DETERMINANTS OF CHANGING GENDER ROLES AMONG THE MAASAI

WOMEN LIVING IN NGONG TOWN, KAJIADO COUNTY, KENYA

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DECLARATION

This research paper is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other university.

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This research paper has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

Signature_____ Date _____

Prof. Wilfred K. Subbo

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the Almighty God; the far I have come is because of His love, mercy and grace.

To my parents, loved ones and group mates, you were my source of inspiration. You always made me work hard because you believed in me. Thank you for your prayers and ceaseless support and encouragement through the entire period of the study. I dedicate this paper to you.

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ABSTRACT

This was a descriptive study on the determinants of changing denger roles among the Maasail women living in Ngong' Town, Kajiado County. Gender roles and responsibilities are socially constructed and vary from one socio-cultural context to another. Specifically the study set out to: investigate factors that contribute to changing gender roles and impact of these changes on the gender roles on the Maasai women. The study was conducted in peri-urban area of Ngong, Kajiado County. Guided by Harvard Analytical Framework, the study employed a cross-sectional descriptive approach using mixed method approach. The study collected both both qualitative and quantitative data. The study population was the individuals living in Ngong' Town, Kajiado County. They provided information on the factors that have influenced the changes in gender roles of Maasai women and the impact of such changes. The unit of analysis was an individual Maasai living in Kajiado County. An inclusion-exclusion criterion was used to select the participants in the study in that one had to be 18 years and above and must have lived in Kajiado for a period not less than six months. The study consisted 100 of women and men who were randomly sampled. Purposive sampling was used to select the key informants while the focus group discussants were sampled through convenience sampling basic on availability. Questionnaires were used to collect data from the community members while focus group discussions and key informant interview guide was used among the community members and informants. Data analysis was done through descriptive statistics, generating frequencies and presenting those using tables and charts. Quantitative data was analyzed with the aid of the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) Version 20 while qualitative data from focus group discussions and key informant interviews were analyzed thematically in line with study objectives and a few verbatim quotes used to project the voices of the participants. The study findings indicate that there are changes in gender roles in the study site and various factors, in different combinations, are responsible. Education attainment especially for women was found to be a key factor for changes in gender roles. Education provide women with skills and knowledge and thus able to ascend to employment and perform duties that were previously performed by men. Further, technology and media, government policy, death of husband, and unemployment for men are other factors contributing to changes in gender roles. The impact of these changes is felt in the emerging female-headed households and women's strain to fend for their families. Other effects include increased women participation in leadership. The study concludes that, gender roles are not fixated and can change from time to time and from one socio-cultural setting to another. The gender roles that are assigned to men and women have an important implication to their participation in social, political, and economic growth. The study recommends that programs on empowerment need to focus on the unsustainable and negative impact of changes in gender roles because role reversal affecting men are not sustainable and the program need to embark on men empowerment initiatives in order to balance the development scale. It recommends further, that relevant stakeholders in government and partners need to use other approaches to curb social vices such as early marriages since change in gender roles has not been successful in addressing this issues. Last the study makes suggestion for further research that will focus on female-headed households within Maasai Community and investigate the factors contributing to this phenomenon.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

FGDs   Focused Group Discussions

HIID   Harvard Institute of International Development

IAGAS   Institute of Anthropology Gender and African Studies

KIIs   Key Informant Interviews

M&E   Monitoring and Evaluation

NACOSTI   National Commission of Science, Technology and Innovation

SPSS   Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

UON   University of Nairobi

USAID   United States Agency for International Development

WID   Women in Development

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Gender roles are essential to the study of social interaction. Definitions of the roles men and women play in the family and the meanings attached to the values and norms around these roles are essential in understanding a society. Gender roles are the socially constructed behavioral expectations that a society requires of persons occupying the male or female status. There have been attempts to try and understand these roles mainly through biologically and culturally propagated arguments. The biological argument observes that musculature, brain function, style and affection play a crucial role in determining the gender roles.

The cultural argument on the other hand asserts that males and females learn gender appropriate behaviors through a conventional wisdom model that associates the roles to socialization. Through enculturation, males and females learn of their roles as they are transferred from one generation to another. Ortner (1996) observes that most discussions of men, women and society have primarily been based on the status of women, with males universally being the dominant sex and females the subordinate sex. This implies that traditionally, males enjoy a privileged segregation of roles as compared to that of females.

Due to increased employment opportunities, influences in fertility and changes in the family structure, various communities have seen their gendered roles undergo various changes including the rise of androgynous roles. Gornick and Meyers (2003) observe that in Central-East European countries, high female and maternal employment levels have led to the emergence of new family patterns resulting in the emergence of a female working class which sees these women not

withdraw from employment upon marriage or motherhood. These women mostly remain employed or part of the labour market until they reach a retirement age.

The Maasai of Kenya have been known to depict a subsistence system that majorly relies on pastoralism. Their relationship with the ecosystem and their culture expresses subtle and clearly demarcated gender relations with regard to roles. These gender roles are determined hugely by the social dynamics of the Maasai culture. Traditionally, males have been largely in control of decision-making be it within their homesteads, clans and the communities in general. Essentially, the decision-making space has always been a preserve of men within this context. The basis of these gendered roles is traced to the importance of bride wealth and the conceptualization of a married woman among the Maasai (Willis, 1999).

According to Hodgson (1999), married women have been considered a property of the husband in the Maasai culture. This perception is grounded on the fact that the men pay a fee to the wives' family in exchange for them to live with the men and engage in work for the family and the livestock. Willis (1999) and Hodgson (1999) further observe that in such during marriage ceremonies, livestock is paid to both the father and the mother of the girl and in some cases, part of the bride wealth is paid to the woman anticipating marriage herself. This marriageability of a daughter is seen as a sense and source of wealth to the family as it is a means to acquire property when they daughters married. This view that a woman is bought has in many ways disenfranchised them of their voice in their own household or homestead. Gender based violence has also been attributed to be stimulated by this practice of buying a woman from her parents.

While men have traditionally been seen as dominant and expressive, Wangui (1999) observes that Maasai women are mostly in control of the construction of houses, reproduction, food

preparation, cleanliness and caregiving. This typically characterizes of pastoralist women. taking the cue, Curry (1996) observes that these women also milk, take care of the young and sick animals, clean animal sheds in addition to managing milk and its products that can be used in exchange for food, cash as well as necessary labor. He further notes that wealth is obtained through events like circumcisions of males and females, marriage, birth, naming ceremonies, status change on the basis of age-grade and peace-making and conflict resolution ceremonies. Power, which is a central tenet in the gendering of roles in the community, is obtained through cattle possession and the ability to proliferate such cattle. In most instances, it is the men that wield this power hence an imbalance in the gendering of roles.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Gender roles remain a social construction by communities and societies based on their immediate environment and their needs. With the increase in rates of female labor participation, gender roles are undergoing a transition that is seeing women assume some of their non-traditional roles while men are also getting into the roles that were previously a preserve of women.

Unlike the past where the Maasai exclusively engaged in a nomadic lifestyle that involved moving from place to place with their livestock in search of water and pasture, there is a gradual increase in pastoral sedentarization among the Maasai that has led to changes in the basic family gender division of roles among men and women. The sale of dairy products has exposed women among the Maasai to economic opportunities that were traditionally not being practiced within the pastoral network. The Maasai are also engaging in agriculture due to the relative immobility in their lifestyle resulting in agro-pastoralism. The rapid rate of urbanization is also known to offer an influence in the gendering of roles. Kajiado County has urban and peri-urban centers as

well as rural areas which tend to have various orientations and socializations to fit the needs of the community.

While studies have discussed the role of women in the pastoral communities, very few have gone to the extent of providing empirical evidence on the current roles played by men and women in this subsistence system despite the changing way of life of pastoralists. This study of Maasai women in Kajiado County sought to explore how the contemporary economic, socio-cultural and political context of these women influences the changes in their gender roles. This study sought to bring out changes in the roles of women in the Maasai community of Kajiado County and the factors that have necessitated these changes and the effect of these changes on the community.

This study, therefore, sought to respond to the following research questions:

i.   What factors contribute to the changing gender roles of Maasai women of Kajiado County?

ii.   What is the impact of these changes on the gender roles on the Maasai of Kajiado County?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The study objectives were as follows:

1.3.1 General objective

To explore the changing gender roles among the women of the Maasai community living in Ngong, Kajiado County.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

i.   To establish the factors contributing to the changing gender roles of Maasai women of Ngong, Kajiado County.

ii.   To assess the impact of these changes in gender roles on the Maasai of Ngong, Kajiado County

1.4 Assumptions of the study

The study was guided by the following assumptions:

i.   That education, economics and new modes of socialization contributes to the changing gender roles among the Maasai women living in Ngong, Kajiado County.

ii.   That the changes in gender roles have impacted on the Maasai community living in Ngong, Kajiado County.

1.5 Significance of the study

A study on the changing gender roles in any dimension is significant in informing any policy that could be essential in the alleviation of gender related conflicts especially those that are rooted in the gender division of labor and roles. Therefore, the findings of this study contributed to information on the changing gender roles among women in pastoral network that could inform policy experts in coming up with appropriate mechanisms of incorporating the new gender roles in the strive towards gender equity and equality especially among the pastoral communities.

The findings of this study has provide crucial information on the factors that have necessitated changes in gender roles of women and by extension those of men and how these changes have impacted on the wider pastoral community. This information could be used in an attempt to understand the Maasai community in holistically to inform any kind of intervention(s) targeting this community.

In addition, findings and recommendations from this study should be helpful to other researchers, development practitioners, and implementers in cases of project/programme design

and implementation to come up with relevant initiatives based on experiences of men and women changing in the wake of changing gender roles. The recommendations derived from this study would be used in designing appropriate gender related programs that could cause positive change to the Maasai population. For researchers and academic advisor, the findings of this study contributed to the existing body of knowledge on this topic and would be used by members of the scientific community interested in this field to further their debate on issues related to gender and the changing gender roles in the wake of globalization leading to diversification of livelihoods.

1.6 Scope and limitations of the study

The study was conducted in Ngong Town, Kajiado County, and focused on the factors that influence the change in gender roles of the Maasai women living in Kajiado County and the effects of such change on the community. The study targeted 94 respondents namely; male and female older persons in the Kajiado County. This was a descriptive study that used structured and unstructured tools to elicit information from respondents and was guided by Harvard Framework. The study targeted women over the age of 18 years. The methods used in this study were survey, key informant interviews (KIIs) and focus group discussions (FGDs). Random sampling was used to obtain respondents for the survey as purposive and convenience sampling was used to obtain key informants and focus group discussants respectively.

The researcher anticipates limitations associated with respondents giving sensitive information relating to issues around gender roles and family life due to the relatively reserved nature of this topic. However, the researcher assured utmost confidentiality, anonymity and privacy with issues around informed consent taken into consideration among other ethical standards.

1.7 Definition of key terms

Gender: Refers to the socially constructed concept of what it means to be a man or a woman that is determined by conception of tasks, duties and roles ascribed to individual in societal spaces.

Gender roles: Refer to socially constructed responsibilities vested on men and women based on their gender and sex attributes.

Socialization: The lifelong process of social interaction through which individuals acquire learn and internalize norms, a self-identity, ideologies, and the social and cultural expectations. This acts a means through which social and cultural continuity are attained.

Globalization: Process through which an entity, organization or business attract international scale of operation.

Higher Education: A stage of formal learning that occurs after secondary education.

Collective bargaining: Negotiation that is inclusive, involving all relevant stakeholders.

Household: A social unit, bigger than a family where production, reproduction takes place.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents of review of literature relevant to the study topic. This literature is reviewed under two major themes: factors influencing the changing gender roles and the impact of these changes on the families. The section further discusses the theoretical framework and its relevance on the study and ends with the conceptual framework.

2.2 Factors influencing the changing gender roles

Gender roles/responsibilities vary across societies. They also vary within one society or cultural setting. The changes in gender roles can be conceptualized as forces that reverse what men and women do. Traditional changer roles have change. Certain roles that were traditionally and socially meant for men are performed by women and vice versa? Changes in gender roles and responsibilities also entail additional roles for men and women. The change has involved breakdown of socially and culturally inscribed stereotypes. Prior to the 1980s, both sexes had agreed on separate roles and well defined. Men were active breadwinners, women stayed at home performing domestic chores. However, since the 1990s, the separation of roles have changed and transformations have taken place regarding what men and women do.

The gender division of labor has become more malleable/flexible where men are no longer expected to hunt and women expected to gather. This has however diversified women's roles as illustrated by the triple roles.

The change in gender roles has had gains. It has not only made women's work visible but has also brought out their potential as equal partners in socio-economic growth. The society has experienced increased participation of women in politics, governance, manufacturing and service

industry, agriculture. Gender roles reversal has served as the platform for further women empowerment and autonomy and as a springboard for equal opportunities and expectations. It is about bridging the gender gap. Through changes in gender roles, we have witnessed gender equality. Robust developments have also been realized because of the equal balance and sharing responsibilities, introducing the idea of synergy.

Gender Roles Today: In the contemporary times, gender roles are fundamentally different from how they were perceived in the past. This is apparent in various domains including employment, role reversals, home environment, and childcare. Essentially, evidence has been obtained relating to the changes in gender roles and responsibilities in these areas. On employment, most people, men and women have full-time jobs. They share financial responsibilities at home. This is unlike in the past where heavy part of the financial burden was in the men's shoulders. In the olden days, men went out to work while women remained behind in domestic chores. However, in the modern days, as women rise to career and profession work, the tune has changed. Men and women alike have ventured into business, media, technology, research, manufacturing and so on.

Role reversal refer to the complete turn-over or change in gender roles- women working full-time and men staying at home looking after children and carry out household chores. This is a bracket view of the changes in gender roles where some roles and responsibilities have taken a sudden or immediate turn. This is evident in the witnessed change of job across gender where men and women have suddenly started performing duties traditionally associated with the opposite. These changes have for instance been experienced in the changes in parenting where men have assumed nurturing duties. Changes have also been witnessed in childcare: Women also

contribute in childcare expenses unlike in the past. In cosmetics, men have taken over the industry, previously considered preserve of women.

At the home environment domestic functions have been 'devolved'. Men and women equally share the responsibilities in in domestic circles.

Factors that have been influential in effecting change in the roles of men and women are categorized into two. These are: economic factors and social factors. However, these factors are interlinked and cannot be studied independently. Arguments as to whether these changes in the gender roles are economically driven or socially driven have characterized the public and academic discourse. All these have always been used in furthering debates on gender equity and equality.

With globalization and rapid industrialization, causing economic shifts in the world, work for women has become compulsory. Unlike before where the socio-cultural construction of labor in communities defined roles exclusively for men and women, a raft of contemporary issues have challenged the old notions in communities on what men and women are expected to do. These factors include: education, employment, changing subsistence patterns, million women were in paid employment. Different structures of work had become more common; bi-modal work (allowing women to take a break to have children) and part-time work both increased greatly and were particularly accommodating for women.

One implication of this phenomenon is that women (and men, too) are spending more post-school years as single adults than have past generations. As young adult singles they may continue to live with their parents, live alone, live with one or more persons of the same (or with

increasing frequency, opposite) gender, or live under the arrangement euphemistically described as co-habitation. Whichever living arrangement, or combination thereof, is chosen, delaying marriage implies a longer period of independence for the young adult.

The individuals who have experienced this protracted period of social and financial independence will bring to their eventual marriages a broad array of consumer skills. These consumer skills will be the result of both their own experience and of exposure to the life styles of other young adults including roommates, co-workers, and friends. Singlehood tends to force the acquisition of non-traditional consumer skills for both genders. For instance, the woman is likely to have purchased and maintained one or more cars and the man is likely to have prepared meals, maintained an apartment, and done the shopping associated with the performance of traditionally female tasks.

Upon marriage, these persons are less likely to model cheer consumption patterns and decision-making processes upon the, probably traditional, patterns of their parents than are couples who lack this lengthy exposure to diverse and, often non-traditional, life styles prior to marriage. Both the nature of consumption-related decisions and the processes by which they are made will be affected. Kohen's statement that "young women will take part in these negotiations with a greater sense of personal identity" is likely to apply in consumer decision-making as well as in family formation decisions. This sense of identity, reinforced by dual incomes, is likely to result in more autonomous decision-making by these couples.

Extensive pre-marital experience as single consumers may, over time, results in a more flexible approach to the division of household and other consumption-related tasks. Change is unlikely to be rapid, however. The most non-traditional attitudes and behavior should be exhibited by

cohabiting couples, since they have chosen a relationship which is not sanctioned by a large proportion of our society. Still, a study of the division of household labor which included cohabiting couples (Stafford, Beckman and Dibona, 1977) found that even these couples were dividing tasks in the traditional, gender-linked manner. Even so, some change is becoming apparent. In earlier research dealing with meal preparation by husbands, Wortzel and I speculated that couples today seem increasingly inclined to perform at least the more creative tasks on the basis of personal preference as opposed to traditional gender roles (Robert and Wortzel 1979a). This is likely to become increasingly true as more young people experience protracted periods of singlehood. While this is promising from the viewpoint of the demands on time of the working woman - and admittedly an over-optimistic one from the viewpoint of current time use research - it is a perplexing one for marketers. It has been difficult enough to select target segments, determine appeals, and accurately portray women as their roles have multiplied. Men's assumption of multiple, non-traditional roles will further complicate the situation. The best approach to take will be a cautious, research-based one, since change is not likely to occur simultaneously either across product categories or across market segments.

Since higher education is related to delayed marriage, another implication is that both partners will bring increased financial resources into the initial years of marriage. This will clearly allow for a more rapid accumulation of a stock of high-quality durable goods as well as for continued high expenditures on personal consumption goods, services, travel, and leisure pursuits.

While the social implications of women's ability to control their fertility cannot easily be overstated, there are also important implications for consumer behavior. One might start with the proposition that for the majority of American families having a child is now a conscious decision

reached jointly by husband and wife. In her introduction to a special issue of the Psychology of Women Quarterly which deals with determinants of fertility, Russo states that "there is overwhelming scientific evidence that we value what we perceive ourselves to have freely chosen" (Russo 1979, p. 12). Therefore both necessity born of women's employment and positive attitudes toward nurturing of children should lead to greater male involvement in child rearing.

Since many women may be delaying the birth of the first child until careers are well established, most of them are likely to return to the labor force very quickly, if they leave it at all. The resulting segment of well-educated and affluent two-worker families may choose to spend as little time as possible on activities that represent merely "custodial care" of the home or the children. Instead, they will try to devote as much time as possible to activities that provide rewarding family interaction. Products and services which promote interaction between parents and children that is both enjoyable and intellectually stimulating should be especially attractive.

Media and technology

Media and technological advancements have created job opportunities especially for women and expunged women from domestic circles. Courtesy of technology, certain roles are now performed by the opposite gender. Technology is seen as an enabler. However, media has of late been criticized for perpetuating gender discrimination and undoing the gains made. Media has served to perpetuate traditional gender roles and women disempowerment. The ideas of Betty Friedan in her Feminine Mystique spark a whole debate on the impact of media on men and women. For Friedan, the media serves as a pathway to justify and reinforce traditional gender inequalities, stereotypes, and further subjugate women. Through media portrayals, women are

seen as secondary sex and objectified. In advertisements, cover magazines, and general portrayals, women are viewed in negative light.

Images of girls and women in the media are filled with stereotypes about who women are and what their roles should be in society. Women are portrayed as nonprofessionals, homemakers, wives or parents, and sexual gatekeepers. Women are often sexualized—typically by showing them in scanty or provocative clothing.

In examining the effects of women's employment, Kohen points out that, while leisure is important to the working woman, it is frequently less fulfilling of them than is their work. In terms of their basic life priorities, this seems quite reasonable. Yet, it also seems reasonable to expect that changes in women's role-related attitudes will be reflected in their leisure pursuits. There is limited support in the literature for this hypothesis (Gentry and Doering). There is also the suggestion that women, like men, consider work and leisure to be interrelated and that women, even more than man, enjoy competitive leisure pursuits (Hawes, Blackwell and Talarzyk 1975). This was a follow up study on Luhya women found in Busia Kenya, as a critique to Feinstein et. al's study on household division of labor among Tanzanian families.

The theme of lack of time for the working woman to call her own recurs frequently in the more popular current literature on women's issues (Bird 1974, for example). It seems that a majority of working wives correctly perceive themselves to be not only contributing to household income but also spending more time on household and child care than do other members of the family. They may, therefore, be very open to appeals related to doing something, either active or passive, for their own personal benefit and enjoyment.

Both Elkstrom and Kahne points out that single women are disproportionately represented in the labor force and Kohen adds that one out of every six families is headed by a woman. Given current rates of divorce and of chosen singlehood, these trends seem likely to continue. As traditional roles become blurred, attitudes - whether actually positive toward task performance or just less negative than the partner's - are likely to become increasingly important. At the same time, perfectionist standards toward housework may be less important to women, especially working women, who have other inputs to their evaluation of their own self-worth. It is quite possible that a husband may have higher standards than his wife with regard to one or more specific task outcomes. This paradigm, then, applies separately to husband and wife and also to children old enough to assume general household tasks. Task allocation will be the result of the mix of attitudes and standards present within the family.

It is also worth returning briefly to the problem of power versus time in the two-wage-earner household. If power is conferred by contribution to the family's income, then working women should indeed have more power in family decision-making. It is easy to hypothesize that women will exercise this power with the result being more joint decision-making. However, we must realize that time spent in income-producing activities is, for most women as well as men, time not spent at home. The trade-off between more power and less time may result in less assumption or sharing of previously male-dominated decisions than one would at first suspect. In fact, one study found more male participation in shopping and financial decisions that had previously been handled solely by wives (Pralle, 1980).

In summary, the majority of factors that have led to the changing role of women, since 1945, have been based upon an economic necessity. There have been social factors that have assisted

the change, in particular collective bargaining, but even these are closely connected with economics. We go on to conclude that it is the economic environment that prevents women from gaining equality in the workplace. This is because they are not as naturally suited to the fiercely competitive nature of a male dominated workplace. They are possibly restricted in some ways by the men that occupy the top jobs but they are also restricted by their own lack of ambition.

The changing social system is a universal factor which also brings change in the status of its members. Changes in a particular field have an impact in other realms of the society too. An emergent phenomenon is the growing flexibility and changes in the gender roles of men and women. Early societies had rigid roles for men and women with attributes were labeled as being masculine and feminine. Man was considered as provider of basic necessities for family and woman the child bearer and caretaker of home. Till recently women were accorded the role of the inferior sex and prized possession of man.

2.3 Impact of the changing gender roles on the society

The changing social system is a universal factor which also brings change in the status of its members. Changes in a particular field have an impact in other realms of the society too. An emergent phenomenon is the growing flexibility and changes in the gender roles of men and women. Early societies had rigid roles for men and women with attributes which were labeled as being masculine and feminine. Man was considered as provider of basic necessities for family and woman the child bearer and caretaker of home. The construction of these gender roles dictated women spaces to be within the household. Even within the household the kitchen was seen as the space for women. Men on the other hand, occupied the decision making spaces

within the households and other spaces in the society. Till recently women were accorded the role of the inferior sex and prized possession of man. This has been the case not only in patriarchal societies but also in many societies world over.

The changing social system is a universal factor which also brings change in the status of its members. Changes in a particular field have an impact in other realms of the society too. An emergent phenomenon is the growing flexibility and changes in the gender roles of men and women. Early societies had rigid roles for men and women with attributes were labeled as being masculine and feminine. Man was considered as provider of basic necessities for family and woman the child bearer and caretaker of home. Till recently women were accorded the role of the inferior sex and prized possession of man.

The changes and flexibility in gender roles which are being evident today has its roots in the changing social structure. Economic factors, advancement in sciences and changed value system have contributed to a preference for nuclear family thus doing away with the concept of joint family. Consequently the ambit of economic and household responsibilities has changed.

Earlier in the joint family system there was a clear-cut division of responsibilities or duties with women looking after the domestic matters and the men taking charge of out of home and financial matters. Today the nuclear set-up allows for no such demarcation the man is no longer the sole bread-winner and woman no longer a mere caretaker of the house. This is also due to the economic compulsions. With the financial security provided by joint family system no longer available and cost of living ever increasing there is a need for an extra earning member to supplement the income of the family. The women are thus forced to earn as well to meet the cost of domestic demands. In the initial stages of this phase the women were not offered any help in

domestic affairs and she performed both the supplementary role of an earning member and her natural role of a housewife. Gradually the attitude of men is changing to a certain extent that men adopted the woman's role at least when compulsion to do so arose.

While the acceptance of man's gender role has been willingly taken up by women, the same does not always hold true for men. The present scenario is still that while a girl is groomed to become an efficient career woman as well as an efficient house maker, men are expected to excel mainly in professional fields.

The situation is that while any effort from men to undertake a domestic job is welcomed and assisted by their counterparts, any such effort by women in the professional field is still seen as a threat to male supremacy. Hence men do not have to struggle hard to prove their worth, women most of the time has to work harder to prove not just that they are efficient but that they can work much harder and deliver the results.

Lately the domain of femininity has expanded to include the social and professional fields, traditional notions about gender roles are undergoing transformation that has been mainly because of education. An open and educated society is paving the way for role-swapping which seems to be gaining ground in the highly demanding developmental social structure. Domestic life has become almost unthinkable without flexibility in gender roles. While men are beginning to shed their inhibitions about working in the kitchen women are already working late hours. The changing trends are reflected in men and women taking up unconventional work such as pilots and astronauts while men are honing their skills as chefs and fashion designers.

Changing roles to accommodate the social or professional pressures has become a common phenomenon. However it is in the urban centres that the flexibility is most evident. The rural society though in transition has a long way to go in this context. The flexibility in gender roles needs to be taken to the extent where finally the concept of respective gender roles is done away with.

Challenged Masculinity: The view that men's dominance and autonomy has been confronted in the wave of women empowerment. Due to changes in market economy (recess, fluctuation) and the competition from women, men's position as the providers has been challenged. Resultantly, men have taken a back seat with bruised ego. In education, employment and other administrative areas, women have taken the lead and this underscores the concept of challenged masculinity. Husband battling has become a common phenomenon in the society and this is attributable to challenged masculinity.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The study was guided by the Harvard Analytical Framework. Also known as Gender Roles Framework or the Gender Analysis Framework. It was developed by researchers at the Harvard Institute of International Development (HIID) with USAID's Office of Women in Development (WID). At the core of the framework is the idea of gender roles. The framework underscores the view that women and men have different roles assigned to them based on their gender.

The Harvard Analytical Framework offers one of the first efforts to disaggregate data by gender and capture differences in men's and women's positions and roles. Data is collected on the activities that men and women engage in at the individual and household level, according to their "reproductive" or "productive" nature. These activities are then assessed in terms of access and control over resources to better understand how household (or community) distribution will influence program outcomes. According to our definitions, it is a tool rather than a framework because it can be used to establish baselines and track changes in gender relations within various M&E approaches.

The tool has an interrelated matrix for data collection, which includes 4 elements: the activity profile, identifying the demographics of those involved in the project; the access and control file, highlighting the resources, access, and control in each activity by gender; the analysis of influencing factors, identifying factors contributing to gender differences; and the project cycle analysis, assessing the intervention based on gender aggregation (Mukhopadhyay, 1999).The Harvard Analytical Framework is based on Women in Development (WID) "efficiency" approach, meaning that the aim is to show that resource allocation to women and men makes good economic sense. While the tool is gender aware and makes more visible the differences

between men's and women's labor, it does not analyze the roots of gender inequality and power imbalance.

2.5 Relevance of the theory

The Gender Roles Framework is useful for mapping and identifying the gendered division of work as well as access and control over community resources (Podems, 2007)

- The visual mapping process is useful for getting diverse groups of stakeholders on the same page.

- Gender is a central part of the analysis, which is often rare in other development planning or program assessment tools and approaches.

- The analysis highlights the need for gender disaggregation in measuring program impact to help reveal if there are differential outcomes for men and women receiving the same program intervention. Combined with an in-depth analysis of access and resources, it may be possible to infer, to some extent, why these gender differences may exist.

2.6 Conceptual Framework
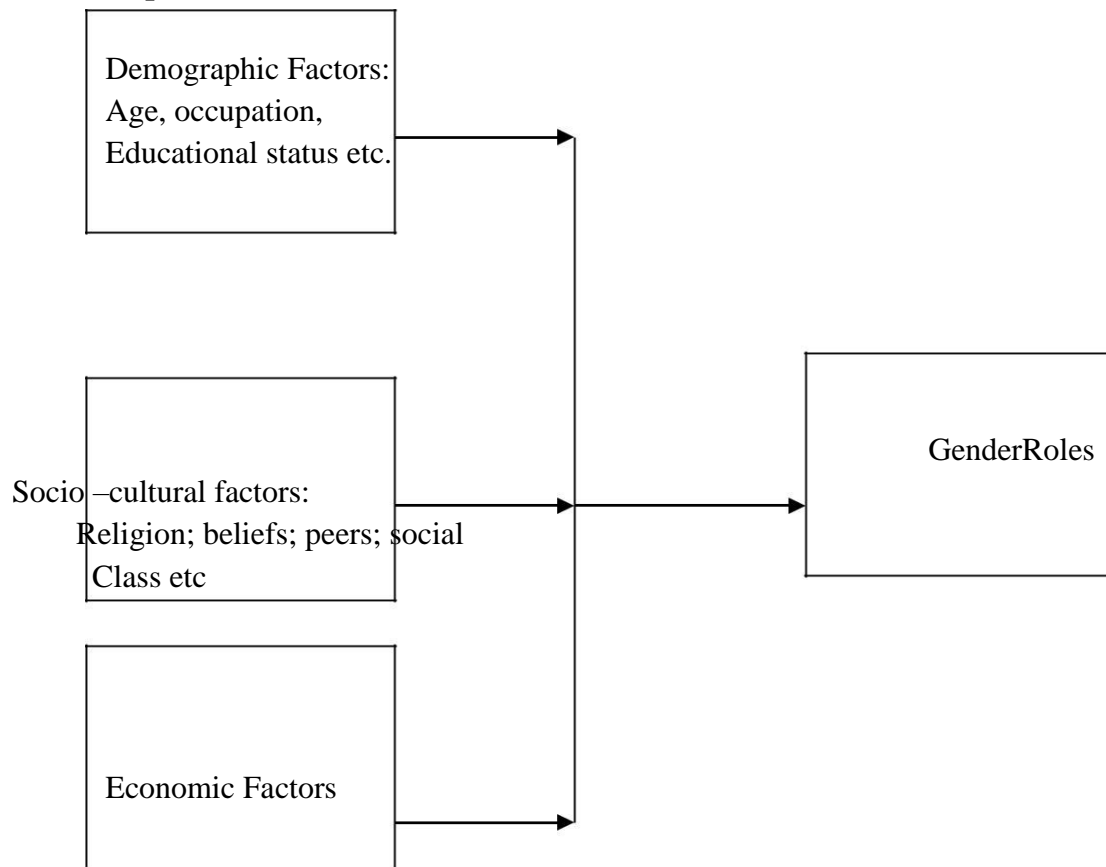
Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework

{ Source: Author (2017)}

CHPATER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that was used in this study. The section includes a description of the research site, study design, study population, sample population and sampling procedure, data collection methods and the methods that were used for data processing and analysis. In addition, it also discusses the ethical considerations that were observed in the process of the study.

3.2 Research site

Ngong is a town near the Ngong Hills along the Great Rift Valley within Kajiado County, located in the southwest of Nairobi, in southern Kenya. The word "Ngong" is a Maasai word meaning "knuckles", referring to the 4 hill peaks of the ridge, which stands alone rising from the plain around Nairobi. The Ngong Hills, from the eastside slopes, overlook the Nairobi National Park game reserve and, off to the north, the city of Nairobi. The Ngong Hills, from the westside slopes, overlook the Great Rift Valley dropping over 4,000 feet below, where nomadic Maasai live (SoftKenya, 2016).

The population of Ngong is 107,188, out of which approximately 40,000 are Maasai. The Maasai tribe (or Masai) is a unique and popular tribe due to their long preserved culture. Despite education, civilization and western cultural influences, the Maasai people have clung to their traditional way of life, making them a symbol of Kenyan culture. Maasai's distinctive culture, dress style and strategic territory along the game parks of Kenya and Tanzania have made them one of East Africa's most internationally famous tourist attractions. The effects of modern civilization, education and western influence have not completely spared this unique and interesting tribe. Some of the Maasai tribe's deep-rooted culture is slowly fading away. Customs,

activities and rituals such as female circumcision and cattle raiding have been outlawed by modern legislation. Maasai children now have access to education and some Maasai have moved from their homeland to urban areas where they have secured jobs (SoftKenya, 2016).
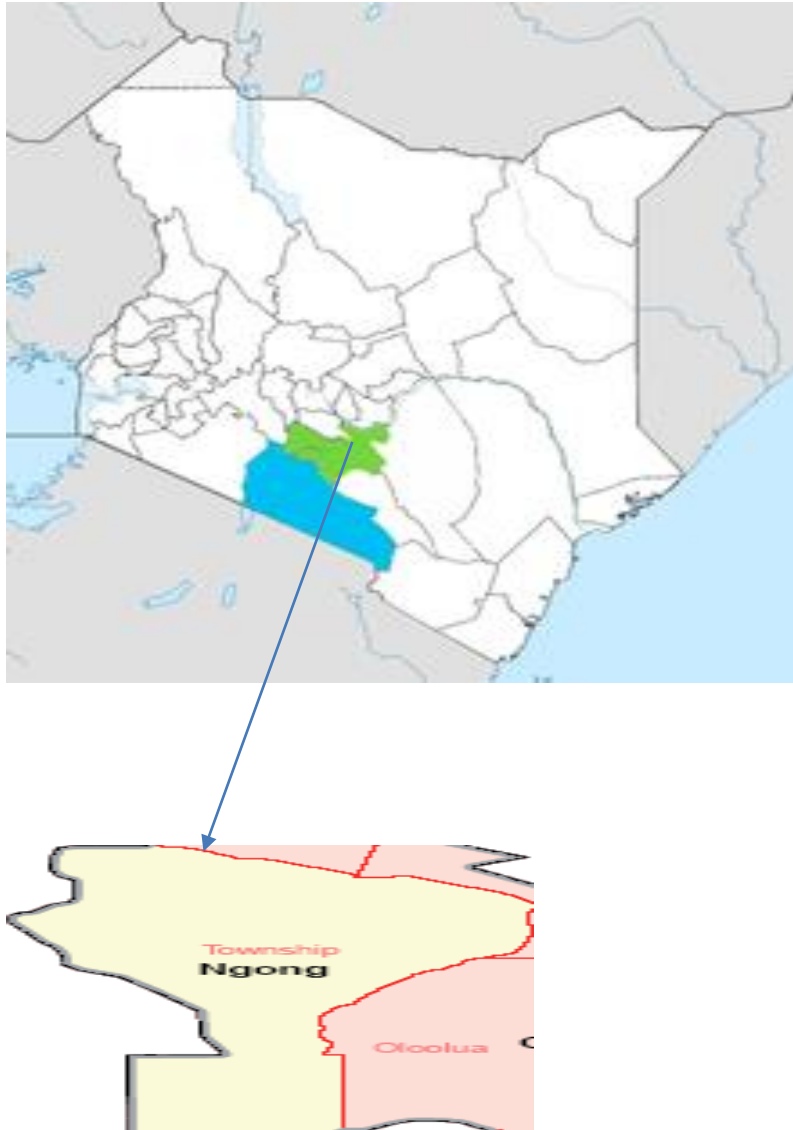
Figure 3.1: Map of Ngong

Source: Maphill 2011.

3.3 Research design

The study was exploratory cross sectional research design using mixed methods (both qualitative and quantitative). The descriptive design allowed for the investigation into the changes in gender roles among the Maasai women of Kajiado County. The choice of the study design is informed by the view that the study was took place at one point in time (cross-sectional). The adoption of mixed methods was preferred in order to triangulate the findings. Essentially, while the quantitative method provided quantifiable data, the qualitative approach helped understand the subjective experiences of the participants.

The study population was the individuals living in Kajiado County. They provided information on the factors that have influenced the changes in gender roles of Maasai women and the impact of such changes. The unit of analysis was an individual Maasai woman living in Kajiado. An inclusion-exclusion criterion was used to select the participants in the study. They were individuals who were 18 years and above and had lived in Ngong area of Kajiado County for not less than six months and belonging to the Maasai community. The data were collected using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The participants in the study included members of the Maasai Community. Survey questionnaires, key informant interviews (KIIs) and focus group discussions (FGDs) were used to collect data among the actors. Surveys were conducted with the general public who had been sampled randomly so as to obtain quantitative data relating to the objectives of this study. Key nformants were purposively sampled so as to shed deeper insights into the research problem while also placing the study into a contextual perspective. Focus group discussions were crucial in teasing out the group dynamics of the responses with regard to the research problem. The participants in the FGDs were sampled conveniently for this study.

Quantitative data from this study was analyzed using SPSS and the findings presented using bar graphs, pie charts, tables and inferential statistics. Qualitative data from the KIIs and FGDs were collected with the help of audio digital recorders and notebooks. The recorded data were transcribed, organized into emerging thematic groups and analyzed qualitatively to establish the patterns arising from the data. Descriptive approach was embraced where direct verbatim quotes from the transcripts were used to present information based on the objectives of the study and to amplify respondents' voices.

3.4 Study population and unit of analysis

The study population was the Maasai men and women living in Ngong, Kajiado County. They provided information into the changing roles, perceptions and effects of these changes in the community. The unit of analysis was an individual community member. An inclusion-exclusion criterion was used to select the participants in the study. Only participants who are Maasai aged 18+ years and lived in Ngong, Kajiado for a long period of at least six months, were legible to participate in the study.

3.5 Sample size and sampling procedures

Simple random sampling was used in selecting both male and female respondents for the survey. Random sampling technique gives everyone a chance of being selected for the study. The 100 respondents for the survey were determined using the Blalock (1972) sampling formula as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(E)^2}$$

Where   n = sample

N = Population

E = Sampling error

The desired confidence level is 90%. The resultant sampling error (E) is 10%. Therefore the sample in this case is:

With the population 'N' of Ngong being 36,786 people, the sample will be derived as follows:

Sample $n = \frac{36786}{1+36786(0.10)^2} = 100.$

In order to obtain informants for the KIIs, purposive sampling was employed by the researcher. The informants were drawn from various backgrounds based on their knowledge of the social and cultural factors influencing changing roles of women and the perceptions around such changes. For the FGDs, discussants were selected based on their availability and convenience for the study. Convenience sampling was used to select participants for the FGDs based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the various homogenous groups.

3.6 Data collection methods

3.6.1 Survey questionnaires

The questionnaires were administered to a total of 100 men and women in the community with the help of research assistants at the household level. The questionnaire contained both open and close-ended questions and were designed to address the objectives of the study. Survey was carried with the community members, to allow for an understanding into the changing roles of

women, perceptions of the community on these changing roles and the effects of the changes on the Maasai Community. It contained three sections; section one addressed demographic characteristics of the respondents, section two was designed to address the factors influencing changes in gender roles and section three was designed to address the effects of the changes on gender roles within wider Maasai community in Kajiado County. The open-ended questions in the questionnaires allowed the respondents to communicate their views freely without being forced to fit within the answers. A questionnaire (Appendix 2) was used to collect the data. The respondents included both Maasai men and women living in Ngong, Kajiado County.

3.6.2 Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted in order to add to the understanding of what roles women play in the contemporary Maasai community in Kajiado County, how the changes are perceived and the effects they have had on the Maasai Community. Homogenous groups constituted of men, women and the youths to see how these demographics influence the perceptions on the roles of women in the community. This was also meant to capture the intergenerational opinions on the changing gender roles. A focus group discussion guide (Appendix 4) was used to gather the views of the various groups. During the study, participants in the FGDs ranged between 6 and 12 with separate discussions held for females and males. The aim was to take care of the gender disparities, gendered experiences, customary prohibitions against mixed discussions between men and women, and capture the silent conversations which would not otherwise surface in mixed-group discussions. To be effective, the six (6) FGDs were segmented across the following age-groups: Youths (males and females) between 18-30 years**;** Middle aged persons 31-45 years; and**,** Elderly group above 46 years. The inclusion-exclusion criteria were based on the participants belonging to the Maasai Community and had lived in

Ngong area of Kajiado County for more than six months. Audio recorders were used to collect the opinions of various participants.

3.6.3 Key informant interviews

To complement the information collected from literature reviews and focus group discussion, key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted with 7 key informants. They included one (1) community members, two (2) traditional leadership, two (2) non-governmental organizations operating in the area, and two (2) other appropriately profiled women that existed in the society. Beyond offering clarity on data from desk reviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions, the key informant interviews were able to bring out issues germane: socio-demographics influence on the changing gender roles, status of women in Maasai land, socio-cultural and economic factors influence on the changing gender roles, community sanction or reward related to changing gender roles as well as the institutional responses towards the changing gender roles in Kajaido County. The key informants were purposively selected on the basis of their knowledge on the subject matter. A key informant guide (Appendix 3) was used to collect data.

3.6.4 Secondary sources

The proposal development involved the use of secondary information obtained from books, journals, the internet, the County government's records and documentations, reports, and other documents. The information has continuously been sourced in a bid to enrich the research findings to get a better understanding of the factors leading to changes in gender roles and the impacts that the changes have on the Maasai Coummunity in Kajiado County.

3.5 Data processing and analysis

Qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis were employed. Since the study was mainly exploratory, there was an inclination towards qualitative techniques of data analysis. However, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze quantitative data from the questionnaires. This involved the use of simple descriptive statistics such as simple tables, percentages and frequency distribution. Qualitative data were recorded, transcribed and checked for clarity and completeness. What followed was sorting the data into themes, categories and patterns. Content analysis was done by identifying emerging themes in the data, relating the themes to the study objectives to find out how they contribute to answering the study questions on the factors influencing change in gender roles and the impact. Data were then be presented in the form of thematic groups where the relationship between economic, demographic and socio-cultural factors (dependent variable) and the gender roles (independent variables) examined. Verbatim quotes from the key informants and the focus group discussants have been used alongside presentation of the findings to amplify the voices of the participants.

3.6 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations as defined as principles and considerations researchers employ in research process that protects the rights of participants in a research study. They are actions taken to ensure that the safety, dignity and rights of participants are not violated during the entire process of the study or even after the study is long completed resulting into publications (Rensik, 2011). As the body mandated by the constitution to authorize research work by giving research permits, the researcher sought for permission to conduct the study from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation. The researcher then reported to the County Director of Education and Chief Officer Gender and Culture, Kajiado County prior to conducting the

research. The researcher gave an explanation to the respondents and informants during fieldwork on the voluntary nature of the study and hence the freedom of withdrawal at will. An informed consent form approved by my supervisor and the postgraduate studies committee of the Institute of Anthropology Gender and African Studies of the University of Nairobi (Appendix 1) was used to obtain the approval of the respondent's participation in the study. Additional permission was obtained from the key informants before any recording of interviews was conducted. The respondents were assured of confidentiality and protection and therefore were not required to indicate their names anywhere in the questionnaire or include any identifier. This promised has been kept and no amount of identifying information is in the final write up.

For quality purposes, the findings of the study will be disseminated back to the community through local administration channels, and shared with the scientific community through publications. Copies of the final thesis will also be availed at the University of Nairobi (UoN) Library for academic purposes. It is further envisioned that a copy of the project will be made available to the County of Kajiado to inform policy on the underlying factors influencing changes in gender roles and the impacts of the changes within the Maasai context which will be instrumental in mainstreaming agro-pastoral and pastoral policies.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of the research findings in line with the research objectives. It has two major parts. The first section is a description of socio-demographic characteristics of the participants. The second section reports the study findings, answering the research questions.

4.2 Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

4.2.1 Gender

Gender was considered an important variable to this study given its dialectic relationship with the social construction of gender roles within the household and the community at large. Further, given the study's interests in exploring the gendered experiences in the wake of livelihood diversification leading to changes in gender roles, it was important to capture the opinions of men and women. In the study, 100 interviews were conducted at household levels in Kajiado County. The study findings indicate that men constituted 38% while women accounted for 62% of the total respondents as shown in Table 4.1 below. Whereas participation of men might be seen to be slightly lower than that of women, it is more of a question of timing the household interviews that did not tie (concur) with men's availability within the homesteads.

Table 4.1: Respondents' gender

Gender	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Men	38	38
Women	62	62
Total	**100**	**100**

4.2.2 Age

In the study, participants' age was deemed an important aspect because this could determine their level of experience and interaction with the factors leading to changes in gender roles and there possible impacts in the wider Maasai Community. Age was also deemed necessary in revealing the level of responsibilities of men and women in participating the various roles and duties that are determined by gender and the changes that have occurred and to a greater extent support the understanding of the dynamics, trends and patterns of gender roles within the Maasai Community in Kajiado County. The study findings indicate that majority of the respondents were aged between 41 years and 50 years, accounting for 46% of the total respondents. Those aged 51 years and above accounted for only 9% while those aged between 18 and 30, mainly composed of youth accounted for 16% of the total respondents. The age category of 31-40 accounted for 29%. Figure 4.1 shows the age of the respondents.
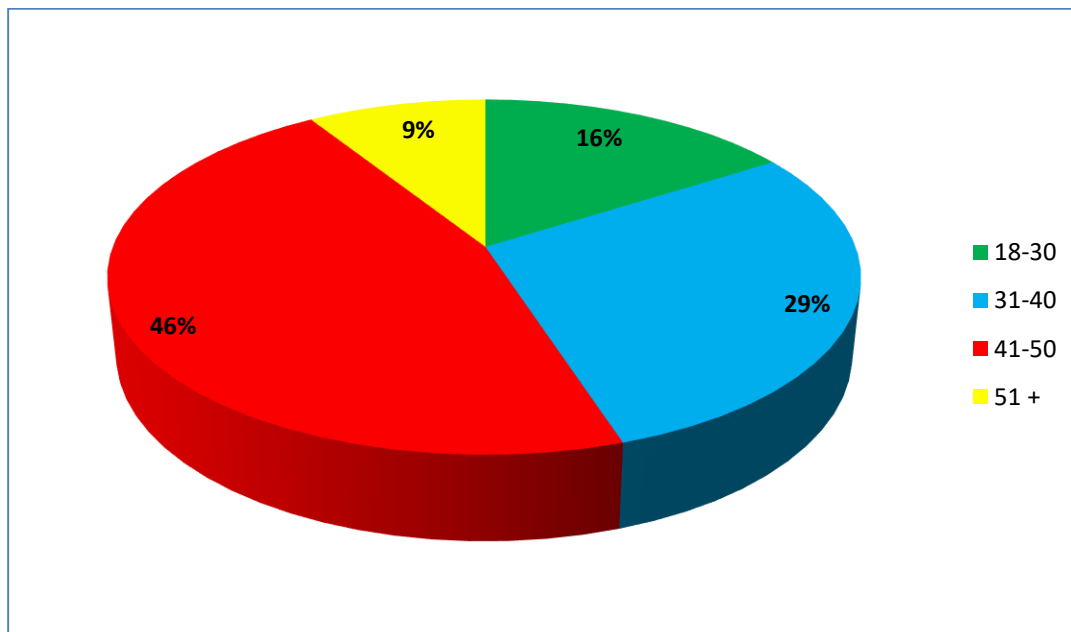
Figure 4.1: Respondents' age

4.2.3 Level of Education

The education level was recorded for all the respondents of the survey. Five levels of education achievements were investigated, from those who never attended school to those who reached the University. In this study, there is a reported high level of specialized education (college & University) but the women are the most under-represented in this case having. This leaves them economically and socially disadvantaged and more vulnerable compared to their male counterparts. Determining education level by gender is significant in determining proxies for school attendance as well the gender gaps in education levels.

Table 4.2: Respondents' level of education

Level of Education	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Primary	13	13
Secondary	43	43
Tertiary	20	20
University	16	16
Never attended school	8	8
Total	**100**	**100**

4.2.4 Marital Status

The marital status of the respondents is summarized in Figure 4.2 below. Findings of this study show that majority of the respondents (48%) were married while only 8% were widowed. Those who reported Single marital status accounted for 16% while the separated accounted for 28% (Figure 4.2). The marital statuses of the respondents were considered useful because individuals in different matrimonial arrangements have differential experiences as far as gender roles are

concerned and the factors influencing the changes right from the household to the community level. For instance, polygamous households are characterized with a big family size which translates to more duties and complexities in terms of changing or adopting new roles. This might put a lot of strain on the existing source of livelihood over the period of emergencies such as famine and/or drought compared to monogamous arrangements. Further to the aforementioned, the status and decision-making power of wives in polygamous families is likely to vary according to how many other women are present in the family, age-difference between her and the husband and whether she is the first wife.
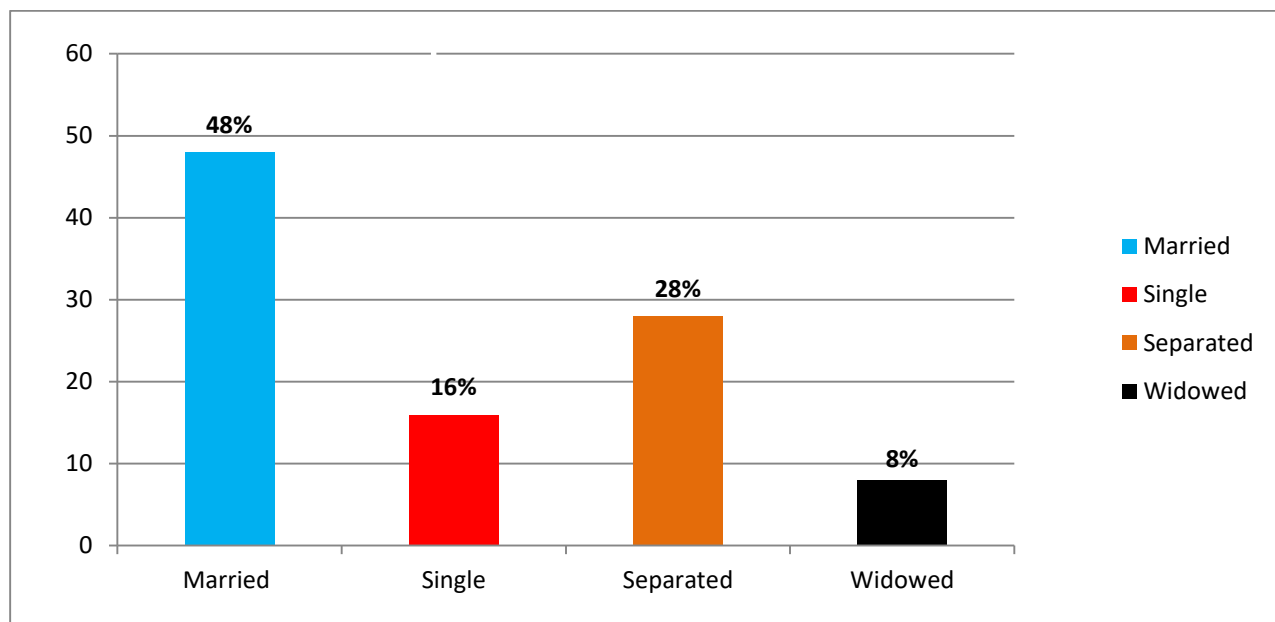
Figure 4.2: Respondents' marital status

4.2.5 Religion

The study also sought to establish the religious affiliation of respondents. This was considered important as religion could influence the position one held in regards to the issues that influence changes in gender roles and the impacts of the changes and more the position of men and women within the religious spaces.

Study findings indicate that majority of the respondents were Protestants while only 2% accounted for Islamic religious affiliation. Catholics accounted for 40% while those reported other African denominations and affiliations accounted for 12%. This is shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.3: Respondents' religious affiliation

Religious Affiliation	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Catholic	38	40
Protestant	48	56
Muslim	2	2
Other	12	12

The above findings were corroborated by one key informant who had this to say:

> *"In Kajiado County, I don't see Muslims a lot and in fact even the mosques are not many. Christianity is the dominant religion here. You will see many churches here that some you can't even pronounce their names but its had to find a mosque" (KII 4, Local Community Leader)*

4.2.6 Occupation

Occupation is a major determinant of decision making affects access the basic needs within the household. Beyond own production or livelihood practice, basic needs can always be accessed through employment, generating income to be used in purchasing market-sourced items. Respondents were asked to indicate the type income-generating activity they engaged in. In the study, occupation was measured in four categories. The first category consisted of participants who reported to be employed and in professional job such as teaching and banking. These accounted for 34% (Table 4.4). The other category consisted of participants who reported to

engage in business and other activities that constitute self employment such as selling clothes, running hotels and shops, and other small and medium scale enterprises. These accounted for 42% and were notably the majority (Table 4.4). The informal category consisted of participants who reported to engage in unofficial jobs such a washing and gardening whose payment is daily or weekly wage. These accounted for 16%. There are participants who reported not to engage in any income generating activity and depended on family and others to meet their needs. These accounted for only 8% and were the minority (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Respondents' occupation

Occupation	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Formal Employment	34	34
Business/Self employed	42	42
Informal Employment	16	16
Unemployed	8	8
Total	**100**	**100**

4.3 Factors contributing to the changing gender roles

This section delves deeper into the first objective which aims to look at the factors contributing to the changing gender roles.

The study sought to investigate the key determinants of changes in gender roles. In the survey, participants were asked to indicate the factors they felt were accountable for the changes in gender roles. The findings from the survey showed that the factors accounting for changes in gender roles include war and conflict, immigration to foreign countries, recent policy changes by

the government, death of husband, poverty, family violence, unemployment of men, and higher education levels for women.

Table 4.5: Determinants of changes in gender roles

	Frequency (Multiple responses)	SD
War and conflict	40	1.5
Immigration to foreign countries	12	12.1
Recent policy changes by the government	78	12.9
Death of husband	34	3.8
Poverty	10	12.9
Family violence	36	3.0
Unemployment of men	60	6.0
Higher education levels for women	82	14.4

However, these factors were represented differently in the findings. Accordingly, higher levels of education among women were cited as one the key and powerful factors responsible for the changes in gender roles and responsibilities. Further, recent changes in the policy by government and unemployment for men were also cited as a major factor for changes in gender roles. Few participants felt that poverty and immigration were factors responsible for the changes in gender roles (Table 4.7).

The quantitative data was corroborated by qualitative data. Data from the key informants and focus group discussion show that higher levels of education for women and recent changes in policy are key factors influencing changes in changes in gender roles. Accordingly, the affirmative action, gender mainstreaming strategies and the 2/3 gender rule have significantly affected gender roles.

"It is now a legal requirement that women must be included in leadership position. What this means in gender roles is that the positions that were previously considered as men's may now be occupied by women" (FGD 3, Male and 34 years)

"Changes in the law have provided the starting point where issues affecting women can discussed and advanced as well. This changes the gender roles by shoeing that women can also do governance. Women can now lead men comfortably without fear. And I still think that we still need to do more than this a County to make sure we have more and more women having spaces to exercise their rights which are in the constitution" (KII 2, NGO Official).

The above sentiments were supported by one focus group discussant who had this to say:

"The law is very clear. This has enabled us as women to be recognized as decision-makers. This has really enabled to move to others heights within the community. The situation is very different now an educated woman" (FGD 1, Female and 41 years)

Unemployment for men was another factor cited as important in the changes in the gender roles. Apparently, lack of employment for men has forced women to venture into income generating activities that were previously dominated by men. The duty of fending for the family was and still regarded as the biggest responsibility of a man. However, the unavailability of opportunities to men and led to the change in this duty. According to key informant and focus group discussion, women are increasingly becoming the bread-winners since there are few employment opportunities for men. This way, women might become the household heads by the virtue of providing for their families, an indication of change in gender roles.

''My husband is not employed. I run a kiosk that provides us with basic needs. I would say that I provide just because my husband is not able to. I consider that as change in gender roles since it was not like that before'' (FGD 5, Female and 37 years)

"I can say that unemployment has also contributed to the changes in gender roles. When most men are not employed, women take up the role of fending for the families. Technically, they become household heads" (KII 5, Women Leader)

Another focus group discussant agrees to the fact that men are now being feed by their wives because of the minimal income generating or employment opportunities available for men.

"I agree because I do not have a job or other income generating activity that I do. I can rely on my wife. I started a business for her and it is the one that provides us with food and fees for children" (FGD 4, Male and 40 years).

On unemployment, men and women also engage in activities that were previously done by the opposite gender. Study findings for instance showed that women have started engaging in outdoor than domestic activities.

"Women now go out. This is because of unemployment and rising cost of living. Women are no longer interested in domestic work, which is often unpaid. They are in business and other activities. When you move around these businesses you find many of them are being run by women. And they are not employed they are the owners and through those small businesses they are able to feed their families and even take children to schools" (FGD 1, Female and 49 years).

Advanced education attainment for women was also cited qualitatively as a factor contributing to changes in gender roles. Apparently, education for women means that they can access employment opportunities more easily and therefore engage in outdoor activities and employment. Women are now employed in spaces that were previously dominated by men. Women who have attained an advanced education qualifications do not struggle a lot like those

women who have not been trained on certain skills and this is projected by one focus group

discussant who ahs this to say:

> *"You cannot deny that women are now well educated than even men. The implication is that they have taken over the roles that were assigned men. With better education and job, a woman has higher income than the man. She will be able to provide for the family. Women are going to school nowadays even more than men and in future you will see many of the well oiled positions that still occupied men taken over by women even the presidency" (FGD 6, Female and 33 years).*

The above sentiments from the focus group discussants were corroborated by one key informant

who asserted that:

> *"We have seen the impact of education as a strategy to empower women. We have women now in banking, insurance, manufacturing and other areas. Some years back you would see women venturing into these fields but tables are turning. This is not to mean that the women are out to outdo the men, but just to engage with and compete with men equally. Empowerment is the biggest weapon that societies are using to reduce poverty that is associated with women. By improving women's' agency and giving them more power helps put more resources in their spaces" (KII 3, County Government Official).*

Qualitative data also yielded important insights on other factors influencing changes in gender

roles. Apparently, technology was cited as one of the factors that has contributed to the changes.

> We have new way of doing things, innovation and technology. Technology has also changed gender roles by enabling people do what they were not doing before. For example, women now can attend to livestock and crops by use of biotechnology and all that (FGD 6)

> *''Technology is another important factor in changes in the gender roles. This means that we are not limited as before and anyone can do anything'' (KII3)*

The media was also cited as another factor that has influenced changes in gender roles. The

findings show that media influences changes in gender roles by popularizing certain trends and

roles. For example, women empowerment issues discussed in the media have been pointed out as

factors contributing to changes in gender roles.

Young people have learned a lot from the television and radio. In those platforms, gender equality is discussed. Young people also learn how to do things differently in the media. Part of those things they are doing differently is the roles. They now exchange roles. We have some men staying at home while women are out working. So I can there are changes because of the media (FGD 2).

Further, fashion trends within the popular culture form another factor responsible for changes in gender roles. Findings show that there are roles that were exclusively meant for women. However, due to fashion trends, men have ventured into women-dominated sectors such as beauty and cosmetics.

''Nowadays, I see men plaiting hair and working in salons. These are things that have been traditionally associated with women but you are now seeing men doing it, sometimes even better'' (KII 2).

Thus, media and fashion are other forces responsible for the changes in gender roles.

4.4 Impact of changes on the gender roles

This section will address the second objective which was looking into assessing the impact of the noted changes in gender roles on the Maasai of Ngong, Kajiado county

Findings show that changes in gender roles have far-reaching consequences for individuals and the general society. In order to assess the perceived and felt impact of the changes in gender roles, participants were asked to rate the impact on a 5-point Like scale. 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3=neutral, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree. Table 4.7 shows the results.

Description	Response				
	1	2	3	4	5
Competition between men and women	0	0	0	40	60
Increased women empowerment	0	0	0	55	45
Increased drug abuse among men	1	19	10	50	20
Increased marital violence	0	9	11	58	22
Increased role strain as women also act as breadwinners	10	15	10	60	5
Increased numbers of women-led families	3	7	0	60	30
Increased migration of men to towns to seek employment	0	0	6	70	24
Increase participation of women in leadership	0	0	0	20	80
A decrease in number of forced marriages	30	50	0	12	8
Increase in the number of girls to school	0	0	0	70	30

According to the findings, majority of the participants either agree or strongly agree with the view that changes in gender roles has contributed to the following:

1. Competition between men and women

2. Increased women empowerment

3. Increased drug abuse among men

4. Increased marital violence

5. Increased role strain as women also act as breadwinners

6. Increased numbers of women-led families

7. Increased migration of men to towns to seek employment

8. Increase participation of women in leadership

9. Increase in the number of girls to school

However, majority disagreed or strongly disagreed with the view that changes in gender roles has led to reduction of forced marriages. This implies that forced marriages have not been influenced significantly by changes in the gender roles. These sentiments were confirmed by qualitative data.

> Although changes in gender roles have impacted a lot in the community especially in gender equality, they have failed to positively influence early marriages. Girls are still married off at an early age. Although the magnitude is declining, we are yet to experience more change (FGD 5).
>
> *''I agree that changes in gender roles have influenced changes in the community such as women being more of breadwinners. It should also affect number of early marriages because this is still a problem here, compared to other places''* *(KII3).*

Thus, the impact of changes in gender roles can be felt mainly in the women empowerment and gender equality. The changes have placed men and women in equal footing and can compete for opportunities and resources equally.

The findings in the study conjure well with findings in other studies on the changing gender roles and the impact thereof.

Gender roles/responsibilities vary across societies. They also vary within one society or cultural setting. The changes in gender roles can be conceptualized as forces that reverse what men and

women do. Traditional changer roles have change. Certain roles that were traditionally and socially meant for men are performed by women and vice versa? Changes in gender roles and responsibilities also entail additional roles for men and women. The change has involved breakdown of socially and culturally inscribed stereotypes. Prior to the 1980s, both sexes had agreed on separate roles and well defined. Men were active breadwinners, women stayed at home performing domestic chores. However, since the 1990s, the separation of roles have changed and transformations have taken place regarding what men and women do.

The gender division of labor has become more malleable/flexible where men are no longer expected to hunt and women expected to gather. This has however diversified women's roles as illustrated by the triple roles.

The change in gender roles has had gains. It has not only made women's work visible but has also brought out their potential as equal partners in socio-economic growth. The society has experienced increased participation of women in politics, governance, manufacturing and service industry, agriculture. Gender roles reversal has served as the platform for further women empowerment and autonomy and as a springboard for equal opportunities and expectations. It is about bridging the gender gap. Through changes in gender roles, we have witnessed gender equality. Robust developments have also been realized because of the equal balance and sharing responsibilities, introducing the idea of synergy.

In the contemporary times, gender roles are fundamentally different from how they were perceived in the past. This is apparent in various domains:

Employment: Most people, men and women have full-time jobs. They share financial responsibilities at home. This is unlike in the past where heavy part of the financial burden was in the men's shoulders.

Role Reversal: This is complete turn-over or change in gender roles- women working full-time and men staying at home looking after children and carry out household chores.

Home: Domestic functions have been 'devolved'. Men and women equally share the responsibilities in domestic circles.

Childcare: Women also contribute in childcare expenses unlike in the past

In the recent times, the domain of femininity has expanded to include the social and professional fields, traditional notions about gender roles are undergoing transformation that has been mainly because of education. An open and educated society is paving the way for role-swapping which seems to be gaining ground in the highly demanding developmental social structure. Domestic life has become almost unthinkable without flexibility in gender roles. While men are beginning to shed their inhibitions about working in the kitchen women are already working late hours. The changing trends are reflected in men and women taking up unconventional work such as pilots and astronauts while men are honing their skills as chefs and fashion designers.

In addition, the changes in gender roles and responsibilities have infleunced the phenomenon of feminization of poverty. Feminization of poverty is understood to mean that women represent a disproportionate percentage of the world's poor. This has been linked to rising cases of female-headed households. Female-headed households are more vulnerable to poverty. A study conducted in Nairobi 2017, showed that female-headed households are prone to the defining characteristics of poverty and other problems including teenage pregnancies, prostitution,

drug/substance abuse abuse, abortion. However, the perceived feminization of poverty is a result of traditional gender inequalities such as unequal pay and unequal access to opportunities where women have been on the receiving side. Women have also been exposed to time-consuming unpaid domestic work. In combination with harmful cultural practices such as early marriage and FGM, women's access to opportunities has been curtailed.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the study findings, in tandem with the research objectives. The chapter also presents conclusion drawn from the study findings. It also presents the recommendations that the study makes out of the findings. The final section of the chapter is a suggestion of future areas of research.

5.2 Summary

The study was conducted in Ngong Town in Kajiado County. The aim of the study was to identify the factors that contribute to changing gender roles among the Maasai of Kajiado County. Further, the study assessed the impact of these changes in gender roles. In order to accomplish this, the study was guided by mixed method approach that sought to obtain both qualitative and quantitative data. However, the primary method was survey and was augmented by qualitative data from focus group discussions and key informant interview.

The findings show that gender roles are subject to change. This implies that the roles that were previously assigned men can be performed by women and vice versa. This illustrates the view that gender roles are not static. Rather, they are malleable and flexible. This is demonstrated by the study findings that reveal considerable changes in gender roles. The change is under the influence of several factors that in different combinations, dictate what men and women do. The assigned roles per gender have changed.

In the study, the changes have been witnessed in various domains. The gender stereotypes concerning gender have been broken. Specifically, the roles for men and women have changed. The findings show that there have been role reversals especially in the domestic circles.

Apparently, women were assigned domestic duties in the past. However, in the recent times, they have ventured in outdoor activities that were previously dominated by men. This change and trend has been brought about by key forces that act as agent of change in the gender roles.

Firstly, education has been found out to influence significantly, what women do. Findings show that there is considerable improvement in education attainment by women. This is where women have scaled career paths and have gained knowledge and skill to perform a wide range of activities. Based on knowledge and skills, women have ventured into business and manufacturing, domains that were previously considered men's.

Secondly, there have been changes in legislation regarding gender equality and representation. In the study, this was found out to be a key factor in the changing gender roles. The legal provisions concerning the role of women in governance and holding public offices has changed the previous narrative. Women have felt encouraged to leave the domestic cocoons and compete with men, based on the legal provision. Resultantly, women have increasingly ascended to leadership position and this has seen drastic and gradual change in the roles they perform.

Further, the general unemployment rate among men has influenced changes in gender roles. Findings show that women have filled the gap in unemployment by engaging in activities that are men-dominated since men cannot find employment in those areas. In service and manufacturing industries as well as agriculture, women have engaged in respective activities to fill the labor gap. This has seen a number of women rise from domestic chores to outdoor and paid jobs. This was previously a domain exclusively set for men. Other factors that have been found to influence changes in gender roles include war and conflict, immigration, and being widowed. Upon the death of the husband, women have take over the roles that were performed

by the men. This is a salient example of how gender roles might circumstantially change. Technology and media have also been shown to influence gender roles. Based on technology and media, new way of doing things are not only invented but also popularized.

The changes in gender roles have not come without consequences. The impact of the changes in gender roles is profound and the study found that the impact is felt in personal, social, and economic domains. The change has resulted to increased competition between men and women for resources and opportunities. Since both men and women play equal roles, they have competed for the same resources and opportunities available. More importantly, the changes in gender roles have been found to support women empowerment and independence. For example, women can go out for work and reduce their economic vulnerability and dependence. Findings have indeed shown that women have become bread-winners and a number of families are led by women- female headed households, courtesy of changes in gender roles and responsibilities. However, the trend in changes in gender roles has not impacted on the issue of early marriages. Findings show that this domain is yet to be influenced by the changes. As a result of changes in gender roles, men have also migrated to other town in search of employment.

5.3 Conclusion

Gender roles are not fixated and can change from time to time and from one socio-cultural setting to another. The gender roles that are assigned to men and women have an important implication to their participation in social, political, and economic growth. It is imperative thus to have changes in gender roles that in line with development needs.

Gender roles are subject to change and influenced by a number of factors. These include education, technology, media, and unemployment among others.

The impact of the changes in gender roles are far reaching. This including Competition between men and women, Increased women empowerment and autonomy, women-headed households, and increased migration of men to towns to seek employment

5.4 Recommendations

i. Programs on empowerment need to focus on the unsustainable and negative impact of changes in gender roles. Role reversal affecting men are not sustainable and the program need to embark on men empowerment initiatives in order to balance the development scale.

ii. Relevant stakeholders in government and partners need to use other approaches to curb social vices such as early marriages since change in gender roles has not fully addressed this.

5.5 Areas of further studies

This study only focused on women with the household and the impacts of changes in gender has on them within those spaces. Future research, however, can focus on female-headed households within Maasai Community and investigate the factors contributing to this phenomenon.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Respondent's consent form

Introduction

I am Angel Mwangi a master's student from the Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African Studies, University of Nairobi. I am conducting a study on **the Determinants of changing gender roles among Maasai women living in Ngong Town, Kajiado County.**

Purpose

The study seeks to establish the factors that contribute to the changing gender roles of Maasai women and assess the impacts that these changes have on genders on the Maasai of the per-urban Ngong, Kajiado County.

Risks/Discomfort

There is no risk in participating in this study.

Your participation is voluntary.

Benefits

The study will help in establishing the socio-economic, cultural as well as external factors that have an influence on gender roles within the Maasai community. Further, the study will highlight the interactions of these factors with gender roles by showing there impacts with the wider Maasai community in Kajiado County.

Confidentiality

Your confidentiality will be maintained at all times. There shall be no mention of names or identifiers in the report or publications which may arise from the study.

Persons to contact

If you have any questions regarding the study, you can contact me through telephone number 0724934417 or email on angelkabugi@gmail.com@gmail.com. You may also contact my supervisor Prof. Wilfred Subbo on 0720127663 or on wsubbo@uonbi.ac.ke

Your participation in the study will be highly appreciated.

If you agree to participate you can sign here:

Signature_____Date_____

Signature of Reseacher/Assistant_____Date_____

Appendix II: Questionnaire

My name is **Angel Mwangi**, a student of University of Nairobi pursuing a Master of Arts degree in Gender and Development Studies. I am doing a research on changing gender roles among the Maasai women in Ngong division of Kajiado County. Your participation in the interview is free and voluntary. I would like to assure you that there is no right or wrong answer. We are only interested in your opinion**.** Would it be convenient for you to speak for some few minutes?

Section One: Demographics

1. **Gender**: Male ☐   Female ☐

2. **Education level**: None ☐   Primary ☐   Secondary ☐   Certificate ☐

Diploma ☐   Degree ☐   Masters ☐   PhD ☐

3. **Marital Status**: Married ☐   Separated ☐   Divorced ☐   Single

4. **Age group**: 18-23 ☐   24-29 yr ☐   30-35 ☐   36 and above ☐

5. **Economic activity**: Employed ☐   Business Person ☐   laborer ☐ ☐

6. **Religion:** _____

Section Two: Factors Influencing Gender Roles Change

1.   On a scale of 1-5 where 1- very much disagree, 2- disagree, 3- not sure, 4-agree and 5- very much agree state how much you agree with the following statements regarding the roles/beliefs concerning each gender

Description	Response				
	1	2	3	4	5
War and conflict					
Immigration to foreign countries					
Recent policy changes by the government					
Death of husband					
Poverty					
Family violence					
Unemployment of men					
Higher education levels for women					

2. On a scale of 1-5 where 1- very much disagree, 2- disagree, 3- not sure, 4-agree and 5- very much agree state how much you agree with the following statements regarding the factors influencing the roles of each gender

Description	Response				
	1	2	3	4	5
Women are supposed to take care of the children					
Women are the backbone of society					
Education Contributes to the changing gender roles					
New modes of socialization contribute to changing gender roles among women					
Women should not participate in any economic activity					
Women should not own any property					

3. i) During war many organizations run various programmes. To whom do these

programmes benefit the most?

Men ☐   Women ☐

Section Three: Effect of change in gender roles

1. Are the programmes that are run by organizations that are women centered make men stop being the bread-winners of their families? Yes

| YES | | NO |

2. On a scale of 1-5

Where:

1- Very much disagree,

2- Disagree,

3- Not sure,

4-Agree and

5-Very much agree,

State how much you agree with the following statements regarding the effects of changing gender roles

Description	Response				
	1	2	3	4	5
Competition between men and women					
Increased women empowerment					
Increased drug abuse among men					
Increased marital violence					
Increased role strain as women also act as breadwinners					
Increased numbers of women-led families					
Increased migration of men to towns to seek employment					
Increase participation of women in leadership					
A decrease in number of forced marriages					
Increase in the number of girls to school					

The end. Thank you for your participation in the survey

Appendix III: **Key Informant Interview (KII) guide**

1. What is the status of women among the Maasai living in Ngong?

2. What are the socio-cultural and economic factors associated with the changing gender roles among the Maasai women?

3. What role does economics, education and the new modes of socializaion contribute to changing gender roles among the Maasai women living in Ngong Town, Kajiado County?

4. How do these factors impact on the women and their families?

5. How do socio-demographic factors (family structure, age, religion, culture, education) influence changing gender roles?

6. Does the community have sanctions or a reward system that is related to changing gender roles? How do these systems influence the impact of these changes?

7. What are some of the institutional responses towards the changing gender roles of women among the Maasai?

Thank you for participating in the interview

Appendix III: **Focus Group Discussion (FGD) guide**

1.   What is the status of women among the Maasai living in Ngong?

2.   What are the socio-cultural and economic factors associated with the changing gender roles among the Maasai women?

3.   How do these factors impact on the women and their families?

4.   How do socio-demographic factors (family structure, age, religion, culture, education) influence changing gender roles?

5.   Does the community have sanctions or a reward system that is related to changing gender roles? How do these systems influence the impact of these changes?

6.   What are some of the institutional responses towards the changing gender roles of women among the Maasai?

Thank you for participating in the interview