Determinants of Women Participation in Political LEADERSHIP: THE CASE OF
TURKANA CENTRAL CONSTITUENCY, TURKANA COUNTY

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FEBRUARY 2018

DECLARATION

I declare that this research proposal is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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SUPERVISOR

This research proposal has been submitted for examination with my approval as a university supervisor.

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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Cultural Factors: This refers to established beliefs, values, traditions, laws and languages of a nation or society. In this study cultural factors refer to established values, tradition and religion of the Turkana community.

Socio-economic Factors: these are the characteristics of a group or individual in a social structure that includes income levels, education, marital status, place of residence among others. In this study socio-economic factors refer to marital status, education, occupation, property ownership of the community in Turkana County.

Women's Political participation: This refers to any activity that shapes, affects, or involves the political sphere. In this study, women's political participation refers to the women holding positions in the party structures, involvement of women in campaigns and involvement of women running for political office.

Political factors: These are activities associated with the governance of political parties, especially the debate or conflict among individuals or parties having or hoping to achieve power. In this study, political factors refer to gender relations, gender equity and women voter registration of the political parties operating in Turkana County.

ABSTRACT

Over the years, many interventions have been used to enhance women participation in political leadership. However, despite efforts to ensure that women ascend to elective leadership positions, women in both developed and developing countries are still underrepresented and their participation in political leadership remains low. In Turkana County, all the members of the 12th parliament representing the 6 constituencies in the National Assembly are male. In addition, Turkana Central Constituency has no woman representing the constituency either in the County Government Assembly or in the National Assembly. This is a clear indication of low participation of women in political leadership, not only in Turkana Central Constituency, but also in Turkana County. This study therefore seeks to investigate the determinants of women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency, Turkana County. Specifically, the study seeks to establish how cultural factors, socio-economic factors and political factors influence women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency. The study also seeks to establish other factors affecting women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency. The study will use a mixed method research design and the target population of the study will be 251,656 men and women. The sample size will be determined using Krejice and Morgan Formula. Stratified random sampling technique will be used to select 383 men and women from the target population. The study will use primary data, which will be collected by use of both semi-structured questionnaires and interview guides. The research instruments will generate quantitative and qualitative data. Qualitative data will be analyzed by use of thematic analysis and the results will be presented in a prose form. Quantitative data will be analyzed by use of both inferential and descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics will include percentages, and frequencies, mean, and standard deviation. The results will be presented using tables and figures which will include bar charts and pie charts. Inferential statistics such as correlation analysis and regression analysis will be used to establish the relationship between the independent and the dependent variable.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Traditionally, leadership carries the notion of masculinity, and the belief that men are better leaders as compared to men. Even though the number of female leaders has risen over the years, they are often considered as an after-thought. According to Bochaberi (2014), the societal beliefs and practices regarding leadership and gender traditionally exclude women, and often top leadership is considered a masculine territory. However, in the last two decades, issues related to women have taken different perspectives and received varied treatments by specialized agencies of the United Nations (Goetz, 2013).

Globally, the participation of women in political leadership is still at a very low rate. At the moment, average number of women globally who are parliamentarians is 19% (United Nations Women, 2017). This falls below the target of 30% that was intended to be achieved by 2005 as set in the 1995 Beijing Platform for action. Inter-Parliamentarian Union (2012) report indicates that the global average of female parliamentary representation stood at 19.8 percent in 2011 from 19 percent in 2010. In Europe, women's parliamentary political participation has greatly increased over the past years, but gender balanced equality has not been achieved. Further, gender equality in political leadership and resources in industrialized democracies has increased tremendously in the past fifty years. More women have been elected to national parliamentary seats than ever before and a number of women hold executive positions within the national governments. Even though women have over the years benefited from the improving political influence, they still participate less in formal politics across most of the Western nations (Paxton *et al*. 2007; Norris 2002).

In Canada, women representation in parliament is considerably lower than that of men. Agnes Macphail was the first woman to be elected to the House of Commons in 1921. A decade after her election witnessed a steady increase in women participation in the parliament and progress indicates to have remained close to 20% level over the past decade (Cool, 2010). Currently 24.7% of the parliamentary seats of the House of Commons in Canada is made up of women and

this is still below 30% minimum necessary to ensure a critical mass of women in parliament (IPU 2012).

In the United States of America and the United Kingdom, differences in men's and women's political engagement are persistent. Even though these two countries have long democratic histories as well as high scores on indicators of women's status, they elect relatively few women. The United States ranks 78th in the female representation in parliament, with women occupying 16.8% of the total seats in the Lower House and 17% in the Upper House. On the other hand, the United Kingdom is ranked 55th, the percentage of women in the lower house is 22% while that in the Upper House is 21.9%. In China, Zeng (2014) indicates that the percentage of women in the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China (NPCC) was 16.6% and the main factors affecting women participation include demographic factors, socio-cultural factors and economic factors. In Kazakhstan and Belarus, Satymbekova (2016) found that factors such as regime type, economic growth, electoral system, background of women and political style influence women participation in political leadership.

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

At independence, most of the African countries were given the chance to rule themselves. Political parties at independence came up primarily as a way for formal transfer of power to African nationalists from the colonial rulers. The changing political power institutions tended to have the common features of reserving the executive positions for male participation and women participation to other ancillary positions (Solewone, 2006). This led to African women finding themselves marginalized when it came to be fielded for political appointments. In Ethiopia participation of women in Regional State Councils is very low, 27.61% and Somali region women are made 3.27% of the total. The obstacles to women political participation in Somali

land are same as those faced the rest of the African women such as leadership is dominated by the male elders. Women have no room in clan-based politics and that women's business is to take care of the family (Adamu & Mekonnen, 2009). Further, in the Ethiopian politics women are politically underrepresented. Adamu and Mekonnen (2009) indicate that Ethiopia is one of the nations that characterized by low women participation in politics as a result of political, socio-cultural and economic factors as well as lack of political and social capacities. Nevertheless, in an effort to enhance women participation in political leadership, the Federal Government of the Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) approved the Convention on Elimination of all kinds of Discrimination against Women. In addition, the elimination of against women was also integration in the Constitution (Adamu & Mekonnen, 2009).

Rwanda has made a mark globally in the women's parliamentary political participation. It has the highest number of women parliamentarians at 56.3 percent. Rwanda succeeded increasing the number of women in political leadership by implementing a gender quota system. With a population of 70 percent female following the 1994 genocide, women had to assume traditional male roles. Having increased their participation in the drafting of a new constitution and new legislative structures, they pushed for greater equality in politics through such initiatives as a constitutional quota and election quotas to ensure women's place at the political table. In Nigeria, Anigwe (2014) found that women are still underrepresented in political leadership and often lack political powers as they strive to achieve equality and become political leaders. The belief system that comprises of religious, norms, cultural values and ethnic beliefs contribute to women marginalization particularly in political areas.

Even though Kenya is a signatory to international conventions and agreements which persistently stresses on the role of women's equal participation in political leadership, Kenyan women still continue to be marginalized in the sphere of leadership and decision-making. The Kenyan Vision 2030, the country's development blue print that aims at developing Kenya into a newly industrialized country by the year 2030, also pointed out that sustainable development cannot be achieved without the participation of both men and women in decision-making.

The new constitution of Kenya promotes women participation and men at all levels of governance and makes provisions for proportional representation. Article 81b of the Constitution

provides that not more than two –thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender. What the constitution does not provide for is the methodology to be used to ensure implementation, although it created women representative positions. Consequently, Kenya is still grappling with the strategies of implementing the gender rule.

Although Kenya is claimed to be committed to its development agenda, the government has shown minimal political will to include women and hence they remain poorly represented in political leaders, but this is particularly factual in the rural areas. This can be best explained using the traditional rural gender regime and the ongoing dominance of males in economic citizenship and political areas. In the last one decade there have been some changes because of rural development due to the implementation of gender-sensitive projects. However, many rural areas, particularly in the agricultural practicing areas, gender roles are inflexible and firmly established. This implies that in addition to their political and professional work, women are still responsible of care work and their households. The involvement of women in politics, most of the times, depends on agreement between partners. These situations make it much more difficult for women to be active in local politics than for men. Although, different studies outline various determinants of women participation in political leadership, they have been conducted in different counties in Kenya with different social demographic and cultural factors and hence their findings cannot be generalized to Turkana Central Constituency.

Turkana County is the second largest County in Kenya, after Marsabit County. The County has six Constituencies, which include Turkana North, Turkana East Turkana South, Turkana Central, Turkana West, and Loima. The Turkana people dominate the six constituencies, even though there are other tribes such as Elmolo. Approximately 95 per cent of the inhabitants of Turkana County follow and observe traditional beliefs, while about 5 per cent follow Christian beliefs. While men are responsible for the protection of the community and livestock from attacks, women responsibilities include cooking, fetching firewood, construction of huts and taking care of the children (Turkana County, 2018). In regard to political leadership, the governor and the senator of Turkana County are male. In addition, all the six members of parliament in the community are male. Currently, 69 per cent of the County Assembly members in the County Government of Turkana were male whole only 31 per cent were female (Turkana County, 2018).

1.2 Statement of the problem

A lot of interventions have been formulated to enhance women participation in political leadership (Abrams & Harvey, 2006). Such interventions are encompassed in international instruments and interventions such as Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Beijing Platform for Action (Altius & Raveloharimisy, 2016). Despite efforts made to ensure that women ascend to elective leadership positions, women in both developed and developing countries are still underrepresented and their participation in political leadership remains low (Alzuabi, 2016).

In Kenya, although women comprise 52% of the Kenyan population and 60% of the country's registered voters, political representation is heavily skewed in favor of men (Society for International Development, 2016). In the 11th Parliament, which began in 2013, the number of women parliamentarians was 9.8%, but in the current 12th parliament, which began in 2017, women parliamentarians represent 19.5 per cent of the whole house. As we celebrate this noble achievement, it is of paramount importance to mention that the gender equality struggle is still far from over. The number of women in Parliament remains low in comparison to 81 per cent of men at the National Assembly and 73 per cent at Senate. The 19 per cent representation of women therefore remains below the Constitutional bare minimum of 33 per cent provided by the Constitution of Kenya 2010 (Institute for Education in Democracy, 2015).

In Turkana County, all the members of parliament representing the 6 constituencies in the National Assembly are male. In Turkana Central Constituency all the five Members of County Assemblies elected in the August 2017 were male. As such, Turkana Central Constituency has no woman representing the constituency either in the County Government Assembly or in the National Assembly. This is a clear indication of low participation of women in political leadership, not only in Turkana Central Constituency, but also in Turkana County. However, Turkana County has one women representative in the national parliament as a provision of the constitution. To increase women participation in political leadership, strategies used should focus on barriers and factors affecting their participation (County Government of Turkana County, 2017).

In Kenya, numerous studies have been conducted on determinants of women participation in political leadership and factors affecting women in political leadership. For instance, Mungai (2014) conducted a study on determinants of women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement Party and Otieno (2012) conducted a study on the factors Influencing Women participation in Political Leadership in Rongo Constituency, Migori County. However, these studies have been limited to specific institutions and Constituencies, which hinders the generalization of the findings. This study therefore seeks to investigate the determinants of women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency, Turkana County.

1.3 Objectives of the study

i.   To establish how cultural factors, affect women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency, Turkana County
ii. To determine how socioeconomic factors, affect women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency, Turkana County
iii. To find out the effect of political factors on women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency, Turkana County
iv. To determine other factors affecting women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency, Turkana County

1.4 Research questions

i.   What is the effect of cultural factors on women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency, Turkana County?
ii. What is the effect of socio-economic factors on women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency, Turkana County?
iii. What is the effect of political factors on women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency, Turkana County?
iv. Which other factors affect women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency, Turkana County?

1.5 Assumptions of the study

The study assumes that all participants would be co-operative and provide reliable, accurate and honest responses to the best of their ability. In addition, the study assumes that the respondents will be electorates of Turkana Central Constituency. The study also assumes that the respondents can read, understand and be able to answer, through writing the questions, in the survey tool.

1.6 Justification and Significance of the study

The findings of this study will be useful to women in Turkana Central Constituency, gender experts, NGO's, CBO's, development partners, women groups such as Maendeleo ya Wanawake as it will outline the key determinants of women participation in political leadership that can be used to formulate policies to develops strategizes to improve women political participation.

According to the Constitution of Kenya 2010, the constitutional bare minimum of any group (women or men) should be 33%. Currently, women representation in political leadership in Kenya is below 33%. Therefore, to the government and policy makers, the study will give insights to policy makers concerned with gender equality in politics. It is hoped that the findings will be instrumental in the formulation of evidence-based strategies that ensure gender balance in the political arena.

The study will also contribute to the advancement of knowledge on the determinants of women participation in parliamentary political leadership in Kenya. The study will also form a base on which other studies can be conducted on women participation in political leadership.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This study will only focus on three determinants of women participation in political leadership, namely: cultural factors, socio-economic factors and political factors. This study will be conducted in Turkana Central Constituency, which is one of the sub counties in Turkana County. Turkana Central Constituency will be selected in this study due to poor participation of women in political leadership in both the County Assembly and in the National Assembly. The study will cover all the five wards, which include Kerio Delta, Kangatotha, Kalokol, Lodwar Township and Kanamkemer. The study will target both men and women in Turkana Central Constituency

who are aged 18 years above. The data collection process will take a duration of one month (March 2018 to April 2018).

1.8 Limitations of the Study

The limitations of the study are those characteristics of design or methodology that impact or influence the interpretation of the findings from the research. They are the constraints on generalizability, applications to practice, and/or utility of findings that are the result of the ways in which one initially chose to design the study and/or the method used to establish internal and external validity (Bhattacherjee, 2012). One of the limitations of the study is that the findings will be limited only to one Sub County in Turkana County. It is also difficult to know how honest the respondents will be in their responses. To mitigate this, validity and reliability of the instrument will be used to determine whether what they indicated meets the required standard.

Turkana County is the second largest County in Kenya, after Marsabit, with a size of 68,680 km^2 and a population density of 13 per km^2. This implies that the population is widely dispersed and hence it may be difficult to reach to the target respondents. However, the study will be limited to Turkana Central Constituency and the data collection process will be allocated two weeks. In addition, the 2 research assistants will be recruited to help in the data collection process.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of literature on the determinants on the participation of women in political leadership. The chapter begins with an empirical review on women participation on political leadership followed by; cultural factors and the participation of women in political leadership; factors of socio-economy and women participation in political leadership; and political factors plus the participation of women in political leadership. This chapter also presents theoretical framework and conceptual framework.

2.2 Empirical Review

2.2.1 Women Participation in Political Leadership

Gender equality in the various political arenas worldwide has been a challenging task to achieve despite the efforts made by most countries in embracing democracy. Further, realization of gender equality in matters of political participation and its leadership is yet to be achieved. The involvement of women in political leadership is low, over the globe and not only limited to African countries. A notable exception has been on the Nordic countries, with the number of women in parliamentary positions at 42% (Sirleaf, 2010). Rwanda and Andorra have been able to achieve a parliamentary representation of 56.3% and 50% respectively. The two countries are ranked among the top in world, in having gender equality in representation of women in political leadership at the parliament (Parvin, 2014). On the contrary, there are other seven countries in the world that do not have women representation in their parliaments and they include countries such as Micronesia, Nauru, Qatar, Belize, Palau, the Solomon Island and Saudi Arabia, among others (Peace Women, 2012).

Political arena in the entire world is male dominated and only a few women run for elective posts. Also, Pippa and Inglehart (2012) argued that participation in politics paves way for democracy, although the democracy gets challenged owing to consistent unequal participation of genders. Amongst the familiar challenges, is the persistent to gender, for example lower level of

women participants in politics than men, suggesting that women interest are not well represented in the parliament (Potter, 2009). If democracy was to cut on the healthy & strong roots in any country, it would benefit from having women participate equitably in leadership at the local and national levels and in all the advocacy roles.

In the colonial period, literature reveals impact of colonization on the African women position, in political leadership (Almasry, 2012). Satymbekova (2016) observed that statistics show that there is inequality in political leadership as women hold fewer positions than men hence they are not well represented in politics. Sirleaf (2010) further agreed with Satymbekova by arguing that the concepts of organizational gender inequality and positional policy bias enhances the exploration of women being politically disadvantaged. Existence of various forms gender bias enables one to determine the connections existing between the presence of women in politics and the policies which they advocate for. Tabuka (2015) also noted that as more women obtain chances to political leadership in various parts of the world, they also continue to be faced by a lot of challenges to their full political participation. Although women representation in parliament is increasing, the number of women remains vastly outnumbered by men in government and other institutions that comprise the political system.

Wang and Dai (2013) revealed that the current gender inequalities among the African societies was due to problems caused by gender inequality in aspects existing in the society in Africa as a result of a complex set of factors. Further, she noted that whilst some of the factors are indigenous to the African cultures, others are due to existence of rules, policies and regulations designed in the colonial period. Kamau (2010) argues that in the case-of Kenya, women are marginalized in political leadership and the result of the unceasing marginalization in decision making on matters political, is a historical product of Kenya being a patriarch state, regarding both independent and colonial states. These works blame the subordination of African women in politics, not only to indigenous African cultures but also to the changes in African political systems brought about by colonialism.

In the pre-colonial period assessments of women's political position in Africa indicates that women roles were well defined. Otieno (2012) observed that most state systems in the pre-colonial Africa had women's positions in politics as being part of normal fare of politics such as in some cases the king's sisters or wife ruled over other women's affairs and they were

responsible for the performance of the people who had been assigned to them and those that were under their authority. Ogbogu (2012) in Nigeria also noted that in some societies women were leaders, counselors and spiritual figures such as the case of the Omu among the Igbo Nigerian people who commanded considerable authority and respect as a leader among the subjects.

In Kenya, among the Agikuyu, who highly dominated in central Kenya, elderly women formed women councils to dictate members' behavioral patterns as well as enforced necessary sanctions (Mwangi, 2004). Thus, women in the pre-colonial period usually had political control over some areas of activity such as trading, marketing or household and other family affairs.

In the colonial period the African women had a greater role in decision-making process than they did have in the pre-colonial rule. It is well known that colonialism changed the status of women and reduced their political power through the imposition of Western conception of state and society, women, family and gender (Tabuka, 2015). The colonial systems of administration allowed the European officials to rule through indigenous male authorities. Southern Nigeria in West Africa is a good example of one of the country that indicates where women's political power was eroded in the colonial rule where the colonial government changed the traditional male office of the Obi into a salaried position but did not put into consideration the female counterpart, the Omu (Bochaberi, 2014).

The colonial administrative system simply did not consider the possibility that there were female structures of politics that needed to be implemented into the colonial political system (Zeng, 2014). The colonial economy motivated the migration of men to the emerging urban centers to obtain formal employment and the women were neglected in the rural to perform family chores. This effectively enhanced domestic and public spheres, which was reinforced by colonial education which made men ready to take care of the public sector while women prepared to become good house makers.

Prior to colonialism, political marginalization of women was not reversed by the independent governments. Women that had participated in liberation and nationalization movements were not recognized, while men who contributed were recognized and rewarded as most of men were involved in the negotiations that lead to independence. They eventually took over from the colonial government. Kamau (2010) argues that the Kenyan colonial structure stayed put and the

stature of oppression and gender discrimination persisted, although the structures of the emerging state were de-racialized.

2.2.2 Cultural Factors and Women Participation in Political Leadership

House *et al*. (2004) defines culture in the study as values, identities, beliefs, shared motives, and the meaning or interpretations to momentous events resulting from a common experience of collective members and are passed across generations. Fu *et al.* (2004) in the empirical study outlined that culture affects the growth of women into leadership positions. In a similar observation by Paxton and Hughes (2007), the culture of a country determines the level of political participation by the women, being in control of the demand for female political leaders, as well as the supply for female candidates willing to take up political positions. In the effort to attain progressive leadership, it is of immense importance to understand the cultural systems in the varying contexts (Kirkman, Lowe & Gibson, 2006).

Traditionally women are the main backbone of the community since women carry the responsibility to the continuity of lineage plus fostering the inter-clan alliances through biological reproduction. Somaliland is one example of countries where the position of women in the society is under looked as being minor and ambiguous. Further, when a woman is still in her father's clan and is married and further her behavior indicates that she follows and honors her father's lineage (Tabuka, 2015). The male relatives have a responsibility to protect her so that she is not harmed or mistreated and in case of such occurrences they claim for compensation. In response to that, the women are required to be loyal to her husband's clan to which she is linked through her sons.

Further, in the traditional perspective, women have no right to take part in the political leadership as they are inferior and not being permanent members of the clan. Further, in understanding political leadership & participation role of women, one needs to recognize the societal social status of women as well as the political realm of culture (Pippa & Inglehart, 2012). In the Islamic religion, men and women are entitled to justice and equality. They are both accountable to own acts.

In addition, in the Islamic context, a woman's right and duty in political participation remains to be unanswered question. Some scholars of Islam argue that women are religiously required to do the task of looking after children at home and performing religious tasks such attending to the mosque and taking part in religious services during feast days (Paxton, Kunovich & Hughes, 2007). Due to the conflict on whether women can take up participation in political leadership and at the same time performing religious activities, it is taken as the main challenge that inhibits their political ambition as they can take part in political leadership and not complete power. Islamic women feel contented with their role of taking care of the family even though Islamist political factions support that women should participate in political leadership but within a specific framework (Pippa & Inglehart, 2012).

According to Tripp (2005), women are disadvantaged because they often lack the necessary resources for electoral campaign. Candidates are expected to give small gifts and make contributions to fund-raising events, funerals, wedding and community projects. Since in most cases women are not incumbents, they do not have a chance to use their positions to build roads, bridges, hospitals and schools and in this way win votes. In discussing what she calls "universal barriers" to participation of women in public roles. Potter (2009) identifies socio-cultural policy, institutional frameworks and lack of adequate money. She observes that many women are poor and even financially stable may lack the independence. By this, they fail to afford the huge sums of money necessary to fund electoral campaigns. Association of African Women for Research & Development on the 1997general election also makes a similar claim that lack of resources prevents women's participation in politics leadership. It further notes that this factor is closely related to culture, women have less credit, employment opportunities and education.

Paxton and Hughes (2007) noted that in the more egalitarian and tolerant cultures, there is tendency to elect women in larger numbers. On the contrary, tendency by cultures to limit women to strict roles since birth exclude them from making decisions of public interest, and obtaining political offices become a task. Pippa and Inglehart (2012) conducted a study on global leadership barriers to the womenfolk and discovered that wherever there are traditional cultures, women may get reluctant to vie and, and once they seek office, they may fail to gather the sufficient support. Attitudes of cultural hostility towards the participation of women to politics was voted as the barriers of second most importance towards parliamentary contest, right

after the problems of the women having to balance on time demands. According to Bullough et al. (2012), culture has been defined as a major setback for nations adhering to rigorous Islamic backgrounds. Most often, these nations have been ranked bottom at the parliamentary women representation, despite the affluence in the Arab Societies such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and Lebanon, Egypt and Jordan.

In Vietnam, Ngan (2011) found that whilst being of benefit to the older leaders, the younger ones did not reap much benefit. In addition, women faced heightened pressures levels resulting from domestic responsibilities as well as huge workloads. This thus narrows down to the assigned the socio-cultural norms of Vietnamese women. The women in leadership were required to take the burden of dual responsibilities at home and workplace. They were thus forced by the intense pressure to adhere to the norms forcing them to give priority to the collective and family interests.

In China, Howell (2006) religion is amongst the outdated cultural beliefs practiced by many communities, excluding women from mainstream leadership. By most of religions, authority and power is believed to be a solely a man's role thus subjugating women. In these cultures, the women are encouraged towards subsidiary roles at the kitchen place as the men take up decision making. Wang and Dai (2013) indicated that the inferiority of women to men in the present times spread across the dominant religions. The traditional religion has taken role in excluding women from religious, social and political aspects worldwide. Additionally, women have depicted as own enemy in areas of empowerment and while advancing politically, particularly en they narrow down on the long held backward perception and notions to preserve politics for men, since it is regarded dirty.

In Ethiopia, Kassa (2015) found of traditional belief that the roles of child care and kitchen works were purely woman roles, as opposed to participating in activities outside the home. There is division of labor for men and women, in that the home activities are undertaken by women as those outsides be undertaken by the men. The women took up the various household activities such as washing, child care, cooking thus limiting on their political involvement. The women were also excluded from the religious institutions as well as religious leadership therefore

bringing about a negative impact of women in the society and a limited life booth in the public and politically.

In Migori County, Otieno (2012) found that cultural factors influenced the participation towards political leadership. Additionally, women at County levels do not have preference for political careers; their top priority is in other careers followed by family care. Similarly, it was noted that cultures prevent women from vying for political office as they are traditionally expected to focus on raising families. In Kimilili constituency, Tabuka (2015) found that cultural practices contribute in hindering the participation of women towards political leadership. The domestic roles of child care, washing, cooking, farming, fetching firewood and water are amongst the conventional gender roles limiting women to the primary responsibility of tasks such as childcare and maintaining the home, limiting the women from acquiring the skills of leadership, exposure and taking up political of positions in the society. It is traditional of men to take all the roles of decision making and maintain a subordinate stature for the women making them inferior. Owing to this, the women embrace their predicament in following to the commands of the men. According to this study, the girl child has been to the roles of a mother and wife since childhood, by being trained towards performance of the domestic duties, as the boy child is positioned to be the farmer and leader by the exposure to roles of farming and animal rearing thus a plus towards acquiring skills in leadership.

In Orange Democratic Movement Party, Mungai (2014) established that cultures and traditions play a great role in political participation and political headship by women. Women are in the process of attaining equality on socially and politically, financially, be informed, achieve optimum membership at all levels of decision making, dignity, quality life, access basic services as well advance their social status. They are yet to achieve a significant level towards basic accomplishment in the Kenyan political processes.

2.2.3 Socio-economic Factors and Women Participation in Political Leadership

Societal positioning of women in the socio-economic spheres in the societies negatively affects their participatory into political leadership. Women basically have lesser earnings to the men, and the division of labor on sexual grounds imposes a societal burden as women are not faced by the men. When the women take up positions of decision making, they are often faced by triple

burden. According to the study by Alzuabi (2016), the women to begin with, have primary responsibility to their family and profession. Women lack sufficient financial resource, the vital economic resource while entering in to politics, thus a major obstacle towards participation for political leadership. This obstacle is a hindrance to majority of the women, and they get reluctant in taking up positions of leadership leading to marginalization in many nations. Economic resources have been distributed unequally along gender lines, bringing about inferiority complex amongst the women towards political activities (Nagaad, 2007).

Campaign in each country, worldwide, depends on the economic resources that an individual has and the resources may be either indirect resources or direct resources. All individuals rely on these resources so as to take leadership against their opponents in the race (Goetz, 2013). Indirect resources include the cash that is obtained from one's political party and donation from other sources to the candidate while direct resources are usually made up of subsidies, state budgets, personal own resources and donors. The issue of having access to financial resources greatly influences women's decisions when they want to vie for the various parliamentary seats. Somaliland is an example where women tend to be reluctant to vie for political positions due to many reasons (Filla & Larimer, 2011). The reasons include fear of investing their economic resources in politics which they feel it belongs to their husbands and the family.

Access to education and employment are the key ingredients for individuals in a modem society to obtain, if they want to exercise political power. Education and job experience teach leadership skills and accord individuals' self-esteem. Cool (2010 further argues that it is this self-esteem that enables person to gain political power and to exercise it effectively; she concludes that it is lack of adequate education that makes African women less competitive in the contemporary political world.

The number of girls reduces as one move to higher levels of education. Lack of civic education makes most women unaware of their rights; they know very little of the issues of politics and decision making (Bullough *et al.,* 2012). Many women therefore; continue to rely on their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons to advise them on whom to vote for and for what position. This is not acceptable practice in democratic elections because each ballot should be secret and independent. Civic education contributes to opinion shaping and active participation of the

electorate; it creates awareness and seeks the participation of citizens in all aspects of democracy (Bochaberi, 2014). It is therefore a key aspect to have the women take up electoral positions. In Kenya, civic education is built alongside the education system such that as children attain voting age, they understand the nature of politics, locally and nationally as well as the electoral system. Therefore, women who are deprived of the education system tend to lack the basic skills on civic education for their participation in elections, informatively. The link between access to education by women and the political participation of women in Turkana Central Constituency will be addressed in this study.

Schmidt (2013) was of the argument that women are a mere add-on to human race, are home makers, are decorative and home makers, seem sensible. Pollert pointed out on specific social factors depriving women off their self-confidence and self-drive. He contends that language, visual arise and the mass media prompt women to see themselves as men's sex objectives, helpers and cooks. This tends to disadvantage the women as they work alongside the men. The above issues brought up by Pollert may be relevant to this study because they point to possible factors that perpetuate an inferiority complex in women, hence preventing self-drive and self-confidence.

According to empirical studies in the USA carried out by Inglehart & Norris (2003), whenever women face economic challenges, it becomes hard for them to get wins to political positions, as they lack vital resources in the political space of decision making. In the study on women's education and political participation in Malaysia, Goetz (2013) found that it is hard to declare conclusively that women get more active into politics when they attain high education levels. It was certain that the opposite has been experienced in many countries whereby the more educated and women of affluence were differential towards political progression and are highly skeptical towards political engagements.

In Migori County, Otieno (2012) found economic factors play a pivotal role in women participation in political leadership and availability of resources such as money, vehicles are a major determinant of women participation in political leadership, without these resources women cannot launch and sustain campaigns for political leadership. In addition, demographic factors as the marital status plus the level of education were found to be influential in women participation

to political leadership. The widowed, divorced and the Single women showed interest towards political leadership as compared to married women.

Tabuka (2015) conducted a study on the factors influencing political participation of women in to political leadership in Kimilili constituency. He found out that most Kimilili Constituency women were primary school drop outs, thus illiterate, thus negatively affecting their access of political leadership. Bochaberi (2014) carried out a study on women participation in political processes in Nyamira County. Campaign financing is one area where Nyamira women are at a structural disadvantage relative to men. Political campaigns are notoriously expensive and Nyamira women who as a group have lower income than men and fewer economic resources are not likely to have the financial resources necessary to mount expensive political campaigns.

In a study on factors influencing participation of women towards political leadership Rongo Constituency, Otieno (2012) found that marriage had a significant impact on men, as compared to the men, whereby it boosts participation by men into politics and become averse to the women. Upon getting married, the women spend most of their time doing household chores, thus minimal time for leisure. In addition, it is of the expectation that women who have attained higher education levels shall have the will to engage towards political leadership. Since the women are to the greater extent economically deprived, it poses as a challenge towards them getting into electoral offices since they lack the essential resources to steer them towards decision making in public interest.

2.2.4 Political Factors and Women Participation in Political Leadership

Politics is a major factor towards exclusion as well as the inclusion of women towards politics, as well as a driving force towards a stable political culture for them to thrive. The domination by the male into the structures of a formal political culture, politics and political parties is a great barrier towards the women participating into politics (Barnes & Cassese, 2017). The political parties dominated by the men tend to have man-look at national issues as well as overlooking on the women's points of view, and it is the attitude kills the morale of the women, since they are overlooked and not engaged in matters party politics. The male leadership is gender biased, and fails to offer women elective positions in the structures of the party (Parvin, 2014). On the contrary, women holding key parliamentary or party positions tend to consult their husbands in

decision that have the backing by the political culture Randjbar-Daemi et al. (2016). By this, majority of women in parliamentary positions are a mere surrogate to the male formerly politically active members of their families, but owing to a number of reasons failed to qualify through the electoral competition.

The low rate of institutionalization of most political parties in Kenya, has led lead to bias during nomination of candidates in favor of men who have a lot of accumulated capital, resources and personal political based. In most cases, the beneficiaries of these biases are men (Anigwe, 2014). Due to inadequate regulations placed on political parties in terms of membership recruitment to practice internal democracy, party elections are held arbitrarily and at the party officials' whims. In some cases, the elections are never held. This principally locks out the admission of new membership and women.

Selolwane (2006) observes that political parties are sites and apparatus of negotiating power in Africa. Therefore, the women folk have been eyeing inclusion in to the political parties and fighting for democracy as a tool towards cabinet, parliamentary and other decision-making bodies. According to her, the greatest challenge for women has been to failed democracy in the political parties which are open to abuse and patronage. In Kenya, affinity with the party boss is critical for visibility and for nomination. Major parties in Kenya are headed and dominated by men. The parties' culture is therefore of necessity masculine and this could itself alienate women politicians. There is also the public image concern, that a woman politician seen too close to the party boss runs the risk of being suspected of moral impropriety.

In addition, political parties in Kenya often use sexist language, imagery and symbolism. Values of sheer physical brute are promoted and sustained through symbols such as fists, lions, cocks and tractors. They further note that these are macho images consistent with a culture of dominance, violence and control which promote patriarchal images. Ballington and Matland (2011) conducted a study on political parties and the participation of women in party electoral processes. In the findings, the chances of women are greatly affected by the choice of electoral process. While electoral systems alone do not determine the level of women representation, they are vital because they are prone to the dynamic changes. Compared to the societal cultural positioning of women or their development level, rules of election are more flexible and may

offer inclusion short term opportunities for the women. In Turkey, Kabasakal (2017) found that party rules and norms affect the way in which a party carries out the actual nomination process. In the case of women, systems that tend to get bureaucratic have the rules incorporated to guarantee women of a significant advantage in representation, particularly if they include a party quota guaranteeing a percentage number to women candidacy. In lack of explicit guarantee representation rules, having in place clear bureaucratic procedures by which candidates are chosen is in itself a distinct advantage for the women. With unwritten rules, it gets harder to devise a strategy to break into the inner circle of power.

In the United States, Barnes & Cassese (2017) established that one of the core functions of political parties is to nominate and have a backing to their candidates for office, therefore playing a key role as gatekeepers to the electoral process. By this way, the process of selecting candidates is essential to ensure a female representation. Many parties, however fail to specifically call upon women to propose their candidatures; left-winged parties tend to be more agreeable in the positive measures towards an increase the women representation electoral than right-wing parties, who are more likely to support non- intervention in the process of selection and recruitment.

In Bangladesh, participation parliamentary positioning by women has made certain a constitutional obligation plus local government body through legal obligations. The quota system of commitment fails to guarantee spontaneous participation by the women at the level of local policy. Parvin (2014) found that most women acknowledge politics as dirty preventing women from joining politics. The present political environment has contributed greatly towards violence on the women.

In Orange Democratic Movement Party, Mungai (2014) found that parties in Kenya decide on the candidate to be elected, nominated as well as issues of to achieve the national prominence. The study realized that though the party policies, laws have been a progressing requirement and play a critical role in guiding how to mainstream women in politics, looking in to laws used or the issues to be governed alongside the gender mainstreaming needs to be carried out by parties that they are not gender-blind in Kenya.

In Kimilili Constituency, Tabuka (2015) found that women acquired minimal support from political parties, government as well as social institutions. The government and political parties lack adequate structures in support women for the entering politics. Churches and Christianity doctrines failed in encouraging the women leadership basing their argument on man creation, whereby the woman was made helper submissive to the man

2.3 Theoretical framework

A theory is a set of statements or principles devised to explain a group of phenomena or facts, especially the ones tested repeatedly or have been widely accepted and can be used as basis for predictions regarding natural phenomena. This study will be anchored Patriarchy theory and Liberalism.

2.3.1 Liberalism

Liberalism is a political philosophy or worldview founded on ideas of liberty and equality. Liberals adopt a wide range of views depending on the principal understanding of these, but in general they support programmes and ideas for example the freedom of speech, press, religion, civil rights, free markets, democratic societies, international cooperation, gender equality and secular governments (Crenshaw, 2017). Gender equality, which is one of the views supported by liberals, is a state of equal access to opportunity and resources on the gender, decision-making plus participation in the economy; valuing the stature of different behaviors, equal needs and aspirations despite the gender. Equality on gender, equality in men and women, has the concept that all human beings, men and women, can without charge to develop on their personal abilities, making choices without the limitations of rigid gender roles, stereotypes as well as prejudices. Gender equality denote that the different aspirations, behavior as well as the needs of both men and women are looked in to, valued and favored in equal measures (Green, 2017).

U.N agenda for 2030 on Sustainable Development Goals embrace the specific goal towards gender equality, which aims to stop on discrimination and cruelty towards girls and women in ensuring equal opportunities and participation in all the areas of life. Advancing female political participation is a means to the attainment of the SDGs. It is amongst the Targets for Goal Five that "Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life" (United Nations Women, 2017).

Over the years, different countries around the world have developed policies and strategies to improve women participation in politics. Some of these policies and strategies include creation of new parliamentary seats research for women (women representative) and the one third gender rule. Other strategies include advocacy and capacity building (Malongza, Apusigah & Abagre, 2017). Despite the formulation of these policies and the adoption of different strategies, women participation in political leadership remains low. This implies that strategies for improving women participation in political leadership should focus on specific factors such as cultural factors, socio-economic factors and political factors.

2.3.2 Patriarchy Theory

The patriarchy theory was advanced by Hartman (1976). Hartman pronounced two key axes towards male dominance and control over a wide range of domestic and community activities. The first one was the men's superior power. According to Hartman, the men's material power and the women's economic dependence on them is what defines men as superior and women being inferior due to their dependence on the men (Anigwe, 2014). The second part forms the basis on labour division that recognizes role of women to the domestic field while the men take charge of the modern economy in the world outside. Women's responsibilities in the domestic sphere take most of their energy and time thus leaving them with neither much energy or much leisure and the freedom of mind to engage in the productive activities than male in the public sphere always do. Due to this, there is perpetuation of monopoly by male who hold vital socio-economic hierarchy and the related of major institutions of modern society such as law and politics (Alzuabi, 2016). Therefore, male domination and the restriction of women to domestic work is the basis for women's oppression and subordination.

This concept of patriarchy will be employed in the study to demonstrate how men's material power has led to their superiority over women in the society, hence their dominance in political leadership (Almasry, 2012). Stereotypes in gender including those that portray women as incapable to lead and serve hence keeping women to be marginalized in their status by emphasizing their purported weaknesses have shaped societal attitudes towards women (Altius & Raveloharimisy, 2016). In the instances of exclusion of women from powerful positions, it there follows weakening of the principles to democratic developments, inhibiting on societal economic

development. Thus, it remains imperative to adopt measures that enhance women's political participation to achieve sustainable development.

2.4 Conceptual framework

Conceptual framework involves forming ideas about relationships between variables in the study and showing these relationships graphically or diagrammatically. In this study, the independent variables will be socio-economic factors, political factors and cultural factors. The dependent variable will be on women participation in political leadership. The empirical literature shows that cultural factors include values, religion and tradition influence women participation in political leadership. The empirical literature shows that socio-economic factors include marital status, education, occupation and property ownership influence women participation in political leadership. In addition, the empirical literature shows that political factors such as gender relations, gender equity and voter registration influence women participation in political leadership.
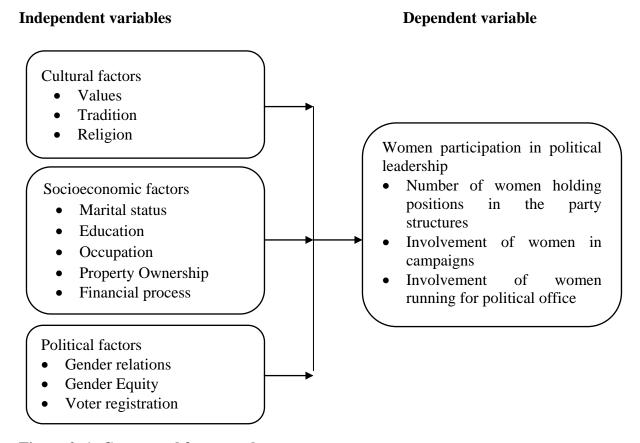
Independent variables   **Dependent variable**

Figure 2. 1: Conceptual framework

2.5 Chapter Summary

The chapter has reviewed literature on various past studies that have been carried out on factors affecting the participation of women in to political leadership. The chapter discusses influence of cultural factors, socio-economic factors, political a factor on the participation of women in political leadership. Literature indicates that cultural factor such as marital status, education religion affects women participation in political leadership. The factors discussed can either hinder or promote women participation in political leadership in many ways as discussed in the chapter. Literature reveals that socio and economic factors influencing participation of women in political headship. Women fall short of finances as they are economically disadvantaged, they are the majority poor yet they participate in political leadership. This disadvantages them as political position requires a lot of resources.

Further, literature shows that most women are burdened with many roles in both the private and public sphere, hence hindering their participation in political leadership which needs a lot of time. Literature also indicates that a country's culture influences women's willingness to vie for a political seat. Some cultures may encourage participation of women in political leadership and thus will have more women occupying leadership positions. However, through retrogressive traditions, customs and beliefs can also enhance the subordination and oppression of women.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Research methodology is a process of following procedures, strategies and steps in gathering and analyzing data to answer specified research questions. The chapter mainly comprises of the research design, target population, sample size and sampling technique, pilot study, data collection procedure as well as data analysis and presentation.

3.2 Research Design

A research design refers to the plan or strategy selected to integrate different sections of a study in a logical and coherent way, thus ensuring that a research problem is sufficiently and effectively addressed. It encompasses of a blueprint for collecting, measuring and analyzing data (Bhattacharjee, 2012). The study will use a mixed method research design and hence will incorporate both qualitative and quantitative research methods.

Mixed methods research is a method of carrying out a research through the collection, analysis and integration of both qualitative (interviews and focus groups) and qualitative (questionnaires) research approaches (Cooper & Schindler, 2006). Quantitative research involves the analysis of data in terms of numbers while qualitative research involves description of people, events and phenomenon scientifically without necessarily using numbers. Since both methods are useful and valid, it is possible for a study to make use of both research approaches. The mixed methods research will be used in this study because the combination of both qualitative and quantitative research methods gives a better research problem understanding than either of the two research methods used alone.

3.3 Study Population

Study population refers to a group of units containing observable attributes that is later use in the generalization of the results (Russell, 2013). Study population can also be used to refer to the set

of all categories of cases, objects, articles and items with common characteristics or attributes. The target population of this study will be all the women aged above 18 years in Turkana Central Constituency. According to Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2016), Turkana Central Constituency has 251,656 men and women aged above 18 years. The target population of the study will therefore be 251,656 men and women.

Table 3. 1: Target Population

Ward	Target Population
Kerio Delta	62365
Kangatotha	40359
Kalokol	38652
Lodwar Township	67631
Kanamkemer	42648
Total	**251,656**

Source: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2016)

3.4 Sample Size and Sampling Technique

A sample refers to a part of the target population from whom data is to be obtained to estimate the characteristics of the population. Sampling refers to the process of selecting of a group of individuals from a target population. According to Glicken (2008), whenever a sample is obtained from the population, it is important to use a sample size determination formula so as to put into consideration the margins of error and confidence levels. The sample size will be determined using Krejice and Morgan (1970) formula.

$$S = \frac{X^2 NP(1-P)}{d^2(N-1) + X^2 P(1-P)}$$

whereby:

S = Required Sample size

X = Z value (e.g. 1.96 for 95% confidence level)

N = Population Size

P = Population proportion (expressed as decimal) (assumed to be 0.5 (50%)

d = Degree of accuracy (5%), expressed as a proportion (.05); It is margin of error

$$S = \frac{1.96^2 251656 * 0.5 * 0.5}{0.05^2(251656 - 1) + 1.96^2 * 0.5 * 0.5}$$
$$S = 383$$

Stratified random sampling technique will be used to select 383 men and women from the target population. This sampling technique involves the categorization of a study population into smaller groupings referred to as strata. These strata are normally formed based on shared characteristics or attributes. The strata in this study will be all the 5 wards in Turkana Central Constituency, which include Kerio Delta, Kangatotha, Kalokol, Lodwar Township and Kanamkemer. Stratified random sampling technique will be used as it gives a representative sample. The strata are collectively exhaustive. The use of stratified random sampling reduces the sampling error (Glicken, 2008). The main benefit of using the stratified random sampling is that minimizes selection biases. The stratification of the population helps in making sure that the selected sample size accurately represents the study population. This study's sample size will be 383 men and women.

Table 3. 2: Sample Size

Ward	Target Population	Sample Size	Percent
Kerio Delta	62365	95	24.78
Kangatotha	40359	61	16.04
Kalokol	38652	59	15.36
Lodwar Township	67631	103	26.87
Kanamkemer	42648	65	16.95
Total	**251,656**	**383**	**100.00**

3.5 Data Collection Instrument

The study will use primary data. Primary data is fresh data collected for the first time while having the objectives of the study in mind (Kothari, 2004). According to Kultar (2007) primary data can be collected by use of different instruments, which include mailed questionnaire, observation guides, interview guides, focus group discussion guides, structured questionnaires or semi-structured questionnaires.

Primary data in this study will be collected by use of both interview guides and semi-structured questionnaires. Semi-structured questionnaires generally contain open-ended and closed-ended

questions. The open-ended questions (unstructured questions) in the questionnaire will be used to encourage the participants to provide in-felt and in-depth responses without feeling held back to provide more information in regard to the objectives of the study. In addition, the closed ended questions (structured questions) will be used in this study because they conserve money and time and also facilitate easier analysis as they mostly in an immediate sable form. Another advantage of using a questionnaire is that it facilitates anonymity (Ngechu, 2004).

The questionnaire will be structured into six questions. The first section will contain questions on demographic information. The second, third, fourth and fifth sections will contain questions on the three independent variables (socio-economic factors, political factors and cultural factors) while the sixth section will encompass of questions on the dependent variable (women participation in political leadership).

Interviews are considered as qualitative in-depth interviews conducted with people with understanding of the setting of a community and what is happening in the community in relation of the objectives of the study. The main purpose of conducting key informant interviews is to obtain information from diverse groups of people in a community including professionals, residents and community leaders (Ngechu, 2004). In this research study, key informant interviewees will include the women representative in Turkana County as well as other women leaders in Turkana Central Constituency. The interview guide will comprise of questions covering all the four objectives of the study.

3.6 Pilot Test

Before collecting data, a pilot survey will be conducted to examine the validity and reliability of the research instruments. The pilot test will also help in the identification and rephrasing of ambiguous, misunderstood of misinterpreted questions. The pre-test will be conducted in Lokori/Kochodin ward of Turkana East Constituency. The pre-test group will be sampled randomly and will comprise of 5% of the sample size (19).

3.6.1 Validity of Research Instruments

Validity is the capability of a data collection instrument to measure what it is expected to measure (Creswell, 2006). The most commonly used types of validity are content validity and

face validity. Face validity refers to the probability that questions in a research instrument can be misunderstood or misinterpreted. In this study, content validity will be enhanced by ensuring that the data collection instruments are arranged in accordance with the study's objectives. Since there are no statistical tests that can be used in the determination of whether a measure covers or represents a construct adequately, the content validity of an instrument normally depends on the judgment of experts. This study will improve content validity through consultations with individuals like the supervisors who are experts in political leadership. Face validity, also known as logical validity is the extent to which a test is subjectively viewed as covering the concept it purports to measure. Face validity of the research will be improved by use of the pre-test and making clear all the ambiguous and unclear questions.

3.6.2 Reliability of Research Instruments

Reliability refers to the overall consistency of a measure. According to Russell (2013), a measure is considered to be highly reliable if it produces the same results if tested in the same conditions. Reliability in this study will be measured by use of internal consistency of various statements that will be used to measure a construct or variable. According to Kultar (2007), internal consistency also refers to how closely a group or set of items are related. The values of Cronbach's alpha range from 0 to 1. The higher the values of Cronbach's alpha the more reliable the research instrument is. However, while Cronbach's alpha values of 0.7 and above are reliable, values below 0.7 are considered unacceptable.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

Quantitative data will be generated from the closed ended questions while qualitative data will be obtained from open ended questions and key informant interviews. Thematic analysis will be used to analyze qualitative data and presentation of results will be in a prose form. Thematic analysis involves pointing out, examination, and recording of different patterns (themes) within a set of data.

Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 22) will be used to analyze all quantitative data. Inferential and descriptive statistics will be used to analyze qualitative data. Frequency distribution, mean (measure of dispersion), standard deviation (measure of dispersion) and

percentages will be inclusive in descriptive statistics. The study results will be presented by use of graphs (pie charts and bar charts) and tables. Inferential statistics in this study will include Pearson correlation analysis and multivariate regression analysis. The study will apply a 95% confidence interval and hence the alpha value or significance level in this study will be 0.05. This simply means that that for an independent variable to have a considerable influence on the dependent variable, the p-value ought to be below the significance level (0.05).

Since there are three independent variables in this study the multiple regression model will be as follows:

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

Whereby: Y= Women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency

B_0 = Constant

$\beta_1 - \beta_3$ =Coefficients of determination

X_1 = Cultural factors

X_2 = Socio-economic factors

X_3 = Political factors

ε = Error term

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Introduction Letter

Mary Nang'ori Lokoro

Kenyatta University

Email: kokingori@gmail.com

22nd February 2017

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I am a Masters student in Kenyatta University carrying out a research project as part of the course requirement for the award of the degree of Masters of Public Policy and Administration. The study seeks to analyze the determinants of women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency, Turkana County.

The aim of this letter is to ask for your participation in this study through filling one questionnaire to the best of your knowledge as accurately as possible. Any information provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will only be used for academic purposes only. Your honesty and accuracy in filling the questionnaire is highly valued and treasured.

Thank you

Sincerely

Mary Nang'ori Lokoro
C153/CTY/PT/38141/2016
Kenyatta University

Appendix II: Questionnaire

Kindly answer the following questions as accurately as possible. Your individual responses are strictly confidential and anonymous. Your answers shall be used for academic purposes only. Please tick your answer against each question in the spaces provided.

SECTION A: General Information

1. Gender

   Male   [ ]   Female   [ ]

2. Age Bracket

   18 to 25 Years   […]   26 to 35 Years   [ ]

   36 to 45 Years   [ ]   46 to 55 Years   [ ]

   56 to 65 Years   [ ]   66 and above   [ ]

3. What is your highest level of Education?

   Postgraduate   [ ]   Bachelors   [ ]

   Diploma   [ ]   Certificate   [ ]

   Secondary education   [ ]   Primary education   [ ]

4. Marital status

   Married   [ ]   Single   [ ]

   Divorced   [ ]   Widowed   [ ]

   Separated   [ ]

5. What is your occupation? …………………………………………………………..

6. What is your monthly income (Ksh) ………………………………………………….

SECTION B: Cultural Factors

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

   Yes   [ ]   No   [ ]

8. If yes, why? ……………………………………………………………………………

9. As a woman what is your priority?

    Family chores   [   ]

    Child rearing   [   ]

    Job   [   ]

    Other careers (specify) ……………………………………

10. To what extent do the following cultural factors affect women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency?

Very Great extent	[ ]	Great extent	[ ]
Moderate extent	[ ]	Low extent	[ ]
No extent at all	[ ]		

11. To what extent do the following cultural factors affect women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency? Where 1=No extent at all, 2=low extent, 3=moderate extent, 4=Great extent and 5=very great extent.

	1	2	3	4	5
Cultural values					
Tradition practices					
Religion					

12. How does culture affect women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency?

    ………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………………………………

SECTION C: Socio-economic Factors

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

        Yes   [   ]   No   [   ]

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

        Yes   [ ]   No   [ ]

15. To what extent do the following socio-economic factors affect women participation in
    political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency? Where 1=No extent at all, 2=low
    extent, 3=moderate extent, 4=Great extent and 5=very great extent.

	1	2	3	4	5
Marital status					
Education level					
Occupation					
Property Ownership					
Financial process					

16. How do socio-economic factors affect women participation in political leadership in Turkana
    Central Constituency?

    ………………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………………………………………

SECTION E: Political Factors

17. Are there political factors that affect women participation in political leadership in Turkana
    Central Constituency?

        Yes   [ ]   No   [ ]

18. If yes, which ones?

    ………………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………………………………………

19. To what extent do the following political factors affect women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency? Where 1=No extent at all, 2=low extent, 3=moderate extent, 4=Great extent and 5=very great extent.

	1	2	3	4	5
Gender relations					
Gender equity					
Voter registration					

20. How do political factors affect women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

21. Which other factors do you think affect women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

SECTION F: Women participation in Political Leadership in Turkana Central Constituency

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

Yes   [ ]   No   [ ]

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

Yes   [ ]   No   [ ]

24. Would you trust a woman with a civic or parliamentary political leadership?

Yes   [ ]   No   [ ]

25. How do your rate the following measures of women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency? (5=Excellent, 4=Good, 3=Moderate, 2=Bad, 1=Poor)

	1	2	3	4	5
Number of women holding positions in the party structures					
Involvement of women in campaigns					
Involvement of women running for political office					

Appendix III: Interview Guide

This study seeks to investigate the determinants women participation in political leadership in Turkana Central Constituency. The data collected from this study will be purely for purposes of learning, the responses obtained will be treated with utmost confidentiality and the names of respondents are not required.

SECTION A: General Information

1. Have you ever participated in elections in the country?
2. How many times have you participated in electing leaders?
3. Have you ever taken part in campaigns over women leadership?
4. What motivated you to take part in the campaign?

SECTION B: Determinants of Women participation in Political Leadership

5. How can you describe the women participation in political leadership in the past four years?

6. In your own perspective how has cultural factors hindered women participation in political leadership?

7. In your own perspective how has socio-economic hindered women participation in political leadership?

8. In your own perspective how has political and legal system factors hindered women participation in political leadership?

9. What are the effects having women participation in political leadership lead to in leadership in Turkana Central Constituency?

10. What are the challenges women in Turkana Central Constituency face that hinder them from participation in political leadership lead to in leadership?

Appendix IV: Work Plan

Description	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul
Research topic identification	■										
Development of the research proposal		■	■	■	■						
Defense of the research proposal						■					
Addressing of the defense comments							■				
Collection of data								■	■		
Analysis of data										■	
Project report writing										■	
Defending of the project										■	
Addressing of the defense comments										■	
Submission of the project report											■

Appendix V: Budget

Item	No	Units	Rate	Total Amount
1. Research proposal development and defense				
Printing and photocopy	1	Sum	4,000	4,000
Internet browsing for literature	1	Sum	5,000	5,000
Spiral binding	7	Copies	50	350
2. Data collection and Analysis				
2 research assistants	10	Days	1500/= each per day	30,000
Transport for field work (1 assistants)	10	Days	1000/= each per day	10,000
3. Report writing, defense and corrections				
Printing, photocopy & binding	1	Sum	10,000	10,000
Miscellaneous				5,935
Total				**65,285**

Appendix VI: Map of Turkana County