of women during elections decrease their participation in elections. Additionally, 82% agreed that discrimination of women by men during elections diminish chances of participation in elections. Moreover, 29% agreed that oppression of women in elective position dissuade participation in politics while 79% agreed that the oppression of women in elections reduce chances of participation in elections.

The findings complement Kivoi (2014) argument that traditional beliefs, perceptions and stereotypes which depict women as being inferior have tended to militate towards their

marginalization. The findings also agreed with Ekpe, Eja and John (2014) who stated that women are generally marginalized in political participation since they play subsidiary roles since their place is in the kitchen and men are the decision makers. This implies that marginalization of women participation in politics is due to various psychosocial stereotypes that affect women's levels of representation throughout the political process.

**Table 4. 3 Marginalization of women in political leadership**

| <b>Marginalization of women</b>                                                                | <b>SA (%)</b>                                                             | <b>A (%)</b> | <b>N (%)</b> | <b>D (%)</b> | <b>SD (%)</b> | <b>Mean</b> | <b>Std. Dev</b> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Women are usually discriminated against during elections                                       | 35                                                                        | 18           | 7            | 26           | 14            | 3.06        | 1.263           |
| Men usually discriminate against women candidates during elections                             | 43                                                                        | 17           | 9            | 14           | 16            | 3.13        | 1.263           |
| Women are usually oppressed in allocation of elective positions                                | 54                                                                        | 18           | 5            | 5            | 17            | 3.13        | 1.296           |
| Men are leading in oppressing women during elections                                           | 34                                                                        | 29           | 10           | 18           | 9             | 2.59        | 1.279           |
| <b>1(b)</b>                                                                                    | <b>Marginalization of women and participation in political leadership</b> |              |              |              |               |             |                 |
| Discrimination of women during elections decrease their participation in elections             | 69                                                                        | 18           | 6            | 3            | 3             | 1.53        | .969            |
| Discrimination of women by men during elections diminish chances of participation in elections | 61                                                                        | 21           | 12           | 4            | 2             | 1.65        | .988            |
| Oppression of women in elective position dissuade participation in politics                    | 41                                                                        | 31           | 16           | 8            | 5             | 2.06        | 1.153           |
| Oppression of women in elections reduce chances of participation in elections                  | 54                                                                        | 25           | 13           | 4            | 4             | 1.79        | 1.068           |

#### **4.3.3 Effect of society expectations on women inclusivity in elections**

The results in table 4.4 on the effect of society expectations on women inclusivity in elections show that majority of the respondents 86% agreed that the electorates normally have a lot of expectations and demands for women candidates. A few, 14% felt that society had no burden of expectations for women candidates. The findings complements the argument of Okafor and Akokuwebe (2015) that patriarchal ideology and stereotypes are among the most firmly



entrenched psychosocial obstacles for women candidates. This implies that such negative expectations place lot of hurdles on women candidates that derail the ability to compete effectively in elections.

**Table 4. 4 Society expectation on women in politics**

| <b>Effect of society expectations on women inclusivity in elections</b> | <b>Frequency</b> | <b>Percentages</b> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Yes                                                                     | 38               | 86                 |
| No                                                                      | 6                | 14                 |
| <b>Total</b>                                                            | <b>44</b>        | <b>100.0</b>       |

#### **4.3.4 Patriarchal biases**

The study sought to find out the extent to which patriarchal biases impact on participation of women in political leadership. The results in table 4.5 show that 66% of the respondents agreed that women participating in elective positions are considered as unruly characters in society. In addition, 79% agreed that society dissuade women from elective positions while 57% agreed that political leadership is usually dominated by males. Finally, 60% agreed that women are rarely supported for elective positions which are seen as a male area. On the interaction between patriarchal biases and participation of women in political leadership, 74% agreed that perception of women as unsuitable for elective positions dissuade many from political positions.

Similarly, 61% agreed that barriers for women participation in leadership prevent women from vying for leadership with 85% agreed that domination of leadership positions by males discourage women from leadership positions. Finally, 78% agreed that perception that political leadership belongs to men discourage women from political leadership. The findings support Agbalajobi (2010) observation that women suffer from various forms of psychosocially-oriented gender discrimination, inequality and exclusion, especially in the area of politics. This

means that presence of patriarchal biases in Kakamega County results in exclusion of women from politics.

**Table 4. 5 Patriarchal biases**

| <b>Patriarchal biases</b>                                                                           | <b>SA (%)</b> | <b>A (%)</b> | <b>N (%)</b> | <b>D (%)</b> | <b>SD (%)</b> | <b>Mean</b> | <b>Std. Dev</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Women participating in elective positions are considered as unruly characters in society            | 50            | 16           | 8            | 16           | 9             | 2.57        | 1.309           |
| Society dissuade women from elective positions                                                      | 47            | 32           | 12           | 6            | 3             | 2.05        | 1.034           |
| Political leadership is usually dominated by males                                                  | 36            | 21           | 16           | 11           | 16            | 2.99        | 1.307           |
| Women are rarely supported for elective positions which is seen as a male area                      | 38            | 22           | 9            | 18           | 13            | 2.86        | 1.281           |
| <b>Patriarchal biases and participation of women in political leadership</b>                        |               |              |              |              |               |             |                 |
| The perception of women as unsuitable for elective positions dissuade many from political positions | 37            | 37           | 15           | 9            | 3             | 2.11        | 1.089           |
| Barriers for women participation in leadership prevent women from vying for leadership              | 33            | 28           | 19           | 13           | 7             | 2.35        | 1.264           |
| Domination of leadership positions by males discourage women from leadership positions              | 57            | 28           | 11           | 9            | 6             | 2.19        | 1.199           |
| Perception that political leadership belong to men discourage women from political leadership       | 43            | 25           | 14           | 9            | 8             | 2.13        | 1.288           |

#### **4.3.5 Negative society expectations affecting women candidates**

The results on table 4.6 indicate the negative society expectations that lead to suffering of women candidates in general elections show that majority of the respondents, 81.8% stated that gender discrimination was a common feature. In addition, 59.1% and 50% stated that inequality and exclusion of women candidates were common negative society expectations affecting women candidates. The findings supported Agbalajobi (2010) observation that women candidates had for long suffered various forms of psychosocially-oriented gender discrimination, inequality and exclusion, especially in the area of politics'. The implication is

that even in Kakamega County; such forms of negative expectations affect the full participation of women in politics.

**Table 4. 6 Society expectations affecting women candidates**

| <b>Society expectations leading to suffering of women candidates in elections</b> | <b>Frequency</b> | <b>Percentages</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Gender discrimination                                                             | 36               | 81.8               |
| Inequality                                                                        | 26               | 59.1               |
| Exclusion                                                                         | 22               | 50.0               |

#### **4.3.6 Family support of women candidates**

The study sought to establish to what extent the respondents agree about the family support of participation of women in political leadership. The results are as indicated in table 4.7 suggested that 78% of the respondents agreed women rarely get financial backing from the family members for elective positions. In addition, 71% agreed that financing women for political leadership is viewed as waste of resources while 72% agreed that the society expects women to perform household chores but not involve in politics. Meanwhile, 65% agreed that the society expects women to support males in leadership positions.

On the relationship between family support and participation of women in political leadership, 68% agreed that lack of finances dissuade women from elective positions. Moreover, 60% agreed that negative perception on family financially supporting women prevent them from vying for leadership positions. Further, 71% agreed that perception of women as housekeepers dissuade them from politics with 63% agreed that expectations of women as only suitable in supporting male leaders dissuade them from engaging in politics.

The findings support Pridham (2016) suggestion that in most Kenyan communities women have no access to land and property rights though they are guaranteed in the constitution. These socio-economically stereotypes incapacitate them hence they cannot vie and run

successful political campaigns where campaigns are highly expensive. This implies that lack of family support leads to discrimination of access of women to means of production especially land and property rights severely leading to low level of their active participation in politics and governance.

**Table 4. 7 Family support of women politicians**

| <b>Family support</b>                                                                                       | <b>SA (%)</b>                                                               | <b>A (%)</b> | <b>N (%)</b> | <b>D (%)</b> | <b>SD (%)</b> | <b>Mean</b> | <b>Std. Dev</b> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Women rarely get financial backing from the family members for elective positions                           | 36                                                                          | 42           | 15           | 5            | 2             | 2.01        | .975            |
| Financing women for political leadership is viewed as waste of resources                                    | 38                                                                          | 33           | 15           | 10           | 4             | 2.29        | 1.094           |
| The society expects women to perform household chores but not involve in politics                           | 37                                                                          | 35           | 18           | 7            | 3             | 2.04        | 1.043           |
| The society expects women to support males in leadership positions                                          | 34                                                                          | 31           | 22           | 8            | 5             | 2.19        | 1.146           |
| <b>3 b).</b>                                                                                                | <b>Family support and participation of of women in political leadership</b> |              |              |              |               |             |                 |
| Lack of finances dissuade women from elective positions                                                     | 34                                                                          | 34           | 13           | 11           | 9             | 2.38        | 1.291           |
| Negative perception on family financially supporting women prevent them from vying for leadership positions | 34                                                                          | 26           | 19           | 10           | 11            | 2.38        | 1.337           |
| Perception of women as housekeepers dissuade them from politics                                             | 52                                                                          | 19           | 10           | 10           | 9             | 2.30        | 1.333           |
| Expectations of women as only suitable in supporting male leaders dissuade them from engaging in politics   | 35                                                                          | 28           | 18           | 10           | 9             | 2.30        | 1.278           |

#### **4.3.7 Support of women candidates by family**

The results on importance of offering resources as support for women candidates in elections show that majority of the respondents, 56.8% stated that families did not offer financial and non-financial support support. Another 43.2% received financial and non-financial support from the family. The findings on table 4.8 support Pridham (2016) argument that in most Kenyan communities, women have no access to land and property rights though they are guaranteed in the constitution. This socio-economically stereotypes incapacitate women

candidates hence they cannot vie and run successful political campaigns where campaigns are highly expensive. This means that the society in Kakamega County does not offer financial and non-financial support women candidates and thus jeopardizing the chances of successful electoral contestation.

**Table 4. 8 Role of family in supporting female candidates**

| <b>Role of supporting women candidates with resources</b> | <b>Frequency</b> | <b>Percentages</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Yes                                                       | 19               | 43.2               |
| No                                                        | 25               | 56.8               |
| <b>Total</b>                                              | <b>44</b>        | <b>100.0</b>       |

#### **4.3.8 Political barriers**

The study sought to find out how political barriers affect women participation in political leadership. The results as shown in table 4.9 indicate that majority of the respondents (64%) agreed that the government partially support women participation in leadership. Further, 68% agreed that the government encourage full participation of women in politics while 58% agreed that political parties have no bases for supporting participation of women in elective positions. Finally, 61% agreed that political parties have set aside political positions for women. On the association between political barriers and women participation in political leadership, 86% agreed that partial support of women in leadership discourage them from elective leadership.

In addition, 74% agreed that full support of women by the government encourage many to political leadership with 81% agreeing that lack of support from political parties discourage women from politics. Finally, 88% agreed that support of women by political parties encourage women participation in politics. The findings support Mittulah and Owiti (2011) statement that lack of political goodwill by male politicians to include women in structures of political governance is to blame for limited participation in political parties. This implies that

involvement of women in political decision-making is a big step towards improving the participation in political leadership.

**Table 4. 9 Political barriers**

| <b>Political barriers</b>                                                                   | <b>SA (%)</b>                                                                | <b>A (%)</b> | <b>N (%)</b> | <b>D (%)</b> | <b>SD (%)</b> | <b>Mean</b> | <b>Std. Dev</b> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|
| The government partially support women participation in leadership                          | 43                                                                           | 21           | 17           | 12           | 8             | 2.22        | 1.317           |
| The government encourage full participation of women in politics                            | 44                                                                           | 24           | 8            | 15           | 9             | 2.60        | 1.245           |
| Political parties have no bases for supporting participation of women in elective positions | 26                                                                           | 32           | 22           | 12           | 8             | 2.44        | 1.221           |
| Political parties have set aside political positions for women                              | 27                                                                           | 34           | 19           | 13           | 7             | 2.38        | 1.198           |
| <b>4 b).</b>                                                                                | <b>Political barriers and participation of women in political leadership</b> |              |              |              |               |             |                 |
| Partial support of women in leadership discourage them from elective leadership             | 56                                                                           | 30           | 8            | 4            | 1             | 1.64        | .895            |
| Full support of women by the government encourage many to political leadership              | 63                                                                           | 21           | 8            | 5            | 3             | 1.64        | 1.023           |
| Lack of support from political parties discourage women from politics                       | 57                                                                           | 24           | 14           | 4            | 1             | 1.68        | .936            |
| Support of women by political parties encourage women participation in politics             | 71                                                                           | 18           | 6            | 4            | 1             | 1.45        | .835            |

#### **4.3.9 Presence of policies supporting women in politics**

The results on the presence of policies to support inclusion of women in elective positions indicate that majority of the respondents, 68.2% stated that policies exists that support women in politics. Another 31.8% stated that such policies are absent. The findings support Mutabai (2017) examination that the degree of attention given to women politicians in Kenya has considerably increased in recent years. This is due to the enacting of the 2010 Kenyan constitution that that entails policies such as two thirds representation of women in elective positions. The implication is that despite existence of policies supporting women in politics, women are still underrepresented in political leadership positions in Kakamega County.

**Table 4. 10 Policies supporting women inclusion in politics**

| <b>Presence of policies to support inclusion of women in elective positions</b> | <b>Frequency</b> | <b>Percentages</b> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Yes                                                                             | 30               | 68.2               |
| No                                                                              | 14               | 31.8               |
| <b>Total</b>                                                                    | <b>44</b>        | <b>100.0</b>       |

#### **4.4 Inferential statistics**

##### **4.4.1 Reliability Analysis**

Scale reliability for study variables was determined by computing the overall Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for the items of participation of women in political leadership, marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support and political barriers. The reliability was demonstrated since the overall Cronbach's alpha statistic for participation of women in political leadership, marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support and political barriers were 0.877, 0.844, 0.853, 0.833 and 0.824 respectively which were greater than the threshold value of 0.7 as indicated in table 4.11.

**Table 4. 11 Reliability of study variables**

| <b>Variables</b>                               | <b>No of items</b> | <b>Cronbach's Alpha</b> |
|------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Participation of women in political leadership | 10                 | 0.877                   |
| Marginalization of women                       | 10                 | 0.844                   |
| Patriarchal biases                             | 10                 | 0.853                   |
| Family support                                 | 10                 | 0.833                   |
| Political barriers                             | 10                 | 0.824                   |

##### **4.4.2 Normality test**

The normality of data distribution was assessed by examining its skewness and kurtosis (Kline, 2005). A variable with an absolute skew-index value greater than 3.0 is extremely skewed while a kurtosis index greater than 8.0 is an extreme kurtosis (Kline, 2005). Cunningham (2008) stated that an index smaller than an absolute value of 2.0 for skewness and an absolute value of 7.0 is the least violation of the assumption of normality. The results of the normality

test of the study variables indicated skewness and kurtosis in the range of -1 and +1 as shown in table 4.12. This implies that the assumption of normality was satisfied.

**Table 4. 12 Normality test**

|                          | N         | Skewness  |            | Kurtosis  |            |
|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|
|                          | Statistic | Statistic | Std. Error | Statistic | Std. Error |
| Marginalization of women | 268       | .392      | .149       | -.572     | .297       |
| Patriarchal biases       | 268       | -.110     | .149       | -.520     | .297       |
| Family support           | 268       | -.848     | .149       | .642      | .297       |
| Political barriers       | 268       | -.696     | .149       | .032      | .297       |

#### 4.4.3 Correlation Analysis

Correlation is the quantitative estimation of the variation between two variables. The parallel increase or decrease of two variables leads to positive correlation. However, the where one variable increases and the other decreases, this leads to negative correlation. In this study, correlation measured the strength of the linear relationship between the independent and dependent variables. The findings indicated that there was a moderate positive and significant relationship between marginalization of women and participation of women in political leadership ( $r = 0.498$ ,  $p\text{-value}=0.000<0.05$ ). Patriarchal biases was found to be positive and significantly related to participation of women in political leadership ( $r = 0.660$ ,  $p\text{-value}=0.000<0.05$ ).

Family support was found to have moderate positive and significantly related to participation of women in political leadership ( $r = 0.533$ ,  $p\text{-value}=0.000<0.05$ ). Political barriers was found to be positive and significantly related to participation of women in political leadership ( $r = 0.837$ ,  $p\text{-value}=0.000<0.05$ ) as indicted in table 4.13. The correlation results are consistent with the findings of Tundi (2018) which indicated that components of psychosocial such as



marginalization, patriarchal biases, family support and political barriers are positively and significantly associated with participation of women in political leadership.

**Table 4. 13 Correlation analysis**

| <b>Variables</b>                               |                     | <b>Participation of women in political leadership</b> | <b>Marginalization of women</b> | <b>Patriarchal biases</b> | <b>Family support</b> | <b>Political barriers</b> |
|------------------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Participation of women in political leadership | Pearson Correlation | 1                                                     | .498**                          | .660**                    | .533**                | .837**                    |
|                                                | Sig. (2-tailed)     |                                                       | .000                            | .000                      | .000                  | .000                      |
|                                                | N                   | 44                                                    | 44                              | 44                        | 44                    | 44                        |
| Marginalization                                | Pearson Correlation | .498**                                                | 1                               | .692**                    | .645**                | .434**                    |
|                                                | Sig. (2-tailed)     | .000                                                  |                                 | .000                      | .000                  | .000                      |
|                                                | N                   | 44                                                    | 44                              | 44                        | 44                    | 44                        |
| Patriarchal biases                             | Pearson Correlation | .660**                                                | .692**                          | 1                         | .670**                | .581**                    |
|                                                | Sig. (2-tailed)     | .000                                                  | .000                            |                           | .000                  | .000                      |
|                                                | N                   | 44                                                    | 44                              | 44                        | 44                    | 44                        |
| Family support                                 | Pearson Correlation | .533**                                                | .645**                          | .670**                    | 1                     | .461**                    |
|                                                | Sig. (2-tailed)     | .000                                                  | .000                            | .000                      |                       | .000                      |
|                                                | N                   | 44                                                    | 44                              | 44                        | 44                    | 44                        |
| Political barriers                             | Pearson Correlation | .837**                                                | .434**                          | .581**                    | .461**                | 1                         |
|                                                | Sig. (2-tailed)     | .000                                                  | .000                            | .000                      | .000                  |                           |
|                                                | N                   | 44                                                    | 44                              | 44                        | 44                    | 44                        |

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

#### 4.4.4 Regression Analysis

Regression analysis is a statistical method for establishing existing relationship between variables. Regression test was necessary for verification of the level of influence between Marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support, political barriers and participation of women in political leadership through multiple linear regressions. In addition, multiple linear regressions tested the goodness of fit for the data of the overall regression

model by use of F-ratio results. These results generated regression model summary, ANOVA and regression coefficients.

Tables 4.14- 4.16 present data on R, R<sup>2</sup> and adjusted R<sup>2</sup> and the standard error of estimates. R indicates multiple correlation coefficient, R<sup>2</sup> indicate coefficient of determination while adjusted R<sup>2</sup> represents statistical values adjusted as per the number of independent variables in the model. The R square value in this case is 0.512 which clearly suggests that there is a strong relationship between marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support, political barriers and participation of women in political leadership as indicated in table 4.14. This indicates that marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support and political barriers share a variation of 51.2 % of participation of women in political leadership when other factors are held constant. This shows that the model was a good fit as it explained 51.2% of participation of women in political leadership in Kakamega County.

**Table 4. 14 Model summary**

| Model | R                 | R Square | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of the Estimate |
|-------|-------------------|----------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 1     | .716 <sup>a</sup> | .512     | .507              | .33947                     |

a. Predictors: (Constant), Marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support, political barriers

#### 4.4.5 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

The Analysis of Variance on the association between independent and dependent variables was conducted. The ANOVA table 4.15 indicates that the overall model was a good fit since (F-value=92.392 and p-value=0.000<0.05).

**Table 4. 15 Analysis of variance**

| Model |            | Sum of Squares | Df  | Mean Square | F      | Sig.              |
|-------|------------|----------------|-----|-------------|--------|-------------------|
| 1     | Regression | 31.942         | 3   | 10.647      | 92.392 | .000 <sup>b</sup> |
|       | Residual   | 30.424         | 264 | .115        |        |                   |
|       | Total      | 62.366         | 267 |             |        |                   |

a. Dependent Variable: Participation of women in political leadership

b. Predictors: (Constant), Marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support, political barriers

#### 4.4.6 Coefficients analysis

Coefficients analysis on the strength of the predictor variables on the dependent variable was undertaken. The conclusion is that the model is valid. The results are presented in Table 4.16.

**Table 4. 16 Coefficients analysis**

| Model                    | Unstandardized Coefficients |            | Standardized Coefficients | T     | Sig. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|---------------------------|-------|------|
|                          | B                           | Std. Error | Beta                      |       |      |
| 1 (Constant)             | .741                        | .157       |                           | 4.726 | .000 |
| Marginalization of women | .197                        | .025       | .378                      | 8.007 | .000 |
| Patriarchal biases       | .108                        | .035       | .241                      | 3.058 | .002 |
| Family support           | .182                        | .031       | .243                      | 3.884 | .000 |
| Political barriers       | .201                        | .026       | .395                      | 7.872 | .000 |

a. Dependent Variable: Participation of women in political leadership

The model derived was;

$$\text{Participation} = .741 + .197 \text{ marg} + .108 \text{ patr} + .182 \text{ fs} + .201 \text{ pb} + \epsilon$$

Marginalization was found to have a positive linearly significant influence on participation of women in political leadership ( $\beta=0.197$ ,  $p=0.000<0.05$ ). Here one unit change in marginalization results in 19.7% unit increase in participation of women in political leadership. The findings support Anigwe (2014) that due to marginalization, women are still underrepresented in the political sector and lacked full political power as they strived for equality to become political leaders. The implication is that marginalization is a common feature in the endeavour for women participation in elective positions in Kakamega County.

Patriarchal biases was found to have a positive linearly significant influence on participation of women in political leadership ( $\beta=0.108$ ,  $p=0.002<0.05$ ). One unit change in patriarchal biases

results in 10.8% unit increase in participation of women in political leadership. The findings support Inter-parliament research (2013) which established that despite the 30% quota to ensure women's representation in political institutions, patriarchal tradition is still a barrier. This means that in Kakamega County, women are still required to fight to overcome patriarchal obstacles in order to achieve the 30% quota.

Family support was found to have a positive linearly significant influence on participation of women in political leadership ( $\beta=0.182$ ,  $p=0.000<0.05$ ). Thus, one unit change in family support results in 18.2% unit increase in participation of women in political leadership. The findings agreed with Wanjala and Odongo (2010) that discrimination of access of women to means of production especially land and property rights severely contribute to low level of active participation in politics in Kenya. The findings complement Kivoi (2014) assertion that political empowerment of women has the potential of creating the right psychosocial mindset to influence key policy decisions in the Executive and Legislative arm of government. This implies that lack of family support decreases the prospective of women success in politics in Kakamega County.

Political barriers was found to have a positive linearly significant influence on participation of women in political leadership ( $\beta=0.201$ ,  $p=0.000<0.05$ ). Here one unit change in patriarchal barriers results in 20.1% unit increase in participation of women in political leadership. The findings agreed with Mittulah and Owiti (2011) that lack of political goodwill by male politicians to include women in structures of political governance is to blame for limited participation in political parties. The implication is that political barriers are one of the significant impediments suppressing the ability of women to participate in politics in Kakamega County.

The beta coefficients indicate the relative importance of each independent variable in influencing the dependent variable (participation of women in political leadership). Political barriers is the most important aspect in influencing participation of women in political leadership ( $\beta=0.395$ ) followed by marginalization ( $\beta=0.378$ ), family support ( $\beta=0.243$ ) and the least is patriarchal biases ( $\beta=0.241$ ). The observation support Jonyo (2013) argument barriers is the most significant obstacle affecting the participation of women in politics. Lack of political support leads to non-molding and socialization of women candidates in political scenarios thus diminishing the level of competition.

#### **4.5 Limitations of the Study**

The researcher encountered a number of limitations in the course of the study. First, accessing and getting an appointment with women political aspirants who had contested the 2017 general election was a challenge. This was specifically so for both the contestants who won and those who failed in the general election. Some of the aspirants have already left Kakamega County for other areas in the country. However, the researcher used contacts in the political field to access most of the aspirants. Secondly, convincing the women aspirants to fill the questionnaire was a daunting task since a number of was suspicious of the use of the generated information. However, the researcher assured on the confidentiality of the information and that the collected data was for academic use only.

#### **4.6 Chapter Summary**

The chapter has presented the summary of the research findings. The demographic information, descriptive statistics and inferential statistics has been highlighted and discussed. The next chapter presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION**

#### **5.0. Introduction**

This chapter presents the summary, conclusions, recommendations and area for further studies.

The presentation is undertaken as per the objectives of the study.

#### **5.4 Summary of the Study**

The general objective of the study is to establish the psychosocial challenges women face in political leadership in Kakamega County Kenya. The specific objectives of the study were to establish the effect of marginalization on women participation in political leadership; to determine the effect of patriarchal biases on women participation in political leadership; to find out the influence of lack of family support on women participation; to investigate the effect of political barriers on women participation in political leadership in Kakamega County. The target population comprised of women political leaders who participated in political leadership in Kakamega County. The census of all the 48 women was sampled, with data collected using questionnaires.

Data analysis was aided by Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software version 23. Qualitative data was analyzed by narrative reporting, while quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics. The response rate was at 91.67 % which was above average and sufficient to continue with the data analysis. The reliability of the instrument was demonstrated since the overall Cronbach's alpha statistic for participation of women in political leadership, marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support and political barriers were greater than the threshold value of 0.7. Correlation analysis indicated that marginalization of women,

patriarchal biases; family support and political barriers were found to be positive and significantly related to participation of women in political leadership.

Regression analysis of the independent variables was at 0.512 suggesting that there is a strong relationship between marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support, political barriers and participation of women in political leadership. This indicates that marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support and political barriers share a variation of 51.2 % of participation of women in political leadership in Kakamega County. Political barriers was the most important factor in influencing participation of women in political leadership followed by marginalization, family support and the least was patriarchal biases.

#### **5.4.1 Effect of marginalization on women participation in political leadership**

The descriptive findings on marginalization of women indicated that women candidates are discriminated against during elections mostly by men candidates. Women are usually oppressed in allocation of elective positions with men leading in oppressing women during elections. Discrimination of women during elections decreases their participation in elections while oppression of women in elections reducing chances of participation in elections. This implies that marginalization of women participation in politics is due to various psychosocial stereotypes that affect women's levels of representation throughout the political process. The findings on the effect of society expectations on women inclusivity in elections indicated that the electorates normally have a lot of expectations and demands for women candidates. This implies that such negative expectations place lot of hurdles on women candidates that derail the ability to compete effectively in elections.

#### **5.4.2 Effect of patriarchal biases on women participation in political leadership**

The findings revealed that women participating in elective positions are considered as unruly characters in society with society dissuading women from elective positions. Additionally, women are rarely supported for elective positions which are seen as a male area with women perceived as unsuitable for elective positions thus dissuading many from political positions. Similarly, domination of leadership positions by males discourages women from leadership positions while perception that political leadership belongs to men discourages women from political leadership. This means that presence of patriarchal biases in Kakamega County results in exclusion of women from politics. There is also presence of negative society expectations that lead to suffering of women candidates in general elections such as gender discrimination, inequality and exclusion. of women candidates were common negative society expectations affecting women candidates. This implies that such forms of negative expectations affect the full participation of women in politics.

#### **5.5 Influence of lack of family support on women participation in political leadership**

The findings established that women rarely get financial backing from the family members for elective positions with financing of women for political leadership viewed as waste of resources. This is because; the society expects women to perform household chores and to support males in leadership positions. It was further revealed that lack of finances dissuade women from elective positions while negative perception on family financially supporting women preventing them from vying for leadership positions. This implies that lack of family support leads to discrimination of access of women to means of production especially land and property rights severely leading to low level of their active participation in politics and governance. Finally, families did not offer financial and non-financial support. This means that



the society in Kakamega County does not offer financial and non-financial support women candidates and thus jeopardizing the chances of successful electoral contestation.

#### **5.5.1 Effect of political barriers on women participation in political leadership**

The findings on political barriers established that the government partially supports women participation in leadership. It was also revealed that political parties have set aside political positions for women. On the association between political barriers and women participation in political leadership, the findings indicated that partial support of women in leadership discourage them from elective leadership. Finally, lack of support from political parties discourages women from politics. This implies that involvement of women in political decision-making is a big step towards improving the participation in political leadership. The findings further established that policies exists that support women in politics. Another 31.8% stated that such policies are absent. The implication is that despite existence of policies supporting women in politics, women are still underrepresented in political leadership positions in Kakamega County and in Kenya.

#### **5.6 Conclusions**

Political barriers were found to have a positive linearly significant influence on participation of women in political leadership. The study concluded that political barriers were the most important factor in diminishing participation of women in political leadership. This implies that lack of political support leads to non-molding and socialization of women candidates in political scenarios thus diminishing the level of competition. Marginalization was found to have a positive linearly significant influence on participation of women in political leadership. The study concluded that marginalization is a common feature in diminishing the prospects of women participation in elective positions in Kakamega County.

Patriarchal biases were found to have a positive linearly significant influence on participation of women in political leadership. The study concluded that for women in Kakamega County to succeed and fully participate in politics, fighting and overcoming patriarchal obstacles is a necessity in order to achieve the 30% quota desired by the constitution. Family support was found to have a positive linearly significant influence on participation of women in political leadership. The study concluded that political support of women by the family and society at large is an important component of empowering women aspiration and prospect for participation in politics in Kakamega County.

## **5.7 Recommendations**

The study recommendation is that since marginalization is a common challenge in the endeavour for women participation in elective positions in Kakamega County, there is need for positive social change to educate the public, inform policy makers, and create legislative initiatives to eliminate discrimination in order to support equity for women to participate fully in the political process. The study recommended that to overcome patriarchal biases and ensure fairness in political participation of women, measures should be taken to compensate for historical and political psychosocial disadvantages that prevent women from otherwise operating on a leveled playing field with men.

The study recommended that to reinvigorate family support for women participating in politics, economic empowerment of women, along with education and access to information, may act as an effective tool for propelling women from the constraints of the household to full participation in politics. The study recommendation is that since political barriers is the greatest impediment to participation of women in politics, there is necessity for change in

attitudinal and behavioral changes within the society that may culminate in arousing the participation of women in politics.

#### **5.8 Area for Further Studies**

- i. For comparative analysis, the study on psychosocial challenges women face in political leadership in Kakamega County Kenya may be cascaded to other regions in Kenya.
- ii. Since the independent variables in this study (marginalization of women, patriarchal biases, family support and political barriers) share a variation of 51.2 % of participation of women in political leadership in Kakamega County, a similar study with other variables should be conducted to account for the other factors contributing to 48.8 of the participation.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX I: INTRODUCTION LETTER**

**AMBUNDO LYSTONE SACHIEL**

**MANAGEMENT UNIVERSITY OF AFRICA**

**NAIROBI**

**Dear Respondent,**

**REF: PSYCHOSOCIAL CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN  
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN KENYA: A SURVEY OF KAKAMEGA COUNTY**

My name is Lystone Ambundo Sachiel, a master student at The Management University of Africa. I am currently pursuing a master's degree in Management and Leadership of the Management University of Africa. My area of research is on **Psychosocial Challenges Facing Women Participation in Political Leadership in Kenya: A Survey of Kakamega County**.

I humbly request you to create time out of your busy schedule to respond to the questionnaire attached . the purpose of the research is for academic purposes only and your timely responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

**Yours sincerely,**

**Lystone Ambundo Sachiel**



## APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire seeks to collect data that will be used to analyze **psychosocial challenges facing women in political leadership: a survey of Kakamega County, Kenya**. You have been selected to assist in providing the required information, since your views are considered important to this study. I therefore kindly request you to answer the questions in the questionnaire as honestly as possible as per the guidelines indicated. Note that your answers to this questionnaire will be used for purposes of research only. All information given will be treated with utmost confidentiality. You are not required to fill in your names.

### Instructions:

Please fill in the blanks or tick (✓) in the spaces to provide the information requested for on the spaces provided.

### SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This section gathers information on the demographic information of the respondents' kindly tick as appropriate.

1. Indicate the residential ward .....
2. Kindly indicate your age bracket
  - a) Less than 25 years [ ]
  - b) 26- 35 years [ ]
  - c) 36- 45 years [ ]
  - d) 46-55 years [ ]
  - e) Above 55 years [ ]
3. Please indicate the highest level of education you have ever attained
  - a) KCSE and Below [ ]
  - b) Diploma/certificate [ ]
  - c) Undergraduate degree [ ]
  - d) Master Degrees [ ]
  - e) Doctorate Degree [ ]

4. Do you consider women candidates must have enough resources before electing/voting them in political elective positions

a) Yes [    ]

b) No [    ]

In, brief, explain your position in above

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#### **PART B: MARGINALIZATION OF WOMEN**

This part has two sections (1a) and (1b). Section (1a) provides four sets of description of marginalization of women. Section (1b) provides four sets of description on effect of marginalization of women in political leadership. Using **a scale of 0-4, where: Zero (0) = Strongly Disagree, (1) = Disagree, (2) = Neutral, (3) = Agree, and (4) =Strongly agree, indicate by ticking the alternative that represents your opinion on each statement.**

|              | <b>Marginalization of women</b>                                                                | <b>0</b>                                         | <b>1</b>                  | <b>2</b>                 | <b>3</b>          | <b>4</b>                                 |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------------|
|              |                                                                                                | <b>Str<br/>ong<br/>ly<br/>Dis<br/>agr<br/>ee</b> | <b>Dis<br/>agr<br/>ee</b> | <b>Ne<br/>ith<br/>er</b> | <b>Agr<br/>ee</b> | <b>Str<br/>ong<br/>ly<br/>agr<br/>ee</b> |
| <b>1 a).</b> |                                                                                                |                                                  |                           |                          |                   |                                          |
| 1.1.         | Women are usually discriminated against during elections                                       |                                                  |                           |                          |                   |                                          |
| 1.2.         | Men usually discriminate against women candidates during elections                             |                                                  |                           |                          |                   |                                          |
| 1.3.         | Women are usually oppressed in allocation of elective positions                                |                                                  |                           |                          |                   |                                          |
| 1.4          | Men are leading in oppressing women during elections                                           |                                                  |                           |                          |                   |                                          |
| <b>1(b)</b>  | <b>Marginalization of women in political leadership</b>                                        |                                                  |                           |                          |                   |                                          |
| 1.1.         | Discrimination of women during elections decrease their participation in elections             |                                                  |                           |                          |                   |                                          |
| 1.2.         | Discrimination of women by men during elections diminish chances of participation in elections |                                                  |                           |                          |                   |                                          |

|      |                                                                               |  |  |  |  |  |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1.3. | Oppression of women in elective position dissuade participation in politics   |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1.4. | Oppression of women in elections reduce chances of participation in elections |  |  |  |  |  |

5. Does society expectation affect women inclusivity in political elective positions?

a. Yes [ ]

b. No [ ]

6. Explain your position

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## 2. PATRIARCHAL BIASES

This part has two sections (2a) and (2b). Section (2a) provides four sets of description on patriarchal biases. Section (2b) provides four sets of description on effect of patriarchal biases of women in political leadership. **Using a scale of 0-4, where: Zero (0) = Strongly Disagree, (1) = Disagree, (2) = Neutral, (3) = Agree, and (4) = Strongly agree, indicate by ticking the alternative that represents your opinion on each statement.**

| 2 a).        | Patriarchal biases                                                                                  | 0                 | 1        | 2       | 3     | 4              |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|----------|---------|-------|----------------|
|              |                                                                                                     | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly agree |
| 2.1.         | Women participating in elective positions are considered as unruly characters in society            |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 2.2.         | Society dissuade women from elective positions                                                      |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 2.3.         | Political leadership is usually dominated by males                                                  |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 2.4.         | Women are rarely supported for elective positions which is seen as a male area                      |                   |          |         |       |                |
| <b>2 b).</b> | <b>Patriarchal biases of women in political leadership</b>                                          |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 2.1.         | The perception of women as unsuitable for elective positions dissuade them from political positions |                   |          |         |       |                |

|      |                                                                                               |  |  |  |  |  |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| 2.2. | Barriers for women participation in leadership prevent women from vying for leadership        |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2.3. | Domination of leadership positions by males discourage women from leadership positions        |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2.4. | Perception that political leadership belong to men discourage women from political leadership |  |  |  |  |  |

7. List some of the society negative expectations women suffer when seeking political elective position

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### 3. FAMILY SUPPORT

This part has two sections (3a) and (3b). Section (3a) provides four sets of description of knowledge sharing. Section (3b) provides four sets of description on effect of family support of women in political leadership. **Using a scale of 0-4, where: Zero (0) - Strongly Disagree, (1) - Disagree, (2) - Neutral, (3) – Agree, and (4) –Strongly agree, indicate by ticking the alternative that represents your opinion on each statement.**

|       | Family support                                                                    | 0                 | 1        | 2       | 3     | 4              |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|----------|---------|-------|----------------|
| 3 a). |                                                                                   | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly agree |
| 3.1.  | Women rarely get financial backing from the family members for elective positions |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 3.2.  | Financing women for political leadership is viewed as waste of resources          |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 3.3.  | The society expects women to perform household chores but not involve in politics |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 3.4.  | The society expects women to support males in leadership positions                |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 3 b). | <b>Family support of women in political leadership</b>                            |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 3.1.  | Lack of finances dissuade women from elective positions                           |                   |          |         |       |                |

|      |                                                                                                             |  |  |  |  |  |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| 3.2. | Negative perception on family financially supporting women prevent them from vying for leadership positions |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3.3. | Perception of women as housekeepers dissuade them from politics                                             |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3.4. | Expectations of women as only suitable in supporting male leaders dissuade them from engaging in politics   |  |  |  |  |  |

8. Do you think women would perform better if supported not only financially but with other resources needed for elective political positions

a) Yes [    ]

b) No [    ]

#### 4. POLITICAL BARRIERS

This part has two sections (4a) and (4b). Section (4a) provides four sets of description of political barriers. Section (4b) provides four sets of description on participation of women in political leadership. **Using a scale of 0-4, where: Zero (0) = Strongly Disagree, (1) = Disagree, (2) = Neutral, (3) = Agree, and (4) =Strongly agree, indicate by ticking the alternative that represents your opinion on each statement.**

|              | Political barriers                                                                          | 0                 | 1        | 2       | 3     | 4              |
|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|----------|---------|-------|----------------|
|              |                                                                                             | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly agree |
| <b>4 a).</b> |                                                                                             |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 4.1.         | The government partially support women participation in leadership                          |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 4.2.         | The government encourage full participation of women in politics                            |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 4.3.         | Political parties have no bases for supporting participation of women in elective positions |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 4.4.         | Political parties have set aside political positions for women                              |                   |          |         |       |                |
| <b>4 b).</b> | <b>Political barriers of women in political leadership</b>                                  |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 4.1.         | Partial support of women in leadership discourage them from elective leadership             |                   |          |         |       |                |
| 4.2.         | Full support of women by the government encourage many to political leadership              |                   |          |         |       |                |

|      |                                                                                 |  |  |  |  |  |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| 4.3. | Lack of support from political parties discourage women from politics           |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4.4. | Support of women by political parties encourage women participation in politics |  |  |  |  |  |

13. Are there enough properly implemented policies to support women inclusion in elective positions in Kenya?

- a) Yes [    ]  
b) No [    ]

## 5. PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

This part has one section on description of participation of women in political leadership.

**Using a scale of 0-4, where: Zero (0) = Strongly Disagree, (1) = Disagree, (2) = Neutral, (3) = Agree, and (4) =Strongly agree, indicate by ticking the alternative that represents your opinion on each statement.**

|              | <b>Political barriers</b>                                                       | <b>0</b>                 | <b>1</b>        | <b>2</b>       | <b>3</b>     | <b>4</b>              |
|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|
|              |                                                                                 | <b>Strongly Disagree</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Strongly agree</b> |
| <b>4 a).</b> |                                                                                 |                          |                 |                |              |                       |
| 5.1.         | Women voluntary participate in leadership                                       |                          |                 |                |              |                       |
| 5.2.         | Men encourage full participation of women in politics                           |                          |                 |                |              |                       |
| 5.3.         | The society supports participation of women in elective positions               |                          |                 |                |              |                       |
| 5.4.         | Political parties have set aside political positions for women                  |                          |                 |                |              |                       |
| <b>4 b).</b> | <b>Political barriers of women in political leadership</b>                      |                          |                 |                |              |                       |
| 4.1.         | Voluntary participation of women lead to more participation in politics         |                          |                 |                |              |                       |
| 4.2.         | Full support of women by men encourage many to political leadership             |                          |                 |                |              |                       |
| 4.3.         | Support of women by society encourage women from politics                       |                          |                 |                |              |                       |
| 4.4.         | Support of women by political parties encourage women participation in politics |                          |                 |                |              |                       |

**Thank you very much**