

**FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN'S ACCESS TO POLITICAL
LEADERSHIP AMONG THE TUGEN- ARBOR COMMUNITY IN BARINGO
NORTH SUB-COUNTY, BARINGO COUNTY, KENYA**

BY

MARTHA JEMUGE CHELAL

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES,
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY, PSYCHOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS
DEGREE IN GENDER STUDIES AND DEVELOPMENT**

MOI UNIVERSITY

JULY, 2025

DECLARATION

Declaration by the candidate

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for examination for a degree or any other award in any other University or Institution of higher learning. No part of this thesis may be reproduced without the prior written permission of the author and Moi University.

Sign: _____

Date _____

MARTHA JEMUGE CHELAL

SASS/PGGS / 10 / 08

Declaration by the supervisors

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors;

Sign: _____

Date: _____

Prof. Michael M. Ntabo

Vice Chancellor Academic and Student Affairs

Rongo University, Rongo, Kenya

Sign: _____

Date: _____

Prof. Jamin Masinde

Department of Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology

School of Arts and Social Sciences

Moi University, Eldoret, Kenya

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my amazing parents, the late councilor Kipyegomen Chelal and my mother the late Rebecca Kobilu Kipyegomen. I also dedicate this work to my spouse Mr. Wesley Chelal Cheptirim and children; Kibet, Kaptuya, Jelagat, Michelle and Mercy. Grandchildren; Adrian, Brandon, Keagen, Ryan, Talah, Chemutai, Skylar and Barak.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to thank the Almighty God for giving me the grace and making all things possible. Special thanks go to my supervisors Prof. Michael Ntabo and Prof. Jamin Masinde for their invaluable guidance and assistance. Their astute advice, insightful criticisms and patient encouragement aided at the writing of this thesis in innumerable ways. I would also like to acknowledge Moi University for starting the ‘Gender Course Program’. This could not have come at a better time. The lecturers who taught us the gender courses did a lot to ‘open’ my mind on this journey of my life. I feel blessed and much richer academically for undertaking this program. My colleagues in the gender Master’s program deserve a lot of thanks from me for their efforts, friendship and support. I also do acknowledge all the respondents who participated in this study by filling the questionnaires and also those who were interviewed. Thank you all very much for your valuable time .Finally, to my son in law, Lawrence Yegon, who assisted when I relocated to the USA. God bless you all.

ABSTRACT

Women's political participation has been recognized internationally as an important measure of the status of women in any society. Hence, in recent years, women's participation in politics has received significant attention across the world. However, women remain seriously underrepresented in political leadership positions in Kenya and particularly in Baringo North Sub-County. The aim of this study was to identify factors influencing women's access to political leadership among the Tugen-Arror community in Baringo North sub-county. The specific objectives were to; examine the societal attitudes of the Tugen-Arror community on gender balance in political representation, investigate factors hindering women's access to leadership in the community and identify ways of empowering women to access full leadership potential in the community. The study was anchored on the developmental theory of gender realignment, in which the transformation of sex roles in society influences the process of value change. The study adopted a survey research design and targeted 41,191 respondents. However, a sample size of 150 respondents who were selected through stratified and simple random sampling was used. The study used questionnaires and interview schedules to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. Validity of the research instruments were done through expert judgment while reliability was ascertained through piloting of the instruments in the neighboring Baringo Central Sub-County which shares similar characteristics as the study area. Quantitative data was analysed through the use of frequencies and percentages while qualitative data were thematically classified before they were reported in narrations and quotations as per the research objectives. The finding of the study showed that different casual factors such as; economic, religious, social and cultural factors contributed to women's poor political participation in the Baringo North Sub-County. It is true that more than half of the world's population constitute women. But they lack access to political decision making as compared to their male counterparts at all levels of government. Women's equal participation in politics is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy, but a necessary pre-condition for women's interests being taken into account. The qualitative data reveals that gender biases and traditional roles significantly hinder women's participation in politics among the Tugen-Arror community. Many respondents expressed doubts about women's competence and capability in political office, with some male participants questioning women's ability to balance political duties with domestic responsibilities and meet the financial demands of political campaigns. The study concluded that women are in dire need of political participation. Their situation has resulted from cultural and societal injustices, the attitudes of the Tugen Arror community on gender balance in political representation hinders their access to political leadership positions. The study recommended that there is a need to sensitize the Tugen Arror community on the need to bridge the gap on women leadership and the government too ought to facilitate women leadership through affirmative action.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENT.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
ABBREVIATIONS.....	xii
LIST OF WORDS IN LOCAL DIALECT /DEFINITION OF TERMS.....	xiii
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS.....	xiv
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	6
1.3 Main Objective.....	9
1.3.1 Specific objectives.....	9
1.4 Research Questions.....	9
1.5 Significance/Justification.....	10
1.6 The Scope of the Study.....	11
1.7 Limitations of the Study.....	12
CHAPTER TWO.....	14
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	14
2.0 Introduction.....	14
2.1 Gender and Leadership.....	14
2.2 Pre-Independence Kenya Women Leadership.....	21
2.3 Post Independence Women’s Leadership in Kenya.....	24

2.4 Women and Politics in Kenya.....	31
2.5 Sources of the Marginality of Women in Political Leadership.....	34
2.5.1 Factors hindering women access to political leadership.....	38
2.5.1.1 Ideological factors.....	39
2.5.1.2 Political factors.....	42
2.5.1.3 Socio-Cultural factors.....	43
2.5.1.4 Economic factors.....	45
2.5.1.5 Inadequate social capital and political capacities.....	46
2.6 Enabling Environment for Women Participation in Political Leadership.....	47
2.7 Theoretical Framework.....	51
2.8 Summary of Literature and Gap.....	53
CHAPTER THREE.....	56
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	56
3.0 Introduction.....	56
3.1 Research Design.....	56
3.2 Study Area.....	57
3.3 Study Population.....	59
3.4 Target population.....	59
3.4.1 Sample population.....	60
3.4.2 Sample size determination.....	60
3.4.3 Proportionate allocation of sample size.....	60
3.4 Data Collection Instruments.....	61
3.4.1 Questionnaires.....	61
3.4.2 Interview schedules.....	62
3.5 Validity and Reliability.....	63
3.6 Data Analysis.....	64

3.7 Ethical Considerations.....	64
3.8 Chapter Summary.....	65
CHAPTER FOUR.....	66
DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION.....	66
4.1 Introduction.....	66
4.2 Response rate.....	66
4.3 Demographic Characteristics.....	67
4.3.1 Age.....	67
4.3.2 Gender and Marital Status.....	68
4.3.3 Level of Education.....	69
4.4 Membership Position in Political Party Leadership.....	70
4.5 Societal attitudes of the Tugen-Arror community on gender balance in political representation.....	71
4.6 Factors Hindering Women Political Leadership.....	76
4.7 Preference to Vote for a Male Candidate.....	81
4.8 Preference to vote for a female candidate.....	82
4.9 Empowering Women to Access full Leadership Potential in the Community.....	83
4.9.1 Discussion.....	90
CHAPTER FIVE.....	94
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	94
5.0 Introduction.....	94
5.1 Summary of Findings.....	94
5.2 Conclusions.....	96
5.3 Recommendations.....	97
5.5 Suggestions for further studies.....	99

REFERENCES.....	100
APPENDICES.....	114
APPENDIX I: INTRODUCTORY LETTER.....	114
APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE.....	115
APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE.....	119
APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION LETTER.....	120
APPENDIX V: MAP OF BARINGO NORTH SUB-COUNTY.....	121

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Kabartonjo Division and Its Location.....	60
Table 3.2: Respondents by gender and administrative location.....	62
Table 4.1: Distribution of respondents by age and gender.....	69
Table 4.2: Respondents by gender and marital status.....	70
Table 4.3: Respondents by gender and highest level of education attained.....	70
Table 4.4: Respondents by membership position in political party leadership and gender.....	71
Table 4.5 Societal attitudes of the Tugen-Arror community on gender balance in political representation.....	72
Table 4.6: Factors hindering women political leadership position.....	78
Table 4.7: Respondents who would prefer to vote for a man.....	82
Table 4.8: Respondents who would prefer to vote for a woman.....	83

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Distribution of respondents by age group.....68

ABBREVIATIONS

BCDP:	Baringo County Development plan
CEDAW:	Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.
FIDA:	Federation of Women Lawyers
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IEBC:	Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission
IPPG:	Inter parties Parliamentary Group
IPU:	Inter-Parliamentary Plenary union
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals.
UN	United Nations
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

LIST OF WORDS IN LOCAL DIALECT /DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Bo sang:** A man is literally portrayed as of the public sphere.
- Korko/kuroko:** This word specifically refers to a woman and means the one who takes care of the homestead/ looks after the home (domestic domain)
- Katam/Soin/Chemuser:** These words (left, lowlands) suggest that a woman is seen as the ‘the other’ meaning of lower status than a man where words used to describe a man such as *tai*, *mosop*, *barak* (right, the highlands, up)
- Mechei ne korko:** A woman’s needs are of no importance
- Mochanchich:** I am just a woman thus a nobody
- Muren:** Generally, it means a Man but also refers to someone with a strong personality, opinion, leadership qualities etc.
- Mwou ne korko:** Women’s opinion does not matter

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Economic factors are understood as the financial challenges that women face in accessing leadership positions. These factors include the high cost of political campaigns, limited access to economic resources, and financial discrimination, which all hinder women's political advancement.

Ideological factors refer to the deeply ingrained beliefs about the roles and expectations of women in society, often rooted in patriarchy, that dictate their suitability for political office. This study focuses on how these ideologies maintain a male-dominated political environment, discouraging women's political aspirations.

Political capacities refer to the skills, knowledge, and experience required to navigate the political landscape effectively. This study focuses on the fact that women often have fewer opportunities to build political capacities due to limited exposure, mentorship, and access to political education, further restricting their ability to pursue leadership positions successfully.

Political factors encompass the institutional structures, policies, and practices within political systems that either hinder or promote women's participation. In this study, political factors include the lack of political support, unequal access to campaign resources, and male-dominated party systems that often sideline female candidates.

Socio-cultural factors refer to the traditional and cultural norms that dictate gender roles in a community. In this context, the study examines how cultural practices, such as patriarchy and the expectation of women to prioritize domestic roles, serve as barriers to their political participation.

Social capital refers to the networks, relationships, and connections that provide individuals with support and access to resources. In this study, social capital pertains to the lack of strong support systems for women within political networks, making it harder for them to gain the necessary backing for leadership roles.

Societal attitudes refer to the prevailing perceptions and beliefs held by both men and women regarding gender roles and capabilities. In this study, societal attitudes encompass the stereotypes and biases that often portray women as unsuitable for leadership roles, which limits their participation in political spheres.

Women empowerment is understood as the process of increasing women's capacity to make decisions and participate fully in all aspects of life, including politics. In this context, it refers to efforts aimed at equipping women with the necessary resources, education, and opportunities to assume leadership positions.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, justification, scope and limitation of the study. The study investigated factors influencing women's access to political leadership among the Tugen-Arror community in Baringo North Sub-County.

1.1 Background of the Study

Women's access to political leadership remains a critical issue in the global discourse on gender equality and democratic participation. Despite decades of advocacy and international conventions such as CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action, women continue to be underrepresented in political spaces across various governance levels (UN Women, 2022). Political leadership refers to the participation and representation of women in decision-making positions, including elected, nominated, and appointed roles in government structures (Dahlerup & Leyenaar, 2023). Access entails the removal of structural, cultural, and institutional barriers that limit women's ability to compete and succeed in political processes (Krook & Zetterberg, 2022).

Globally, women's political representation has improved marginally, yet parity remains elusive as women occupy only 26.5% of parliamentary seats worldwide (Inter-Parliamentary Union [IPU], 2023). The World Economic Forum (2023) emphasizes that persistent patriarchal norms, political violence, and limited economic empowerment hinder women's political ascendancy. In Sweden, ranked among the top in gender parity, the introduction of voluntary party quotas and a strong welfare

state have significantly boosted women's presence in parliament, currently standing at 46% (Freidenvall, 2022). Similarly, Norway has maintained high representation, reaching 44.8%, due to its gender mainstreaming policies and the proactive role of women's movements (Teigen, 2021). In Finland, cultural values supporting egalitarianism and inclusive political structures have ensured consistent gender balance, with women occupying 45.5% of parliamentary seats (Raunio & Tiilikainen, 2023). Canada's implementation of gender-balanced cabinets has served as a symbolic and practical commitment to inclusivity, with 30% of women elected in the House of Commons (Trimble, 2022). New Zealand's sustained gains in women's political participation, including having women in the prime ministerial role, reflect its progressive electoral system and feminist political activism (Curtin, 2022).

In middle-income economies, the path to equitable political participation remains complex and uneven. In South Africa, constitutional reforms and quota systems have propelled women's representation to 45.7% in the National Assembly, largely driven by the African National Congress's internal policies (Geisler, 2023). In Brazil, women comprise only 17.7% of the lower house, hindered by weak enforcement of gender quotas and entrenched political machismo (Araújo & Piscitelli, 2022). In Mexico, electoral reforms enforcing gender parity in candidacies have led to women comprising 50% of the Chamber of Deputies, showcasing legal frameworks' transformative potential (Hinojosa & Piscopo, 2022). In India, despite being the world's largest democracy, women's representation in parliament remains low at 14.4%, constrained by societal norms and the absence of a national legislative quota (Jain & Raj, 2023). In Indonesia, although the government mandates 30% female candidates in elections, actual representation lags at 21%, affected by tokenism and inadequate support mechanisms (Nurhadi, 2023).

Developing countries, particularly in Africa and Asia, continue to grapple with structural barriers, including gender-based violence, illiteracy, and economic marginalization, that undermine women's political engagement.. In Bangladesh, 50 reserved seats for women have ensured symbolic representation, yet their substantive influence is curtailed by party loyalty and patriarchal political culture (Nazneen & Sultan, 2023).In Nigeria, patriarchal norms and political violence have limited women's representation to less than 7%, highlighting systemic exclusion in the political arena (Aderemi & Salami, 2023). In Uganda, women occupy 34.9% of parliamentary seats, bolstered by reserved positions and affirmative action, although male dominance in top political ranks remains entrenched (Tamale, 2022). In Pakistan, women's presence in national assemblies stands at 20.2%, facilitated by reserved seats but undermined by religious conservatism and political tokenism (Zia, 2022).

In Kenya, women's access to political leadership has been shaped by a complex interplay of historical, legal, cultural, and institutional factors. The promulgation of the 2010 Constitution marked a significant milestone by introducing affirmative action through the two-thirds gender rule, which mandates that no more than two-thirds of elective or appointive bodies be of the same gender (Republic of Kenya, 2010). Despite this progressive legal framework, implementation has remained inconsistent, and efforts to legislate the two-thirds gender rule in Parliament have repeatedly failed due to political resistance and patriarchal interests (Omondi & Kabira, 2023). Women hold 23% of seats in the National Assembly despite constitutional provisions and affirmative action, as socio-cultural biases persist among many ethnic communities (Omondi & Kabira, 2023)

Patriarchal norms and traditional gender roles continue to limit women's political participation, particularly in rural areas where cultural expectations discourage women from engaging in public decision-making (Chege & Maina, 2023). For instance, in many pastoral and agrarian communities such as the Tugen-Arror, leadership roles are traditionally reserved for men, and women who attempt to enter politics often face social backlash and stigma (Kiprotich & Cheserek, 2021). Furthermore, the political environment in Kenya is highly competitive and capital-intensive, making it difficult for women, who often lack access to financial resources and political networks, to campaign effectively (Wangui & Kamau, 2022).

Political parties, which serve as gateways to leadership, have also been criticized for lacking internal democracy and for marginalizing women through opaque nomination processes and male-dominated party hierarchies (Akinyi & Mutua, 2022). Although political party acts and election laws require gender inclusivity, enforcement mechanisms remain weak, and women candidates are often given less favorable constituencies or placed low on party lists (Ndung'u & Bosire, 2023). Additionally, gender-based violence—both physical and psychological—has emerged as a significant deterrent to women's political participation, with cases of intimidation, threats, and harassment during elections being widely reported (Federation of Women Lawyers [FIDA], 2022).

Despite these challenges, Kenya has made modest progress in promoting women's political leadership. The 2022 general elections saw the highest number of elected women in the country's history, including seven elected female governors and 29 women elected to the National Assembly (IEBC, 2022). Women's movements, civil society organizations, and international donors have played a critical role in building

women's political capacities through leadership training, mentorship, and advocacy for inclusive policies (Nzomo, 2023). Nevertheless, the struggle for gender parity in political leadership remains an ongoing process that requires more robust institutional reforms, political goodwill, cultural transformation, and community-level sensitization to achieve lasting impact (Mwatha & Abdi, 2023).

The Tugen-Arror community in Baringo County, like many other Kenyan communities, has traditionally been patriarchal, which significantly influences women's access to political leadership. Cultural norms and beliefs among the Tugen-Arror continue to place men at the forefront of leadership roles, with women often relegated to supportive positions. These are expressed by words like (*mwou ne korko/ mechei ne korko?*). These gender roles are deeply rooted in traditions that view leadership as a male domain, where women are expected to focus on domestic and community roles (*korko/kuroko*) rather than political participation. Such cultural barriers are reinforced by conservative elders and male-dominated councils, making it difficult for women to gain acceptance as political leaders (Kiprop, 2021).

Economic factors also play a significant role in limiting women's access to political leadership within the Tugen-Arror community. Women in this region typically have less access to resources such as land, capital, and financial networks, all of which are critical for running effective political campaigns. The economic marginalization of women is exacerbated by traditional inheritance practices that favour men, further entrenching the gender disparity in access to political leadership. Without adequate financial backing, women face difficulties in funding campaigns and gaining visibility, reducing their chances of competing effectively against male counterparts (Mutai & Chepngeno, 2022).

Political structures and party dynamics also serve as barriers to women's political leadership in Baringo County. The local political environment is often dominated by male networks that make it difficult for women to gain entry into political parties and leadership positions. Political parties in the region, though legally required to promote gender equality, rarely prioritize female candidates due to deep-seated biases and a preference for established male politicians. Additionally, the lack of mentorship and political education for women in the Tugen-Arror community means that many women lack the necessary support to pursue political careers (Chebet, 2020).

Men have named and defined women in discriminatory cultural attitudes and practices, for example, girls are discriminated from birth, from how they are named, labeled, socialized and categorized in the Tugen language. (*katam/soin/ korko/ koke*) . Many scholars have identified gender disparities in political leadership particularly in relation to women's leadership. Hence, the study sought to determine the factors influencing women's access to political leadership in Baringo North Sub-County.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Women constitute at least half of any country's population, and as such, they should proportionally be represented in political leadership, since democracy inherently demands equal participation by all in the governance of a country (Kabeer, 2022). Several factors support equal participation of women in politics. First, women's underrepresentation creates a gap between elected representatives and a significant portion of the electorate, which can undermine the legitimacy of political decisions (Krook & Norris, 2021). This disconnect may foster public mistrust in the representative system and lead women to reject laws and policies made without their

involvement. Thus, the exclusion of women diminishes the quality of democratic processes, and their inclusion is essential for the legitimacy of governance structures.

Political participation involves articulating, defending, and advancing specific interests, which women, given their social roles and functions within the domestic sphere, are uniquely positioned to understand and advocate for (Smith, 2022). Their heightened awareness of issues that affect their lives and communities positions them to bring valuable perspectives to political bodies. Matembe (2002) further asserts that women's political participation enriches the political agenda by introducing important issues such as women's rights, gender equality, and social justice, making politics more people-centered and inclusive (Miller, 2023). Consequently, enhancing women's participation in politics can foster improvements in social, economic, legal, and cultural conditions for families and society at large.

Despite Kenya's progressive legal framework, including the 2010 Constitution and the two-thirds gender rule, women remain significantly underrepresented in political leadership, particularly in rural and culturally conservative communities such as the Tugen-Arror of Baringo County. Cultural norms, patriarchal structures, and traditional beliefs continue to position leadership as a male preserve, limiting women's participation in political decision-making (Kiprop, 2021). Among the Tugen-Arror community, expressions such as "*mwou ne korko?*" and "*mechei ne korko?*" reflect deeply rooted gender ideologies that question a woman's capacity for leadership, reinforcing societal expectations that women should remain confined to domestic and subordinate roles (Chebet, 2020). These cultural constructs are perpetuated by male-dominated elders' councils and informal governance structures that resist women's inclusion in public leadership spaces (Kiprotich & Cheserek, 2021).

Economically, women in Baringo face systemic marginalization through discriminatory land inheritance practices and limited access to capital, both of which are critical in mounting competitive political campaigns (Mutai & Chepngeno, 2022). Political parties in the region also display gender biases in nomination processes, often overlooking qualified female candidates in favor of male aspirants with broader financial and political networks (Ndung'u & Bosire, 2023). Moreover, the absence of structured mentorship and leadership development programs for women in the region exacerbates the situation, leaving aspiring women leaders with minimal institutional support or exposure to political pathways (Omondi & Kabira, 2023). Consequently, the political leadership landscape within the Tugen-Arror community continues to reflect entrenched gender disparities, undermining constitutional provisions for equality and inclusive governance.

While national and international attention has been drawn to the underrepresentation of women in politics, there remains a gap in localized studies that critically examine how ethnic and cultural contexts—like those of the Tugen-Arror—uniquely shape women's access to leadership. This study, therefore, seeks to explore the socio-cultural, economic, and political factors that hinder women's access to political leadership within the Tugen-Arror community of Baringo County, Kenya.

The study examined the status of women in political leadership positions in the Tugen-Arror community and highlighted the bottlenecks faced in order to empower women to exploit their acquired talents to enable them to take up leadership positions. The study interrogated traditional positions of women based on highly rooted indigenous social systems which have for a long time perpetrated gender inequality

that needs to be tackled through women empowerment for meaningful development to be realized in the Tugen-Arror community.

1.3 Main Objective

The main objective of the study was to identify factors influencing women's access to leadership among the Tugen-Arror community of Baringo North sub-county, Baringo County.

1.3.1 Specific objectives

The following were the specific objectives of this study,

- i. To examine the societal attitudes of the Tugen-Arror community on gender balance in political representation.
- ii. To investigate factors hindering women's access to leadership in the community.
- iii. To identify ways of empowering women to access full leadership potential in the community

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions guided this study;

- i. What are the societal attitudes of the Tugen-Arror community on gender balance in political representation?
- ii. What factors hinder women's access to leadership in the community?
- iii. What are the ways of empowering women to access full leadership potential in the community?

1.5 Significance/Justification

This study is significant because it addresses the persistent underrepresentation of women in political leadership within a specific cultural context that has been largely overlooked in scholarly and policy discourse. While Kenya has made strides through constitutional and legislative reforms to promote gender equality, the actual implementation of these reforms remains uneven, particularly in rural communities such as the Tugen-Arror of Baringo County (Omondi & Kabira, 2023). Understanding the unique cultural, economic, and political barriers that women face in this community provides a necessary foundation for crafting targeted, context-sensitive interventions.

The study contributes to the growing body of knowledge on gender and political participation by offering an in-depth analysis of localized socio-cultural norms—such as traditional sayings and gendered roles—that hinder women’s access to leadership positions (Kiprop, 2021). In documenting these specific cultural practices and expressions, the research highlights how deeply entrenched gender ideologies continue to shape political realities at the grassroots level. This localized lens fills a critical gap in gender and governance research, which often focuses on national statistics without considering regional or ethnic disparities.

Practically, the findings will be valuable to policymakers, gender advocacy organizations, and electoral bodies such as the IEBC in designing inclusive policies and civic education programs that are culturally responsive and community-driven. The study may also inform local and national political party strategies to improve the nomination and support of women candidates in historically marginalized regions (Ndung’u & Bosire, 2023). Furthermore, it will serve as a tool for empowering

women in the Tugen-Arror community by providing data and narratives that can be used in advocacy and leadership training programs.

Academically, the study offers a foundation for future comparative research on women's political participation in other patriarchal communities across Kenya and Africa. In examining how intersecting factors—culture, economy, and political structures—interact to restrict women's political access, this study provides a multidimensional framework that can be adapted in other settings (Mutai & Chepngeno, 2022). Therefore, this research is not only timely but essential in supporting Kenya's broader gender equality agenda and in challenging the structural and cultural forces that continue to hinder women's political empowerment.

1.6 The Scope of the Study

The scope of this study focused on examining the factors that influence women's access to political leadership, with a particular emphasis on societal attitudes, empowerment initiatives, and the barriers that hinder women's participation in leadership roles. It investigated these factors within both a global context and specific to Kenya, narrowing down further to explore the situation in Baringo County, especially among the Tugen-Arror community. The study covered various dimensions of political leadership, including ideological, political, socio-cultural, and economic factors, as well as the impact of social capital and political capacities on women's ability to enter and thrive in political leadership roles. It considers both historical and contemporary challenges, highlighting the persistent gender disparities in political representation and leadership.

Geographically, the study focused on Kenya, with a detailed analysis of Baringo County, Baringo North Sub-county. It includes an exploration of traditional gender roles, cultural attitudes, and the socio-political dynamics within the Tugen-Arror community. The study also touched on relevant global examples for comparative purposes, but the core analysis revolved around the Kenyan context. The timeframe of the study encompasses both pre- and post-independence Kenya, extending to current political dynamics, thus providing a comprehensive overview of the evolution of women's political leadership in the country.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The study had several limitations that affected its scope and findings. Firstly, the research was constrained by limited access to comprehensive and up-to-date data on women's political participation in the Tugen-Arror community, which may have impacted the accuracy of the analysis. The study relied on secondary sources and existing literature, which could not fully capture the nuances of the current political environment and the specific barriers faced by women in the region.

Additionally, the study was limited by its geographic focus on Baringo County and the Tugen-Arror community. While this focus provided valuable data into the local context, it may have constrained the generalizability of the findings to other regions in Kenya or different cultural settings. The socio-cultural factors identified in this specific community may not be universally applicable across other communities or countries.

The research also faced challenges in obtaining diverse and representative qualitative data due to cultural and logistical barriers. For instance, the study encountered difficulties in reaching out to a broad spectrum of participants, including women who

may have been less accessible due to traditional gender roles and local customs. This limitation may have affected the depth and breadth of the data gathered. Moreover, the study did not explore the impact of recent political developments and reforms that may have influenced women's political participation in the study area. As a result, the findings might not fully reflect the current dynamics or recent changes in the political landscape. Finally, the study was constrained by time and resource limitations, which impacted the extent to which it could engage in in-depth fieldwork or longitudinal analysis. These constraints may have limited the ability to capture the evolving nature of women's political leadership and the effectiveness of various empowerment initiatives over time.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses issues on ;Gender and leadership, Pre-Independence Kenya women leadership, Independent Kenya women leadership ,Women and leadership in Kenya, Sources of marginality of women in political leadership, Factors hindering women political leadership in Kenya, ideological factors, political factors, social-cultural factors, economic factors, lack of social capacities, enabling environment for women participation in political leadership, theoretical framework and the conclusion.

2.1 Gender and Leadership

Gender and leadership continue to be central themes in global discussions around equality, governance, and development. In recent decades, the discourse has evolved from basic advocacy for women's inclusion to a more nuanced examination of power relations, structural inequalities, and the intersection of gender with politics and leadership effectiveness (Krook & Zetterberg, 2022). Leadership, traditionally associated with authority, decision-making, and public representation, has often been framed through masculine ideals, leading to the exclusion or marginalization of women and other gender minorities (Ryan & Haslam, 2022). Gender, as a social construct, refers to the roles, behaviors, and attributes that a society considers appropriate for men and women, and these constructs heavily influence how leadership is defined, perceived, and practiced across different cultures (Connell & Pearse, 2022).

Globally, efforts to increase women's representation in leadership positions have gained momentum, especially with frameworks such as the UN Sustainable Development Goal 5, which advocates for gender equality and women's full participation in political and economic life (UN Women, 2023). Nonetheless, progress remains uneven. As of 2023, women hold only 26.5% of parliamentary seats worldwide and a mere 10.1% of positions as heads of state or government, highlighting persistent structural inequalities in leadership access (Inter-Parliamentary Union [IPU], 2023). While some countries have implemented gender quotas and parity laws to promote inclusive leadership, critics argue that these measures alone are insufficient without addressing deeper cultural and institutional barriers (Hinojosa & Piscopo, 2022).

Modern societies that have succeeded in enhancing gender balance in leadership share certain commonalities: strong legal frameworks, inclusive education systems, proactive political will, and active civil society participation. In Nordic countries like Finland and Iceland, women have made substantial leadership gains, occupying over 45% of parliamentary seats, thanks to state-supported gender mainstreaming policies and societal endorsement of equality (Teigen, 2023). New Zealand and Canada have also made notable strides; New Zealand appointed its third female prime minister and maintains a gender-balanced cabinet, while Canada adopted feminist foreign and domestic policies to promote equality in leadership (Curtin, 2023; Trimble, 2023). Rwanda remains a standout example in Africa, with women occupying 61% of parliamentary seats—a result of constitutional quotas, political commitment, and post-conflict restructuring that empowered women's participation (Burnet, 2022).

Despite such advancements, the journey toward gender-inclusive leadership is far from over. In many modern societies, women leaders continue to face subtle forms of

discrimination, including gender stereotyping, media bias, and underrepresentation in decision-making roles within both public and private sectors (Chin, 2023). The "glass ceiling" and "glass cliff" phenomena still characterize many women's leadership experiences, where women are either prevented from rising to top positions or are elevated only during times of crisis when the risk of failure is high (Ryan & Haslam, 2022). Moreover, leadership styles that emphasize collaboration, empathy, and emotional intelligence—traits often associated with women—remain undervalued in patriarchal systems that favor assertiveness and control (Eagly & Heilman, 2023).

Thus, while modern societies have taken significant steps toward achieving gender equity in leadership, deep-rooted societal norms and institutional inertia continue to inhibit transformative change. As new movements emerge advocating for intersectionality, inclusive governance, and feminist leadership models, it becomes increasingly important to reconceptualize leadership itself—not only as a position of power but as a platform for inclusive decision-making and social justice. This evolving landscape demands that global, national, and local actors continue to challenge exclusionary structures and champion systems that value diversity in leadership at all levels.

Throughout the world, the intersection of gender and leadership continues to evolve, with increasing attention to both progress and persistent challenges. Recent data reveals that while there have been notable advances in gender parity in political leadership roles, significant disparities remain. For instance, a global analysis by the World Economic Forum (2022) indicates that women hold approximately 26% of parliamentary seats worldwide, reflecting a gradual but insufficient increase in political representation. Moreover, research by Bjarnegård and Melander (2021) highlights that despite improvements in some regions, women still face systemic

barriers, including biased electoral processes and entrenched gender norms, which inhibit their full participation in leadership roles. The global pandemic has further exacerbated these issues, disproportionately affecting women's political and economic opportunities (UN Women, 2023).

In Finland, the country's progressive policies have made it a leader in gender parity in political leadership, with women holding around 47% of parliamentary seats as of 2023 (Statistics Finland, 2023). This success is attributed to robust support systems and gender-equal policies, such as generous parental leave and subsidized childcare, which facilitate women's participation in politics (Päivärinta & Arter, 2022). Conversely, the UK has seen a slower rate of change, with women constituting about 34% of the House of Commons, reflecting ongoing challenges despite initiatives to improve gender balance (UK Parliament, 2023). Germany presents a mixed picture, with women holding about 33% of Bundestag seats, while the implementation of the gender quota law in 2021 aims to address historical imbalances and promote greater female representation (Sauer & Müller, 2022). South Africa's leadership landscape is marked by significant strides, with women making up approximately 44% of the National Assembly; however, the implementation of gender quotas and support mechanisms remains uneven (Ncholo & Radebe, 2023). In contrast, the Democratic Republic of Congo struggles with severe gender disparities in political representation, where women occupy less than 10% of legislative seats, reflecting broader socio-political instability and systemic barriers (Kasi, 2023). Tanzania has made some progress, with women representing about 38% of the National Assembly, but ongoing challenges such as cultural resistance and limited support structures continue to hinder further advancements (Mushi, 2022). Rwanda stands out as a notable example, with women holding over 60% of parliamentary seats, largely due to deliberate policy

interventions and post-genocide reconstruction efforts aimed at gender inclusivity (Mukamana, 2023). These diverse experiences underscore the varying degrees of success and ongoing challenges in advancing gender equality in leadership across different contexts.

In Kenya, the dynamics of gender and leadership reflect a complex interplay of progress, challenges, and evolving strategies. As of recent years, women's political representation in Kenya has seen notable advances, yet significant barriers remain. The introduction of gender quotas in the 2010 Constitution aimed to enhance women's representation in political and public offices. Despite this, women's participation remains uneven, with representation in the National Assembly hovering around 24% in 2023 (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2023). The persistence of patriarchal norms and socio-cultural expectations continues to impede women's full participation in political life, despite legal frameworks designed to foster gender equality (Ochieng, 2021).

One of the critical challenges in Kenya is the persistent cultural and societal biases that affect women's political aspirations. Traditional gender roles often discourage women from pursuing leadership positions, as societal expectations prioritize domestic responsibilities over public roles for women (Wanjiru, 2022). This cultural bias is reinforced by gender stereotypes that undermine women's credibility and leadership abilities, making it difficult for women to gain the necessary support and resources for political campaigns (Karanja & Njeri, 2023). Furthermore, the political landscape is often characterized by a lack of institutional support for women candidates, which exacerbates these barriers and limits their chances of success in elections.

Economic factors also play a significant role in shaping women's access to leadership positions in Kenya. Women candidates often face financial constraints that hinder their ability to campaign effectively. The cost of running for office is a substantial barrier, and women, who generally have less access to economic resources and networks, struggle to compete on equal footing with their male counterparts (Ngunyi, 2022). This economic disparity is compounded by limited access to training and capacity-building opportunities, which further weakens women's political competitiveness (Mutua, 2023).

The role of political parties in Kenya is another critical factor influencing women's access to leadership. Despite the implementation of gender quotas, political parties often fail to nominate sufficient numbers of women candidates, and when they do, the selection process can be influenced by party dynamics that favor male candidates (Odhiambo, 2021). This discrepancy between the quota requirements and actual nomination practices reflects a broader issue of political party structures that do not fully support gender equality in leadership roles.

Efforts to address these challenges have included initiatives aimed at increasing women's political engagement and leadership skills. Programs supported by both governmental and non-governmental organizations focus on empowering women through leadership training, advocacy, and capacity building (Chepkemoi, 2023). These initiatives aim to equip women with the skills and confidence needed to navigate the political landscape and enhance their visibility and influence.

The impact of the 2010 Constitutional reforms cannot be overlooked, as they have laid the groundwork for increased gender representation in various public offices. The establishment of the two-thirds gender rule was a landmark step toward ensuring more

equitable gender representation in political and public spheres. However, the implementation of this rule has faced challenges, including resistance from some political actors and ongoing debates about its effectiveness and enforcement (Ochieng, 2022).

Another dimension of the gender and leadership discourse in Kenya is the role of women's organizations and advocacy groups. These groups have been instrumental in pushing for policy changes, raising awareness about gender disparities, and mobilizing support for women candidates. Their advocacy efforts have led to greater scrutiny of gender issues and have helped create a more supportive environment for women in politics (Njeri & Karuga, 2023).

In recent years, the rise of digital platforms and social media has also influenced women's political engagement in Kenya. Social media has provided a space for women to campaign, mobilize support, and address gender biases publicly. However, this digital space is not without its challenges, as online harassment and cyberbullying can disproportionately affect women politicians and discourage their participation (Kiburi, 2022). Looking forward, the future of women's political leadership in Kenya will depend on continued efforts to address these multifaceted challenges. Policy reforms, cultural shifts, and targeted support mechanisms will be crucial in creating a more inclusive political environment. Ensuring that women have equal opportunities to participate in and lead political processes will require ongoing commitment from all sectors of society, including government, political parties, and civil society organizations (Wanjiku, 2023).

In Baringo County, particularly within the Tugen community, women's involvement in political leadership has been gradually evolving, but challenges remain deeply

rooted in cultural traditions and social norms. Recent studies indicate that while there has been an increase in women participating in local governance, the representation of women in leadership positions is still limited. According to Ndege (2022), women in Baringo County face significant hurdles, including entrenched patriarchal values and cultural practices that often marginalize their political ambitions. Despite legal frameworks aimed at promoting gender equality, such as the two-thirds gender rule, these traditional barriers continue to impede women's full participation in political leadership within the Tugen community.

Efforts to enhance women's political representation in Baringo County have been met with mixed outcomes. Local initiatives aimed at increasing women's visibility in politics include training programs and community engagement efforts designed to empower women and address gender biases (Chebet, 2023). However, these initiatives often struggle against a backdrop of limited resources and insufficient support from local political structures. For instance, Kiplagat and Mungai (2023) highlight that while women candidates have made strides in local elections, they frequently encounter challenges such as inadequate funding for campaigns and a lack of institutional support, which undermines their competitiveness and effectiveness.

Despite these challenges, there have been notable successes in increasing women's political participation in the region. The election of women leaders from Baringo County to various positions, including county assembly seats, demonstrates a growing acceptance of female leadership within the community (Koech, 2023). This progress is attributed to both grassroots advocacy and shifting attitudes towards gender roles in politics. Nevertheless, ongoing efforts to address the structural and cultural barriers are crucial to ensuring that women from the Tugen community can achieve greater representation and influence in political leadership (Wangui, 2023).

2.2 Pre-Independence Kenya Women Leadership

In pre-independence Kenya, several remarkable women made significant contributions to leadership and social change, despite the constraints imposed by colonial rule. Among these pioneering figures was Wangu wa Makeri, a prominent leader from the Meru community, known for her role as a spiritual and political leader. She was respected for her wisdom and authority, playing a crucial role in guiding her community through the tumultuous periods of early colonial intrusion (Kibicho, 2021).

Another notable figure was Mekatilili wa Menza from the Giriama community, who led a fierce resistance against British colonial rule in the early 20th century. Her leadership during the Maji Maji Rebellion and her subsequent activism demonstrated her extraordinary courage and commitment to her people's autonomy and rights (Munyua, 2022). Her efforts were instrumental in rallying the Giriama people against oppressive colonial policies and practices, making her a symbol of resistance and resilience.

Grace Onyango stands out as a trailblazer in the post-independence era, although her political career began during the pre-independence period. Onyango's activism and advocacy for women's rights were pivotal in shaping the political landscape of Kenya. She became the first female member of the Kenyan parliament in 1969, breaking significant barriers for women in politics (Muriuki, 2023). Her leadership not only paved the way for future generations of women politicians but also highlighted the critical role of women in the nation's political evolution.

In the Tugen community, pre-independence leadership roles for women were complex and varied. Traditionally, the Tugen, like other Kalenjin sub-groups, had a system of governance that included women in significant roles, although their authority was

often intertwined with traditional gender roles and responsibilities. Women were integral to community life, with roles that included managing domestic affairs, participating in rituals, and contributing to agricultural productivity. They held considerable influence within their families and local communities, often serving as advisors and decision-makers in matters related to family and community welfare (Chepkoech, 2021). Women's participation in rituals and ceremonies, which were crucial for maintaining social harmony and cultural practices, underscored their importance in the social fabric of Tugen life.

Colonial rule, however, brought significant changes to the Tugen society, as it did across Kenya. The imposition of British colonial administration disrupted traditional governance structures, including those involving women. The colonial government's focus on centralizing power and disregarding indigenous systems led to a reduction in women's formal leadership roles, as the new political structures marginalized traditional authority figures (Kiprotich, 2022). Despite these disruptions, women in Tugen society continued to exert influence in more informal ways, maintaining their roles in community life and cultural practices even as they navigated the constraints imposed by colonial rule.

During the nationalist period leading up to Kenya's independence, Tugen women, like others across Kenya, began to engage more actively in the political and social movements advocating for change. Their contributions were crucial in supporting the broader independence movement, although their roles were often less visible compared to their male counterparts. Nonetheless, the resilience and adaptability of Tugen women during this period laid the groundwork for their increased participation in post-independence political and social spheres (Leting, 2023).

2.3 Post Independence Women's Leadership in Kenya

After Kenya gained independence in 1963, the role of women in leadership began to evolve, though slowly, due to the deeply entrenched patriarchal structures that characterized pre-colonial and colonial Kenya. Initially, women faced significant barriers in accessing leadership positions due to cultural, political, and economic challenges. Despite these barriers, Kenyan women have continued to challenge the status quo and assert themselves in leadership roles in various spheres, from politics to civil society. The 2010 Constitution of Kenya marked a turning point by institutionalizing gender equality, thus providing a legislative framework for women's inclusion in leadership roles. Article 27 of the Constitution ensures the right to equality and freedom from discrimination, while Article 81 mandates that no more than two-thirds of elective public positions should be occupied by the same gender (Chege & Arnot, 2019). This has opened up new opportunities for women in leadership, although the implementation of these provisions has been met with resistance.

Furthermore, women in post-independent Kenya have played critical roles in the advancement of political and social agendas, albeit with fewer numbers in political representation. The struggle for gender equality in leadership has been shaped by both historical factors and contemporary socio-political developments. Studies show that women's participation in leadership continues to face challenges such as male-dominated political parties, limited access to resources, and societal perceptions regarding women's capabilities (Kamau, 2020). However, over the years, women's movements and advocacy groups have made substantial progress in addressing these

barriers, culminating in an increase in the number of women appointed to key leadership positions in both public and private sectors.

The inclusion of women in leadership, while mandated by the constitution, has seen a varied pace of implementation across different sectors. In some areas, especially rural regions, deeply ingrained cultural norms continue to restrict women's access to leadership roles (Oduol & Kabira, 2019). However, in more urbanized regions, women have been able to navigate these challenges with greater success, contributing significantly to governance, education, and social reform. The economic empowerment of women through education and entrepreneurship has also been a key factor in their rising leadership roles, providing them with the tools to challenge patriarchal structures and advocate for gender parity in decision-making processes.

International frameworks and the global gender equality agenda have also played a pivotal role in shaping women's leadership in Kenya. Organizations like the United Nations and the African Union have encouraged the country to adhere to global standards, such as the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, which aim to enhance women's leadership and participation in public life (Wangari, 2022). These external pressures, combined with internal advocacy, have gradually shifted the political landscape in favor of gender inclusivity, although challenges remain.

While significant strides have been made since independence in advancing women's leadership in Kenya, the journey is far from complete. Cultural, structural, and systemic challenges continue to impede women's full participation in leadership. Nonetheless, the progressive legal framework, combined with growing local and international advocacy, promises a future where women's leadership is not just a constitutional right but a fully realized norm (Ngunyi & Githinji, 2021). The evolution

of women's roles in leadership in Kenya continues to be shaped by a dynamic interplay of cultural expectations, political reforms, and socio-economic changes.

Post-independence Kenya has witnessed significant strides in women's leadership, with numerous women breaking barriers in various fields, contributing to political, social, and economic development. Since gaining independence in 1963, Kenyan women have continuously challenged patriarchal norms and fought for inclusion in leadership positions, a process that has been slow but steady (Ombati & Wanjiru, 2021). Early on, women's participation in politics was limited, with male-dominated structures stifling their efforts to gain representation in decision-making platforms (Kinyanjui & Kahura, 2019). Nevertheless, pioneers like Grace Onyango, the first female mayor of Kisumu in 1967, paved the way for future female leaders in politics and governance (Kabira, 2020). These early efforts set the foundation for women's leadership roles across various sectors in Kenya, helping to shift cultural attitudes towards gender roles (Kariuki & Otieno, 2022).

As the years progressed, women's activism played a crucial role in pushing for constitutional reforms that would guarantee gender equality. The introduction of affirmative action policies following the promulgation of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya was a watershed moment in women's leadership (Wachira & Mwangi, 2021). This new legal framework enabled more women to vie for leadership positions, ensuring that women held at least one-third of elective and appointive positions in public service (Okeyo & Muriuki, 2022). The ripple effect of these reforms can be seen in the increased number of women in leadership positions across the country, particularly in elective offices and public administration (Njenga, 2021).

One of the prominent figures in Kenya's post-independence leadership is Wangari Maathai, who became the first African woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize in 2004 for her environmental conservation efforts (Mbugua, 2019). Maathai's work extended beyond environmental advocacy, as she embodied the spirit of resilience and leadership in a male-dominated society, inspiring many women to pursue leadership roles (Maina & Njoroge, 2022). Through her Green Belt Movement, Maathai demonstrated the intersection of environmental justice and women's rights, championing both issues simultaneously (Mwangi, 2020). Her legacy continues to inspire the younger generation of women leaders who are now taking up political, social, and economic roles in the country (Kariuki, 2021).

Another significant figure in Kenya's leadership landscape is Martha Karua, who has been at the forefront of the country's political scene since the 1990s. Karua, often referred to as the "Iron Lady," has served in various capacities, including as the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs (Njuguna & Ochieng, 2019). Known for her firm stance on governance issues, she has been a vocal advocate for constitutionalism, human rights, and the rule of law (Wamuyu, 2022). Karua's determination to challenge the status quo has positioned her as a role model for many aspiring female leaders in Kenya, especially in the political realm (Karanja & Mwangi, 2021).

In the judiciary, Lady Justice Martha Koome's appointment as Kenya's first female Chief Justice in 2021 marked another milestone in women's leadership (Ogotu & Ndungu, 2022). Koome's rise to the top of the judiciary represents the growing acceptance of women in leadership roles in a historically male-dominated field (Nyambura & Kimani, 2022). Her leadership is expected to influence the judiciary's

approach to gender-sensitive issues, including women's rights, family law, and social justice (Odhiambo & Njoroge, 2021). Koome's appointment also signals to young women in Kenya that they can reach the pinnacle of leadership regardless of the obstacles they may face (Kiplagat, 2022).

Women's leadership in Kenya is also evident in the health sector, with figures such as Dr. Gladys Kalema, who has been instrumental in shaping health policy in the country (Muturi & Kimotho, 2020). Kalema has been a key player in addressing maternal health challenges and advocating for policies that improve healthcare access for women and children (Muthoni, 2021). Her contributions to the health sector have enhanced the visibility of women leaders in areas traditionally dominated by men, thus challenging gender norms in public health administration (Mwangi & Wanjiru, 2022).

In the corporate world, Tabitha Karanja, the founder and CEO of Keroche Breweries, stands out as a trailblazer in women's leadership in entrepreneurship (Wachira & Kinyua, 2022). Her success in building one of Kenya's largest alcohol manufacturing companies has challenged societal stereotypes about women's capabilities in business (Kamau & Njuguna, 2021). Karanja's leadership has demonstrated that women can thrive in industries historically dominated by men, serving as an inspiration for other women entrepreneurs in Kenya and beyond (Mwende, 2022).

Similarly, in academia, Professor Olive Mugenda, former Vice-Chancellor of Kenyatta University, has made significant contributions to higher education in Kenya (Gitau & Njoroge, 2020). Mugenda's tenure as the first female vice-chancellor of a public university in Kenya transformed Kenyatta University into a world-class institution, a feat that has cemented her legacy as a leader in higher education

(Ochieng & Mwaura, 2021). Her leadership has inspired many women to pursue academic leadership roles, thus contributing to the gender parity seen in Kenya's higher education institutions (Mutua & Ngugi, 2022).

The political scene continues to witness more women taking up leadership roles, with women such as Anne Waiguru, the Governor of Kirinyaga County, breaking new ground in county-level leadership (Karanja & Mwiti, 2022). Waiguru's election as one of the first female governors under the 2010 Constitution signaled the start of a new era in women's political leadership at the county level (Otieno & Wambua, 2021). Her leadership in Kirinyaga County who inspired other 6 female governors has challenged traditional gender roles in politics, where women were previously relegated to supporting roles (Ndungu, 2021).

Despite these advancements, the struggle for equitable political representation among women in Kenya remains ongoing. The 2022 general elections marked a historic moment with a record number of women elected to public office, including seven women governors and three women senators, signaling a gradual but notable shift in the political landscape (IEBC, 2022). However, these gains exist alongside persistent challenges such as political intimidation, cyberbullying, and economic exclusion, which continue to hamper women's ability to participate fully and equally in leadership (FIDA Kenya, 2023). The deeply entrenched patriarchal systems in both urban and rural areas still present significant obstacles to gender parity, especially for women from marginalized communities and ethnic minorities (Omondi & Kabira, 2023).

Despite these barriers, a new wave of resilient and transformative women leaders has emerged, redefining leadership and governance in the country. Anne Waiguru, the

current Governor of Kirinyaga County, has been re-elected and remains one of the most prominent voices advocating for women's leadership and public sector reform (Wambua & Cheronon, 2023). Susan Kihika, Governor of Nakuru County, and Gladys Wanga, Governor of Homa Bay County, represent a new generation of women who have broken political glass ceilings by winning highly competitive gubernatorial seats (Odhiambo & Nyaoro, 2023). At the national level, Hon. Martha Karua continues to be a beacon of principled leadership, having been the first woman to vie for the presidency as a running mate in the 2022 general election, reigniting the conversation around women's political inclusion (Mutuku, 2023).

Younger leaders such as Linet Chepkorir (alias Toto), who became the youngest female Member of Parliament at 24 years old, have demonstrated that the future of women's political leadership in Kenya is both promising and dynamic (Mbuthia & Koech, 2023). These women have not only overcome systemic challenges but have also used their platforms to advocate for social justice, education, health, and economic empowerment, particularly for girls and women in underserved areas. Their resilience underscores the evolving political consciousness in Kenya and the role of women in shaping inclusive national development. While the journey to full gender parity is far from complete, the continued emergence of strong female leaders offers hope and inspiration for deeper structural reforms and societal change

2.4 Women and Politics in Kenya

Current women's politics in Kenya reflects a dynamic landscape characterized by both progress and persistent challenges. Over the past decade, Kenya has seen significant strides toward increasing women's political representation and participation. The 2010 Constitution introduced the two-thirds gender rule, which mandates that no gender should exceed two-thirds of the members in elected and appointed positions (Kenya National Assembly, 2010). This legal framework aimed to address gender disparities and promote greater inclusion of women in political processes. As of 2023, women hold approximately 24% of seats in the National Assembly, indicating incremental progress but still falling short of the desired gender balance (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2023).

Despite these advancements, several barriers continue to affect women's political engagement in Kenya. Cultural norms and societal expectations often prioritize male leadership, which can undermine women's political aspirations and effectiveness (Ochieng, 2022). Additionally, women candidates frequently face financial constraints, which impact their ability to run effective campaigns and compete on an equal footing with their male counterparts (Ngunyi, 2022). Political violence and harassment also disproportionately affect women, deterring their participation and discouraging potential candidates from entering the political arena (Kiburi, 2022).

In recent years, there have been numerous initiatives aimed at improving women's political involvement. Various non-governmental organizations and advocacy groups have focused on capacity-building, leadership training, and campaign support to empower women and enhance their political visibility (Chebet, 2023). Furthermore, the rise of digital platforms and social media has provided new avenues for women to

engage in politics, mobilize support, and address gender biases (Munyua, 2022). These efforts are crucial in addressing the structural and cultural challenges that persist, and they play a vital role in advancing gender equality in Kenya's political landscape.

The study notes that the dominant discourse of leadership treats women as if they are outside the political realm, their place being consigned largely to participation in development activities and projects. Women have an advisory role; a role that is mostly outside the public view and advice that can either be heeded or ignored (Schwartzberg 2001). Among the Tugen-Arror community men are seen to belong to the public domain (*Bo sang*) and women belong to the domestic sphere (*korko-kuroko*).

Women played a bigger role in the 2017 election. As voters, more women registered to vote than men in 21 of Kenya's 47 counties, accounting for 9.4 million or 47% of voters. The election saw three female governors elected—former minister of devolution Anne Waiguru won Kirinyanga seat, the late Joyce Laboso won Bomet and Charity Ngilu won Kitui seat. Also, three women won elected senate seats as well for the first time—Margaret Kamar of Uasin Gishu, Susan Kihika of Nakuru, and Fatuma Dullo of Isiolo. (IEBC, 2017).

As of 2022, the representation of women in Kenyan governance has continued to evolve. Cecily Mbarire was elected as the governor of Embu, while Fatuma Achan secured the governorship of Kwale, and Gladys Wanga took office as governor of Homa Bay. Additionally, other prominent female leaders include Wavinya Ndeti, the governor of Machakos; Susan Kihika, took the mantle as the governor for Nakuru; Anne Waiguru, still serving as the governor of Kirinyaga; and Kawira Mwangaza,

who became the governor of Meru. These women exemplify the growing influence of female leaders in Kenyan politics, reflecting a continued push toward greater gender representation and leadership across various levels of government.

The number of women elected to the national assembly was 23 and those nominated were 6 and 47 women from the reserved women seats making a total of 76. To make the mandatory one third as per Kenya constitution (2010) women ought to be 117 in the national assembly therefore the number of women is short by 41. The Senate has total 21 women (3 elected and 18 nominated) if the one third rules could be attained; the number of women senators should be 23 therefore short by 3. Kenya's constitution (2010) maintains that women should occupy a third of elective seats and appointed seats at any level of government but this has not been achieved as the legislators have been slow to enact the two thirds gender rule.

Going by the universal suffrage of one woman one vote, if women were to employ their numerical strength in Kenya in 2017, they would occupy 117 seats out of 349 in the national assembly. In civic seats, women would occupy 1124 but as of today they only occupy 96 seats out of 1450 civic seats at the local governments. A total of 29 women were elected as MPs (out of 290), up from 23 in the last general election in 2017, and seven county governors (out of 47), up from three in 2017. Five other women MPs were nominated to represent social interest groups. This is on top of the 47 country representative seats that are automatically reserved for women by order of the country's 2010 constitution. Tanzania had 61 women parliamentarians out of 274, while Uganda had 75 out of 304. Rwanda, a country ravaged by war and genocide had 56% women representation (IPU 2012). Compared to these sampled countries, Kenya has been boasting of progressive peace, political stability and upward development, a

reason enough to have more women in politics and decision making but this has not been the case.

This could be because of inadequate resources, insufficient information and discriminatory cultural attitudes and practices. Psychologists have theorized that self-perception, as well as other attitudes do influence motivation, choice and ultimately an individual's behavior. Attitudes have been defined as a favorable or unfavorable reaction towards something or someone exhibited in one's beliefs, feelings or intended behavior. Men have therefore named and defined women in discriminatory cultural attitudes and practices, for example, girls are discriminated from birth, from how they are named, labeled, socialized and categorized in the Tugen language.

2.5 Sources of the Marginality of Women in Political Leadership

Globally, the marginalization of women in political leadership often stems from a combination of structural, cultural, and institutional factors. Socio-cultural norms and gender stereotypes play a significant role, as traditional views frequently undermine women's capabilities and contributions in leadership roles (Kabeer, 2021). Additionally, women often face systemic barriers such as unequal access to education, economic resources, and political networks, which hinder their ability to compete effectively in political arenas (Miller, 2022). These challenges are compounded by political structures that lack mechanisms for enforcing gender parity and protecting women from discrimination and violence (UN Women, 2022).

In Brazil, the marginalization of women in politics is deeply rooted in historical gender inequalities and persistent stereotypes. Women's political participation is constrained by socio-cultural norms that emphasize traditional gender roles and by

political institutions that fail to adequately support female candidates (Lima, 2022). Despite legal measures aimed at increasing female representation, such as gender quotas, women continue to face significant obstacles including political violence and a lack of support within political parties (Oliveira & Andrade, 2023). Similarly, in Mexico, while there has been progress through gender quota laws and other reforms, women still encounter barriers such as deep-seated machismo culture, economic disparities, and violence against female politicians (Vega, 2021). These factors collectively contribute to the ongoing marginalization of women in Mexican political leadership.

In France, gender inequality in political leadership persists despite advancements in women's rights and gender parity laws. Women face structural barriers such as unequal access to high-profile political positions and enduring gender biases within political parties (Lemoine, 2022). Additionally, while France has implemented gender parity laws that require equal representation in certain political roles, the actual influence and decision-making power of women often remain limited (Perrin, 2023). In China, the marginalization of women in political leadership is influenced by a combination of state-imposed restrictions and traditional gender norms. Despite the Chinese Communist Party's emphasis on gender equality, women are underrepresented in senior political positions due to a lack of supportive structures and the persistence of patriarchal values (Zhou & Xu, 2022). Moreover, the centralized nature of political power in China limits the opportunities for women to ascend to leadership roles within the Communist Party.

In Algeria, women's participation in political leadership is hindered by both legal and cultural barriers. Although women have been granted some political rights, traditional

gender norms and the patriarchal nature of Algerian society continue to marginalize female leaders (Belarbi, 2022). Political institutions and parties often fail to provide sufficient support for women, resulting in limited representation in high-level political positions (Khelil & Belkacem, 2023). Similarly, in Tunisia, despite legal reforms aimed at enhancing women's political participation, cultural resistance and entrenched gender biases present significant challenges. Women in Tunisia often struggle against societal expectations and institutional barriers that undermine their political influence and leadership opportunities (Jebali & Bouzid, 2022).

In Liberia, the marginalization of women in political leadership is influenced by a complex interplay of historical, economic, and social factors. The legacy of conflict and instability has had a disproportionate impact on women, limiting their access to political power and leadership roles (Sokpo, 2021). Although efforts have been made to increase female participation through various initiatives and policies, the persistence of gender-based violence and socio-economic inequalities continue to impede women's full political engagement (Jackson, 2022). In Uganda, women's political leadership is constrained by both traditional gender norms and systemic barriers within the political framework. Despite women holding some political positions, they face significant challenges such as limited access to political resources, patriarchal attitudes, and violence, which affect their ability to effectively lead and influence political processes (Nakanyike, 2022). These challenges highlight the need for continued reforms and support to enhance women's political participation and leadership in Uganda.

In Kenya, the marginalization of women in political leadership is influenced by a range of structural, cultural, and socio-economic factors. Historically, traditional

gender norms and patriarchal values have significantly impacted women's ability to participate fully in politics. Despite constitutional reforms aimed at increasing gender parity, such as the two-thirds gender rule established by the 2010 Constitution, implementation remains a challenge. Women often face systemic barriers including gender-based violence, cultural biases, and political party structures that do not adequately support female candidates (Ochieng, 2022). These challenges hinder women's ability to compete effectively and achieve leadership positions in both elected and appointed roles (Chebet, 2023).

Recent efforts to enhance women's political representation include various initiatives and policies designed to address these barriers. For instance, the introduction of gender quotas and capacity-building programs seeks to improve women's access to political leadership roles (Munyua, 2022). Additionally, advocacy by women's organizations and civil society groups has played a critical role in pushing for reforms and raising awareness about gender disparities (Wanjiku, 2023). However, despite these efforts, women in Kenya continue to confront issues such as inadequate financial resources for campaigns, limited political mentorship opportunities, and persistent societal resistance to female leadership (Njeri & Karuga, 2023). Addressing these barriers remains crucial for achieving greater gender equality in Kenyan politics and ensuring that women have the opportunity to contribute meaningfully to the country's governance.

In Baringo county, women in the Tugen community often face barriers such as limited access to political networks, insufficient support from political parties, and entrenched gender norms that undervalue their leadership potential (Chebet, 2023). Recent efforts to enhance women's political representation in Baringo County have included

initiatives aimed at increasing female political participation and empowerment. Local organizations and advocacy groups have worked to provide women with training, resources, and support to encourage their involvement in politics (Munyua, 2022). Despite these efforts, challenges remain, including financial constraints, socio-cultural resistance, and inadequate institutional support for women candidates (Njeri & Karuga, 2023). Additionally, the impact of traditional practices and gender biases continues to impede women's full engagement in political leadership within the Tugen community. Addressing these barriers requires continued efforts to promote gender equality, support female candidates, and challenge the cultural norms that restrict women's political opportunities (Wanjiku, 2023).

2.5.1 Factors hindering women access to political leadership

Globally, women's access to political leadership is impeded by a complex interplay of ideological, political, socio-cultural, economic, and social capital factors. Ideological factors, such as entrenched gender norms and traditional views about gender roles, often perpetuate the belief that leadership is a male domain, which can undermine women's political ambitions and opportunities (Kabeer, 2021). Politically, structural barriers including discriminatory practices within political parties, lack of supportive policies, and insufficient enforcement of gender quotas further restrict women's entry into leadership positions (Miller, 2022). Socio-cultural factors, such as patriarchal values and societal expectations, continue to reinforce gender biases that limit women's participation in politics (UN Women, 2022). Economically, women frequently face disparities in access to financial resources, which are crucial for campaigning and sustaining political careers (Vega, 2021). Additionally, the lack of social capital and political capacities, such as limited access to networks and

mentorship opportunities, further hampers women's ability to navigate and succeed in the political arena (Ngunyi, 2022). Addressing these barriers requires a multifaceted approach that tackles both structural inequalities and cultural attitudes to enhance women's political representation and leadership worldwide.

2.5.1.1 Ideological factors

Ideological factors play a significant role in hindering women's access to political leadership globally, often stemming from deep-rooted cultural and social beliefs about gender roles. Traditional ideologies that view leadership as a predominantly male domain can undermine women's political ambitions and reinforce the perception that political roles are unsuitable for women (Kabeer, 2021). These beliefs are perpetuated by long-standing stereotypes that associate leadership qualities with masculinity, while undervaluing or dismissing the leadership capabilities of women. Such ideological barriers not only limit women's opportunities to pursue political careers but also influence public and institutional perceptions of their potential as leaders.

Furthermore, ideological constraints are reinforced by educational and socialization processes that perpetuate gender biases from an early age. Educational systems and societal norms often encourage boys to aspire to leadership positions while discouraging girls from pursuing similar ambitions (Miller, 2022). This early conditioning contributes to a lack of female role models in politics and a scarcity of women who view political leadership as a viable career option. The resulting gender gap in political ambition and representation reflects these deep-seated ideological biases, which are challenging to overcome without substantial shifts in societal attitudes and educational practices.

Addressing ideological factors requires a concerted effort to challenge and change prevailing gender norms and stereotypes. Public awareness campaigns, educational reforms, and initiatives that promote positive female role models can help shift perceptions and encourage a more inclusive view of leadership (UN Women, 2022). By promoting the idea that leadership capabilities are not gender-specific and advocating for equal opportunities, it is possible to create a more supportive environment for women aspiring to political leadership roles. Such changes are essential for dismantling the ideological barriers that continue to restrict women's full participation in politics and leadership globally.

In Kenya, ideological factors significantly hinder women's access to political leadership, reflecting broader societal attitudes and entrenched gender norms. Traditional beliefs about gender roles often position men as natural leaders and decision-makers, while women's roles are seen as supportive or secondary (Ochieng, 2022). This ideological perspective undermines the legitimacy of women in leadership roles and influences both public and institutional attitudes toward female politicians. Such deep-seated stereotypes not only discourage women from pursuing political careers but also perpetuate a cycle of underrepresentation in leadership positions.

Moreover, these ideological constraints are reinforced by cultural practices and societal expectations that prioritize male authority and leadership. In many communities, including those in Kenya, cultural norms dictate that political and public leadership is predominantly a male domain, which can deter women from seeking political office and undermine their efforts when they do (Chebet, 2023). This cultural bias is often reflected in the political sphere, where women face skepticism

and resistance from both their peers and the electorate, further complicating their path to leadership roles.

Efforts to address these ideological barriers in Kenya involve challenging and transforming societal attitudes through education and advocacy. Initiatives aimed at promoting gender equality and female political empowerment focus on altering perceptions about women's leadership capabilities and encouraging supportive environments for female candidates (Munyua, 2022). Public awareness campaigns and community engagement are crucial in reshaping attitudes and breaking down the cultural norms that restrict women's political participation. By addressing these ideological barriers, Kenya can move closer to achieving gender parity in political leadership and creating a more inclusive political landscape.

In the Tugen-Arror community, ideological factors pose significant barriers to women's access to political leadership. Traditional gender norms and cultural beliefs deeply rooted in the community often reinforce the notion that leadership and decision-making are inherently male roles (Kiptoo & Rotich, 2023). These beliefs are sustained by historical practices and social structures that prioritize male authority, limiting opportunities for women to assume leadership positions. As a result, women in the Tugen-Arror community face substantial challenges in gaining acceptance and legitimacy in political roles.

The impact of these ideological constraints is evident in the limited participation of women in political processes within the Tugen-Arror community. Cultural attitudes and expectations often discourage women from pursuing political careers or leadership roles, as these are perceived as unconventional or inappropriate for women (Chebet, 2023). Additionally, women who do seek political office frequently

encounter resistance and skepticism from both their peers and the community, which can undermine their efforts and affect their electoral prospects. Although the gender role ideology is not static, rather it has remained in a flux while intersecting with economic, social and political systems of a particular society. Women's roles continue to be defined as private across countries which have resulted in their exclusion from political leadership. And this is more so in the Tugen-Arror community where women are called (*korko*) literally meaning home keepers or of the domestic domain while men are called (*Muren*) meaning of the public sphere or the protectors.

2.5.1.2 Political factors

Political factors significantly influence women's access to political leadership worldwide, often manifesting in various ways that reflect both structural and systemic barriers. Globally, women frequently encounter obstacles such as discriminatory practices within political parties, inadequate support for female candidates, and insufficient enforcement of gender parity laws. For instance, despite international agreements like the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), many countries struggle with implementing policies that effectively increase women's political representation (UN Women, 2022). Political institutions may lack mechanisms to address gender imbalances, resulting in persistent underrepresentation of women in leadership roles.

In Africa, political factors similarly affect women's participation in leadership. In many African countries, women face systemic barriers including patriarchal political systems, lack of financial resources for campaigns, and gender-biased electoral processes. For example, in Nigeria, although there are policies aimed at promoting gender parity, women still face significant challenges due to political violence,

intimidation, and party structures that favor men (Adeniran, 2022). In South Africa, while gender quotas have led to increased female representation in parliament, women often encounter internal party biases and political violence that undermine their ability to lead effectively (Moyo, 2023).

In Kenya, political factors contributing to the marginalization of women in political leadership include a combination of institutional barriers and socio-political dynamics. Despite the constitutional mandate for gender parity, the implementation of the two-thirds gender rule remains inconsistent due to resistance from political parties and a lack of supportive policies (Ochieng, 2022). Additionally, women in Kenya face challenges such as inadequate financial resources for campaigning, limited access to political networks, and societal resistance to female leadership (Chebet, 2023). In the Tugen-Arror community, political factors such as entrenched local power dynamics and traditional practices further limit women's access to leadership positions (Kiptoo & Rotich, 2023). The political structures and cultural norms within this community often reinforce male dominance, making it difficult for women to gain political traction and achieve leadership roles

2.5.1.3 Socio-Cultural factors

Socio-cultural factors play a crucial role in shaping women's access to political leadership across the globe, often perpetuating gender disparities through deeply ingrained cultural norms and practices. Globally, socio-cultural attitudes that regard leadership and decision-making roles as predominantly male are pervasive. For instance, in many societies, traditional gender roles emphasize domestic responsibilities for women while positioning men as natural leaders and public figures (Kabeer, 2021). These norms not only deter women from pursuing political careers

but also affect the public perception of women leaders, often questioning their capabilities and legitimacy.

In Africa, socio-cultural factors similarly influence women's political participation. In countries like Nigeria and Ethiopia, cultural beliefs and practices often place women in subordinate roles, which impacts their ability to engage fully in politics. For example, in Nigeria, traditional practices and gender norms often restrict women's mobility and participation in public affairs, affecting their ability to campaign effectively and gain political support (Adeniran, 2022). In Ethiopia, despite legal reforms aimed at increasing women's representation, cultural attitudes that view leadership as a male domain continue to undermine women's political aspirations and their acceptance in leadership roles (Tadesse, 2023).

In Kenya, socio-cultural factors significantly impact women's access to political leadership. Traditional gender norms and cultural expectations often confine women to domestic roles and discourage their involvement in public and political life (Chebet, 2023). For instance, in communities such as the Tugen-Arror in Baringo County, deeply rooted cultural beliefs reinforce the notion that leadership is a male prerogative, limiting women's participation in political processes (Kiptoo & Rotich, 2023). These cultural norms are further compounded by practices such as early marriage and gender-based violence, which restrict women's ability to engage in political activities and assume leadership roles. Efforts to address these socio-cultural barriers include community-based programs and advocacy initiatives aimed at changing attitudes and promoting gender equality, but progress remains slow and requires sustained intervention (Munyua, 2022). Among the Tugen-Arror community, it is sad to note that it is also seen as a taboo for women to compete or challenge men.

Men would always ask “*Mechei ne korko* – what does a woman want? This is because men do not expect nor do they appreciate women giving opinions on issues or participating in decision- making processes.

2.5.1.4 Economic factors

Economic factors significantly influence women's access to political leadership, impacting their ability to campaign, engage in politics, and assume leadership roles. Globally, economic disparities often restrict women’s political participation by limiting their access to financial resources necessary for running effective campaigns. For instance, in the United States, women candidates frequently face challenges related to fundraising compared to their male counterparts, which can hinder their ability to compete in elections and secure leadership positions (Lawless & Fox, 2022). Similarly, in many countries, women’s lower average income and wealth compared to men further exacerbate these disparities, making it difficult for women to finance their political ambitions.

In Africa, economic factors also play a critical role in shaping women’s political participation. In countries like Nigeria and South Africa, women often face significant barriers due to economic inequality and limited access to financial resources. For example, in Nigeria, women candidates frequently struggle with inadequate funding for campaigns and face higher financial barriers compared to men, impacting their ability to participate in and succeed in elections (Adeniran, 2022). In South Africa, despite progress in gender representation, economic disparities remain a significant hurdle, as women in poorer communities have less access to resources and political networks, which can limit their political engagement and leadership opportunities (Moyo, 2023).

In Kenya, economic factors are similarly influential in restricting women's access to political leadership. Women in Kenya often face financial constraints that limit their ability to campaign and engage in political activities effectively. For instance, the high cost of running for office, including expenses related to campaigning, advertising, and mobilizing support, disproportionately affects women who generally have less economic power compared to their male counterparts (Chebet, 2023). In the Tugen-Arror community, these economic challenges are compounded by local economic conditions, where traditional practices and limited access to financial resources further restrict women's political participation (Kiptoo & Rotich, 2023). Economic empowerment programs and targeted financial support for women candidates are essential for addressing these barriers and enhancing women's political representation in Kenya and beyond.. This is also true of the cultural beliefs of the Tugen community that women should not engaged in public domains. They are usually invited to public events to participate mostly as entertainers and cheerers (singing, dancing, hand clapping, cooking and serving the participants).

2.5.1.5 Inadequate social capital and political capacities

Inadequate social capital and political capacities are critical factors that hinder women's access to political leadership globally. Social capital refers to the networks, relationships, and social resources that individuals can draw upon to support their political ambitions. Globally, women often face challenges related to insufficient access to these networks, which can limit their ability to build the necessary connections and support needed to advance in politics. For example, in many Western democracies, women are less likely to be part of influential political networks or clubs

compared to their male counterparts, impacting their ability to secure endorsements and support for political roles (Lawless & Fox, 2022).

In Africa, the lack of social capital and political capacities similarly affects women's political participation. In countries like Nigeria and Kenya, women frequently encounter barriers due to limited access to political networks and mentorship opportunities. For instance, in Nigeria, women candidates often struggle to gain the same level of political backing and resources as their male counterparts due to exclusion from established political networks and patronage systems (Adeniran, 2022). Similarly, in South Africa, women may face challenges in accessing political mentorship and support structures, which are often dominated by male politicians and traditional networks (Moyo, 2023).

In Kenya, these issues are also prevalent. Women often have limited access to political networks and mentorship, which affects their ability to build effective political careers. For the Tugen-Arror community, traditional practices and local power dynamics can restrict women's access to influential networks and political support (Kiptoo & Rotich, 2023). Women in this community may face difficulties in finding mentors or gaining entry into established political circles, which hampers their ability to campaign effectively and build the necessary political capital for leadership roles (Chebet, 2023). Enhancing women's social capital through targeted networking opportunities, mentorship programs, and support from political organizations is essential for improving their political participation and leadership prospects.

2.6 Enabling Environment for Women Participation in Political Leadership

Creating an enabling environment for women's participation in political leadership involves addressing a range of structural, institutional, and societal factors that

facilitate or hinder women's entry into political roles. At the global level, establishing such an environment requires comprehensive reforms that ensure equitable access to political opportunities and resources. This includes implementing gender quotas and policies that promote women's representation in decision-making bodies, which have been shown to improve women's participation and influence in politics (Krook & Norris, 2021). Additionally, fostering an environment that supports women's leadership involves dismantling discriminatory practices and biases within political parties and electoral systems.

In many countries, including Kenya, establishing an enabling environment for women in politics also requires addressing the barriers posed by patriarchal norms and cultural attitudes. Traditional gender roles and cultural expectations often limit women's political participation by reinforcing the perception that leadership is a male domain (Kabeer, 2022). To counteract these norms, efforts to promote gender equality must include public awareness campaigns that challenge stereotypes and advocate for women's leadership as a normative and valued aspect of political life (Miller, 2023). Education and community engagement play a crucial role in shifting these perceptions and creating a more supportive environment for women.

Institutional support is another critical component of fostering an enabling environment for women's political leadership. This involves implementing policies that provide financial and logistical support for female candidates, such as funding for campaigns and access to political training programs (Smith, 2022). In Kenya, the introduction of legislative measures aimed at increasing women's representation in political offices, such as the two-thirds gender rule, represents a step toward creating a more inclusive political environment. However, effective implementation and

enforcement of such policies remain essential to achieving meaningful progress (Njeri & Karuga, 2023).

In addition to formal policies, the role of informal networks and mentorship is significant in creating an enabling environment for women's political participation. Women often benefit from access to mentorship and support networks that provide guidance, resources, and encouragement for pursuing political careers (Lawless & Fox, 2022). Establishing and nurturing these networks can help women overcome barriers related to limited social capital and political experience. Mentorship programs and women's political organizations can play a pivotal role in supporting emerging female leaders and facilitating their entry into political spheres.

Economic empowerment also contributes to an enabling environment for women's political leadership. Women's access to financial resources and economic opportunities impacts their ability to engage in politics and run for office effectively (Vega, 2021). In Kenya, initiatives that provide financial support and economic opportunities for women, such as small business grants and microfinance programs, can help address economic barriers and enhance women's capacity to participate in politics (Chebet, 2023). Economic empowerment initiatives not only support women's political ambitions but also contribute to broader gender equality goals.

Addressing socio-cultural barriers is crucial for creating an environment conducive to women's political participation. In Kenya, particularly in regions like Baringo County and the Tugen-Arror community, traditional norms and practices often limit women's political engagement (Kiptoo & Rotich, 2023). Efforts to promote women's leadership must involve engaging with local communities to challenge and transform these cultural norms. Community-based programs that promote gender equality and

highlight successful female leaders can help shift attitudes and increase acceptance of women in political roles.

The media also plays a significant role in shaping the enabling environment for women's political participation. Positive media coverage and representation of women in leadership positions can help normalize and promote women's involvement in politics (Murray, 2022). Media outlets can contribute to changing public perceptions and encouraging more women to pursue political careers by showcasing female leaders and their contributions to society. Ensuring balanced and supportive media representation is essential for fostering a political culture that values and supports women's leadership.

Finally, international support and collaboration are important for enhancing the enabling environment for women's political participation. Global organizations and partnerships can provide resources, expertise, and advocacy to support women's political leadership efforts worldwide (UN Women, 2022). By working together to address common challenges and share best practices, countries can advance gender equality in politics and create more inclusive political systems

2.7 Theoretical Framework

The study is based on Developmental Theory of Gender Realignment by Mona Lena Krook (2010). It is argued that developmental theory can be used to explain gender realignment in which the transformation of sex roles in societies has influenced the process of value change. As women's lifestyles and cultural attitudes have been altered by the process of societal modernization it is expected that it has a major impact on their political participation. The realignment can be said to be towards a certain political inclination or participation or non- participation. The theory is based on three major premises as follows:

Firstly, between societies based on their level of political and economic development, the Tugen as a community can be said to still be a pre-industrial society because almost all domestic and farming activities are done manually. Most homes do not have running water, so it has to be fetched from the river, firewood has to be fetched from the woods, cooking has to be done, fields and farms are tilled by hand, livestock have to be tended to cows and goats have to be milked, children and the elderly have to be taken care and other myriad activities within the home. All these activities keep women home bound and therefore, not enabling them to participate in public activities.

Secondly, within societies based on generational cohorts; Among the Tugen community, there are still generations who never had an opportunity to receive formal education. These generations still hold tightly to cultural beliefs and taboos and are very conservative about women participation in the public domain. Very few of them will allow their daughters to go for formal schooling. Also, before the recent genital mutilation ban in the country, many young women missed out in formal education

because as soon as the initiation process is over, many of the young initiates get married out of their own volition or are married off by their parents to the suitors who throng the homes as soon as the initiates come out of seclusion in spite of their young ages. Those who do not get married stop going to school because they see school as a place for children yet they perceive themselves as “adults”. Thirdly, within societies based on structural and cultural beliefs which are held very closely and therefore gender roles are very specific that women should be homebound whereas men stick to the public domain.

The developmental theory is based on the assumption that traditional societies are characterized by sharply differentiated gender roles that discourage women from jobs outside the home. The Tugen-Arror community in this case is a traditional society. Virtually all pre-industrial societies emphasize child-bearing and child-rearing as the central goal for women, and their most important function in life. Careers in the paid workforce are predominately male.

In post -industrial society’s gender roles have increasingly converged due to a structural revolution in the paid labour force, in educational opportunities for women, and in the characteristics of modern families. These major changes in sex roles can be expected to influence women’s political behavior. Studies suggest that female participation in the paid labour force has had a significant impact on them in terms of political participation (Togebay, 1994: Manza & Brooks, 1998).

Women’s support for political parties may be encouraged by pervasive patterns of horizontal and vertical occupational segregation. Working women are often over-represented in low-paid jobs and as public sector professionals and service providers in education, health care and welfare services. Women also experience continued pay

disparities and lower socio-economic status, with considerably higher levels of female poverty (United Nation, 1995). The increased membership and activism of working women in trade unions can also be expected to improve participation in politics. While increased participation by professional women in higher education may encourage more liberal attitudes.

Developmental theory therefore explains the phenomenon of women in Baringo North, where women are affected by the cultural and socio-economic factors that frustrate them from participating in political leadership. In Baringo North, women are seen first as home care givers more than anything else. In the Tugen language they are called *korko/kuroko* literally meaning home seers or the one who looks after the home. This theory therefore attempts to explain the situation of women within the study area being placed categorically within the domestic sphere rather than in the public domain.

2.8 Summary of Literature and Gap

The literature reviewed reveals that globally and nationally, women remain underrepresented in political leadership due to a combination of socio-cultural, economic, and institutional factors. Studies from developed countries such as Sweden, Norway, and Canada highlight the positive impact of affirmative action policies, gender quotas, and inclusive party systems on women's political participation (Freidenvall, 2022; Trimble, 2022). However, in many African contexts, patriarchal norms, gender-based discrimination, and political violence continue to obstruct women's access to leadership positions (Tamale, 2022; Omondi & Kabira, 2023). In Kenya, constitutional reforms such as the two-thirds gender rule have been

introduced, yet implementation remains inconsistent, particularly in rural areas where cultural norms prevail (Kariuki & Mutua, 2022).

Research also shows that economic marginalization significantly limits women's ability to participate in politics. In many developing contexts, women lack access to critical resources like land, capital, and campaign financing, which are essential for engaging in competitive electoral processes (Mutai & Chepngeno, 2022). In Kenya, studies have indicated that the high cost of politics, coupled with discriminatory inheritance laws, exacerbates gender inequality in political leadership (Wangui & Kamau, 2022). Additionally, political parties often fail to support female candidates through transparent nominations or equitable resource allocation (Ndung'u & Bosire, 2023), further limiting women's chances of attaining leadership positions.

Cultural and symbolic representations of gender roles are another major barrier to women's political inclusion. Among traditional communities such as the Tugen-Arror, and cultural expressions perpetuate gender stereotypes that portray leadership as a male domain (Chebet, 2020; Kiprop, 2021). Despite the existence of strong and inspirational female leaders nationally, such as Anne Waiguru and Martha Karua, localized cultural systems still limit the aspirations and opportunities of rural women, especially those in conservative regions like Baringo County (Ngugi, 2021; Kiptoo & Njiru, 2022). Few studies, however, have specifically examined how such cultural discourses and practices shape women's exclusion in political processes at the community level.

Most of the existing literature focuses on national-level statistics, legislative reforms, or the experiences of prominent women leaders, with limited empirical research on grassroots communities like the Tugen-Arror. While broad studies highlight general

barriers to women's leadership in Kenya, they often overlook the localized dynamics of ethnicity, language, clan structures, and elder councils that shape access to political power in specific communities (Chege & Maina, 2023). There is also a noticeable gap in literature that captures the voices of rural women themselves—their lived experiences, aspirations, and perceptions of political leadership—within traditional, male-dominated settings. This study therefore sought to fill these gaps by focusing on the specific socio-cultural, economic, and political factors influencing women's access to political leadership among the Tugen-Arror community in Baringo County. It aims to generate context-specific insights that go beyond national trends and explore the deep-rooted structural and symbolic barriers at the community level.

.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The chapter describes the research design, the study area, population, sample and sampling techniques, data collection, validity and reliability of instruments, ethical issues in research and data presentation and analysis.

3.1 Research Design

Research design is widely regarded as the foundational blueprint for conducting a study and achieving its objectives. According to Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill (2019), a research design outlines the overall strategy chosen to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way, thereby ensuring the research problem is effectively addressed. Creswell and Creswell (2022) describe research design as the plan or proposal to conduct research, involving the intersection of philosophy, strategies of inquiry, and specific methods. Kivunja and Kuyini (2019) further emphasize that research design serves as the structural framework that guides the collection, measurement, and analysis of data, enabling researchers to produce valid and reliable outcomes. Similarly, Bryman (2021) defines it as the structure that guides the execution of a research project by detailing the procedures necessary for obtaining the information needed. These contemporary perspectives align with earlier definitions and underscore the importance of research design in generating credible answers to research questions.

Descriptive methods are widely used to obtain data useful in evaluating present practices and providing decisions. Survey research was a self-reported study that

required the collection of quantifiable information from the sample by interviewing or administering questionnaires to a sampled individual. It involved gathering of facts or obtaining pertinent and precise information concerning the current status of the phenomenon and whenever possible draw possible conclusions from the facts discovered.

3.2 Study Area

Baringo North Sub-County is one of the sub-counties in Baringo County_(Appendix V). It is inhabited by the Tugen-Arror community which is a sub-tribe of the larger Kalenjin tribe. Baringo North borders Tiaty Sub-County to the North, Baringo Central and Baringo South to the East and South, Keiyo and Marakwet Sub-Counties to the west. The Sub-County covers an area of 2,882 square kilometers. It lies between Latitudes 00 degrees 13” South and 1 degrees 40” North and Longitude 35 degrees 36” and 36" degrees 30” East.

One of the major topographical features in the Sub-County is Lake Baringo situated in the Eastern part of the Sub-County. Other features include rivers, valleys and plains, the Tugen Hills, the floors of the Great Rift Valley and Kerio_Valley. The Tugen Hills form a conspicuous topographical feature with an altitude ranging between 1000m to 2600m above sea level. Forty six percent of the Sub-County is either too steep (Tugen hills) or plains, especially below the Tugen Hills and the Eastern parts around Lake Baringo. The lowlands or plains are very dry. This means that 46.3% of the land in Baringo cannot support any meaningful crop production. However, in the valleys with alluvial soils, the use of ground water, rivers, and run-off catchments for irrigation can profitably be practiced.

The sub-County has different agro-ecological zones necessitating different activities. Baringo North sub-county is one of the arid and semi-arid sub-counties in the country with much of the sub-county receiving low to average annual rainfall. However, within the sub-county there are some high potential areas neighboring the hills and the highlands that receive adequate rainfall for crop sustenance. Baringo North sub-county experiences two seasons of rainfall. The long rains start from the end of March to the beginning of July, and short rains from the end of September to November.

The rainfall is about 50% reliable. It varies from 1000mm to 1500mm in the highlands to 600mm in the lowlands. The rainfall distribution pattern means that major cropping activities are concentrated in the highland areas, which have adequate rainfall. These areas are found in Kabartonjo and Kipsaraman divisions. The major farming activities include dairy farming, growing of maize, beans, groundnuts, cotton and coffee. In the remainder of the sub-county which is semi- arid, rearing of goats, sheep, cattle, beekeeping and growing of finger millet and sorghum are the main activities. Within the Tugen-Arror community, there is a notable disparity in educational opportunities between boys and girls. Girls often face greater barriers to education due to socio-cultural norms and economic constraints, leading to lower enrollment and higher dropout rates compared to boys. The poverty index in the region is relatively high, which exacerbates educational inequalities as families prioritize immediate economic needs over schooling.

The sampled group was residents of the five locations of Kabartonjo division which consists of Kelyo, Ossen, Bartum, Saimo and Katorin locations of Baringo North Sub- County. Guided by the population size and concentration, clan composition, rural dynamics, geographical characteristics, and other features, the researcher drew-

up a purposive sample of 150 respondents, divided into 75 women and 75 men, proportionally distributed into all the five locations using stratified random sampling. The choice of stratified random sampling technique was based on the fact that the population of study was divided into homogenous but diverse subgroups. The sample was taken in such a way to ensure that each of the sub-groups in the population was represented in the sample

3.3 Study Population

The study population constituted all adults above 18years from Kabartonjo division of Baringo North sub-county. The population per location of the study area as per 2019 census report was as follows:

Table 3.1 Kabartonjo Division and Its Location

Location	Male	Female	Total
Kelyo	3,572	3,533	7,105
Ossen	4,213	4,419	8,632
Bartum	3,727	3,878	7,605
Saimo	6,303	6,605	12,908
Katiorin	2,511	2,430	4,941
Total	20,326	20,865	41,191

Source: KNBS (2019) census report

3.4 Target population

The target populations in this study were members of Kabartonjo division of voting age (41,191) in the five locations.

3.4.1 Sample population

A sample of 150 respondents was used in the study. Both men and women comprised the sample population. The unit of analysis included adults who had attained voting age.

3.4.2 Sample size determination

The required sample size for the study was determined by Fisher's exact Formula by using a 95% confidence interval; $n = z^2 \frac{pq}{u^2}$

Where, n is the desired sample size

- Confidence Level: 95% ($Z = 1.96$)
- Estimated Proportion: $p = 0.5$
- Margin of Error: $E = 0.05$

Plugging into the formula:

$$n = \frac{(1.96)^2 \cdot 0.5 \cdot (1 - 0.5)}{(0.05)^2}$$

Calculating:

$$n = \frac{1.8416 \cdot 0.25}{0.0025} = \frac{0.4604}{0.0025} \approx 149.9$$

Therefore the sample size is 150 respondents

3.4.3 Proportionate allocation of sample size

Location populations multiply by the sample size divided by the division population.

Stratum A-kelyo $n = 7105 / 41191 \times 150 = 26$

Stratum B= Ossen $= 8632 / 41191 \times 150 = 31$

Stratum C= Bartum $= 7605 / 41191 \times 150 = 28$

Stratum D=Saimo $= 12908 / 41191 \times 150 = 47$

$$\text{Stratum E} = \text{Katorin} = 44941/41191 \times 150 = 18$$

Table 4 shows the representation and distribution of respondents by administrative locations.

Table 3.2: Respondents by gender and administrative location

Location	No of Male	No. of Female	Total
Kelyo	13	13	26
Ossen	15	16	31
Bartum	14	14	28
Saimo	24	23	47
Katorin	9	9	18
Total	75	75	150

Researcher, 2025

3.4 Data Collection Instruments

3.4.1 Questionnaires

Questionnaires were designed by the researcher in line with objectives and response to the research questions in the study. The parameters measured in the questionnaire included societal attitudes, factors hindering women's access and ways of empowering women to access. The data was collected by the researcher and the research assistants who underwent a training session on administration of the questionnaires. One hundred and fifty (150) questionnaires were administered by the researcher with the help of two research assistants because some of the respondents were semi-literate. The questionnaire had mainly close-ended questions. This ensured the questions in the various categories were strictly answered within the context of the objectives of the study.

The questionnaire enabled the researcher to generate a considerable amount of data over a wide coverage and extensive contents within a short period of time. Questionnaires were used because they have an element of secrecy that ensured that respondents were not afraid of giving views. The researcher and research assistants physically distributed the questionnaires. Information from the key informants was collected through face to face interviews by the researcher.

A systematic random sampling of households in the locations was used to select respondents who participated in the study. The sampling would start at a random point between 1 and 7. All the eligible members in every 7th house were given a questionnaire to fill. The questions were mainly closed ended ones. This ensured that the questions in the various categories were strictly answered within the context of the objectives of the study. This is due to the fact that to understand gender and political leadership among the Tugen Aror community, questions should target different groups with varied responses.

3.4.2 Interview schedules

This tool was used in interviewing people who have key knowledge on the topic of the researcher's interest. Purposive sampling was used to select persons endowed with information regarding women's access to political leadership. Information was obtained through informal conversations between the researcher and the 10 key informants. The key informants were selected from the sample. They included adults who had attained voting age. A 30 minute interview was conducted among the key informants who provided and expounded precisely on most of the issues about leadership between genders. Information that was gathered here permitted clarification of questions, collection of in-depth information as well as exploration of

spontaneous remarks by the respondents. Any possible bias was eliminated by comparing the information collected from interviews with those from the questionnaires. The key informants provided and expounded precisely on most of the issues about gender and politics among the Tugen Aror community. Data was analyzed thematically in line with the objectives of the study.

3.5 Validity and Reliability

According to Mugenda (1999), validity is the accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences which are based on research results. It is the degree to which results obtained from the analysis of the data actually represent the phenomena under study. A questionnaire is therefore said to be valid when it actually measures the intended parameters. As a matter of testing the validity of the research instruments, the researcher scrutinized and sharpened the tools with the assistance of the supervisory faculty. Further, the researcher interacted freely with the respondents during the period of piloting. The free and friendly atmosphere enabled the researcher to discover the shortcomings of the research instruments, and then make the necessary adjustments before using them in the actual study.

Reliability refers to the consistency of a research instrument or the degree to which the questionnaire as a measuring instrument measures the same way each time it is used under the same condition with the same respondent. A measure is considered reliable if a research finding on the same test given twice is similar. Data reliability ensures that there is precision with which data is collected. If the same results are obtained time after time, no matter how many times you conduct a piece of research, this suggests that the data collected is reliable (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2004). To ensure the reliability of the study questionnaire, a pilot study was done in the

neighboring Baringo Central Sub-County. The study tools were piloted in an area similar to the area of study, before commencement of the study where 15 questionnaires accounting for 10% of the respondents. The choice of this Sub-County was based on the shared characteristics like social-economic activities, level of living standards, ethnic composition, and climatic conditions. Piloting was done on 10% of the sample size. Further, reliability analysis was conducted and a Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient of 0.82 was established indicating that the instrument was reliable and was good for data collection.

3.6 Data Analysis

Gathered data was first coded according to categories based on the type of information, and entry into the computer was undertaken. The data processing exercise commenced with the coding of all the responses obtained to facilitate easy analysis using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Data presentation was done using descriptive statistics in the form of pie-chart, frequency and percentage tables. Qualitative data was presented thematically in line with objectives of the study.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Professional research ethics were observed in conducting the research. Consent was obtained from the respondents and confidentiality was maintained throughout the research process. A letter of introduction was obtained from the School of Arts and Social Sciences, Moi University. The letter was used to secure a permit from the National Council for Research and Technology, (see appendix IV) to collect data. The researcher also attached an introductory letter, (see appendix I) to every questionnaire, (see appendix II), specifying the purpose of the study and assuring respondents of

their confidentiality. Also, the data was presented in aggregate, thus ensuring the anonymity of the respondents.

3.8 Chapter Summary

By use of simple stratified random sampling procedures the researcher was able to survey the views and opinions of the Tugen-Arror community on gender inequality on women representation in politics. Therefore, the study was taken as a clear representation of the views of the general population in the area of study. The information obtained was used as a social change intervention mechanism geared towards addressing and transforming the unequal gender status within the area of study and other areas in the county where gender parity issues were of concern.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with data analysis, interpretation and presentation of the study findings. The purpose of the study was to find out the factors influencing women's access to political leadership among the Tugen- Arror community in Baringo North Sub-County. The study was guided by the following objectives: examine the societal attitudes of the Tugen-Arror community on gender balance in political representation, investigate factors hindering women's access to political leadership in the community and establish ways of empowering women to access full leadership potential in the community.

Among the reasons identified for not accessing political leadership included, family responsibilities, social-cultural and religious practices and beliefs, women's multiple responsibilities, gender stereotyped norms, lack of material resources, violence and harassment, eschewed electoral system, lack of ambition and the fact that unlike men, there were few women who had the requisite educational and professional training and qualifications.

4.2 Response rate

Response rate is defined as the percentage of respondents who participated in the survey from the determined sample size of the research (Groves, 2011). After the questionnaires were filed, they were checked by the researcher to ascertain its completeness and accuracy. It was identified that all 150 questionnaires distributed to

the respondents were duly filled and returned while 7 out of 10 participants were interviewed. Therefore, the response rate of the study was 100 percent for questionnaires and 70 percent for interviews. The rate was higher than the 67 percent acceptable response rate required for further analysis in surveys (Ndinda, 2019). The high response rate was as a result of face to face interaction with the respondents.

4.3 Demographic Characteristics

To establish, determine and anchor the relevance of the respondents' perspective into the socio-cultural world around them, they were required to provide basic demographic data such as age, sex, marital status and highest level of education attained. The group discussed here represents those sampled under the stratified sample. The findings were based on the three questions identified in chapter one.

4.3.1 Age

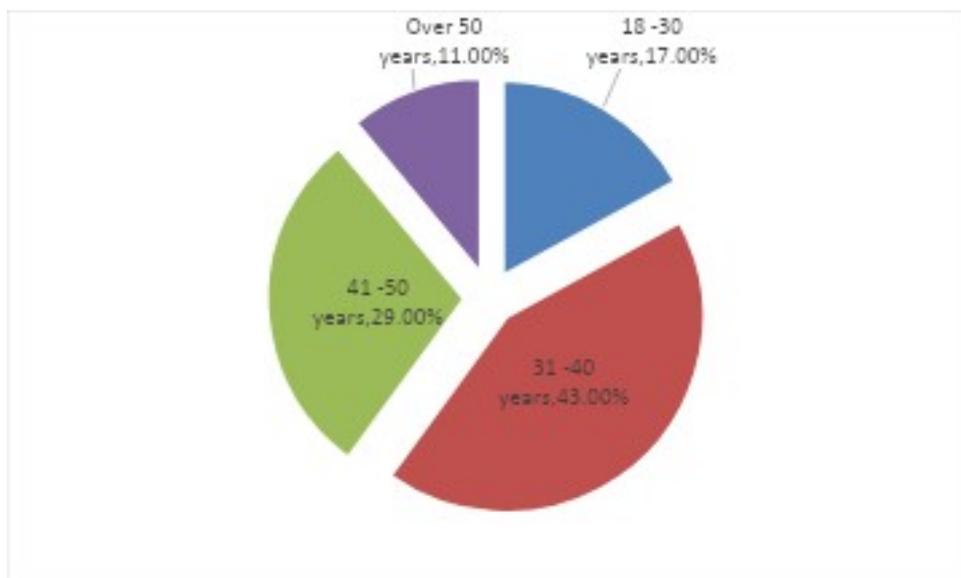


Figure 4.1: Distribution of respondents by age group

Table 4.1: Distribution of respondents by age and gender

Age	Gender			Percentage		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
18-30	15	10	25	20	13.3	16.7
31-40	30	34	64	40	45.3	42.7
41-50	20	24	44	26.7	32	29.3
51+	10	7	17	13.3	9.4	11.3
Total	75	75	150	100	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2020

The sample of respondents was taken from various age groups which were distributed in percentages as shown on Figure 4.1. The minimum ages of respondents are between 18-30 years which is the start of voting age in Kenya which is equivalent to 17% in this study. As shown on table 4.1, the highest concentration of respondents were in the gender gap (43%) categories of between 31-40 for both genders, followed by 41-51 (29%), 18-30 (17%) and lastly above 51 years of age (11%). Therefore, all the groups selected were a source of important information when investigating the subject under discussion that is based on the objectives of the study.

4.3.2 Gender and Marital Status

The Table 4.2 represents the respondents by gender and their marital status during the study.

Table 4.2: Respondents by gender and marital status

Marital status	Gender			Percentage total		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Single	20	5	25	26.7	6.7	16.7
Married	50	50	100	66.7	66.7	66.7
Divorced/Separated	2	5	7	2.7	6.7	4.7
Widowed	3	15	18	4	20	12
Total	75	75	150	100	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2020

On account of their marital status, most respondents were in the married category, followed by a few who were single, widowed and divorced/separated in that order. As presented in the table, the majority (66.7%) of the respondents were married. Some of the members who were interviewed stated that the community respected married men and women in leadership positions as they said if one manages their families they can as well manage the public arenas like political leadership.

4.3.3 Level of Education

The table 4.3 shows respondents of this study by gender and the highest level of education the respondents had attained.

Table 4.3: Respondents by gender and highest level of education attained

Education	Gender			Percentage total		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Primary	2	30	32	2.7	40	21.3
Secondary	48	33	81	64	44	54
Post-secondary	20	10	30	26.7	13.3	20
Tertiary	5	2	7	6.7	2.7	4.7
Total	75	75	150	100	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2020

Respondents distribution and characteristics in terms of their highest level of education, as shown on Table 4.3. indicated that most respondents had attained a secondary level of education 64% and 44% men and women respectively, followed by primary, post-secondary and tertiary, in that order. This was significant because it

showed that most people were still influenced by socio-cultural values as most of those who were highly educated were men whereas the numbers of trained and highly educated women to run for political office were significantly few. This means that attaining education is one of the qualifications for one to run to politics and any other public office. It was of importance to know respondents' level of education in order to establish whether education had any impact towards political positions and gender.

4.4 Membership Position in Political Party Leadership

The table 4.4 represents respondents by membership positions in political party leadership and gender. The following were the conclusions obtained.

Table 4.4: Respondents by membership position in political party leadership and gender

Members	Gender			Percentage total		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Executive member	7	2	9	9.3	2.7	6
Active member	42	22	64	56	29.3	42.7
Not a member	20	40	60	26.7	53.3	40
No answer	6	11	17	8	14.7	11.3
Total	75	75	150	100	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2025

Respondents were asked about their membership in political parties. As shown on Table 4.4, membership was more predominant among men than women. From the survey, it emerged that 9.3 % of the men were occupying leadership positions in their enlisted political parties while a paltry 2.7% of the women were executive members. An impressive 56% of the men were active political party members, while women were only at 29.3%. This translates to only 6% of all the respondents being office holders of their parties, while 42.7% were active members. The few women

enlisted in political party leadership shows how the echelons of power in political leadership are eschewed to the advantage of men while most women are relegated to being voters only.

4.5 Societal attitudes of the Tugen-Arror community on gender balance in political representation

The first objective of this study was to examine societal attitudes of the Tugen-Arror community on gender balance in political representation. In order to achieve this, respondents were requested to rate their agreement or disagreement on the statements on Likert Scale. The findings were as in table 4.5

Table 4.5 Societal attitudes of the Tugen-Arror community on gender balance in political representation

Statement	SD		D		U		A		SA	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1. Men are generally more suitable for leadership positions than women.	25	16.7	22	14.7	3	2.0	51	34.0	49	32.7
2. Women should have equal opportunities to run for political office.	41	27.3	45	30.0	5	3.3	31	20.7	28	18.7
3. The presence of women in political positions contributes to development.	39	26.0	47	31.3	3	2.0	29	19.3	32	21.3
4. Traditional gender roles prevent women from pursuing politics.	25	16.7	24	16.0	3	2.0	57	38.0	41	27.3
5. Women in politics face more challenges than their male counterparts.	23	15.3	22	14.7	5	3.3	49	32.7	51	34.0
6. Affirmative action policies are necessary to achieve gender balance.	43	28.7	45	30.0	7	2.9	19.3	26	17.3	29

The findings in table 4.5 show a distinct pattern regarding the respondents' views on gender-related statements. In the first statement, "Men are generally more suitable for leadership positions than women," a majority of the respondents, 51 (34.0%), agreed with the statement, while 49 (32.7%) strongly agreed. Only 25 (16.7%) strongly

disagreed, and 22 (14.7%) disagreed, leaving just 3 (2.0%) undecided. This indicates that a substantial majority, 100 (66.7%), of the respondents hold the view that men are more suited for leadership positions than women. This finding suggests that traditional gender perceptions still dominate leadership preferences, consistent with the study by Mwangi et al. (2021), which highlighted the persistence of gender biases in leadership roles, especially in patriarchal communities.

Similarly, for the second statement, "Women should have equal opportunities to run for political office," the findings reveal that 45 (30.0%) of the respondents disagreed, and 41 (27.3%) strongly disagreed, implying that the majority (86 respondents, 57.3%) are not in favor of equal political opportunities for women. However, 31 (20.7%) agreed, and 28 (18.7%) strongly agreed, showing that a smaller but significant proportion supports gender equality in political participation. This outcome is consistent with Otieno's (2019) research, which found that cultural beliefs in some communities often hinder women's political aspirations despite progressive laws advocating for gender parity.

The statement that, "The presence of women in political positions contributes to development," further emphasizes the divide in opinion. A combined 47 (31.3%) disagreed, and 39 (26.0%) strongly disagreed, making up a majority of 86 (57.3%) who are skeptical of women's impact on political development. Conversely, 29 (19.3%) agreed, and 32 (21.3%) strongly agreed. The findings align with those of Kimani et al. (2020), who noted that while many recognize the potential of women in politics, conservative views remain prevalent, limiting women's participation in leadership.

Furthermore, the statement that "Traditional gender roles prevent women from pursuing politics" showed significant agreement, with 57 (38.0%) agreeing and 41 (27.3%) strongly agreeing. Only 25 (16.7%) strongly disagreed, and 24 (16.0%) disagreed, indicating that a clear majority, 98 (65.3%), believes that gender roles restrict women's political participation. This finding is consistent with the work of Nduta (2022), who pointed out that cultural norms still play a significant role in limiting women's political involvement, despite efforts towards gender equality.

In addition, the statement "Women in politics face more challenges and biases than their male counterparts" drew a notable response. A combined 51 (34.0%) strongly agreed, and 49 (32.7%) agreed, representing 100 respondents (66.7%) who acknowledge the difficulties women encounter in politics. This contrasts with the 23 (15.3%) who strongly disagreed and 22 (14.7%) who disagreed. This observation echoes the findings of Kariuki and Mutua (2020), which highlighted the persistent biases and obstacles women face in navigating political spaces traditionally dominated by men.

Finally, when asked about affirmative action policies to achieve gender balance in politics, 45 (30.0%) disagreed, and 43 (28.7%) strongly disagreed, suggesting that 88 respondents (58.7%) oppose such policies. On the other hand, 29 (19.3%) agreed, and 26 (17.3%) strongly agreed, reflecting a minority that supports affirmative action. These results are in line with studies like that of Rono (2021), who found that while gender quotas are increasingly implemented, public support for these policies remains divided, with many viewing them as unfair or unnecessary.

On interview, one of the Participant WR4 Said:

“In my view, the societal attitudes of the Tugen-Arror community significantly influence gender balance in political representation. Traditionally, the community has held strong patriarchal values, where leadership and decision-making roles have predominantly been reserved for men. This longstanding cultural norm tends to marginalize women's participation in politics and leadership positions. Women in the Tugen-Arror community often face several barriers when it comes to political involvement. These include limited access to education and resources, societal expectations around gender roles, and a lack of support for female candidates. As a result, women are underrepresented in political offices and decision-making roles. However, there is a growing awareness and movement towards gender equality within the community. Efforts to challenge and change traditional attitudes, along with initiatives aimed at empowering women and encouraging their participation in politics, are beginning to make a difference. Increasing the representation of women in political positions requires a concerted effort to address these societal attitudes and create an environment that supports and values the contributions of both men and women equally.”

The participant's response highlights how societal attitudes within the Tugen-Arror community affect gender balance in political representation. Traditionally, the community has upheld patriarchal values, which have historically limited women's roles in leadership and decision-making. This cultural norm has created a significant barrier for women seeking to enter politics, reinforcing a system where men predominantly hold political power. The participant notes that women's involvement in politics is constrained by multiple factors. These include restricted access to education and resources, which diminishes their ability to compete effectively in the political arena. Additionally, societal expectations surrounding gender roles further limit opportunities for women, as traditional views often prioritize male leadership and undermine women's potential contributions.

Despite these challenges, the participant observes a positive shift towards gender equality in the community. There is an increasing recognition of the need to address gender imbalances and support women in political roles. This changing perspective is beginning to create opportunities for women to engage more actively in politics and leadership positions. Efforts to empower women and promote their political

participation are essential for achieving greater gender balance. By challenging and transforming entrenched societal attitudes, the community can foster an environment that values the contributions of both men and women equally. Such changes are crucial for ensuring that political representation reflects the diversity and capabilities of the entire community. It underscores the deep-rooted nature of gender biases within the Tugen-Arror community and highlights ongoing efforts to improve gender balance in political representation. It reflects a growing awareness and movement towards greater inclusivity and equal opportunities, which are necessary for achieving meaningful change in political representation.

Given that attitudes about women's political leadership and representation were about whether people want more or fewer women in office, it makes sense that stereotypes could influence these beliefs. People who hold negative stereotypes of women (emotional, less intelligent, focused solely on "women's issues") are less likely to want more people like that in political office than those who hold more positive stereotypes of women (consensus building, compassionate, focused on a broad set of issues). For this reason, considering people's stereotypes of women and men is important to assessing attitudes towards women's political representation.

For instance, one lady who was interviewed suggested that "*Women have too much work within their homestead thus preventing them from engaging in politics*".

Doubts about the competency and suitability of women for political office have implications for the level at which voters believe women should hold political office. The survey found out that women were more likely than men to be more "gender conscious" in evaluating candidates or representatives and were more likely to prefer to be represented by someone of the same gender. When confronted with a choice

between a female and a male candidate for election, women were more likely to express a preference for candidates of a particular gender than were men and that, women prefer women representatives.

4.6 Factors Hindering Women Political Leadership

The second objective was to investigate factors hindering women's access to leadership in the community. One of the questions was to establish the presence of obstacles hindering women vying for political leadership in Baringo North sub-County the Table 9 shows whether there are obstacles hindering women vying for political leadership in Baringo North sub- County. This answered the objective on whether there are obstacles that hinders women's political leadership.

Table 4.6: Factors hindering women political leadership position

Response	Male		Female	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Lack of ambition	8	11	3	4
Gender role stereotyping	11	15	25	33
Violence	6	8	7	9
Non-conducive electoral system	7	9	3	4
Cultural and religious beliefs	12	16	11	15
multiple responsibilities	10	13	9	12
lack of government support	5	7	3	4
lack of material resources	9	12	11	15
Other obstacle	7	9	3	4
Total	75	100	75	100

Source: Field Data, 2020

When asked about possible obstacles facing women in obtaining leadership positions, 48% of the respondents stated that they viewed gender stereotyping as the main obstacle, and 14% stated that gender role stereotyping in society would hinder women's chances. Some respondents (27%) stated that lack of material resources disadvantaged women in obtaining a political leadership post. Male respondents (11%) thought that by being a woman, women lack the ambition and the role models that would propel them to political leadership positions. Multiple responsibilities at 25% seems to be rated highly for both respondents, as one of the obstacles. Lack of ambition was at 15%, gender role stereotyping stood at 48%, while cultural and religious practices/beliefs at 31%.

For instance, one elder asked,

If a woman goes into politics, who will take care of her home? (yewo chepyoso siasa ko ripchene ngo konyi?). In most African societies responsibilities at home are viewed to be women's role, hence going to political arenas are viewed to be unmanageable. Therefore, 'good' women are the ones who go to work and back in the evening to do her chores as expected by society.

Women are generally more inclined than men to see higher expectations, voter hesitation and lack of institutional support as major obstacles to female political leadership. Also, some women believe women who run for office are held to higher standards and have to do more to prove themselves, compared with men who see this as a major reason that more women are not in top elective office.

In addition, Inglehart and Norris (2000) noted that a fundamental problem facing the process of democratization is the continued lack of gender equality in political leadership. The basic facts are not in dispute, for instance worldwide today women represent only one in seven parliamentarians, one in ten cabinet ministers and at the apex of power, one in twenty heads of state or Government (IPU, 2012). Projections based on the current pace of global change indicate that women will achieve parity in parliaments a century from now.

The obstacles to the political participation of women listed by the participants to the conversation were the lack of public/social support and political party support, entrenched traditional views, lack of confidence, lack of financial means, lack of capacity building opportunities, lack of access to technology, gender discrimination, division of labour (multiple responsibilities for women) thus the list is endless.

Women's political participation is the actual and equal involvement of women in the governance of the communities they belong to whether via elective, appointive or

merited positions. It means the recognition and value attached to the contribution of all including women in the governance system of any community/country. Decision-making becomes beneficial to the entire community/ country when it reflects the collaborative inputs from all members of the community without discrimination. It is important to have both quantity and quality in the women taking part in governance. Studies have revealed that increased women's participation has resulted in a bigger economic benefit, increased cooperation across party lines and more sustainable peace keeping and conflict resolution.

The decision of women to seek political office, voter willingness to cast their ballots for women candidates, party and government support for women, lack of material resources for mounting up a credible campaign, the multiple responsibilities women are known to handle, lack of the requisite educational, professional qualifications and experience, the belittling cultural and religious practices/beliefs, and also the accompanying gender role stereotyping, and important institutional and structural aspects of the electoral system and politics including electoral violence have hindered women's attempts at gaining greater representation. For instance, one elderly man who was interviewed suggested that a woman ought to seek permission from her husband in order to enter into the political arena . This proves the entrenched culture that women belong to the domestic domain within the Tugen community.

The study identified the significance and enormity of gender gaps in political leadership among the Tugen-Arror community of Baringo North Sub-County. If gender equality in political leadership was ever to be attained, the study argued that closing persistent gender gaps matters. It matters because gender equity was a core governance objective in its own right. Greater gender equity enhances productivity,

improves development outcomes, and makes institutions more representative. Policy priority action measures that focus on the underlying multiple determinants and constraints that limit women's advancement are set forth, and thus, need to be prioritized.

The 'normalization' of women in politics is especially important for the society's evaluations of women as candidates. In contrast, contexts defined by the relative absence of women may further erode support for female candidates; the absence of women from politics may reinforce perceptions that politics was a male profession.

The study has clearly shown that since women are the members of the public who are currently underrepresented in political leadership, it makes sense that they would be more sensitive to a candidate's gender than men would be. The implications of women's representation for public and voting behavior are very important. For example, the presence of women candidates and office holders increases political efficacy, trust, media usage, and other forms of political involvement among the public, particularly among women. Policies based on the concept of diversity of human resources (in this case women) enrich society and therefore should be undertaken, without which, it is unlikely that women will make significant inroads into political leadership any time soon given the low participation among women. It is therefore clear that gender equality in political leadership is a societal issue.

For example, one of the former Member of Parliament in Baringo North stated;

Can a women candidate alleviate poverty in the Constituency? Can she have the requisite resources to mount a serious campaign? For instance, 10 million? (torei kwony bananta eng Baringo? tinye nee korko?).

The gender preferences in voting or gender affinity effect can be explained by gender stereotypes about candidates' belief, issues, competency and traits by voters. This links considerations about candidates' (gender, party, issues, among others) to considerations about voters (gender, political knowledge, ambitions, efficacy, among others). Thus, voters' baseline gender preferences may be shaped by the frequency with which they have opportunities to select among male and female candidates. Gender may play less of a role for voters who regularly have opportunities to vote for women. The normalization of women in politics which is defined by higher levels of female recurrent representation may lead voters to evaluate female candidates more positively. Conversely, women's absence from politics may reinforce stereotypes about the 'fitness' of men and women as candidates

4.7 Preference to Vote for a Male Candidate

The Table 4.7 represents the preference female respondents prefer when they are voting for a male candidate in politics

Table 4.7: Respondents who would prefer to vote for a man

Reason	Sex			Percentage		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Men are more suitable for the post	32	11	43	42.7	14.6	28.7
Currently there is no suitable woman	21	7	28	28	9.3	18.7
Women have got no time	10	35	45	13.3	46.7	30
Women are not good leaders	8	6	14	10.7	8	9.3
other reasons / No response	4	16	20	5.3	21.3	13.3
Total	75	75	150	100	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2020

According to Table 4.7, 46.7 % of the female respondents who preferred to vote for a male candidate replied that women have got no time for politics and 14.6% said that men are more suitable for the post. Male respondents on the other hand preferred men candidates at 42.7 % because they thought men were more suitable for political

leadership. Male respondents also contended that currently there is no suitable woman at 28 %. The predominant reasons for both sexes of preferring male candidates was that women have got no time at 30 % and the fact that men are more suitable leaders at 28.7% and 18.7% of the respondents stated that currently there was no suitable woman.

4.8 Preference to vote for a female candidate

The Table 4.8 represents the respondents who prefer to vote for male candidates than their counterparts based on the reasons stated.

Table 4.8: Respondents who would prefer to vote for a woman

Reason	Sex			Percentage		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Women are just as capable as men	15	17	32	20	22.7	21.3
Women should be given the opportunity	17	23	40	22.7	30.7	26.7
It is the right of both sexes	9	8	17	12	10.7	11.3
Women and men complement each other	16	14	30	21.3	18.7	20
Women have leadership skills	8	7	15	10.7	9.3	10
Women are more sensitive	9	6	15	12	8	10
Other reasons	1	0	1	1.3	0	0.7
Total	75	75	150	100	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2020

Of those respondents who said they would prefer to vote for a woman, the majority at 26.7% said that women should be given the opportunity while 21.3% said women were just as capable as men, 20% of the respondents said women and men complement each other. However, 40 % of the male respondents said they would prefer a woman because women should be given the opportunity, 30% said women and men complement each other and 17% thought it was the right of both sexes. For the female respondents, 30.7% believed that women should be given the opportunity, while another 22.7% said women are as capable as men and 18.7% thought that women and men complement each other. This confirms what Matembe (2002)

reckons that women in Kenya are underrepresented in decision making positions. Women are restricted from participating in social, economic and political development as a result of traditional ideas about the roles of women and girls within the community. Female respondents gave statistically higher quality ratings to female candidates than they gave to male candidates as potential representatives. Furthermore, female respondents gave more positive evaluations to female candidates than did male respondents. What emerged from the preference ratings was that women (and young respondents in particular) were more amenable to, and therefore likely to be strong supporters of women candidates as were male respondents to men candidates.

4.9 Empowering Women to Access full Leadership Potential in the Community

The third objective of this study was to investigate ways of empowering women to access full leadership potential in the Tugen-Arror community. In order to achieve this, interviews were conducted among the key informants coded as WR1, WR2, and WR3. The respondents come from diverse backgrounds, including political (WR2) and community leadership (WR1, WR3).

WR1 emphasized that traditional cultural beliefs continue to limit women's participation in leadership roles. She noted,

“In our community, women are still seen as caregivers, not leaders, and this stereotype prevents many from even attempting to take up leadership roles.”

This sentiment is echoed in the experiences of women who have tried to pursue leadership, only to be dismissed based on their gender. Furthermore, she stated,

“The belief that men are naturally better leaders is deeply ingrained in the society, and it discourages women from rising to their full potential.”

She also highlighted that even when women manage to break into leadership positions,

“They are often undermined and not taken seriously, purely because of cultural perceptions.”

WR1 concluded by saying,

“Changing these outdated attitudes will require deliberate community education and dialogue.”

WR1’s response reveals the deep-rooted cultural barriers that continue to hinder women’s empowerment in leadership roles. These cultural stereotypes are reinforced by societal norms and traditions that have historically marginalized women. It is clear that in Baringo County, women aspiring to leadership must contend not just with systemic barriers but with deeply entrenched gender biases. Addressing these cultural obstacles will require targeted interventions that engage both men and women in dismantling harmful stereotypes. WR1’s call for community dialogue suggests that a grassroots approach is needed to foster inclusivity and change perceptions of women as leaders.

To empower women fully, there must be a shift in societal attitudes towards gender roles. Community leaders and influencers should engage in sensitization campaigns to redefine the image of a leader in the county. Educational programs tailored to encourage and support women in leadership roles could also play a key role in shifting these cultural norms, ensuring that women feel equally capable and supported in their leadership ambitions.

WR3 strongly believes that education and training are essential in equipping women with the skills needed to pursue leadership. She remarked,

“Most women lack the confidence to pursue leadership positions because they haven’t been exposed to leadership training.”

She explained that while men in the community are often groomed for leadership from a young age, women are not given the same opportunities.

“Leadership starts with education, and without proper access to education, women cannot compete on the same level as men,”

She noted. WR3 also added that mentorship programs can provide women with role models who can guide them. She emphasized,

“If women are given the tools to succeed, they will take leadership roles with confidence.”

WR3’s focus on education and training highlights the importance of capacity building for women in leadership. Her observations show that women are often left out of the leadership development process, which in turn hinders their ability to compete effectively for leadership positions. Education, therefore, serves as the foundation for women’s empowerment, providing the necessary knowledge and skills for effective leadership.

Leadership training programs tailored for women can significantly enhance their capabilities and provide the confidence they need to step into leadership roles. In Baringo County, establishing platforms for women to receive such training, including formal education, workshops, and mentorship opportunities, could pave the way for more women to ascend to leadership positions. By investing in women’s education, the county will be cultivating a new generation of leaders who are well-equipped to advocate for their communities.

As a woman in politics, WR2 shared her experience of navigating the political landscape in Baringo County. She observed,

“Politics is still seen as a man’s domain, and women face hostility when they try to enter this space.”

She elaborated that women politicians are often subjected to scrutiny and judgment based on their gender rather than their capabilities.

“It’s common for male counterparts to undermine women’s leadership by questioning their ability to make decisions,”

WR2 noted. However, she also highlighted the importance of having women in leadership, stating,

“When women are represented in political offices, they bring a different perspective that often leads to more inclusive policies.” She concluded by saying, *“We need more women in politics to challenge the status quo and advocate for the needs of women and children.”*

WR2’s response underscores the gendered barriers that women face in politics. The political arena in Baringo County, much like in many other regions, is dominated by men, making it difficult for women to break into the space. However, the need for female representation in political offices is crucial for creating inclusive policies that address the unique needs of women and marginalized groups. WR2’s experience reveals that while women in politics face opposition, their presence is essential in driving change.

Supporting women in politics requires both structural changes and a shift in societal attitudes. Political parties should actively promote women’s participation by creating conducive environments and offering support networks. Additionally, campaigns to raise awareness about the importance of women in politics can help break down the

barriers of exclusion. Representation in political leadership will not only empower women but also contribute to the broader development of the community.

WR1 emphasized the link between economic empowerment and leadership, explaining,

“Without financial independence, women struggle to assert themselves in leadership roles.”

She explained that many women in Baringo County are economically dependent on men, which limits their ability to make independent decisions or pursue leadership opportunities.

“If women are empowered financially, they will have the confidence to stand up for themselves and take on leadership roles,” She stated.

WR1 also pointed out that access to resources such as capital and land ownership is critical.

“We cannot talk about women’s leadership without addressing the economic barriers they face,” she concluded.

WR1’s response draws attention to the intersection of economic empowerment and leadership. Economic dependence on men creates a power imbalance that limits women’s agency and leadership potential. In Baringo County, many women are excluded from economic resources, which in turn affects their ability to participate in decision-making processes both in the household and in the community.

To empower women fully, there must be efforts to enhance their economic independence. Access to financial resources, land ownership, and opportunities for entrepreneurship can provide women with the stability and confidence needed to take on leadership roles. Economic empowerment programs that target women, including

microfinance initiatives, could play a crucial role in breaking down these barriers and enable women to contribute meaningfully to community leadership.

WR3 emphasized the importance of creating networks of support for women leaders.

She noted, “Women need strong support systems, whether from family, mentors, or fellow women leaders, to thrive in leadership roles.”

She shared that having a mentor who has gone through similar challenges can provide guidance and encouragement.

“When women come together and support each other, they become stronger and more resilient,” she observed.

WR3 also pointed out the need for mentorship programs tailored to women, saying, *“Mentorship can make a significant difference in a woman’s leadership journey.”*

She concluded by advocating for spaces where women can share experiences and learn from each other, stating, *“We need platforms that connect women leaders across different sectors.”*

WR3’s response highlights the critical role that mentorship and support networks play in empowering women to access leadership positions. Women leaders often face unique challenges that can be overwhelming without guidance from those who have navigated similar paths. By creating mentorship opportunities and fostering supportive environments, women can gain the confidence and resilience needed to overcome barriers to leadership.

Support networks for women in leadership not only provide emotional and practical support but also create a sense of solidarity and shared purpose. Establishing women’s networks in Baringo County could create opportunities for knowledge sharing, collaboration, and mutual empowerment. Mentorship programs, particularly those that

connect younger women with established leaders, can serve as catalysts for building a strong pipeline of future women leaders.

WR2 stressed the importance of legal frameworks and advocacy in promoting women's leadership. She remarked,

“Without legal structures that protect women's rights, it's difficult for women to assert themselves in leadership.”

She discussed the need for gender quotas in political representation and other leadership positions. *“Laws that mandate equal representation are necessary to level the playing field,”* she said.

Additionally, WR2 emphasized the importance of advocacy, noting,

“We need to advocate for policies that support women in leadership and protect them from discrimination and harassment.” She concluded by stating, *“Changing the law is one of the most effective ways to empower women in leadership.”*

WR2's response highlights the role that advocacy and legal frameworks play in creating an enabling environment for women's leadership. Gender quotas and legal protections can help to address systemic inequalities that prevent women from accessing leadership positions. In Baringo County, where traditional gender roles still dominate, legal reforms could be a critical tool in promoting gender equality in leadership.

To achieve lasting change, there must be sustained advocacy efforts that push for gender-sensitive policies and laws. Women groups and civil society organizations can play a pivotal role in advocating for these changes and holding leaders accountable for implementing gender equity measures. Legal frameworks that promote women's

participation in leadership not only provide formal recognition of women's rights but also create the foundation for broader societal change.

4.9.1 Discussion

The findings from the interviews with WR1, WR2, and WR3 highlight key factors that empower or inhibit women from accessing full leadership potential in Baringo County. These factors align with existing research and underscore the importance of addressing cultural, educational, political, economic, and structural barriers. Each element contributes uniquely to shaping the landscape for women's leadership, and the discussion below synthesizes these findings within the broader context of gender and leadership in rural Kenya.

Cultural norms and stereotypes are one of the most significant barriers to women's leadership in Baringo County. As noted by WR1, deeply ingrained beliefs that define women as caregivers and men as leaders limit women's participation in leadership roles. This finding reflects broader patterns in rural communities where gender roles are rigidly defined, restricting women's leadership capacity (Onsongo, 2022). The social perception that leadership is inherently masculine undermines women's confidence and limits community support for female leaders. Changing these norms requires comprehensive community dialogue and awareness campaigns to shift perceptions and dismantle harmful stereotypes (Gakure, 2023).

Education is a pivotal factor in empowering women to pursue leadership, as highlighted by WR3. The lack of access to education and leadership training hinders women from competing with men on equal footing. This echoes findings from other rural regions in Kenya, where educational disparities between men and women contribute to leadership gaps (Kabeer, 2021). Women who lack formal education

often lack the confidence to assert themselves in leadership roles, making education a critical pathway to leadership empowerment. Providing women with leadership training and mentorship opportunities can bridge this gap and foster a new generation of female leaders (Oduol & Otieno, 2023).

Political representation remains a significant hurdle, particularly for women like WR2, who face systemic exclusion from the political arena. Political leadership in Kenya is male-dominated, and women face hostility when attempting to enter this space, a pattern that is also observed in other patriarchal societies (Kameri-Mbote, 2022). The experiences of WR2 highlight the need for structural changes, such as gender quotas, to promote women's participation in politics. Studies show that increasing the number of women in political positions leads to more inclusive and responsive governance (Nzomo, 2021). Policies mandating gender parity in political offices could be a key driver in improving representation for women in Baringo County.

Economic empowerment is another critical factor in enhancing women's leadership potential. WR1's insights on financial independence resonate with global research that shows a strong link between economic autonomy and women's leadership (World Bank, 2021). Women in rural Kenya, including Baringo, often rely on men for financial support, which limits their ability to make independent decisions or pursue leadership opportunities (Kamau & Njuguna, 2023). Economic empowerment initiatives, such as microfinance programs and land ownership rights for women, could play a transformative role in enabling women to take on leadership roles within their communities (Cherono, 2022).

The importance of mentorship and support networks, as emphasized by WR3, is crucial for the development of female leaders. Research indicates that mentorship can significantly boost women's confidence and leadership skills (Muthoni, 2022). In patriarchal societies, women often lack access to mentors who can guide them through leadership challenges. Creating formal mentorship programs that connect aspiring female leaders with experienced women can provide a support system that helps women navigate the complexities of leadership. Such initiatives could empower women to rise through the ranks of leadership with resilience and self-assurance (Chebet & Kurgat, 2023).

Legal frameworks and advocacy are essential in protecting and promoting women's leadership, as noted by WR2. The call for gender-sensitive laws and policies aligns with global movements advocating for gender parity in leadership (UN Women, 2021). In Kenya, legal reforms such as the Constitution's two-thirds gender rule are meant to promote women's representation in leadership (Republic of Kenya, 2010). However, the implementation of such policies remains inconsistent, particularly in rural areas like Baringo County. Continuous advocacy is needed to ensure that gender-sensitive laws are upheld and that women are given equal opportunities to lead (Owino, 2023).

The findings also indicate that women's leadership is often constrained by a lack of access to resources, such as capital and land ownership. WR1's emphasis on financial independence highlights the role of resource control in leadership. Women in Baringo County face barriers to acquiring and managing economic resources, which limits their ability to influence decision-making processes. Addressing these barriers

through legal reforms that grant women equal rights to resources is essential for empowering them to take on leadership roles (Kariuki, 2023).

Despite the challenges, there is a growing recognition of the importance of women's leadership in promoting community development and social change. Studies show that women leaders often prioritize issues such as education, healthcare, and child welfare, which are critical for sustainable development (Chisamya et al., 2021). Women's leadership has the potential to bring about more equitable policies that address the needs of marginalized groups in Baringo County, including women and children. As such, empowering women to lead is not only a matter of gender equality but also a strategy for inclusive community development (Otieno & Abuya, 2022).

Finally, the findings emphasize the need for multi-stakeholder approaches to empower women in leadership. Community leaders, policymakers, civil society organizations, and educational institutions must collaborate to create an enabling environment for women's leadership. This collaboration could involve advocacy for gender-sensitive policies, education reform, and mentorship programs. By engaging multiple stakeholders, efforts to empower women leaders can be more coordinated and impactful (Mwangi, 2022). Women's leadership should be a collective societal goal that benefits all members of the community.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations based on the findings from the study on the Factors influencing Women's access to Political Leadership among the Tugen- Arror community in Baringo North Sub-County. The study was guided by the following objectives: To examine the public attitudes of the Tugen-Arror community on gender balance in political representation, obstacles hindering women's access to leadership and how to empower women to access leadership.

5.1 Summary of Findings

The first objective was to examine societal attitudes on gender balance in political representation. Quantitative findings reveal that a majority (66.7%) of respondents believe men are more suitable for leadership roles, while 57.3% are against equal political opportunities for women. Qualitative data show that these attitudes are deeply rooted in traditional gender roles, which prevent women from pursuing leadership, even as there were signs of gradual progress toward gender equality within the community. The second objective focused on obstacles hindering women's access to leadership. Quantitative data indicates that gender role stereotyping (48%) and lack of material resources (27%) are significant barriers. Cultural and religious beliefs also contribute to these challenges. Interviews revealed that women face societal expectations to fulfill domestic roles, which limit their ability to engage in politics. Additionally, there is a general perception that women lack ambition and the financial means to mount competitive campaigns. The data suggest that entrenched cultural

norms and limited institutional support make it difficult for women to rise to political leadership.

The third objective explored ways to empower women to achieve their full leadership potential. Interviewees emphasized the need for community education and dialogue to challenge stereotypes that cast women as caregivers rather than leaders. Qualitative findings indicate that mentorship programs and leadership training can provide women with the confidence and skills necessary to pursue leadership roles. Education was identified as a critical factor in empowering women, as many lack access to training that would enable them to compete on equal footing with men.

Economic empowerment also emerged as a key theme, with financial independence being crucial for women to assert themselves in leadership positions. Many women in Baringo are economically dependent on men, which limits their ability to participate in decision-making processes. Quantitative data from the study highlighted that access to resources such as capital and land ownership was essential for women to embark on leadership roles. Economic empowerment programs that target women can provide them with the financial stability needed to engage in political leadership.

Finally, the study highlighted the importance of legal frameworks and advocacy in promoting women's leadership. Interviewees noted that without laws mandating equal representation, women would continue to face barriers to leadership. Gender quotas and policies that protect women from discrimination were identified as necessary steps to level the playing field. The study concluded that while cultural and structural challenges remain significant, coordinated efforts involving community leaders, policymakers, and educational institutions could help women in the Tugen-Arror community overcome these obstacles and access leadership positions.

5.2 Conclusions

This study made the following conclusions: Although Kenya has made notable progress in promoting gender equality—reflected in the increased number of women elected during the 2022 general elections—many in the Tugen-Arror community still hold conservative views that favor male leadership. These perceptions, entrenched in patriarchal traditions, continue to undermine women’s political ambitions by reinforcing outdated gender roles that restrict women to domestic responsibilities and discourage their engagement in public affairs.

The study reaffirmed that gender role stereotypes, limited access to financial resources, and the influence of cultural and religious beliefs remain key impediments to women’s political participation in this community. Despite growing awareness of women's rights and some visible progress in other regions, many women in Baringo North Sub-County still struggle with economic dependence, lack of institutional backing, and minimal exposure to political mentorship. These factors severely limit their competitiveness in political contests and hinder their long-term political engagement.

However, recent examples of successful female leaders at both national and county levels—such as elected women governors and young female MPs—demonstrate that change is possible when women are given the opportunity and support to lead. This study concludes that sustainable progress in the Tugen-Arror community requires a comprehensive and context-sensitive approach. Legal and policy reforms must be complemented by local-level interventions, including leadership development

programs for women, financial empowerment initiatives, civic education, and community dialogues to challenge harmful stereotypes.

For meaningful transformation to occur, all stakeholders—government agencies, civil society, political parties, and cultural institutions—must collaborate to dismantle structural and cultural barriers to women’s leadership. Promoting inclusive governance within the Tugen-Arror community is not only a matter of gender equity but also essential for achieving representative and participatory development at the grassroots level.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings, the following recommendations were made to improve women’s access to political leadership in the Tugen-Arror community:

- i. There is a need for continuous community education campaigns to challenge deeply ingrained gender stereotypes and promote gender equality. These campaigns should aim to reshape societal attitudes, highlighting the importance of women’s participation in leadership and demonstrating the value of both men and women in decision-making roles. Engaging local leaders, elders, and influencers in dialogue about changing perceptions around women’s leadership is crucial to fostering a more inclusive mindset.
- ii. Economic dependence on men is a significant barrier to women's leadership in the community. To overcome this, targeted economic empowerment programs should be introduced. These could include access to financial resources, microfinance initiatives, and land ownership rights for women. Providing women with economic independence will give them the confidence and

resources to participate actively in political leadership and decision-making processes.

- iii. Legal frameworks that mandate equal representation in political and leadership positions should be implemented and enforced. Gender quotas at both the local and national levels should ensure women have opportunities to vie for political positions. Additionally, policies that protect women from discrimination and violence in political spaces should be strengthened to create a more conducive environment for women's leadership.
- iv. Women in the community need access to leadership training and mentorship to build the skills and confidence required for political participation. Programs that provide leadership education, role modelling, and mentorship opportunities should be established, connecting aspiring female leaders with experienced mentors who can guide and support them. These efforts will help equip women to overcome barriers and compete effectively for leadership roles.
- v. Political parties and other relevant institutions should actively promote women's participation by providing financial and organizational support. Creating networks and support systems that foster collaboration among women leaders is crucial. Additionally, institutions must work towards creating safer and more welcoming environments for women, reducing electoral violence and biases that disproportionately affect female candidates.

5.5 Suggestions for further studies

This study suggested the following areas for further study;

1. There is a need to explore how access to education and leadership training specifically impacts women's ability to engage in political leadership roles within rural communities. This study could identify the gaps in educational resources and propose strategies to enhance women's leadership capacities.
2. There is a need to investigate the direct correlation between economic empowerment and increased political participation among women. This research could assess how financial independence enables women to pursue leadership positions and the effectiveness of economic empowerment programs.
3. There is a need to study the long-term effects of implementing gender quotas in political offices within patriarchal societies. Research could evaluate the success of these policies in promoting gender equality and their influence on public perceptions of women leaders.
4. There is a need to examine how cultural beliefs and practices affect women's political engagement and leadership aspirations. This study could focus on how traditional gender roles can be redefined to support women's participation in leadership.
5. There is a need to investigate the institutional challenges that women face when attempting to enter political leadership. Research in this area could analyze how electoral systems, political party structures, and legal frameworks either hinder or support women's leadership progress.

REFERENCES

- Adeniran, A. (2022). *Political barriers to women's leadership in Nigeria: An analysis*. *African Journal of Political Science*, 37(2), 145-162.
- Aderemi, T. A., & Salami, O. A. (2023). Patriarchy and political exclusion of women in Nigeria: Rethinking gender inclusivity. *African Journal of Gender and Society*, 12(1), 45–61.
- Adeyemi, T., & Akinsanya, A. (2022). Education, cultural diversity, and social cohesion in Nigeria: Challenges and opportunities. *Nigerian Journal of Educational Research and Evaluation*, 20(1), 45-60.
- Afolayan, T. (2020). Cultural hegemony and education in colonial Nigeria. *Journal of African History*, 58(3), 367-382.
- Akinyi, R., & Mutua, M. (2022). Gender and political party nomination processes in Kenya: Challenges and prospects. *Journal of African Governance and Development*, 6(1), 55–72.
- Araújo, C., & Piscitelli, A. (2022). Gender quotas and the challenges of representation in Brazil. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 64(2), 75–97.
- Axford, B., & Huggins, C. (2020). *Media and public life in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Massey University Press.
- Bakir, V., & McStay, A. (2021). *Social media and the public sphere: Mapping the terrain*. Polity.
- Belarbi, A. (2022). *Women's political participation and leadership in Algeria: Challenges and opportunities*. *Journal of North African Studies*, 27(1), 54-72.
- Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2020). *The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Berhanu, B. (2021). *Intellectual traditions in Ethiopia: Contributions to global knowledge*. Addis Ababa University Press.
- Bjarnegård, E., & Melander, E. (2021). *Gender and political representation: The impact of gender norms and electoral systems*. Cambridge University Press.
- Blais, M., Boyer, P., & Perrella, A. (2020). Diversity and social cohesion in Canada: A media analysis. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 53(2), 365-380. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423920000281>
- Boga, M. (2020). Ethnic politics and electoral violence in Kenya: Historical perspectives. *Journal of African Elections*, 19(2), 145-160.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1970). *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. Sage Publications.
- Bryman, A. (2021). *Social research methods* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press.

- Burnet, J. E. (2022). Women have found respect: Gender quotas, symbolic representation, and female leadership in Rwanda. *African Affairs*, 121(484), 563–582.
- Château, A., et al. (2020). Interdisciplinary research and societal impact in France. *Science and Public Policy*, 47(3), 366-378.
- Chebet, C. J. (2020). *Gender, culture, and leadership: An analysis of women's political participation in Baringo County*. Eldoret: Moi University Press.
- Chebet, M. (2023). *Local initiatives and women's political representation in Nairobi County*. *Journal of African Political Studies*, 31(1), 45-60.
- Cheeseman, N., & Mogeni, V. (2022). *The 2007-2008 post-election violence in Kenya: Media, justice, and reconciliation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chege, F. N., & Arnot, M. (2019). Women, leadership and societal change in Kenya. *African Education Review*, 16(3), 45-58.
- Chege, N., & Maina, L. (2023). Ethnicity, gender and political leadership in Kenya: Intersections and implications. *Kenya Journal of Political Science*, 8(1), 33–48.
- Chege, W., & Mwangi, D. (2020). *Media and democratic governance in Kenya: A historical perspective*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chepkemoi, K. (2023). *Empowering women in Kenyan politics: Training and capacity-building initiatives*. *East African Journal of Political Science*, 42(1), 56-72.
- Chepkoech, J. (2021). *Women's roles in traditional Kalenjin society: An historical perspective*. *Journal of Kalenjin Studies*, 27(2), 112-130.
- Cherono, L. (2022). *Women and land rights in Kenya: Enhancing gender equality through law reform*. *African Journal of Gender Studies*, 13(2), 45-60.
- Chin, J. L. (2023). *Women and leadership: Transforming visions and diverse voices*. Routledge.
- Chisamya, G., DeJaeghere, J., Kendall, N., & Khan, M. A. (2021). Gender and education for all: Progress and challenges. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 31(1), 38-47.
- Connell, R., & Pearse, R. (2022). *Gender: In world perspective* (4th ed.). Polity Press.
- Couldry, N., & Hepp, A. (2021). *The Mediated Construction of Reality*. Polity.
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2022). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (6th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Curtin, J. (2022). Women's political leadership in New Zealand: Institutional design and gender outcomes. *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 68(1), 89–104.

- Curtin, J. (2023). Gender-balanced cabinets and feminist governance: Lessons from New Zealand. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 44(1), 23–39.
- Dahlerup, D., & Leyenaar, M. (2023). *Breaking male dominance in old democracies: The importance of quotas*. Oxford University Press.
- Desta, A., & Tesfaye, F. (2021). Interdisciplinary research and community empowerment in Ethiopia. *Ethiopian Journal of Development Research*, 43(2), 156-170.
- Eagly, A. H., & Heilman, M. E. (2023). Gender and leadership: Progress, pitfalls, and possibilities. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 10(1), 151–173.
- Esser, F., & Strömbäck, J. (Eds.). (2022). *Comparing political journalism*. Routledge.
- Federation of Women Lawyers [FIDA] Kenya. (2023). *Post-election gender audit: Analysis of women's participation and representation in the 2022 general elections*. Nairobi: FIDA Kenya.
- Federation of Women Lawyers [FIDA]. (2022). *Electoral gender-based violence against women in Kenya: Post-2022 general election report*. Nairobi: FIDA Kenya.
- Freidenvall, L. (2022). Gender equality in Swedish politics: Institutional frameworks and societal attitudes. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 45(3), 210–228.
- Fukui, K. (2019). Cultural hegemony and education in Ethiopia: Historical perspectives. *Journal of African History*, 57(3), 367-382.
- Gakure, R. W. (2023). *Gender, leadership, and sustainable development in Kenya*. *Journal of African Studies*, 14(1), 19-33.
- Geisler, G. (2023). Quota politics in South Africa: Gendered power and contested spaces. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 49(1), 54–70.
- Gitau, L., & Njoroge, M. (2020). The transformative leadership of Professor Olive Mugenda in higher education in Kenya. *Journal of Educational Leadership*, 15(2), 45-58.
- Gonick, M., & O'Reilly, A. (2019). *The Media and Social Movements: A Canadian Perspective*. University of Toronto Press.
- Greenfield, V. A., & Samman, E. (2022). Interdisciplinary research and social cohesion: Addressing global inequalities. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in Education*, 10(1), 45-60.
- Gumede, W. (2020). The apartheid legacy and educational inequality in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 46(1), 77-93.
- Gustafsson, M. (2019). *Education policy and inequality in South Africa*. Routledge.
- Habermas, J. (2020). *Communication and the Evolution of Society*. Beacon Press.

- Haile, M., & Berhane, T. (2022). Education, cultural diversity, and social cohesion in Ethiopia: Challenges and opportunities. *Ethiopian Journal of Education and Learning*, 20(1), 45-60.
- Hameiri, S., & Jones, L. (Eds.). (2022). *Media, politics and society in New Zealand*. Oxford University Press.
- Hampton, K. N., Livio, O., & Goulet, L. S. (2020). Social media and social capital in the United States, 2005-2017: Structural changes in Americans' discussion networks. *Information, Communication & Society*, 23(1), 84-101. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2019.1570523>
- Hatzfeld, J. (2020). *The antelope's strategy: Living in Rwanda after the genocide*. Picador.
- Hinojosa, M., & Piscopo, J. M. (2022). Promoting women's political inclusion through gender quotas: Lessons from Latin America. *Politics & Gender*, 18(2), 211-227.
- Hinojosa, M., & Piscopo, J. M. (2022). Women win elections: The effects of gender quotas in Mexico. *Politics & Gender*, 18(2), 217-234.
- Huillet-Martin, S. (2021). *Education and social justice in France: Policies and practices*. Routledge.
- Hurst, D. (2020). Misinformation and its correction: Continued influence and successful debiasing. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 29(2), 184-190. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721420928141>
- Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission [IEBC]. (2022). *Post-election evaluation report: 2022 General Election*. Nairobi: IEBC.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union [IPU]. (2023). *Women in Parliament 2022: The year in review*. Geneva: IPU.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2023). *Women in parliament: 2022*. Geneva: IPU.
- Jackson, E. (2022). *Gender and political leadership in post-conflict Liberia*. *African Journal of Political Science*, 39(3), 211-226.
- Jain, D., & Raj, M. (2023). Representation without voice: Women in Indian politics. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 30(1), 59-76.
- Jebali, N., & Bouzid, M. (2022). *The impact of legal reforms on women's political leadership in Tunisia*. *Middle Eastern Politics*, 15(2), 99-114.
- Kabeer, N. (2021). *Gender equality and women's empowerment: A global perspective*. *International Journal of Gender Studies*, 22(1), 45-59.
- Kabeer, N. (2022). *Gender and power: Perspectives from the global South*. *Gender & Development*, 30(1), 75-89.
- Kabira, W. M. (2020). Grace Onyango: A pioneer of women's political leadership in post-independence Kenya. *African Studies Review*, 63(3), 113-129.

- Kakulima, H., & Obwanga, W. (2020). Digital media, misinformation, and political polarization in Kenya. *Information, Communication & Society*, 23(11), 1567-1584. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2020.1713042>
- Kamau, J., & Njuguna, E. (2021). Women entrepreneurship in post-independence Kenya: The case of Tabitha Karanja. *Journal of Business Innovation*, 11(1), 67-82.
- Kamau, J., & Njuguna, P. (2023). *Empowering women through microfinance: A case study of Kenya*. *Journal of Development Economics*, 47(2), 101-119.
- Kamau, N. (2020). Women and political leadership in Kenya: Ten years after the new constitution. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 14(2), 123-139.
- Kamau, P., & Gitari, J. (2023). Media and community initiatives in Nakuru County: Promoting public awareness and social cohesion. *Nakuru Community Press*.
- Kameri-Mbote, P. (2022). *Gender and political representation in Kenya: Challenges and opportunities*. *International Journal of Politics*, 58(3), 251-265.
- Karanja, J., & Njeri, P. (2023). *Cultural barriers to women's political participation in Kenya*. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 29(3), 234-250.
- Karanja, L. M., & Muriithi, T. W. (2021). Pioneering women in Kenyan politics: A historical review of female political leadership post-independence. *Kenya Historical Review*, 12(1), 33-49.
- Karanja, P., & Muriithi, S. (2021). Gender equality and women's leadership in Kenya's public sector. *Kenya Journal of Public Administration*, 9(1), 28-45.
- Kariuki, J. M. (2023). *Women, land rights, and the law in Kenya*. *Journal of Gender and Law*, 22(1), 34-58.
- Kariuki, L., & Otieno, G. (2022). Women's representation and leadership in post-2010 Constitution Kenya. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 14(1), 78-93.
- Kariuki, M., & Mutua, P. (2020). Biases and Barriers: The Challenges Women Face in Political Leadership. *Journal of Political Sociology*, 12(3), 150-165.
- Kariuki, S. N., & Mutua, P. K. (2022). Gender-based discrimination and violence in Kenyan leadership: A barrier to women's participation. *African Journal of Gender and Development*, 5(2), 67-82.
- Kasi, S. (2023). *Challenges and barriers to women's political participation in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Routledge.
- Kenya National Assembly. (2010). *The Constitution of Kenya, 2010*. Government Printer.
- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. (2023). *Annual report on political representation*. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.
- Khelil, M., & Belkacem, A. (2023). *Barriers to women's political participation in Algeria: A review of the literature*. *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 45(2), 78-94.

- Kibicho, M. (2021). *Traditional roles of women in pre-colonial Kenya: A socio-cultural perspective*. *African Studies Quarterly*, 42(3), 87-104.
- Kiburi, M. (2022). *The impact of social media on women's political participation in Kenya*. *Journal of African Media Studies*, 14(2), 147-162.
- Kimani, W., Mwangi, J., & Otieno, F. (2020). Women's Impact in Politics: A Review of Perceptions and Realities. *East African Journal of Development Studies*, 22(4), 200-215.
- Kinyanjui, G., & Kahura, W. (2019). Women and political leadership in Kenya since independence. *Kenya History Review*, 7(3), 123-137.
- Kiplagat, A., & Mungai, T. (2023). Challenges facing women candidates in Uasin Gishu County: A critical analysis. *East African Journal of Political Science*, 42(2), 123-138.
- Kiplagat, E. (2022). The rise of Martha Koome: Kenya's first female Chief Justice. *African Law Review*, 8(1), 112-126.
- Kiprop, J. K. (2021). Patriarchy and political exclusion: A cultural analysis of leadership among the Tugen community. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 13(2), 78-90.
- Kiprotich, B. (2022). *The impact of colonial rule on Kenyan women's leadership*. *East African Historical Review*, 29(1), 76-89.
- Kiprotich, J. K., & Cheserek, G. J. (2021). Socio-cultural barriers to women's political participation among pastoralist communities in Kenya: A case of the Tugen. *African Journal of Gender, Society and Development*, 9(2), 75-92.
- Kiptoo, C. J., & Njiru, R. M. (2022). Inclusive governance and women's leadership in Kenya: From marginalization to transformation. *Journal of African Governance and Public Policy*, 8(3), 21-37.
- Kiptoo, J., & Rotich, M. (2023). *Gender dynamics and political participation in Narok County: Challenges and opportunities*. *East African Journal of Political Science*, 42(3), 210-225.
- Kiptoo, S., & Kosgei, J. (2021). Radio programming and community cohesion in Nakuru County. *Journal of Media Studies*, 8(2), 45-60.
- Kisiangani, E. B. (2020). Governance, conflict resolution, and electoral reform in Kenya. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 14(2), 156-170.
- Kivunja, C., & Kuyini, A. B. (2019). Understanding and applying research paradigms in educational contexts. *International Journal of Higher Education*, 8(5), 26-41.
- Koech, B., & Kigen, C. (2020). Social media and community mobilization in Nakuru County: Opportunities and challenges. *Africa Communication Research*, 13(1), 78-94.

- Koech, J. (2023). Emerging trends in women's political leadership in Baringo County. *Kenyan Journal of Gender Studies*, 29(4), 78-92.
- Korsgaard, O. (2018). *The age of enlightenment*. Cambridge University Press.
- Krook, M. L., & Norris, P. (2021). *Beyond quotas: Strategies to enhance women's political representation*. *Political Studies Review*, 19(2), 215-230.
- Krook, M. L., & Zetterberg, P. (2022). Gender quotas and political empowerment: Assessing global patterns. *Politics & Gender*, 18(1), 5-31.
- Lange, L., & Klaaren, J. (2021). *Human rights and constitutionalism in South Africa: A historical perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lawless, J. L., & Fox, R. L. (2022). *Girls Just Wanna Not Run: Economic Factors and Women's Political Participation*. *Political Science Quarterly*, 137(1), 67-89.
- Lemoine, A. (2022). *Gender parity in French politics: Achievements and ongoing challenges*. *European Political Science Review*, 14(1), 1-17.
- Leting, R. (2023). *Kenya women and the nationalist movement: Contributions and challenges*. *African Journal of Modern History*, 45(3), 145-160.
- Lima, A. (2022). *Political representation and gender in Brazil: Analyzing the impact of quotas*. *Brazilian Journal of Political Science*, 40(4), 345-361.
- Lindgren, M., & Taylor, M. (2021). *Media and democratic governance in Burundi*. Routledge.
- Maina, S., & Njoroge, K. (2022). Wangari Maathai's legacy in environmental justice and women's leadership. *Environmental Leadership Journal*, 6(2), 54-65.
- Mampane, M., & Sibanda, M. (2022). *Education and social integration in South Africa: Challenges and opportunities*. University of Pretoria Press.
- Mbugua, J. (2019). Wangari Maathai and the green belt movement: A case study in environmental and women's rights advocacy. *Global Environmental Politics*, 10(1), 89-105.
- Mbuthia, R. K., & Koech, D. K. (2023). Youth and women representation in the 2022 elections: A case study of Linet Chepkorir. *Kenya Journal of Political Leadership*, 4(1), 55-68.
- Miller, C. (2022). *Structural barriers to women's political leadership globally*. *Comparative Politics Review*, 35(2), 89-105.
- Miller, C. (2023). *Challenging gender stereotypes in politics: Global and local perspectives*. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 86, 102-118.
- Morris, A. D. (2022). *The Black Lives Matter Movement: Social media and the mobilization of collective action*. Oxford University Press.
- Moyo, D., & Melkote, S. R. (2022). *Social media and civic engagement in Rwanda and Burundi: Opportunities and challenges*. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Mukamana, D. (2023). *Rwanda's success in gender-inclusive political leadership: Lessons learned*. *Gender & Development*, 31(1), 51-67.
- Muniua, N. (2022). *Women's activism and political engagement in Kenya*. *Women's History Review*, 31(4), 612-628.
- Munyua, N. (2022). *Women's activism and political engagement in Baringo County*. *Women's History Review*, 31(4), 612-628.
- Muriuki, J. (2023). *Grace Onyango and the early female leadership in Kenya: A historical analysis*. *Kenyan Journal of Historical Studies*, 38(2), 99-115.
- Murray, R. (2022). *Media representation and the promotion of women's political leadership*. *Journal of Media Studies*, 42(3), 140-156.
- Mushi, S. (2022). *Gender and political leadership in Tanzania: Progress and obstacles*. *African Studies Review*, 65(2), 345-367.
- Mutai, S. C., & Chepngeno, P. K. (2022). Economic inequality and women's leadership: Challenges facing rural female politicians in Kenya. *Kenya Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(1), 35-49.
- Muthoni, A. (2022). *The role of mentorship in women's leadership in Kenya*. *Journal of Leadership and Management*, 12(4), 67-83.
- Muthoni, A., & Ndirangu, F. (2022). Local newspapers and cultural diversity in Nakuru County. *Nakuru Journal of Community Studies*, 5(1), 112-125.
- Mutua, C., & Ngugi, P. (2022). The role of women in Kenya's higher education: Insights from Professor Olive Mugenda's leadership. *Educational Leadership Review*, 16(3), 34-50.
- Mutua, R. (2023). *Economic constraints and women's political leadership in Kenya*. *Kenyan Economic Review*, 37(1), 98-115.
- Mutuku, M. N. (2023). The role of women in presidential politics in Kenya: Reflections on Martha Karua's candidature. *East African Journal of Political Studies*, 6(2), 101-117.
- Mutula, S. M., & Mutula, S. (2021). *Social media and political participation in Kenya*. Routledge.
- Mwangi, A., Njeri, S., & Maina, K. (2021). Gender Bias in Leadership Roles: A Study of Traditional Perceptions. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 30(2), 125-140.
- Mwangi, N. (2020). Environmental justice and women's rights: The work of Wangari Maathai. *Journal of Environmental Studies*, 19(2), 101-117.
- Mwangi, W. (2022). *Multi-stakeholder approaches to gender equality in Kenya*. *Gender & Development*, 30(2), 198-215.
- Mwatha, P. M., & Abdi, H. Y. (2023). Achieving gender parity in Kenyan politics: Opportunities and emerging trends. *Public Policy and Governance Review*, 7(1), 14-29.

- Mwenda, K. (2020). Intellectual traditions in Kenya: Contributions to global knowledge. *University of Nairobi Press*.
- Nakanyike, M. (2022). *Women in Ugandan politics: Persistent challenges and emerging opportunities*. *East African Political Science Review*, 28(3), 223-237.
- Nazneen, S., & Sultan, M. (2023). Reserved seats and women's political participation in Bangladesh. *Contemporary South Asia*, 31(2), 122–137.
- Ncholo, M., & Radebe, M. (2023). *Women in South African politics: Achievements and ongoing challenges*. *South African Journal of Political Studies*, 50(4), 489-504.
- Ndege, R. (2022). Cultural and socio-political barriers to women's political leadership in Nairobi County. *African Studies Review*, 44(3), 256-272.
- Ndung'u, B. M., & Bosire, C. (2023). Political parties and gender inclusion in Kenya: An assessment of legal compliance and political will. *Law, Democracy and Development Journal*, 27(1), 119–137.
- Nduta, E. (2022). Cultural Norms and Women's Political Participation in Kenya: An Empirical Analysis. *International Journal of Gender and Politics*, 17(1), 78-92.
- Ngunyi, J. (2022). *Financial barriers in political campaigns: The gender perspective*. *African Politics Review*, 28(4), 301-318.
- Ngunyi, M., & Githinji, P. (2021). Gender equality and leadership in Kenya: Progress and challenges. *African Journal of Governance and Development*, 6(1), 99-110.
- Njagi, T., & Otieno, O. (2021). The political career of Martha Karua: Lessons in resilience and leadership. *Kenya Political Science Review*, 14(2), 44-59.
- Njenga, K. (2021). Gender and leadership: Women's participation in Kenya's public sector post-2010 Constitution. *Kenya Journal of Public Policy*, 17(3), 73-89.
- Njeri, H., & Karuga, L. (2023). *The role of women's organizations in advancing gender equality in Kenyan politics*. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 87, 102-117.
- Njuguna, W., & Ochieng, J. (2019). Martha Karua and Kenya's political landscape: A critical review of her contribution. *African Politics Review*, 12(1), 88-104.
- Nurhadi, F. (2023). Gender quotas in Indonesia: Promise and performance. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 29(1), 38–55.
- Nyaga, P., & Mutisya, M. (2021). Interdisciplinary research and community empowerment in Kenya. *African Development Review*, 33(2), 156-170.
- Nzomo, M. (2021). *Women's political representation in Kenya: Strategies for success*. *International Journal of Politics and Governance*, 34(3), 102-120.

- Nzomo, M. (2023). Advancing women's political participation in Kenya: The role of feminist movements and civil society. *African Journal of Political Studies*, 11(1), 101–118.
- Oanda, J. (2022). Education policy and cultural diversity in Kenya. *Journal of Education and Learning*, 11(2), 145-160.
- Obi, J., & Iyoha, F. O. (2020). Interdisciplinary research and community empowerment in Nigeria. *African Development Review*, 32(2), 156-170.
- Ochieng, P. (2021). *Gender equality and political representation in Kenya: An assessment of the 2010 Constitutional reforms*. Kenyan Journal of Political Science, 36(3), 89-104.
- Ochieng, P. (2022). *The two-thirds gender rule: Implementation challenges and progress in Kenya*. Journal of Constitutional Law, 45(2), 120-135.
- Ochieng, P., & Mwaura, G. (2021). The impact of Olive Mugenda's leadership on Kenyatta University's transformation. *Higher Education Review*, 21(2), 65-79.
- Odhiambo, F., & Nyaribo, A. (2022). Media literacy and civic education in mitigating election-related violence in Kenya. *Journal of Peace Research*, 59(3), 367-382.
- Odhiambo, M. (2021). *Political party dynamics and women's representation in Kenya*. East African Political Science Review, 40(2), 145-160.
- Odhiambo, T. (2019). Radio and peacebuilding in Kenya: Lessons from the 2007-2008 post-election violence. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 14(2), 84-98. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2019.1595256>
- Oduol, J. A., & Kabira, W. M. (2019). Gender and leadership in Kenya: Historical and contemporary perspectives. *Kenya Studies Review*, 10(2), 67-82.
- Oduol, J., & Otieno, F. (2023). *Leadership training for women: Empowering future leaders in rural Kenya*. International Journal of Leadership Studies, 19(1), 82-95.
- OECD. (2021). Education for social cohesion: Achieving inclusive societies. OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264386557-en>
- Ogunyemi, B. (2021). Education policy and cultural diversity in Nigeria. *Journal of Education and Learning*, 10(2), 145-160.
- Ogutu, D., & Ndungu, J. (2022). Women in Kenya's judiciary: A study of Martha Koome's leadership. *Kenya Law Journal*, 9(1), 41-57.
- Okeyo, F., & Muriuki, P. (2022). Affirmative action and women's leadership in Kenya: A post-2010 review. *Journal of Gender and Politics*, 10(2), 22-37.
- Okombo, J. (2021). Cultural hegemony and education in colonial Kenya. *Journal of African History*, 59(3), 367-382.

- Oliveira, R., & Andrade, J. (2023). *Political violence and women's participation in Brazilian politics*. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 45(1), 33-49.
- Omondi, L., & Kabira, W. M. (2023). Women's political participation in Kenya: Progress and persistent challenges. *Journal of African Governance and Development*, 5(2), 77-95.
- Onsongo, J. (2022). *Cultural barriers to women's leadership in Kenya: An analysis of rural communities*. *Journal of African Culture and Society*, 29(1), 23-41.
- Onyango, J., & Odongo, L. (2020). Misinformation and digital divides in Nakuru County: Implications for social cohesion. *Digital Communication & Society*, 25(3),
- Otieno, C., & Wambua, S. (2021). County-level leadership and women's political representation: The case of Anne Waiguru in Kirinyaga. *Kenya Political Review*, 18(1), 93-107.
- Otieno, L. (2019). Cultural Barriers to Women's Political Participation: An Analysis of Kenyan Communities. *African Journal of Political Science*, 15(3), 45-59.
- Owino, P. (2023). *Gender-sensitive policies in Kenya: An analysis of implementation gaps*. *Journal of Public Policy*, 48(3), 114-126.
- Oyeweso, S. (2019). Intellectual traditions in Nigeria: Contributions to global knowledge. *University Press PLC*.
- Päivärinta, T., & Arter, D. (2022). *Gender parity in Finnish political leadership: Policies and outcomes*. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 45(3), 282-299.
- Papacharissi, Z. (2020). *Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology, and Politics*. Oxford University Press.
- Perrin, A. (2023). *Gender parity laws and their impact on political leadership in France*. *French Political Review*, 17(1), 65-82.
- Pillay, Y., & Maharaj, P. (2020). Collaborative research and public health interventions in South Africa. *Health Research Policy and Systems*, 18(1), 1-12.
- Pinheiro-Machado, R. (2020). Knowledge production and social change: The case of Brazil. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 37(7-8), 217-233. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276420932115>
- Prior, M., & Lupia, A. (2021). *A unified theory of media politics: How the interests of politicians, journalists, and citizens shape the news*. Cambridge University Press.
- Raunio, T., & Tiilikainen, T. (2023). Gender and parliamentary politics in Finland: Balancing representation. *European Journal of Political Research*, 62(2), 153-169.
- Republic of Kenya. (2010). *The Constitution of Kenya*. Government Printer.

- Republic of Kenya. (2010). *The Constitution of Kenya*. Nairobi: National Council for Law Reporting.
- Rono, J. (2021). Affirmative Action and Gender Balance in Politics: Public Opinions and Policy Effectiveness. *African Policy Review*, 28(2), 90-105.
- Ryan, M. K., & Haslam, S. A. (2022). The glass cliff: Exploring the dynamics of women's leadership in crisis. *Leadership Quarterly*, 33(4), 101580.
- Sauer, K., & Müller, H. (2022). *Gender quotas and political representation in Germany: A critical analysis*. *German Politics*, 31(1), 73-92.
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2019). *Research methods for business students* (8th ed.). Pearson Education Limited.
- Schwindt-Bayer, L. A., & Mishra, K. (2021). *Gender and political representation: The influence of gender norms and political institutions*. Cambridge University Press.
- Simiyu, N. (2021). Peace education and conflict resolution in Kenyan schools. *Kenyan Journal of Education*, 30(1), 45-60.
- Smith, A. (2022). *Supporting female candidates: Policies and practices*. *International Journal of Political Science*, 29(4), 324-340.
- Sokpo, M. (2021). *The effects of conflict on women's political leadership in Liberia*. *Journal of African Conflict Studies*, 29(1), 37-53.
- Soroka, S., & Fournier, P. (2019). Strength in diversity: How media opinion influences political behavior. *Journal of Politics*, 81(3), 1046-1052. <https://doi.org/10.1086/702509>
- Straus, S. (2019). *The order of genocide: Race, power, and war in Rwanda*. Cornell University Press.
- Sunstein, C. R. (2019). *How Change Happens*. MIT Press.
- Tadesse, A. (2023). *Cultural influences on women's political participation in Ethiopia*. *Ethiopian Journal of Political Science*, 29(1), 78-93.
- Tamale, S. (2022). Affirmative action and women's political participation in Uganda. *Feminist Africa*, 31(1), 15-32.
- Tapsell, P. (2021). *Media, ethnicity and nation: The framing of ethnic minorities in New Zealand media*. Victoria University Press.
- Teferra, D. (2020). Education policy and cultural diversity in Ethiopia. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 53(2), 145-160.
- Teigen, M. (2021). Gender balance in Norwegian politics: Policies and practices. *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 29(4), 286-301.
- Teigen, M. (2023). Gender equality and political leadership in the Nordic countries: Continuity and change. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 46(1), 3-26.

- Thomas, E. F., & Pettigrew, T. F. (2020). *Education and intergroup contact: Empirical research and strategies for educational interventions*. Wiley-Blackwell
- Trimble, L. (2022). Gender parity in Canadian politics: Symbolic gains and structural challenges. *Canadian Political Science Review*, 16(1), 9–28.
- Trimble, L. (2023). Feminist leadership and politics in Canada: Progress and resistance. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 56(1), 45–64.
- Tsfati, Y., & Stroud, N. J. (2020). Media use and political polarization. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication.
- UK Parliament. (2023). *Representation of women in the House of Commons*. UK Parliament Publications.
- UN Women. (2021). *Gender equality and women's empowerment: Global perspectives*. UN Women.
- UN Women. (2022). *Gender snapshot: Women's leadership and political participation*. New York: UN Women.
- UN Women. (2023). *Progress on the Sustainable Development Goals: Gender snapshot 2023*. New York: United Nations.
- Uvin, P. (2020). *Life after genocide: Reconciliation and resilience in Rwanda*. Columbia University Press.
- Vega, A. (2021). *Machismo culture and women's political participation in Mexico*. *Mexican Journal of Political Science*, 44(3), 189-204.
- Vella, K., Loader, B. D., & Wellington, J. (2019). *Social media, politics and the state: Protests, revolutions, riots, crime and policing in the age of Facebook, Twitter and YouTube*. Routledge.
- Wachira, L., & Mwangi, S. (2021). The 2010 Constitution and women's leadership: Achievements and challenges. *Kenya Law Review*, 12(2), 34-51.
- Wambugu, P., & Ng'ang'a, M. (2023). Education, cultural diversity, and social cohesion in Kenya: Challenges and opportunities. *Kenyan Journal of Educational Studies*, 21(1), 45-60.
- Wamuyu, R. (2022). Martha Karua and the politics of constitutionalism in Kenya. *Kenya Law and Politics Journal*, 13(1), 21-38.
- Wangari, M. (2022). The role of international frameworks in promoting women's leadership in Kenya. *Journal of International Gender Studies*, 9(4), 34-50.
- Wangui, M., & Kamau, S. (2022). Financial exclusion and the political marginalization of women in Kenya. *Kenya Journal of Economic and Social Studies*, 4(3), 44–61.
- Wangui, N. (2023). Gender and political leadership: The case of the Kenya community in Nairobi County. *Journal of Gender and Development*, 32(2), 101-115.

- Wanjiru, N. (2022). *The influence of traditional gender roles on women's political participation in Kenya*. *African Studies Quarterly*, 43(1), 67-84.
- Wardle, C., & Derakhshan, H. (2020). *Information Disorder: Toward an Interdisciplinary Framework for Research and Policy Making*. Council of Europe.
- Woolley, S. C., & Howard, P. N. (2020). *Computational propaganda: Political parties, politicians, and political manipulation on social media*. Oxford University Press.
- World Economic Forum. (2022). *Global Gender Gap Report 2022*. World Economic Forum Publications.
- World Economic Forum. (2023). *Global gender gap report 2023*. Geneva: World Economic Forum.
- Younis, M. (2023). *Economic Barriers to Political Participation: The Case of Women in Emerging Democracies*. Routledge.
- Zhou, L., & Xu, J. (2022). *Women's political leadership in China: Progress and limitations*. *Asian Politics Review*, 33(2), 101-119.
- Zia, A. (2022). Gendered governance in Pakistan: Structural exclusions and political tokenism. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 23(1), 101–118.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INTRODUCTORY LETTER

I am a Masters of Arts student in the School of Arts and Social Sciences, Institute of Gender Equality Research and Development at Moi University, carrying out a research on the “Factors influencing women’s access to leadership position among the Tugen-Arror community of Baringo North Sub county.

Kindly, assist by responding to the questions availed with utmost honesty. The responses will be used purely for academic purpose and will be treated with absolute confidentiality.

Thank you in advance

Martha Jemuge Chelal.

REG NO: SASS / PGGS / 10/ 08

Women should be given the opportunity []

It is the right of both sexes [] Women and men complement each other []

Women have leadership skills [] Women are more sensitive []
other reasons []

Section B: Societal attitudes of the Tugen-Arror community on gender balance in political representation

10. Using a scale of 1-5 where 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= Neutral, 4= agree 5= strongly agree. Please show to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
1. Men are generally more suitable for leadership positions than women.					
2. Women should have equal opportunities to run for political office in the community.					
3. The presence of women in political positions contributes positively to community development.					
4. Traditional gender roles in the Tugen-Arror community prevent women from pursuing politics.					
5. Women in politics face more challenges and biases compared to their male counterparts.					
6. Gender quotas or affirmative action policies are necessary to achieve gender balance in politics.					

Section C: Factors that influence women's access to political leadership

11. Indicate the most prevalent obstacles for women's access to political leadership

Factor	
Lack of ambition	
Gender role stereotyping	
Violence	
Non-conducive electoral system	
Cultural and religious beliefs	
Multiple responsibilities	
Lack of government support	

Lack of material resources	
Other obstacle	

12. Men dominate the political stage and set the rules of the political game and women lack confidence in vying political leadership

Agree [] Disagree [] Don't Know []

13. Political life is organized according to male norms and value that set the standards through which political achievement is judged.

Agree [] Disagree [] Don't Know []

14. The nature of the electoral system is not favorable to women candidates

Agree [] Disagree [] Don't Know []

15. Ignorance and illiteracy.

Agree [] Disagree [] Don't Know []

16. Lack of capacity to accommodate women leadership

Agree [] Disagree [] Don't Know []

17. Lack of material and financial resources for use in attaining membership of political parties and in campaigning.

Agree [] Disagree [] Don't Know []

18. Strong religious and cultural practices/beliefs create bias against women

Agree [] Disagree [] Don't Know []

19. Short-changing of women during political party nominations

Agree [] Disagree [] Don't Know []

20. Inability of women to utilize women's voting power and numerical strength.

Agree [] Disagree [] Don't Know []

21. Inability of the government and the elections management authority to protect women against aggression and violence.

Agree [] Disagree [] Don't Know []

22. Lack of sustained government support for women's political empowerment through affirmative action.

Agree [] Disagree [] Don't Know []

23. The Tugen-Arror men are still viewed as the sole decision-makers, thus women are content playing the subordinate role.

Agree [] Disagree [] Don't Know []

24. Women occupying a high office would be going against long standing cultural and religious beliefs concerning their gender roles.

Agree [] Disagree [] Don't Know []

Section E: Ways of Empowering Women to Access full Leadership Potential in the Community

25. Do you feel that women are empowered enough to access Leadership Potential in the Community?

.....
.....

26. List Ways of Empowering Women to Access full Leadership Potential in the Community

.....
.....

APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. How do members of the Tugen-Arror community perceive the role of women in political leadership?

.....
.....

2. What are some common beliefs or cultural norms in the Tugen-Arror community that influence opinions on gender balance in politics?

.....
.....

3. What specific challenges or barriers do women in the Tugen-Arror community face when pursuing leadership positions?

.....
.....

4. How do cultural, economic, or educational factors limit women's opportunities to access leadership roles within the community?

.....
.....

5. What initiatives or programs could be introduced to support women in the Tugen-Arror community in gaining leadership skills and opportunities?

.....
.....

6. How can community leaders and institutions play a role in promoting women's empowerment and ensuring their equal representation in leadership?

.....
.....

APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION LETTER

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Telephone: 254-020-2213471, 2241349
 254-020-310571, 2213123, 2219420
 Fax: 254-020-318245, 318249
 When replying please quote
 secretary@ncst.go.ke

P.O. Box 30623-00100
 NAIROBI-KENYA
 Website: www.ncst.go.ke

Our Ref: NCST/RCD/14/012/1035

20th July 2012

Date:

Martha Jemuge Chelal
 Moi University
 P.O.Box 3900-30100
 Eldoret.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Factors influencing women's access to political leadership among the Tugen-Arror Community in Baringo North District*," I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Baringo North District for a period ending 31st August, 2012.

You are advised to report to the District Commissioner and the District Education Officer, Baringo North District before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf of the research report/thesis to our office.

DR. M. K. RUGUTT, PhD, HSC.
DEPUTY COUNCIL SECRETARY

Copy to:

The District Commissioner
 The District Education Officer
 Baringo North District.

