



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

**FACTORS AFFECTING CHANGES IN GENDER ROLES AND THE SOCIO-
ECONOMIC EFFECTS AMONG BORANA WOMEN IN KENYA: A CASE OF
WABERA WARD, TULLU ROBA LOCATION IN ISIOLO TOWN, ISIOLO
COUNTY**

BY

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C50/65155/2010

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.**

NOVEMBER 2019

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented to any other institution or university.

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Mr. Roba Tullu and Mrs. Habiba Boru, both of whom made enormous sacrifices for me to enjoy the privilege of something they never had –Education. I will forever be indebted with their unconditional love and endless support in my life.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors Prof. E. Mburugu and Dr B. Mutsotso, for their continuous support of my postgraduate studies. Their guidance and extensive contributions to my work have indeed helped me during the time of my research and writing of this thesis. I could not have imagined having better supervisors and mentors.

I also would like to thank the former chairman of the Department of Sociology and Social Work Dr R. Ocharo, for his mentorship and moral support throughout my study at the university and for encouraging me to finalize my thesis despite the many challenges I was facing.

I would also like to thank the experts, respondents and research assistants who were involved in the survey for this research project. Without their passionate participation and input, the research survey could not have been successfully conducted.

Finally, I must express my very profound gratitude to my husband for his unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout the process of research and writing this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENT

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENT	v
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
ABSTRACT	xiii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.2 Problem Statement	6
1.3 Research Questions.....	7
1.4 Objectives of the Study	7
1.4.1 Main Objective	7
1.4.2 Specific Objectives	7
1.5 Research Hypothesis.....	8
1.6 Significance of the Study	9
1.7 Scope of the Study	9
1.8 Limitations of the Study.....	10
1.9 Basic Assumptions of the Study	10
1.10 Definition of Key Terms	11

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

.....	12
2.1 Introduction.....	12
2.2 Literature Review.....	12
2.2.1 Gender Roles in Transition	12
2.2.2 New Roles of Women	13
2.2.3 Factors Affecting Changing Social and Economic Roles of Women	16
2.2.4 Effects of the Changing Gender Roles	20
2.2.5 Socio-Demographic Effects on Social and Economic conditions of Women	22
2.3 Theoretical Framework	24
2.3.1 Social Role Theory	24
2.3.2 Feminist Theory.....	26
2.4 Conceptual Framework.....	26
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	28
3.1 Introduction.....	28
3.2 Site Description.....	28
3.3 Research Design.....	28
3.4 Unit of Analysis	29
3.5 Units of Observation	29
3.6 Target Population	29
3.7 Sample Size and Sampling Procedures	30
3.7.1 Sample Size	30
3.7.2 Sampling Procedures	30
3.8 Methods and Tools of Data Collection	31
3.8.1 Collection of Qualitative Data.....	32

3.8.1.1 Household Interviews	32
3.8.2 Collection of Quantitative Data	32
3.8.2.1 Key Informants' Interviews	32
3.8.3 Observation.....	33
3.8.4 Secondary Data.....	34
3.9 Validity and Reliability	34
3.9.1 Validity.....	34
3.9.2 Reliability	35
3.10 Ethical Considerations in the Study.....	35
3.11 Problem Encountered in Data Collection.....	36
3.12 Data Analysis and Presentation.....	36
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS	38
4.1 Introduction.....	38
4.1.1 Response Rate.....	38
4.2 Social and Demographic Characteristics of Respondents	38
4.2.1 Marital Status.....	38
4.2.2 Number of Children in the Household	40
4.2.3 Education Level	40
4.2.4 Age Distribution	41
4.2.5 Sources of Livelihood.....	42
4.3 Traditional Roles of Women in Pastoralist Communities	43
4.3.1 Traditional Roles for Women.....	43
4.3.2 Change in Traditional Roles of Women.....	44
4.3.3 Key Traditional Roles that have Changed	46
4.3.4 Practice of Traditional Culture	47

4.3.5 Traditional Views of Women in Regard to their Roles	49
4.4 New Roles for Women	49
4.4.1 Extent to Which the Community Has Changed their Roles	49
4.4.2 Effects of Changed Roles of Women.....	50
4.5 Changes Occurring in Roles Played by Women	51
4.5.1 Factors Influencing changes occurring in Roles Played by Women	51
4.5.2 Cultural Practices that Affect Economic Status of Women	53
4.6 Factors that have Caused Changes in Roles of Women.....	53
4.7 Social and Economic Effects of New Roles of Women.....	55
4.7.1 Effects of Changing Gender Roles	55
4.7.2 Opinion on Effects of Changing Gender Roles	58
4.7.3 Challenges of Changing Social and Economic Roles of Women.....	60
4.7.4 How Wife’s Activities Affect the Household and Family Unit	61
4.8 Perspective of Men on Changing Borana Women roles	62
4.8.1 How Men Responded to Changing Women’s Roles.....	62
4.8.2 Other Factors	63
4.9 Tests of Hypothesis	65
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND	
RECOMMENDATIONS	72
5.1 Introduction.....	72
5.2 Summary of the Findings.....	72
5.3 Conclusions.....	73
5.4 Recommendations.....	75
5.5 Areas for Further Research	76

REFERENCES.....	77
APPENDICES.....	89
Appendix I: Questionnaire for the Household	89
Appendix II: Key Informant Interview Guide	95
Appendix III: Map of Study Area	97

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Sample Size	30
Table 3.2: Sample Distribution of respondents according to villages and direction	31
Table 4.1: Distribution of Borana Women by Marital Status	39
Table 4.2: Distribution of Number of Children in the Family	40
Table 4.3: Distribution of Borana Women by Level of Education	41
Table 4.4: Age Distribution of Borana Women	42
Table 4.5: Distribution of Borana Women According to Main Economic Activity.....	43
Table 4.6: Change in Traditional Roles of Borana Women	44
Table 4.7: Response whether Women Practise Traditional Culture.....	48
Table 4.8: Extent to Which the Women Roles have Changed in the Community	49
Table 4.9: Extent to Which Changes in Women Roles has Affected the Community	50
Table 4.10: Factors Influencing the Changes Occurring in Roles Played by Women	52
Table 4.11: Response on Cultural Practices that Affect Economic Status of Women	53
Table 4.12: Factors that have Caused Changes in Roles of Women.....	54
Table 4.13: Extent to Which Some Key Social and Economic Factors Influence Changes in Gender Roles.....	56
Table 4.14: Distribution of Respondents (Women) According to How Men Responded to the Changing Women Roles	62
Table 4.15: Extent of Change in Traditional Roles of Women by Whether Women Practice Traditional Roles.	66
Table 4.16: Extent to Which Women in the Community Changed Their Roles by Whether There are Any Cultural Practices That Affect Economic Status of Women.	67
Table 4.17: Level of Education According to the Extent to Which Women in the Borana Community Believe Their Roles in the Community have Changed.	68
Table 4.18: Extent to Which Women Believe that Traditional Roles of Women have Changed and Strength of Agreement that Women Participation in Leadership has Increased.....	70

Table 4.19: Extent to Which Women Believe that Traditional Roles of Women have Changed and Strength of Agreement that the Number of Forced Marriages have Decreased.	71
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LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: The Conceptual Framework.....	27
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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to ascertain the factors impacting changes in gender roles and the socio-economic effects among Borana women of Isiolo County. The research was based on specific objectives which were; to ascertain the traditionally held roles by the Borana women of Isiolo Town; to examine their new roles; to establish the factors influencing gender roles of Borana women to change in Isiolo County and to examine the impacts of these gender role changes on social and economic functions in the household set up. This study relied on a descriptive survey design in data collection from a total of 160 households. The researcher used both simple and systematic random sampling techniques to collect data. Structured and semi-structured questions were administered during the data collection. Once the data was collected, it was analyzed quantitatively through the use of the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) Version 20. From the findings, it was established that culturally held attitudes, norms, values and marriage practice, patriarchal ideology and poverty were among the factors that influenced the changing gender roles among the Borana women. The study also revealed that men are gradually accepting female leadership together with their involvement in decision making in the community. Women roles have changed immensely in the last two decades and this has brought on board more opportunities for women. Therefore, women empowerment needs to be anchored in formal education targetting young Borana girls in order to bring positive change in the evolving pastoral lifestyles. The study recommended that there is need to strategically involve men in Borana women empowerment and that the County Government should develop programmes targetting women and open opportunities for them to engage in development processes. The study suggests further research needs to be conducted on factors limiting gender roles among pastoralists community in Kenya, with a broader focus on how these roles are impacted by religion, geographic location, climate change and devolution.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Chapter one of this study discusses the research background, clarifies the problem the research is focussing on, the research questions, the objectives of the study, its significance, scope and definition of key terms as used in the research.

1.1 Background to the Study

According to the World Bank (2004), the past two decades have experienced momentum in the concept of socio-economic changes of women roles globally. Borkman and Oka (2001), asserts that women's socio and economic roles changes are crucial elements of international development in the modern world. According to the United Nations (2011), sustainable well-being of society can be achieved through women. This is because women's population globally constitute half of the population in their respective countries and therefore their contribution is significant in terms of economic, as well as, the social well-being of the society (United Nations 2011). Therefore, societal goals without the full participation of women cannot be fully developed, established and sustained. For women to participate fully in society, they must be given legal rights and access to existing means of improving oneself and society. Sunyder and Tadesse (1995), refers to the United Nations voluntary fund for women which later became to be known as the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNDFW) established within the United Nations system for loaning and guaranteeing organizations. This resulted in the recognition of a set of concepts and knowledge which enabled the society to take cognizance of women issues globally.

Irrespective of the fact that women in the United States gained the right to vote in 1920, there have been challenges in the progression of the broader social and economic

changes. In the 1960s, women's movements began in the U.S culminating to major social change in issues affecting women. The success of the civil rights movement that sought to ensure racial equality played a major role as various organizations equally called for full equality of women in the United States. This call proved not only essential in revising American customs, values, and institutions, but equally for a revolution in the consciousness of both genders and more so in the manner in which women perceived themselves. However, the resulting changes were not welcome by everyone with evidence portrayed by the formation of various organizations with the intention of countering what they perceived as unrestrained feminism. Irrespective of the hindrances, there is no doubt that modern American women live a different life than their predecessors in the 1900s.

The World Bank conducted a study about 21st Century Bangladesh, that revealed limited access to financial and household assets by women in that community. The limited role of women in matters of economic development in Bangladesh has led to their low social status. According to Sunstart and Kehan (2004), due to possession of inadequate skills, women in Bangladesh lie low in the social sphere while compared to their male counterparts. The Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) based in Bangladesh have contributed to empowerment of women through the establishment of development initiatives targetting the improvement of women's living standards.

In Sub-saharan Africa, pastoralism involves production systems that are highly fluid. There is a need for pastoralists to respond flexibly to an environment that is semi-arid. Additionally, household wealth is mostly an aspect of stochastic events with most pastoralist groups coupled by history, where the whole family shifts in and out of the system as a result of changes in their fortunes.

In the world today, production systems for pastoralists are characterized by exogenous and endogenous driven changes, which are also regarded as systems in transition. Wangui (2003) found out that in Southwestern Kenya, nomadic pastoralists have bowed to excessive pressures from increasing settlements, which has culminated to modification of mobility and land use patterns. In pastoralist communities, women play a critical role influenced by the dynamic responsibilities of taking care of livestock at home, land management and household chores. In their normal routine activities, women in these communities have gained significant knowledge about natural resource management, which they practice for environmental and social benefits. During times of scarcity, women bear the most burden in terms of workload. For instance, during droughts, women have extra responsibilities in feeding the family by taking part in wild foods gathering (Homewood 2008) and are also expected to walk for long in search of water (Balehegn and Kelemework, 2013). This problem is further exacerbated by men moving into urban areas to seek employment while their female counterparts are left at home to take care of the household and livestock. (Mushi 2013). As a result, women are left in the villages and are tasked with the responsibility of cultivating and also taking care of the family.

The roles played by women are different depending on the culture of the people. In their study, Hassan and Nhemachena (2007), found out that married women in Ethiopia and other nations in East Africa generally serve as the house managers, whereas men serve as the heads of the households and equally represent the household in the wider community. Men also serve as strategic decision-makers with women engaging in daily household management.

The primary economic activity both in Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) is pastoralism. However in these pastoral communities access and control of livestock are separate responsibilities and it happens in most cases that the women are the ones who take the role of managing livestock and use of products such as milk (Hassan & Nhemachena, 2007). However, the decision to dispose of the livestock products is not entirely made by the women in that there is a high possibility that both the husband and the wife make such decisions.

Indeed unilateral decisions relating to the use of livestock assets in pastoralist communities are deemed uncustomary. Custom bestows the husband with the final authority and in some instances, there is a subordinate situation where women have some say. There have been economic, social, and political developments, together with a variety of legal and policy interventions like in the case of Kenya, where the national commission on Gender and Development Act was established in 2003. As a result, in all levels, gender equality is emphasized in Kenya. The fifth goal of the Sustainable Development Goals emphasize the importance of gender parity mostly when it comes to reducing and accessing economic, political, and social opportunities. A variety of policies together with interventions have been established in the country with an aim of improving women's role within the society like in the case example of the existence of, programs, and policies that aim at promoting education of the girl child, as well as, the Women Development Fund (WDF).

The Borana originated from the Oromo people in Ethiopia and their migration into Kenya was informed by the expansion of the Abyssinian empire and the concomitant exploitation by the Amharic and Tigrean soldiers (Schlee,1994).

The majority of Borana community, about 4 million people live in Ethiopia and are referred to as the Oromo (Schlee,1994).

Borana community first settled in Wajir but were pushed out by the Somali community due to resource conflicts and later settled in Isiolo. The Borana communities are predominantly pastoralists, however, most of them are slowly settling down in towns and act as a source of labour. Pastoralism among the Borana is considered prestigious and the socio-economic status is measured by the number of livestock one owns. Those who have no livestock and depend on other sources of livelihood are considered poor and social outcasts like the case of the Waata people who are despised due to their economic status and thus marginalised by the Borana and Gabra (Woodburn 2001). The poverty rate of Isiolo town is 71.6% (KNBS 2009). The town is composed of mainly impoverished families who are abandoned pastoralists and settled in urban centres. They have lost livestock due to drought which was their main source of livelihood and settled in a town where they sold their cheap labour. A bigger percentage of the population in Isiolo County practice Islam with the majority residing in Merti and Garba Tulla Sub-County.

Borana women of Isiolo are part of the larger pastoralist communities that live in the Northern part of Kenya and Southern Ethiopia region. Pastoralism entails strategic utilization of land resources through mobility in various regions of the world to support subsistence livestock production systems (WISP, 2007). In the modern world, extensive pastoralism is practised mainly in developing countries and occupy about a quarter of the terrestrial ecosystems. According to FAO (2001), some of the notable regions in the world where pastoralism is practised comprise the African drylands, Arabian Peninsula, as well as, the highlands of Latin America and Asia, where it is practically impossible to undertake intensive crop cultivation.

1.2 Problem Statement

Over the years, the social roles of males and females, social expectations of gender roles and evolving people's needs have gone through fundamental change. These changes have been noticeable in the labour market, as well as in the stable growth in the percentage of female employees. Women employment has gained impetus in the 20th century and this has seen a major decline in the number of children in most households. Few children imply more opportunities for employment outside their home. However, this has restricted fertility and the possibility of women having a large family.

Just like the rest of the world, Borana women in Isiolo county have taken up the roles of providing for their families, be it in the blue-collar jobs or the white-collar jobs. The men who were traditional providers for their families are no longer involved in playing their roles as providers and this has left no room for women to sit back and watch their children suffer. Instead, they have taken it upon themselves to work and provide for the needs of their children. Anderson and Brouch (1999), noted that among the pastoralist communities, men and women engaged in other income-generating activities to survive during times of drought where they experience huge losses in livestock herds. The few educated ones are employed in the county offices while the uneducated ones are involved in the vegetable business in the market, or sell fresh milk from their animals.

This change in women roles has had its consequences on the children and the whole society. Despite their determination to provide for their families, pastoralist women do not receive adequate support from the Government to address their issues and gender imbalances in the community. Women, therefore, are more vulnerable in society compared to men. Very few studies have been done on the Borana women changing gender roles and its social and economic impacts, some of the existing studies are; Factors that influence women empowerment among pastoral communities: focus on

Gabra community in Marsabit by Pingua (2014), Pastoralist women in East Africa by Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008), Double marginalized livelihoods: Invisible Gender inequality in Pastoral societies by Eneyew and Mengistu (2013), Gender & Pastoralism by Flintan F. (2007), Women empowerment in pastoral societies by Flintan (2008), The impacts of pastoral Sedentarization on women economic roles by Fratkin, E. and K. Smith (1995). However, there is no research done on Borana women's changing gender roles in Isiolo town. Therefore, the study aimed at investigating the factors that led to gender roles change among the Borana women of Isiolo County, and its socio-economic impacts on the households and the society at large.

1.3 Research Questions

- i. What are the traditional social and economic roles of women in Borana communities?
- ii. What are the newly acquired roles of women in the Borana community?
- iii. Why are women roles changing among the Borana women?
- iv. How have the factors leading to the changes in women social and economic roles impacted on the family set up of the pastoralist communities?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Main Objective

The study's main objective was to find out the factors that impact the changes observed in women gender roles and the socio-economic impacts among the Borana in Tullu Roba location, Isiolo County.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The study's specific objectives were:

- i. To examine the traditional roles of women in pastoralist communities focusing on

the Borana community in Isiolo Town.

- ii. To analyse the new roles of women in pastoral communities focusing on women in Isiolo Town.
- iii. To establish the factors influencing the changes happening in gender roles of women from Borana pastoralist communities residing in Isiolo Town.
- iv. To evaluate the effect of socio-demographic, social and economic factors on social-economic functions in the households.

1.5 Research Hypothesis

1. **H₁:** Women traditional roles in the Borana community are changing

H₀: Women traditional roles in the Borana community are not changing

2. **H₁:** There are new roles of women in the Borana pastoralist community.

H₀: There are no new roles of women in the Borana pastoralist community.

3. **H₁:** There are factors that influence the changes happening in the roles of women in the Borana pastoralist community.

H₀: There are no factors that influence the changes happening in the roles of women in the Borana pastoralist community.

4. **H₁:** There is significant social and economic effect of changes in the traditional roles of women on household functions.

H₀: There is no significant social and economic effect of changes in the traditional roles of women on status and decision making in the Borana community.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study is of major significance because of the following reasons. First, the resulting findings will add to the growth of literature on changing socio-economic roles of women in pastoralist communities in Kenya. Second, it is hoped that the policymakers will utilise the findings of this study to inform policy directions on challenges facing pastoralist communities, especially among Borana women. The study will act as a guide to the Government, Civil Society Organizations together with other stakeholders who are interested in women empowerment among the pastoralist communities in Kenya and empower them on the need to mainstream gender issues in all their programs.

The findings will be utilized as a benchmark to other regions with similar challenges facing women among the Borana community. Other researchers may find the findings worthwhile in studying women issues among the pastoralist communities since the pastoralist communities in Africa shared several characteristics on matters to do with gender roles.

The study findings will provide information to the general public on the changes in women roles and responsibilities among pastoralists Borana women. This information can be related to similar changes in other aspects of socio-economic life. More importantly, this kind of information may be useful to scholars studying women social and economic roles as this may form the basis for further empirical findings. Finally, the study will be significant in providing an opportunity for the identification of research gaps by future scholars.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The study examined the contributing factors that lead to the changes in socio-economic roles of Borana women in Isiolo County. In this case, the focus was on the Borana women

only, other women from other communities were not involved. The independent variable under study involved the factors affecting the changing economic and social roles of women that the researcher was focusing on; the dependent variable was the impacts of these roles on the women, household and community at large. The study targeted 160 households in Tullu Roba Sub-location, an NGO representative, Member of parliament/women representative of Isiolo County, Tullu Roba Chief and a community social worker.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

The research was carried out in Tullu Roba sub-location of Wabera ward of the larger Isiolo County and it targeted households of settled pastoralists communities. The nomadic pastoralists communities who still practised pastoralism in other parts of the County were not included under this study.

1.9 Basic Assumptions of the Study

The study assumed that the participants would give honest and reliable information to all questionnaire items. It was also assumed that the participants were not driven by fear of victimization and had a favourable attitude to participate. To minimize the impact of the assumptions, all the study participants were sufficiently informed about the research's purpose.

1.10 Definition of Key Terms

Culture - It refers to what is a generally accepted mode of life for a certain group of people who are geographically and socially related.

Economic factors – these are factors that impact on a society's livelihood.

Gender roles - these are learned behaviours by individuals in a specific community or societal groups that affect their actions by distinguishing male and female tasks.

Socio-cultural factors – these can be described as forces that impact on the society particularly its culture and how they do things.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This section covers both empirical and theoretical literature related to the research topic and provides a conceptual framework for the study. Additionally, it captures a summary of the literature review done in earlier studies by scholars in the area, with a view of showing gaps this study intends to fill.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 Gender Roles in Transition

Extant literature has demonstrated that demographic changes and gender roles, as well as the change in family patterns and duties, are interrelated. Considering the declining rates of birth and marriage, increase in couple instability, growth in the female labour force, economic independence among women have resulted in significant changes in the family. This is supported by gender role specialization, which is one of its key paradigms (Becker, 1991). Adulthood demography has changed over the past 50 years where the marriage institution has transformed leading to rise of unmarried cohabitation, having children outside marriage and divorce especially in the western world (Billari & Liefbroer, 2010; Cherlin, 2010; Thornton *et al.*, 2007).

Today, modern women prefer economic independence and support their husbands on economic matters at the household level. This change does not factor in new trends and patterns on the gender distribution of households and care work, which is the division that handles unpaid work among men and women. This has changed to a very small extent in most economies (OECD 2014).

A major reduction in the gender gap for the unpaid job is as a result of women investing minimum time to domestic chores, considering their great involvement in employment,

due to fundamental increase in the contribution by men in the household (Craig and Mullan, 2011). In the state-socialist period, Central-East European countries were characterized by high female employment levels. In Western Europe, Nordic countries were the first to experience an increase in participation of the female labour force, as well as, mothers' employment. These nations equally served as the first ones that experienced a change in female employment aspirations, which led to a new pattern of female workers who maintained their career aspirations even after settling down to start their families (Hobson and Olah, 2006).

Liberal nations and general family support later on in the 1980s followed the trend and in the mid-late 1990s, the familistic countries clusters followed suit. However, the end of the state-socialist era lends to a significant decline in the female labour force. This was influenced by an immediate economic restructuring as well as increased challenges of work-family reconciliation as a result of reductions of family policy provisions, mostly childcare support for those families with young children. From the beginning of 21st century, Europe has experienced a major reduction in gender differences in participating in the workforce. A small gender gap is experienced among the families where both spouses earn a living and equally minimal in the Transition Post-Socialist states. (OECD 2014).

2.2.2 New Roles of Women

The traditional roles of women are generally family-related which include child-rearing, building houses, domestic functions for example food preparation, hides and skins, fetching of water and firewood including hospitality. In certain communities women take part in livestock caring (and their young ones), feeding and watering as well as looking after sick animals. They also herd those livestock that are kept near the homestead, milk

them, processing and livestock products marketing. In the quest to unite the family and provide children with food, less privileged women in the informal sector are in large numbers irrespective of the associated discrimination and risks they are subjected to. According to Beneria (1982), poor women only comprise one percent on the formal labour market. In a study conducted in the Indian labour market, it was found out that women were consistently subjected to lower wages while compared to their male counterparts in the same position. This discrepancy is associated with wage discrimination, especially in the interior regions. The study equally found out that women spend their entire income on the family, whereas men may spend their income for personal use and leisure activities. Additionally, women prepared to carry out roles that are perceived as too demeaning by men in ensuring the survival of their children, yet men refuse to do such jobs as they consider them degrading. This, as a result, prompts men to take a decision of leaving the family.

Increased unemployment and under-employment of men lead to increased dependency on women's jobs, which are mostly deemed degrading or marginal. According to Charmes (2011), globally, 20 to 80 percent of women participate in the informal labour force. Across the globe, women do not make the majority of the informal sector, but they make a significant contribution to the informal sector Gross Development Product (GDP). This contribution emanates from women's roles in generating income from different sectors of the economy.

Globally, most women work in the informal sector, with the exemption of Latin America. The informal economic sector is characterized by a lack of legal regulation or taxation and it has a tendency of expanding in situations of overall economic stress. Irrespective of the fact that women gain opportunities for earning in the informal sector, they are equally

subjected to major risks of exploitation, abuse, and engaging in tasks that are dangerous while at the same time lacking legal resource. The development of informal sector evolves along the borders of social struggles, which as a result incorporates members of the society who are weak to defend themselves (Portes, 1998). The sector is characterized by petty trade, little capital equipment, self-employment, low skills, limited opportunity to access formal markets, and technology that is labour-intensive (Buenidia,1995). Rwandan women have adapted to changing economies through the use of a variety of survival strategies that comprise increasing domestic work rate that comprise of childcare, housekeeping, and gardening in the homes of the middle-class and the wealthy.

Other strategies comprise of adopting jobs that were traditionally associated with men like construction, vending, and engaging in door-to-door sales. This market category is mostly unregulated, which subjects women to risks of abuse, theft, and harassment by law enforcers among others. In modern society, women are not just contributing economically to the family, they also play a critical role in maintaining their traditional duties as homemakers. As a consequence, the overall women burden has increased as compared to that of a man.

Cultural values have given little opportunity to pastoralist women in Kenya to get empowered and thus the low status of women in the community is readily acceptable even by women and girls themselves. For instance, women and girls are regarded by the larger community as custodians of cultural beliefs and values, unlike their male counterparts. This belief is also accepted generally by women in such communities. Socialization has also helped communities to pass on these roles from the mothers to their daughters. For instance, when a girl is born, she will be taught how to act like a woman and assume feminine responsibilities. To ensure that community members adhere to the

traditional values and traditions, many folklore, stories, proverbs, wise sayings and legends have promoted these roles in many African communities (Kipuri 2003).

2.2.3 Factors Affecting the Changing Roles of Women

Traditional Borana communities can be regarded as predominantly patriarchal. In traditional societies, women were seen as key pillars of the society, mainly because they were held responsible for biological reproduction of lineage and inter-clan groupings. The role of women is observed to be providers of the necessary labour for ensuring daily family survival (Maxamuud, 2011). Moreover, women were held responsible for preparing family meals, taking care of the family, breeding and educating children. Social and intellectual activities were mainly the men's domain. This inequality was reflected in all educational matters. Young women engaged in domestic and physical labour activities, while young men were given opportunities to go to school. Women, therefore, had limited time to engage in social activities due to demands from the domestic duties and responsibilities. (Maxamuud 2011).

The economic empowerment of women through income-generating activities and saving schemes was crucial for women to access funds. These initiatives were mainly supported by NGOs for poor women to access credit for operating business. (Flintan 2007).

Gender roles have undergone a tremendous transformation. These changes have impacted different communities' way of life and also the coping strategies for each group to the unwelcomed changes is distinctive (Brokington 2001). Pastoral societies are normally patriarchal in nature; this means that all the decision-making powers are left to the male gender. Women roles are more or less submissive and they do not own property or contribute to any decision making activities of the households. However, they have differentiated control over some household resources. These roles are somehow

differentiated in that women tend to manage and control produce while men make major decisions and regulate the market of the produce (Dahl 1987). Economic diversification of communities is inevitable in this modern era. Women are moving into towns by inhabiting new lands and engaging in new economic activities. These movements have been caused by increased pressure on land use patterns which is being fueled by population increase, land grabbing and agriculture among other factors.

Women also move into towns due to political insecurity, (Clay, 1988; Fratkin, 1992; Shepherd, 1988;) economical factors and also attractive life of the city with the hope of getting a well-paying job (Fratkin, 1991; Galaty and Oxby, 1987). It is also important to note a large chunk of land in the pastoral areas has been converted to game parks and game reserves and this has affected their mobility (Campbell, 1984; Galaty, 1992). According to Elliot and Mackie (1995), town life has offered women and their families' physical security, access to modern health care, and formal education. The two scholars also explain how women, in particular, have benefited from settling in towns; for instance, they were able to get relief from engaging in dangerous activities such as water collection and livestock herding in pastoral lands.

Elliot and Mackie (1995), however, argue that being in town has not reduced married women's working hours as compared to their counterparts who spend 70% in villages resting among the Rendille community in Kenya. With the move into towns, women have come into contact with the cash economy which has presented them with the opportunities to trade their animal produce with cash. For instance, in many pastoralist communities, women sell milk to non-milking urban centres; for instance women in Maasai land in Kenya (Grandin, 1988), the Hawazma Baggara in western Sudan (Michael, 1987), Western Somalia women (Little 1985), and the Orma in North-Eastern

Kenya (Ensminger, 1987). Whereas women control is more on milk production and managing animal welfare, this control is weak and indirect (Dahl, 1987; Potkanski, 1997). The control of women, therefore, is not substantive since their decision making is majorly over the activities rendered by men as feminine and thus the involvement of men in such activities is very minimal. Since the assets (in this case the cows) belongs to men, their control on milk production does not empower them economically to make major decisions in the households, for instance, the sale of the cow.

The cash earned from these sales by women is usually used in buying household food items for the family (Hilarie, 1986; Oxby, 1987). However, the situation on the control of earning is dynamic. For instance, in some communities, men still control the production of milk and market sales, especially when these animal produce gain monetary importance in the community. Among the Fulani pastoral communities, men regulate the milking process to ensure that women do not take with them more milk for their children (Grandin, 1988; Talle, 1990; Waters-Bayer; 1985). Some scholars also noted that men have taken over milking activities from women and thus men use the cash earned from sales of livestock and livestock produce to obtain cereals (Waters-Bayer, 1985).

Among the Omdurman of Sudan, due to good markets for dairy products, women have been left to depend on men and thus bringing rift in access of cash between men and women (Salil, 1985). The situation has been the same in Kenya among the Maasai where women economic control over dairy products have been replaced by male dominance in meat production due to increasing pressure on land for private development (Talle, 1988). This shows that men would still want to be in charge and influence decisions, especially when the monetary gain is substantial.

However, some studies have also shown that men control over livestock gifted to women by their family members is minimal (Little 1987). Economic hardships among the settled pastoralist have forced women to engage in alternative livelihoods to earn income. According to Hjort, (1979), single women in Isiolo engage in small scale businesses and some engage in deviant behaviours such as prostitution to earn a living. In some cases, women burn and sell charcoal, open small kiosks, sell vegetables, engage in miraa trade and livestock marketing to obtain some cash. However, it is important to note that the pastoralist women are not homogenous in their economic roles and activities. For instance, women from poor households will trade a big portion of their livestock produce to earn income while those from a rich background will mainly sell the surplus to earn some extra cash (Elliot and Mckabie, 1995).

In another study conducted by Nkumbuku (2013), the researcher found out that over the years, men are accepting female leadership as well as their involvement in community development. This is opposed to the socio-cultural factors that significantly impact on the involvement of women in conflict resolutions and decision-making. Women sought ideas from their male counterparts because of the feeling that leadership was the role of a man. The study also found out that society expected men to make decisions and undertake conflict resolutions where women were only spectators (Nkumbuku, 2013). This happened because of the role of the community culture in allocating gender roles. If a role is ascribed traditionally on the basis of gender, it serves as a major determinant of a women's careers as well as progress.

From the different studies above, the issue of changing women roles has been brought up explicitly; however, most of these studies do not reflect the factors which are contributing to these changes. It is, therefore, crucial to study what leads to these changes by looking

at the contributing factors which can be internal or external.

2.2.4 Effects of Changes in Borana Women Gender Roles

Scott and Wilde, (2006) indicated that women engagement in the labour market has been increasing and this situation has exposed them to secularization where traditionally held beliefs and values have eroded significantly. As a result, this has resulted in a decline in marriage rates, divorce and collapse of the family unit especially in European countries, (Scott and Wilde, 2006). Therefore, such a situation reveals that the family unit is under threat and thus have a crucial impact on the future of societal setup.

The role of women in society has transformed over the years both economically and socially. Women are now seen in the decision-making arenas and actively engaging in labour markets to provide for their families. From the scholarly resource, it is apparent decision making roles have been taken up by women of today (Oxfam 2011; Gemtessa *et al.*, 2005). In the pastoral communities, there is also the diminishing early marriages, which demonstrated that women are making more demands over the choice of marriage than before (Flintan, 2008).

From an economic perspective, women are considering taking up vital roles in marketing and production particularly livestock and small scale agriculture and this has resulted in financial freedom and assets control. Financial freedom brings about women independence and thus presents an opportunity for them to make decisions in regards to household matters. Women are also contributing to the household and thus spend more on necessities for the family's use. This has contributed greatly to an increase in household income and in turn, led to food security and sustenance in families.

The changes in the trend are attributed to women's empowerment through education, economic opportunities and engaging in income-generating activities (Oxfam 2011).

Whereas the changes in gender roles have brought about positive development in regards to women empowerment and privileges, there are also some negative consequences born out of these changes for women and society at large. For instance, with the advent of women taking up an active role in supporting households, some have become household providers which have burdened them with the responsibility of providing for large families, especially living in the town centres. They have taken up new responsibilities which were considered previously as men roles (Oumer *et al.*, 2007).

Whereas some women are not happy with the new responsibilities as household heads due to their decision making powers, some section of women are enjoying the new status in the community (McPeak *et al.*, 2012). Through community programs, dialogue forums were initiated by NGOs and Government institutions to influence change through workshops, training and exposure visits for women to learn skills in public speaking and leadership.

Such empowerment activities have encouraged women to contribute in decision making. For instance in Duse community in Isiolo, a woman was elected Chief of the area in 2015. Nowadays, women participate in community meetings, and actively engage in public forums and therefore have their voices heard. Men are also encouraging women to make contribution and enhance their position in society.

2.2.5 Socio-Demographic Effects on Social and Economic conditions of Women

According to Risman (1998) in modern society, social structure develops gendered behaviour. It is argued that male and female do things differently since they play different roles in the society, institutions and families. As such, they assume different responsibilities. Mikkola (2005) maintains that gender hierarchy illustrates this case in the family, laws of inheritance, customs, women valuations as opposed to men, ability to make societal decisions, church, family and social networks. It shows opportunities that are available for women's health, nutrition and education and also violence against women. The hierarchy is basically accepted by all genders and this is usually not questioned. This is considered sufficient when applying across nations, cultures, time as well as underlying assumptions which might change the status of women and may impact on development over time.

Empirical evidence indicates that women who are in political arenas make their decisions in a different manner compared to men. According to Chattopadhyaya and Duflo (2001), women leaders invested in infrastructures such as water, fuel and roads when in positions of power. On the other hand, men who got better jobs invested largely in education laying specific preference to the boy child. This difference in choices of women in leadership is clear evidence why the statistics for women involved in government was linked to lower corruption levels (Dollar *et al.*, 1999).

Prior studies in both stable and growing economies depict that educating a girl is critical for the well-being of the family and future of the society. Schultz (2002) posits that educating women and mothers, in particular, has an impact on the health of children as opposed to educating men. Dollar *et al.*, (1999) argue that the belief that if male and female have similar innate traits and abilities, gender inequity in education will then

imply that few boys compared to girls get education opportunities hence most of those who will qualify for education might turn out to be lower as compared to boys and girls who receive equal chances of education.

The implication of changing gender roles has a substantial influence in marriages especially on division of responsibilities between wife and husband in the household. This situation may impose positive or negative impacts on the family unit (Amato *et al.*, 2003; Kurdek, 2005). The most commonly recommended marriage plan is where there is an equal sharing of duties and chores. However, this plan is not more easily applicable in the modern world. Bauer (2001) explored the demographic transition as well as women's non-domestic economic functions in East Asia and established that the former was majorly and positively driven by the latter.

Bauer (2001) indicates that through a reduction in conflict amid domestic chores, postponing marriage and giving birth to few children have forced women to look for job opportunities. Women who have few children stand a high chance to continue with their jobs and this has a positive effect on household earnings, choice of occupation and employers willingness to invest on job training. Most scholars have argued that as women involvement in work has increased, gender disparity in earnings has declined significantly in most countries. This has raised the need for concern. Bauer (2001) pointed out that women productivity and nature of work is largely concerted in low-waged employment such as cloth and textile industries. In addition, women have very little job security while they still get lower pay compared to men.

Amidst elderly people, ageing is also regarded as a gender issue. In developed nations, elderly women are highly vulnerable since they face various challenges that are associated with gender and age. When their productivity declines, elderly women have

very little investments in terms of assets as opposed to men who can dispose to take care of themselves at old age. They have a lower chance of being educated while compared to men.

Although the health needs of most women are different as compared to men in old age, a basic assumption exists that after menopause, their needs are similar to those of men (Heslop 1999; UNFPA 1998). Menopause is not considered as a priority in the reproductive health of women (UNFPA 1998). Since these women have inadequate resources to give to their young family members to take care of them, most of them lead a miserable life in old age (Kabeer 2008) and thus poverty level among ageing women is higher as compared to that of men (UNFPA 1998).

2.3 Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by the social role and feminist theories.

2.3.1 Social Role Theory

Alice Eagly, introduces the social role theory as a result of differences in behaviour by different genders in regards to division of labour (Diekman and Eagly, 2000). Early argues that the different genders play roles in the society in a predictable manner based on the socially prescribed roles and responsibilities (Wood and Eagly 2002). The society, therefore, set rules on how one is supposed to behave in the society and thus presents consequences based on conformity or non-conformity of the members to the already prescribed roles.

Gender roles are also based on the division of labour and thus shape the expectations and behaviours of an individual in the society. (Wood & Eagly. 2002). Therefore individuals in the society are expected to perform certain roles from which they expect rewards. For those who do not conform to the social role expectations, they are faced with disapproval

or shame as their behaviours are considered inappropriate (Cialdini *et al.*, 1991). For example, women and men in some traditional communities do not participate in the same social activities like wrestling and drinking local beer.

The society use norms and values to control social behaviours and those who violate these societal rules are punished. However, over time the society also goes through changes and these changes also impact on the social roles played by both genders. For instance today, women play different roles which were previously considered men roles. Such situations bring about social pressure which leads to role conflict and role ambiguity in the society because of the different roles played by both genders which were not culturally acceptable. For example, women in modern society today are employed informal labour and compete with the male counterparts in the job market. Women are also participating in decision making and the majority also taking up leadership roles for instance in political arenas.

In the Borana community, this theory is relevant in studying the changing gender roles. Borana women have traditionally been seen as homemakers and thus most of their activities are linked to household activities. Their participation in decision making is limited and they do not own the means of production since they entirely depend on their husbands. However, there have been significant changes in women roles where women take up men roles in the labour market and in participating in other income-generating activities to uplift the living standards of their household.

Women are also owning assets and thus gaining economic independence in the household which provides them with an opportunity to exercise authority and thus leading to a decrease in gender-based violence (Flintan, 2008). Many women are also owning livestock and other assets and thus have the power to convert these assets into cash so as

to buy household essentials for their families.

2.3.2 Feminist Theory

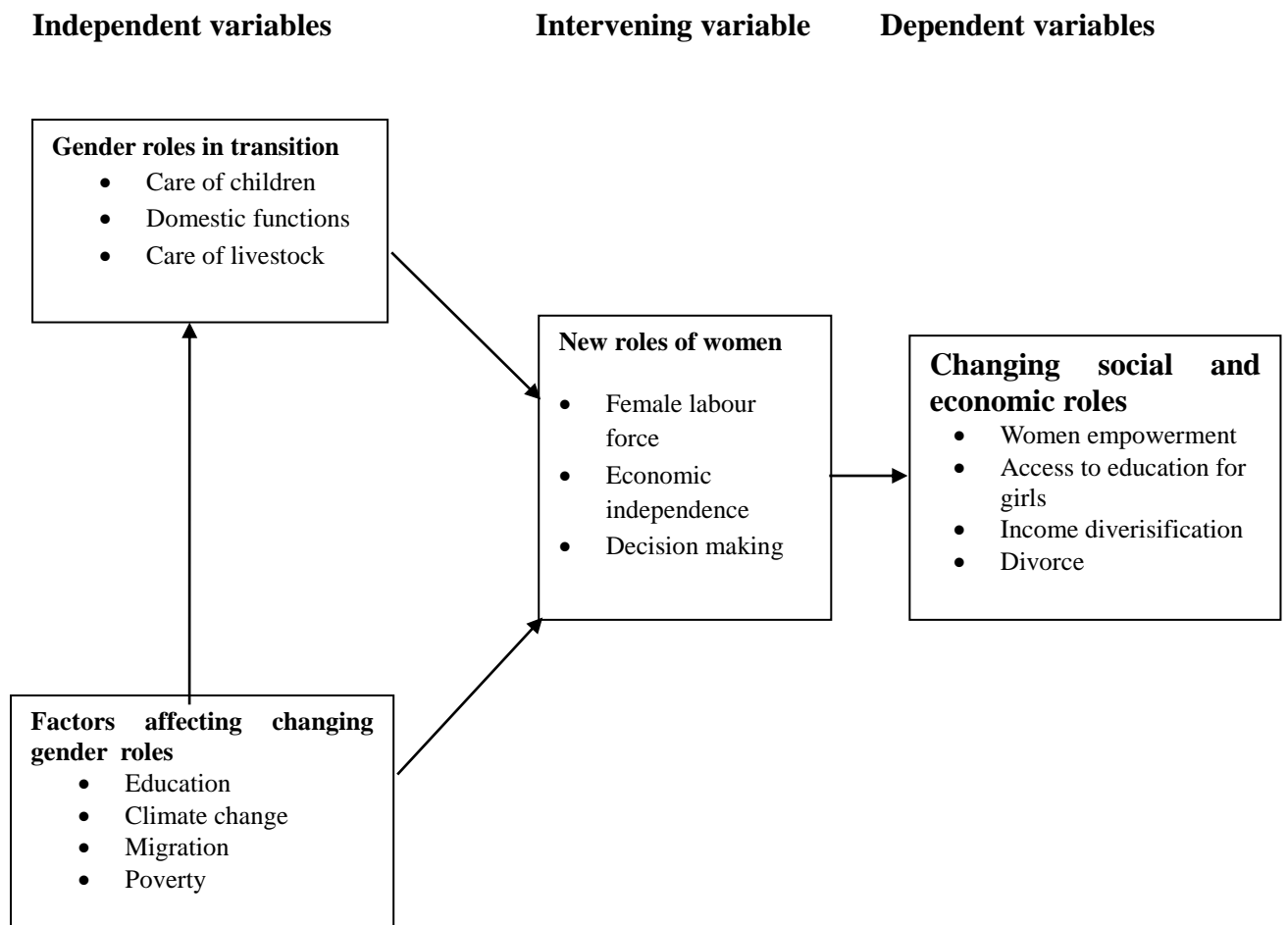
Just like in conflict and symbolic interaction theory, feminist theorists assert that social inequality is maintained by ideologies that are acceptable to both the powerful and the oppressed. However, feminist theorists do not focus on social status and economic power but rather they explore different strategies in increasing women empowerment to have better control of their own lives. Feminist theorists brought into perspective the issue of oppression faced by individuals due to their gender, race and social class. Some scholars argue that feminist theories can actually be an opportunity for men in that men can understand their roles better and make their issues of concerns open to others (Brod, 1998; Kimmel, 1998). Feminists also are against patriarchy arguing that it is the source of family instability where men and some societal members discourage egalitarian roles for both genders.

Despite the challenges faced by women, feminist theorists do not consider women as victim but rather as individuals who possess agency that is the power to adapt and thrive in unfavourable conditions. This is true for pastoralist women too, where their ability to work hard and earn income surpass difficult paths they endure to attain financial stability.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is defined by Kombo and Tromp (2002) as an act to create and formulate things by crafting ideas and actions that are needed to deal with a problem or a given situation. The conceptual framework as shown in Figure 1 of this study illustrates the factors affecting the changing women social and economic roles.

Figure 2.1: The Conceptual Framework



The independent variable for this study are factors affecting changing gender roles which has resulted in the transition of gender roles such as the care of children, domestic functions and care of livestock. These are traditional roles of women which have been influenced by factors such as education, climate change, migration and poverty.

The intervening variable is the new roles of women which have been acquired. The dependent variable is the changing social and economic roles which have resulted due to exposure to variables such as education and climate change among others.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Research methodology provides a guide as on how the researcher addressed the research problem. The methodology covered the following sections.

3.2 Site Description

The research was conducted in Tullu Roba Location, Wabera Ward of Isiolo County. Isiolo County is situated in the former Eastern province located 285 kilometres North of Nairobi County. It covers an area of 25, 336.1 square kilometres. KNBS (2009) report shows that the population in Isiolo County is 143, 294 whereby 51% are men and 49% are female. The county of Isiolo is occupied by Turkana, Borana, Meru and Somali communities. Borana forms the biggest percentage of the population.

Isiolo town is the County headquarters. Most areas in Isiolo County are arid and they get less than 150 mm of rainfall yearly. Other parts such as Garbatulla are extremely dry with limited agricultural activities. The community practices mainly livestock and agriculture in small scale as a source of livelihood. They commonly grow vegetables, carrots and tomatoes which are sold in Isiolo and Nanyuki towns. The site was chosen because of its uniqueness of having majority of Borana community residing in the area; especially the pastoralist drop-outs. The map is shown in appendix 11.

3.3 Research Design

Mutai (2000) elucidates that research design is a specialized plan to investigate a research problem. It also involves data collecting, data measurement and analysis. The study aimed at collecting data from a target population and their perspectives on the factors that influenced the changing gender roles among the Borana women.

To realize the research objectives and collect the right information, the researcher used a descriptive survey research. This is because the survey design provide an accurate description of the characteristics, respondents' opinions, attitudes, beliefs, behaviour and perceptions. Descriptive survey design was used since it's the best method in research topics where little is known and documented. Unlike other designs, descriptive survey allowed the researcher to utilize the qualitative and also the quantitative approaches (Orodho and Kombo 2002).

3.4 Unit of Analysis

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), a unit of analysis entails all those elements which are designed in order to aggregate their traits so as to describe the larger group. Singleton *et al.*, (1988) holds that a unit of analysis comprises of what elements is to be analyzed. In this research, the unit of analysis focussed on factors that underlie changes in gender roles and the socio-economic effects of the changing roles on Borana women in Isiolo County of Kenya.

3.5 Units of Observation

The units of observation in this study were Borana women in Isiolo County and key informants who included the social worker, representative from the Non-Government Organization and the local Chief. The observation took place on social and economic life that has changed over time.

3.6 Target Population

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), attribute the target population as a set of individuals or objects that have similar traits from which an investigator seeks to generalize the findings of the study. In the current study, the target population are the Borana women of Isiolo County. The study targeted 5000 households in Tullu Roba Location.

3.7 Sample Size and Sampling Procedures

This section deals with the sample size and sampling approaches that were used.

3.7.1 Sample Size

A sample is a representation of the whole population that is under investigation. The findings obtained from a sample can be utilized in generalizing to a whole population (Orodho, 2002). The target population that was utilized for the sample was 5000 men and women in the households. The study randomly selected a total of 160 households comprised of Borana women for the study.

3.7.2 Sampling Procedures

The study adopted a random sampling technique in drawing a sample which consisted of 160 women from 5000 households in Tullu Roba Location. These women were proportionately drawn to reflect the number of households in each village as shown in Table 3.1

Table 3.1: Sample Size

Village in Tullu Roba	Target Population	Percent	Sample distribution
Tullu roba	1080	21.6	35
Acacia	840	16.8	27
Chechelesi	782	15.6	25
Bula Nagele	620	12.4	20
Bula Nasiye	498	10.0	16
Manyatta Asharaf	438	8.8	14
Manyatta Prison	374	7.5	12
Hospital staff quarters	368	7.3	11
Total	5000	100	160

The researcher also used systematic random sampling to select the sample. To enable the researcher to choose the target number of respondents in every village, the selection started from the centre of the village going to the four (4) directions that is East, West, North and South. In every direction there was an equal selection of households depending on how the houses were distributed as shown in Table 3.2 below:

Table 3.2: Sample Distribution of respondents according to villages and direction

Villages	No. of house in East (Direction)	No. of house in West (Direction)	No. of house in North (Direction)	No. of house in South (Direction)	TOTAL
Tullu Roba	9	8	9	9	35
Acacia	6	7	7	7	27
Chechelesi	6	6	6	7	25
Bula Nagele	5	5	5	5	20
Bula Nasiye	4	4	4	4	16
Manyatta Asharaf	3	4	4	3	14
Manyatta Prison	3	3	3	3	12
Hospital Staff Quarters	2	3	3	3	11
Total	38	40	41	41	160

3.8 Methods and Tools of Data Collection

The study relied on both primary and secondary sources of data and ensured a thorough conceptualization of the nature of factors that affect changing gender roles among the Borana women of Isiolo County. The advantage of this approach is that the researcher has the ability to get information regarding an experiment or observation, which was in its original state free from manipulation or falsification. The researcher administered questionnaires and interview questions to the research subjects to gather the intended

data. Under this study, the researcher had the residents of Tullu Roba Location as the sample.

Secondary information is data which is already published or was collected in the past by other researchers. This information is usually collected from books, libraries, internet, archives, census, records, organizational reports and data that were obtained through qualitative methodologies (Bishop, 2007). Different qualitative methods of data collection were employed to gather the information that included participants' observation, interviews, and in-depth discussion with key informants. This was aimed at achieving triangulation to uphold the validity of the research data.

3.8.1 Collection of Qualitative Data

3.8.1.1 Household Interviews

This method was administered to individual women in the households. The method helped the researcher to have a better understanding of the interviewee response, being an integral part of the subjects under investigation.

In these interviews, respondents were presented with open-ended questions to get their opinions on the subject under investigation. This approach was more efficient in terms of conducting the interviews and the data collected was easy to analyze and compare. The questions in this form of data collection comprised demographic data of the respondents and factors that affected the changing gender roles among the pastoralist Borana women as per the study objectives.

3.8.2 Collection of Quantitative Data

3.8.2.1 Key Informants' Interviews

These are interviews that are usually administered to those who are regarded as knowledgeable or experts of certain topic or information which is of interest to the

researcher. According to Jimenez (1985), this approach is utilized when diverse information is required, and when key informants can be easily accessed for information. The researcher used structured interviews to conduct face to face discussions and seek new insights, ask questions where it was not clear and had different perceptions or views on the topic of research from different key informants. Structured interviews were useful in providing in-depth information because they were systematic, time-saving and the data was easy to arrange thematically in order to have it triangulated with analysis of quantitative data (Kothari, 2004).

The representatives from Government and Non-Governmental Organizations were considered as key informant and information was collected from them using an interview schedule. This technique provided a variety of opportunities for the key informants to speak directly to the researcher on selected topics and themes and matters that related to their lives, challenges and also their recommendations on how to overcome such challenges.

3.8.3 Observation

Primary sources of data were collected through observation. It was used when information was easy to infer from observation and when behavioural interest was repetitive or predictable and relatively short (Steinar, 1996). Precisely, the researcher used this method to record any behaviour from respondents, such as non-verbal expressions (facial expressions, gestures and body language) of the respondents.

The use of this method ensured that there was an in-depth understanding of the topic of research was achieved and enhanced the interpretation of intuition and verbal communication during data collection process. It also allowed flexibility in information gathering.

Kothari (2004) indicates that the method is achieved through direct observations without necessarily asking respondents' questions. Information obtained through observation entailed what was currently happening at that point in time. The advantage of this approach is that it was less tedious since the researcher did not need information from the respondents (Kothari, 2004). The researcher used this method to observe the behaviour of the respondents during interviews, conduct observations of day to day activities of women and also attitudes of men towards the topic of research.

3.8.4 Secondary Data

The researcher used texts and documents as sources of information. Secondary data used included books, journals, internet, newspapers, Government records and reports, census publications, maps, videos, films, paintings, photographs and newspapers were used to collect relevant information. The information collected supplemented other data sources in understanding the gender roles among the Borana women of Isiolo and the factors which have contributed to these changes.

3.9 Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability were applied to measure the quality of research design and data collected.

3.9.1 Validity

Polit and Beck (2010) define validity as the degree to which the instrument measures what it intends to measure in order for the study findings to be valid and justifiable. Pre-testing of the questionnaires with ten (10) respondents and three (3) experts in the field including research supervisors were conducted to verify whether the instruments used were valid. According to Tayie (2005), such operation of pre-testing the questionnaires is appropriate for refining questions and is necessary to avoid confusion and easy correction

without wastage of time and resources.

The researcher utilized content validity test and face validity test methods in testing questionnaires. A content validity test was applied to ascertain the relevance of questions being asked (Polit and Beck, 2010). The face validity, on the other hand, measured the concept that was tested on the face of knowledge clarity, relevant and unambiguous (Jones and Rattray, 2010).

3.9.2 Reliability

Reliability is an imperative component of any research study, this is because with reliable data, the same research can be replicated and the same results obtained using the same methods. Reliability, therefore, is regarded as the level of consistency with which an instrument can obtain attributes that it was specifically designed to measure (Pilot and Hungler, 1999). However, some researchers argue that it is challenging to obtain consistent data when dealing with people (Peel 2007). Therefore, the researcher applied pre-test interviews to respondents who were not included in the research but with similar features as the research subjects to determine the reliability of data collected and consistency in response.

3.10 Ethical Considerations in the Study

In this study ethics and regulations were observed in the following manner. The researcher sought permission from the County Commissioner of Isiolo to carry out the study smoothly without any obstruction from the authority. The respondents were informed of consent prior to the visit. The researcher explained the aims and objectives of the study to the participants and also promised to share the findings of the study with the respondents.

Information gathered by the respondents was handled with confidentiality and anonymity to make sure that the respondents were not intimidated in any way by participating in this study. Those who were uncomfortable during the study were given the opportunity to decide whether they want to continue with the study or withdraw. The researcher upheld the confidentiality of the study participants by making sure that the information given was not publicly reported in a manner that identifies them (Pilot and Hungler 1999). This encouraged women, especially the illiterate to volunteer information without the fear of being exposed to the public. In a community where women were conservative and marginalized, ensuring that they felt comfortable during the interviews enabled the researcher to collect reliable and credible information. To ensure that anonymity was upheld, the researcher did not disclose the respondents' names on the questionnaire and the research reports.

3.11 Problem Encountered in Data Collection

The data collection process took longer than expected. In most cases the respondents were busy in the morning and in the evening attending to their household duties, therefore the researcher was compelled to adjust the interview schedule to accommodate this situation.

3.12 Data Analysis and Presentation

Kombo and Tromp (2010), posit that the work on data analysis can be described as a way of testing data that have been gathered through an experiment or survey in order to make deductions and inferences. They argue that the process entails uncovering structures that underlie, extracting key variables, detecting anomalies as well as testing the assumptions. The researcher utilized both qualitative and quantitative approaches to analyze data. Analysis of qualitative data was through descriptive statistics that comprised frequency distributions, tables and percentages.

Baker (1993) describes qualitative data analysis as a tool for making general statements on how classifications or categories relate (Baker, 1993). The researcher qualitatively analyzed this information from open-ended questions and key informant interviews with the aim of identifying how concepts, meanings and responses were related. Version 20 of the SPSS software was used in analyzing the data collected after it was entered and coded in excel.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the research findings on the factors influencing changing gender roles and its consequences on the pastoralist household among the Borana women in Isiolo town are presented and discussed. The data analysis was presented according to the objectives of the study in five sections. Section one contains social and demographic information, section two contains results on traditional roles of women in pastoralist communities; section three presents information on new roles of women in pastoralist communities; section four presents information on factors influencing the changes in gender roles, while section five presents information on social and economic effects of new gender roles of women in the Borana pastoralist community.

4.1.1 Response Rate

The questionnaires which were distributed to the target 160 respondents were all returned fully filled, making 100% response rate. The results are presented in subsequent sections.

4.2 Social and Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

This section presents information on the marital status of women in Borana women in Isiolo, family size, education level, family setup, age distribution and their economic activities. These are presented as follows:

4.2.1 Marital Status

The participants were questioned to reveal the number of children they had in the family. Table 4.1 presents the findings.

Table 4.1: Distribution of Borana Women by Marital Status

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent
Married	83	51.9
Separated	25	15.6
Divorced	35	21.9
Single	17	10.6
Total	160	100.0

The study findings show that the majority (51.9%) of the respondents were married, 21.9% were divorced, 15.6% were separated, while 10.6% were single. Due to culture and religion that give high value to marriage, there are more married couples in the community, although there has been an increase in the divorced and separated women due to men becoming lazy, not looking for jobs, polygamy and drug abuse/miraa. There has been an increase in single women due to pursuit of education, search for jobs and lack of suitable marriage partners hence delayed marriage (Flintan 2012).

These kinds of changes have led to increase in complexity within family compositions and the evolving diversity of family values and norms and relationships. These patterns and trends have had other impacts on gender roles particularly on the efforts towards achieving gender equality between men and women. The expansion of female roles in the society particularly in providing for the family and changing roles of men towards family responsibilities including looking after the children. Work and family influence each other especially the duties of men and women. This is because both engage in economic activities, while women are still expected to execute their roles in the family by raising children and taking care of the family (Hassen 1990).

4.2.2 Number of Children in the Household

The study participants were requested to indicate the number of children they had in the household. Results are confirmed in Table 4.2 below:

Table 4.2: Distribution of Number of Children in the Family

Number of children	Frequency	Percent
0	11	6.9
1-2	25	15.6
3-4	28	17.5
5-6	50	31.3
7 and above	46	28.7
Total	160	100.0

Table 4.2 reveal that majority (31.3%) of the study participants had a family size of between 5 to 6 children followed by 28.7% who had a family size of 7 and above children. The table also shows that 17.5% had a family size of 3 to 4 children, 15.6% had a family size of 1 to 2 children while 6.9% had no children. This shows that majority of Borana women had a family size of more than four children. These findings are in harmony with the findings made by Dejene (1997).

4.2.3 Education Level

The respondents were requested to reveal their education levels. Table 4.3 presents the findings.

Table 4.3: Distribution of Borana Women by Level of Education

Level of Education	Frequency	Percent
None	31	19.4
Primary	34	21.2
Secondary	65	40.6
Certificate	2	1.3
Diploma	9	5.6
Degree	19	11.9
Total	160	100.0

From the table 4.3 above, the majority (40.6%) of the respondents had attained secondary level of education. This was followed by 21.2% of those who had attained education up-to primary level and 19.4% had no education at all. The table shows that 11.9% had a degree, 5.6% were diploma holder while 1.3% were certificate holders. This shows that most of the Borana women were not highly educated. These findings are in agreement with the work of Saito *et al.*, (1994) which shows the literacy among adults particularly men is twice as compared to that of women. Studies conducted by Tiruwork (1988) in Ethiopia indicated that men had more access to formal education compared to women. Chitere and Mutiso (1991) found that the illiteracy levels between men and women were 65% and 82% respectively.

4.2.4 Age Distribution

The respondents requested to reveal their age based on the given age-groups. The responses are presented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Age Distribution of Borana Women

Age group	Frequency	Percent
20-29	41	25.6
30-39	84	52.5
40 and above	35	21.9
Total	160	100.0

The majority (52.5%) of the study participants were aged between 30-39 years, 25.6% were aged between 20-29 years, while 21.9% were aged 40 years and above. The age composition shows that majority of the Borana women were aged 30-39 years. Though pastoralists tend to form marriages very early, this study found that the largest composition was 30-39 years followed by ages 20-29. Marriages occur later than expected because of material interests on the side of men from whom the bridewealth is not easily affordable by young men. This means that marriages of young girls improved the socio-economic status of their fathers through the payment of livestock as bridewealth upon marriage. Kituyi (1990) concurs with this position and he argues that early marriages amongst the Maasai community are influenced by the demand for cows irrespective of whether the girl is educated or not.

4.2.5 Sources of Livelihood

The respondents were requested to reveal their source of livelihood. The responses are presented in Table 4.5 showing the main economic activities of the women (respondents).

Table 4.5: Distribution of Borana Women According to Main Economic Activity

Main Economic Activity	Frequency	Percent
Employed	20	12.5
Housewives	16	10.0
Business Woman	46	28.7
Casual Labour	78	48.8
Total	160	100.0

Table 4.5 shows that majority (48.8%) of the women were casual labourers, followed by 28.7% who were businesswomen, 12.5% were employed, while 10% were housewives. The casual labour has increased due to pastoralist dropping out of school and looking for work that does not require professional skills. Others joined business, especially livestock market and petty trade which does not require any formal skills and training.

4.3 Traditional Roles of Women in Pastoralist Communities

4.3.1 Traditional Roles for Women

From the findings, the main traditional roles for women were cooking, fetching water, child-rearing, construction of houses and hospitality for guests. Women play a critical role to ensure basic needs are met in the household. The women were responsible for bearing children, nursing them, and made sure that they were dressed, fed and well cared for.

Women played a fundamental role and were bestowed with different duties particularly livestock rearing, cultivation and household maintenance. The NGO representative indicated that women are now taking up more responsibilities for families upkeep such as doing businesses, getting into politics and full-time employment in various sectors.

Women undertook all reproductive activities such as raising children, taking care of the elderly, food processing and cooking, and brewing beer. They also collected wild fruits

and vegetables, grew subsistence crops, and took care of domestic animals that grazed around homesteads. They undertook these duties with the assistance of girls and young boys. Adolescent boys assisted their fathers. Some women specialised in the making of clay pots and certain types of baskets, which they sold to other families. The skills, according to Schapera (1995) were only handed down from mother to daughter in the same family. It was the responsibility of women to "keep the homestead clean and in good repair, stamp and grind the corn, prepare the food, fetch water and firewood, make conical baskets and the grass aprons of the small girls, mend and wash the clothes of the family, and look after the young children" (Schapera, 1995).

Dahl (1990) indicates that deeper meanings linked to the role of Borana women in building huts and duties linked to milk and milking vessels. The significance of these roles, according to Dahl (1979) this goes beyond their everyday use and symbolizes the cultural power of women and their status within the Borana community.

4.3.2 Change in Traditional Roles of Women

The study participants were requested to reveal the extent to which the traditional role of women had changed. Findings from the study are shown in the Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Change in Traditional Roles of Borana Women

The extent of change in traditional roles	Frequency	Percent
Very great extent	58	36.2
Great extent	37	23.1
Moderate extent	59	36.9
Low extent	6	3.8
Total	160	100.0

Table 4.6 shows that traditional roles of women had changed to a moderate extent as shown by 36.9% followed by 36.3% who indicated that traditional roles of women had changed to a very great extent, 23.1% indicated that traditional roles of women had changed to a great extent, while 3.8% indicated that traditional roles of women had changed to a low extent. Education transforms gender-power relations through increasing the relative women power vis-à-vis men power. The impact of these changes in gender-power relations manifests itself in different ways.

Through team-building and empowerment, Borana women have made tremendous efforts to transform their disadvantaged communities by way of getting involved in business. It was found that roles have changed such that when the woman works increasingly outside the house, she hires other women to offer the service as nannies and house helps, while at other times they are helped by other members of the family, mostly female members.

The NGO representative said that: *“Time now is more challenging and there is demand on women in terms of roles at the family level, community and national level is rapidly increasing. Women are increasingly venturing into previously male-dominated roles at all levels”*

Changes in social, economic and gender roles were accompanied by the weakening of the marriage gender contract and the emergence of two new forms of sexual relationships. With the prolonged absence of men while in paid employment abroad or at the cattle posts, women are increasingly becoming heads of households- a social status that had traditionally been the prerogative of men.

Larsson (2012) posits that in the 80s, many unmarried mothers did set up autonomous households. On the contrary, married women became de facto household heads and this led to an increase in children out of wedlock. Larsson (2012) attributes the emergence of

female household heads to three major interrelated factors, namely, men's weakening authority caused by their prolonged absence in large numbers from villages, while on wage employment in pastoralist communities; increased numbers of unwed daughters falling pregnant in the absence of their fathers who were expected to prevent them from becoming pregnant; and parents encouraging their sons not to marry, while in paid employment. According to traditional obligations, an unmarried son should share his earnings primarily with his parents (Larsson, 2009). The ability of women to earn independent incomes (through wage employment such as nurses, teachers and clerks or by selling traditional beer) should have contributed to women's ability to manage their own independent households.

Equally significant was the weakening of patriarchal ideologies and power structures that previously buttressed men's power at the household level. Women could appeal in common law courts against decisions and rulings made by chiefs and headmen. With the establishment of Native Courts, chiefs lost their absolute judicial powers. With the increasing livelihood diversification option, it became difficult to determine specific roles of men and women because of role overlap. This was evident among the poor households among the pastoralist communities where the income of the husband was not sufficient and thus the wife had to support the husband in providing the basic needs for the family (Oba, 2001).

4.3.3 Key Traditional Roles that have Changed

The traditional roles that have changed include marriage where many women are opting to remain single or even become single parents thereby raising children by themselves. This makes them takeover gender roles like working in order to earn an income so that they can provide for their families. Women are no longer stay-at-home mothers, they are

now being employed and they perform the same roles that men do. Childrearing has been left to maids and grandparents. Women have been empowered and are now involved in decision making which was previously a man's role. The way people interact with each other has changed especially when young people are interacting with elderly people.

A key informant revealed that: *“among the pastoralists, it is correct to say that there are more women involved in running the day to day activities and survival of families than it was before. In fact, more women are herding and running businesses than before”*. Also, the social worker revealed that one role that has changed is that *“women support of household bills as the economy of their homes improve”*.

Women in Borana community expressed control over the in domestic matters whereby they had the de facto form of control over important resources. Other than the primary responsibilities of child-rearing, cooking, fetching of firewood and building huts, they took part in activities like keeping of livestock and management. They took care of domestic animals from their homes and did the milking. These duties were classified under women's domain of resources that were stationary. Similarly, men developed *kraals* and safeguarded camps and natural resources, for example, religious shrines and water. This was considered under the men's category of mobile resources (Qabanee, 1991). While men exercised their power and authority in the political arenas, women influenced their decisions through informal avenues.

4.3.4 Practice of Traditional Culture

The participants were requested to rate whether they practice traditional culture e.g. cooking, fetching water, taking care of children at home, building huts, and milking the cows and goats.

Table 4.7: Response whether Women Practise Traditional Culture

Practice traditional culture	Frequency	Percent
Yes	105	65.6
No	55	34.4
Total	160	100.0

Table 4.7 shows that the majority of women (65.6%) indicated that they practised traditional culture, while 34.4% did not practise traditional culture. Though some said that they practised traditional culture this did not include harmful cultural practices like Female Genital Cut and early marriages.

Globally, women get affected by factors such as traditional practices, domestic violence, poverty among other challenges. Key research findings depict that in most parts of the world, men had the right to chastise women by punishing them when they misbehaved. As such, women become submissive and respect their partners. However, it is important to note that a man's status in the society is driven by how much control he has over his wife's behaviours and actions (Mikkola, 2005). Research done by Steinzor (2003), revealed that maintaining the cultural practices pose challenges to women in terms of property ownership in Kenya. Childless widows are even in a worse position in terms of being considered for wealth inheritance. They stand to lose more than widows with children as they are considered a liability by their in-laws. Backward traditional practices, limited women opportunities to participate in productive activities.

Cultural norms constitute a major impediment in Kenya because most cultures regarded the place of a woman to be in the kitchen and bringing up children. Therefore, such ideologies made it difficult for some men to recognize and accept women as an equal

partner socially and economically (KNBS 2010).

4.3.5 Traditional Views of Women in Regard to their Roles

The traditional views of women in regard to their new roles were seen as crucial in supporting the family financially. The traditional roles have made them firm as they persevere through hardships and this makes them important figures in society. The traditional role has brought about unity among Borana women because of the support women have for each other.

4.4 New Roles for Women

This section analyses the new roles of women among the Borana community.

4.4.1 Extent to Which the Community Has Changed their Roles

The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which the women in the community have changed their roles.

Table 4.8: Extent to Which the Women Roles have Changed in the Community

The extent of changes in women roles	Frequency	Percent
Very great extent	69	43.1
Great extent	10	6.3
Moderate extent	81	50.6
Total	160	100.0

Table 4.8 shows that majority (50.6%) of the respondents indicated that the extent to which women changed their roles was moderate. This was followed by those who indicated that the changing of women roles was to a very great extent (43.1%) while 6.3% indicated that the roles of women have changed to a great extent.

One of the key informants interviewed indicated that the roles of women have changed over time with more women taking up roles in society that they previously were not able to hold or were not allowed to do. Economically, more women are involved in the workforce, both as blue-collar and white-collar workers, businesses and franchising locally and globally. There are more women now who are engaged in economic ventures than before. Socially, more women are heads of households, single-handedly running homes and doubling up as heads of families a role previously done by men. Politically, there are more opportunities and actual chances for women in leadership.

4.4.2 Effects of Changed Roles of Women

The respondents were asked to indicate the rate to which factors listed on changed roles affected the community.

Table 4.9: Extent to Which Changes in Women Roles has Affected the Community

Women roles that have changed	The extent of change and effect					Total		Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	Percent	N	
Child rearing	3.1	4.4	11.3	43.8	37.5	100.0	160	3.5075
Building houses	1.3	1.9	3.1	86.3	7.5	100.0	160	4.4325
Domestic functions	1.9	3.1	25.0	41.9	28.1	100.0	160	3.0493
Preparation of food, hides and skins	16.3	20.6	17.5	26.9	18.8	100.0	160	3.2309
Fetching firewood and water as well	0.6	1.9	3.1	89.4	5.0	100.0	160	4.3987
Hospitality for guests	3.8	1.3	5.0	65.0	25.0	100.0	160	4.2094

Key: 5=very great extent; 4=great extent; 3=moderate extent;2=low extent; 1=very low extent

From the findings in table 4.9, it is shown that one of the roles that had changed to a very great extent was building houses as it a mean score of 4.4325. Another role that has

changed to a great extent is fetching firewood and water since it was rated at a mean score of 4.3987. Hospitality for guests has changed to a great extent rated at 4.2094. Table 4.9 shows that child-rearing was noted to have changed at a moderate extent at 3.5075 and preparation of food, and livestock products such as skin and hides have changed to a moderate extent as rated at 3.2309.

Even though communities are slowly diversifying their income in pastoral economies, this does not translate to the end of pastoralism. This is because pastoralism remains as the most viable livelihood options in the drylands even in the presence of other livelihood options. Failure to get involved in pastoral activities does not necessarily impact pastoral production negatively since families end up selling their livestock in order to raise capital to purchase more livestock from the profits gained through other business activities (Sandfords, 2006).

4.5 Changes Occurring in Roles Played by Women

This section presents analyzed data on the changes that have occurred and are occurring on roles played by women among the Borana community in Isiolo County.

4.5.1 Factors Influencing changes occurring in Roles Played by Women

The respondents were asked to rate the factors influencing the changes occurring in roles played by women. Results are confirmed in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Factors Influencing the Changes Occurring in Roles Played by Women

Factors influencing change	Extent of change					Totals		Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	Percent	N	
Education	1.3	1.9	3.1	88.8	5.0	100.0	160	4.4029
Capacity building	0.0	0.6	3.8	90.6	5.0	100.0	160	4.3658
Women empowerment	1.3	1.3	3.8	87.5	6.3	100.0	160	4.2517
Economic hardships	5.0	2.5	21.3	52.5	18.8	100.0	160	4.0154
Poverty	6.3	8.1	21.3	50.0	14.4	100.0	160	3.8357
Family violence	11.3	14.4	20.6	46.9	6.9	100.0	160	3.6544
Unemployment of men	11.9	8.1	10.6	55.0	14.4	100.0	160	3.5213

Key: 5=very great extent; 4=great extent; 3=moderate extent;2=low extent; 1=very low extent

The table above shows that education has caused changes occurring in the roles played by women to a large extent with a mean of 4.4029. The other factors that influence the changes occurring in roles played by women to a very great extent are capacity building and women empowerment as shown with mean scores of 4.3658 and 4.2517 respectively. Factors that also influence the changes occurring in roles played by women to an appreciable extent include economic hardships and unemployment of men with a mean score of 4.0154 and 3.5213 respectively. Table 4.10 also shows that family violence influenced change occurring in roles played by women to a moderate extent with a mean of 3.6544 and poverty influenced changes occurring in roles played by women to a moderately high extent with a mean score of 3.8357.

Borana community are now engaging in agro-pastoralism due to increased pressures from the population, frequent droughts and inappropriate policies which discourage mobility

and thus promoting sedentary livelihood systems (Awino and Karmeback, 2014). The results showed that there was a decrease in the availability of pastures, grazing during the dry season and more healthier and productive animals for those practising zero grazing (Makokha *et al.*, 1999).

4.5.2 Cultural Practices that Affect Economic Status of Women

Respondents were to indicate whether there are cultural practices that affect the economic status of women, the results are in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Response on Cultural Practices that Affect Economic Status of Women

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	99	61.9
No	61	38.1
Total	160	100

Table 4.11 above shows that majority (61.9%) of the respondents indicated that cultural practices affect the economic status of women, while 38.1% indicated that cultural practices do not affect the economic status of women.

Some of the practices that were indicated as economic status of women were cultural attributes, norms, values, and taboos that bar men from taking part in domestic roles and disregard for women rights; access and control property to inherit their family and husbands property; marriage practices and failure to recognize their role and contribution; and the patriarchal ideology.

4.6 Factors that have led to Changes in Women Roles

Participants were requested to rate factors that caused changes in the roles of Borana women. Their responses are shown in the Table below.

Table 4.12: Factors that have led to Changes in Women Roles

Factors that have led to changes in women roles	Extent of influence					Total		Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	Total	N	
Socio-cultural factors influence women involvement in decision making.	1.3	1.3	14.4	53.8	29.4	100.0	160	4.1544
Culture has always wanted women to be chaste and modest in all actions	2.5	1.9	8.1	75.0	12.5	100.0	160	4.2651
There has been a resurgence of traditional values that call for women to be feminine, supportive, and dependent	1.9	0.6	8.1	55.6	33.8	100.0	160	4.1257
The need to maintain the family and feed children has changed women roles	1.3	1.3	1.9	65.0	30.6	100.0	160	4.1779
Modernization has made it possible for women to change their roles	3.1	3.5	3.1	80.8	9.4	100.0	160	3.6524
Women rise in economic independence is regarded as an underlying cause of family changes	4.4	8.1	1.3	53.8	32.5	100.0	160	4.6625

Key: 5 means-very great extent; 4 means-great extent; 3 means-moderate extent; 2 means-low extent; 1 means-very low extent

As indicated by the respondents, the rise of women economic independence is regarded as the underlying cause of changes in the family. This is rated at a mean score of 4.6625. It was found socio-cultural factors influenced women to take part in decision-making with a mean score of 4.1544. To a great extent as well as a very great extent, 90.2% of the respondents found that migration to urban centres had made it possible for women to change their traditional roles. It was also found that to a great extent, the need to unite the family as well as providing food for the children that change women roles and that culture has always wanted women to be chaste and modest in all actions as rated to a mean score

of 4.2651 and 4.1779 respectively. There has been a resurgence of traditional values that call for women to be feminine, supportive, and dependent was one factor with a mean score of 4.1257. In the modern society, the role of women in supporting the household income is slowly forgotten and increasingly women are opting to The economic perspective of women conventional roles has been forgotten in the modern setting and a small number of women were in formal employment (Chauncey, 1981; Hansen, 1984).

A survey by in Lusaka market discovered that the in an African market, women comprise a fifth of the population. However these women were seasonal traders who were in the market in the company of their husbands who were also traders or they were women who were sole breadwinners (Nyirenda, 1957)

4.7 Social and Economic Effects of New Roles of Women

This section presents data on the impact of changes in social and economic roles of women.

4.7.1 Effects of Changing Gender Roles

Respondents were requested to rate statements based on the social and economic effects of changing gender roles.

Table 4.13: Extent to Which Some Key Social and Economic Factors Influence Changes in Gender Roles

Factors influencing change in gender roles	Extent of influence					Totals		Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	Percent	N	
Competition between men and women	2.5	1.3	1.9	61.3	33.1	100.0	160	4.3257
Increased women empowerment	1.9	2.5	3.8	62.5	29.4	100.0	160	4.2651
Increased drug abuse among men especially chewing khat	2.5	1.9	6.9	47.5	41.3	100.0	160	4.3524
Increased marital violence	3.1	1.3	1.3	53.1	41.3	100.0	160	4.0625
Increased role strain as women also act as breadwinners	6.9	3.1	2.5	62.5	25.0	100.0	160	3.9741
Increased numbers of women-led families	7.5	4.4	7.5	61.3	19.4	100.0	160	3.8873
Increase in the number of girls in school	3.8	6.9	6.9	61.9	20.6	100.0	160	4.0029
Increased migration of men to towns to seek employment	3.1	1.9	5.6	65.6	23.8	100.0	160	4.1658
Increased participation of women in leadership	1.3	3.1	5.0	76.9	13.8	100.0	160	4.0517
A decrease in number of forced marriages	5.0	1.3	3.1	81.3	9.4	100.0	160	4.0987

Key: 5 represents-very great extent; 4 represents-great extent; 3 represents-moderate extent; 2 represents-low extent; 1 represents-very low extent

Table 4.13 demonstrate that the study participants were in agreement to a very great extent that changing gender roles have brought about Competition between men and women with a mean score of 4.3257 and increased women empowerment, rated at a mean of 4.2651. The participants were in agreement to a great extent that changing roles have caused increased involvement of women in leadership; a decrease in the number of forced

marriages and increased role strain as women also act as breadwinners at a mean of 4.0987 and 3.9741 respectively. To a great extent, it was reported that there is an increase in the school-going girls (4.0029), increased migration of men to towns to seek for employment (65.6%) and increased numbers of women-led families rated at a mean score of 3.8873. One of the key informants indicated that it appears that more family responsibilities have shifted to women and thus their burden has increased.

On the flip side, there are more development initiatives and better living standards brought about by the inclusion of women in development and daily activities. On how a woman, earning an independent income is perceived, a key informant indicated that: *“it is two-fold....One, she is seen as behaving like a man, not feminine and mainly not admired....two, as a great resource for society, a daughter of the village who has done them proud and admired by all...the perception varies and is felt both ways almost in equal measure”*

A key informant indicated that the effects of changing gender roles on women include: - *increased gender-based violence as men feel underestimated; divorce rate is also rising as men feel cheated due to the frequency of travel trips by women in the name of attending seminars and workshops; diversification of livelihood as women engage in income-generating activities; Improved literacy as now women can take their children to school not necessarily depending on their husbands as was the norm before; women are now well informed and empowered and thus instrumental in fighting retrogressive cultural practices like FGM and early marriages in their pastoral community.*

There exist divergent views on the effect of new roles on the general welfare of women. A few studies depict that trade involvement in sedentarisation centres have been useful to women as demonstrated by Fratkin and Smith (1995), in regards to Rendille women of

Songa who have been empowered economically through trade since it enables them to easily and were accessing finances that were previously not in their control. Among the Tana River Orma pastoralist, women who have settled are close to political power and thus are more informed about issues of national interest unlike nomadic women (Ensminger, 1987).

Widowed women and divorcees undertake tasks that generate income for their families and help each other in times of need. Shehu and Hassan (1995) indicate that market economy seeks to empower Nigerian women of Fulbe origin as it presented to them equal opportunities as that of their husbands in the family and to convey latest events and news as a result of their regular visits to the markets.

4.7.2 Opinion on Effects of Changing Gender Roles

Respondents indicated that changing gender roles have brought about freedom for women since they can now do what they want and women are now involved in decision making by getting a role in leadership. Changing roles have brought about better living standards and equality for Borana women in education.

However, some of the negative effects brought about by changing gender roles include an increase in the number of divorced women. Due to the changes, most women don't feel secure with their jobs because of patriarchy and also some men do not support women as they did in the older generations. Women have also lost their privileges in their families because some of their family members do not believe in women development and therefore do not appreciate their investment in businesses. This has led to the community resistance in promoting their women businesses and thus leading to women left behind in development.

A key informant indicated that *“The world is changing towards equal opportunity for both men and women and the opportunity cost is worst among those who resist...and very beneficial to those who embrace”*

Another key indicated that *“Women are the voice of the community taking advantage of gender equity policy. They are well informed and are part of the policy and decision making organs attributed to the new dispensation brought forth by the constitution (2010). Women play key roles in the social-political and economic sphere of the society even at the sub-county level. They have grouped and formed groups to benefit from government funds like Women Enterprise Development Funds, Uwezo Funds among others geared towards empowering them economically. They are now engaged in various income-generating activities thus diversifying their economic lifestyle of pastoralism and also eliminating the retrogressive culture of pastoralists women such as not being allowed outside their household and not having a voice anywhere as long as their husbands are alive.”*

Talle (1988), examined the hierarchical division amidst sexes that undermined the position of women socially and economically in the communities. Among the Omdurman community in Sudan, women were not in control of the sales from livestock products like milk, which make them lose their economic power in the household. (Salih, 1985). Mitchell (1999) evaluated milk trade among the Ariaal pastoralists and the findings showed that marketing of milk which was carried out by women was harmful to women's nutrition since many families deprived their children and sold milk in order to buy food.

Buhl and Homewood (2000), found that among the Fulani women who traded milk the money from the sales were mainly used in buying personal items like clothes and jewellery. Among the Rendille communities, it was observed that women who were

traders were not in many cases in charge of the income they received from sales. This is because the cash they received from engaging in businesses were usually given to their husbands or used in supporting the families through provision of basic needs.

Pastoral women experience increased workloads besides being subjected to tasking roles in the family. The same women are expected to support their husbands when they go to seek for jobs away from home (Getachew, 2001). However, the situation is different for women who have settled in towns and are informal employment. Their workload is reduced significantly since they have the financial ability to employ women from poor backgrounds to assist them in taking care of the households chores.

4.7.3 Challenges of Changing Social and Economic Roles of Women

As mentioned earlier some of the challenges of changing social as well as economic roles include separation from family in order to seek for a job in faraway towns and earn an income. This has brought about the separation of many families and also those who work within the community have less time with their families. Men do not want their women to change their household duties and this has brought about many conflicts and misunderstandings. Men have also felt degraded and since they are in a patriarchal society it's hard for them to accept their roles to be performed by women. Other challenges include time limits with regard to household activities where women work is not recognized and appreciated.

According to the key informant; *there still exists a lot of ground to be covered for women to comfortably take part in societal obligations and contribute to the greater good. Key among the challenges include the deep-rooted patriarchal society that still does not recognize women's efforts; Broken family ties that have left women struggling on their own with heavy responsibilities; Lack of funding for women start-up businesses and as*

such losses in attempts to do business and heavy household burdens that inhibit their full participation.

From one of the key informant, it was revealed that the ways in which the challenges are tackled include; community awareness and action on women roles and involvement; focus on families as key areas of development among pastoralist women; increased access to funding for women businesses, training on business options and taking advantage of the devolution to highlight the plight of women.

4.7.4 How Wife's Activities Affect the Household and Family Unit

Wife's activities have brought about increased household income and raised standards of living. They have also generated conflicts in the household. Women have left the care of children to house helps and grandparents and men no longer have time with their women. Women have now taken their daughters to school for education which present them with an opportunity to earn a living and later assist her family in improving their living standards.

Men support women empowerment though there are a few of them such as community elders who are against it. These are the men who are against change because of fear that women might take over all the men's roles. By men supporting women empowerment, it eases the pressure of being the sole breadwinner in the household thus building healthier relationships with their wives and children.

Some programs have set out to involve men as direct support in their wives or female relative's economic empowerment or business. This approach aims to take advantage of the skills, knowledge and networks that male family members have to support their female relative's economic empowerment.

4.8 Perspective of Men on Changing Borana Women roles

Men's perspective on changing women's roles constitute a mix of positive and negative views. The positive views see an increased shift of responsibilities to women and easing up of pressure from men leading to a higher realization of the standard of living in the household. These men believe women should be supported in enhancing their economic activities. The negative views from men saw no positive impact on the changing roles of women both to the family as well as the community.

4.8.1 How Men Responded to Changing Women's Roles

The participants were requested to rate the statements based on how men responded to changing women's role. Outcomes are captured in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Distribution of Respondents (Women) According to How Men Responded to the Changing Women Roles

Types of response by men	Frequency	Percent
They support women in their careers	39	24.4
Men help women in household work	57	35.6
Men leave women who have become more empowered than them	34	21.2
It has resulted in increased single mothers who take care of everything	30	18.8
Total	160	100

Table 4.14 demonstrate that majority (35.6%) of the study participants claimed that men help women in household work and 24.4% indicated that men support women in their careers, while 21.3% indicated that men leave women who have become more empowered than themselves, and 18.8% indicated that it has resulted to increased single mothers who take care of everything.

It was noted during the fieldwork that women are now holding jobs that traditionally belonged to men. In spite of the unflexible prescriptions of suitable gender roles, a few men adapt to economic stress through employing new roles in families as women are left to be breadwinners. They are determined to support their families financially and therefore the less fortunate are obliged to join the informal sector, irrespective of the risks involved and discrimination that they face. They constitute only 1% of the formal labour force. Because of the increase of unemployed and underemployed men, today's families also depend on income from women, and this makes men feel degraded among the Borana community.

The findings depict that men are gradually accepting women in leadership roles and their contribution to development work in society. This contradicts with socio-cultural factors that affect women involvement in leadership and in resolving conflicts. Previously, women consulted their men since they believed that leadership was specifically and exclusively reserved for men in society. The results depict that society expects men to make decisions and handle conflicts.

4.8.2 Other Factors

Negative effects on women and the girlchild include a rise in domestic and income-generating activities particularly when men prefer staying away from their households and involve themselves in activities like grazing of cattle or looking for gainful employment due to restrictions from government policies that inhibit access to land, conflict or environmental degradation. Pastoralists who become settled mostly are not able to stay with their livestock and sometimes they end up losing their herds completely. With regard to women, this implies that there is need to look for extra income to improve livelihoods. Yet, most pastoral women value the importance of sedentarization and this might include improved access to education, healthcare and fresh market opportunities.

Conflict may lead to the division of pastoral land, limit land access and enhance domestic burdens, especially on women when men go for war.

Failure to have any influence in national or local politics, in their homes or communities is a common issue that affects pastoral women. Stories from successful women in politics is evident that there is the potential of able pastoralists women when they access basic services and are supported, this could lead to a large number of women pastoralists in politics. Moreover, women experience cultural and practical barriers such as financial constraints and time to conduct effective campaigns.

There is need to publicize the success stories concerning these women so as to encourage the upcoming generations. However, it is important to realize that situations differ widely across pastoral communities and households where there are varying degrees of women's engagement in important community activities. Women and men pastoralists have limited access to government services such as healthcare, thus maternal mortality rates have increased amongst women pastoralists as compared to other women in the population.

Female Genital Mutilation, among other harmful practices, for example, early marriages, rape and abduction are prevalent in many parts such as in the Horn of Africa. In places where mobile services or health clinics have been established for nomadic communities, these services are of poor quality and are not promoted well. Whenever food and dairy products are limited, women mostly allocate them to children (boys before girls) among other family members prior to themselves and this is mainly coupled with women's huge workload as compared to men and this could have detrimental effects on women.

Education is regarded as an important achievement since it's perceived as an asset that will enable alternative employment away from the harsh and marginalized life of children. In most cases, girls have limited access to education as compared to boys since

investing in women is not considered worthwhile as it is believed that girls will marry and boys will remain in the community. The findings also depict the need to improve on their income-generating potential to improve their lives and to cope with unexpected environmental and economic challenges. As to whether women pastoralists wanted to take their children to school when men migrate, it was established that women pastoralists were keen to avail resources to generate additional incomes from livestock-related activities or other economic activities such as handicrafts.

Women perceived that contributing to their communities and families was critical in enhancing their societal status. Though this could also lead to conflict for example disagreements in spending of income. Many women felt that the benefits that were derived from the generation of income were much more than the downside. Economic empowerment is important in enabling women to build their experience, self-confidence and network. This helps to support their empowerment in a broadway.

4.9 Tests of Hypothesis

Consistent with the stated objectives in this study, four hypotheses were tested in order to establish the level of significance in the relationship between the gender roles changes and indicators of social and economic impact. Tests of these hypotheses are shown below.

Hypothesis 1

H₁: Women traditional roles in the Borana community are changing

H₀: Women traditional roles in the Borana community are not changing

To test the hypothesis it was imperative to ascertain whether the link between (a) the extent to which women traditional roles are changing in the Borana community and (b) Whether women in the Borana community are practising traditional culture is significant.

Expectation: The greater the degree of change in women traditional roles, the less likely they will be practising traditional culture. Table 4.15 shows the Chi-square test results.

Table 4.15: Extent of Change in Traditional Roles of Women by Whether Women Practice Traditional Roles.

The extent of change in traditional roles	Whether women practice traditional roles		Total
	Yes	No	
Very great extent	9	49	58
Great extent	31	6	37
Moderate extent	59	0	59
Low extent	6	0	6
Total	105	55	160

Chi-square = 104.010

Degrees of freedom (df) = 3

p-value = 0.000

The outcomes in the Table 4.15 show the chi-square is 104.010 and a *p* -value of 0.000 when the critical value is $P < 0.05$. This means that the null hypothesis that the roles of Borana women are not changing is rejected, leading to the acceptance of the alternative hypothesis. Thus women traditional roles in the Borana community are significantly changing.

Hypothesis 2:

H₁: There are new women roles in the Borana pastoralist community.

H₀: There are no new women roles in the Borana pastoralist community.

To test this hypothesis, it was imperative to ascertain the significance of the link between

the two types of responses to questions that were viewed as indicators of the new roles of women in the Borana community and the extent to which respondents believed women in the community changed their roles. The second question focused on the traditional culture and values had any effect on the status of women economically.

Expectation:

The greater the extent of change in the roles of women (implying new roles), the more likely that there are no cultural practices that affect the new status of women. Table 4.16 tests this prediction.

Table 4.16: Extent to Which Women in the Community Changed Their Roles by Whether There are Any Cultural Practices That Affect Economic Status of Women.

The extent to which women changed their roles	Whether any cultural practices affect the economic status of Borana women		Total
	Yes	No	
	Very great extent	0	
Great extent	6	4	10
Moderate extent	16	63	79
Total	22	136	158

Chi-square: = 33.824

Degrees of freedom (df) = 2

p-value =0.000

The outcomes in table 4.16 show that the Chi-square test statistic is 33.824 with an associated *p*-value of 0.0001 Since $p < 0.05$, there is a rejection of the null hypothesis thus acceptance of the alternative hypothesis. Thus there are new roles of women which are not affected by cultural practices in the Borana community.

Hypothesis 3:

H₁: There are factors that influence the changes taking place in the roles of women in the Borana pastoralist community.

H₀: There are no factors that influence the changes taking place in the roles of women in the Borana pastoralist community.

To test this hypothesis, education was considered to be a major factor influencing changes in the roles of women in Borana pastoralist community. On the other hand, the changes taking place in the roles of Borana women were indexed by women's response to the question on the level to which they believed women in the Borana community changed their roles.

Expectations:

The higher the education level of women in the Borana community, the greater the extent to which they believed women roles in the community had changed. Table 4.17 below shows the chi-square test results.

Table 4.17: Level of Education According to the Extent to Which Women in the Borana Community Believe Their Roles in the Community have Changed.

Level of education	The extent to which Borana women have changed their roles			Total
	Moderate extent	Great extent	Very great extent	
Degree	13	7	11	31
Diploma	7	0	2	9
Certificate	2	0	0	2
Secondary	43	1	21	65
Primary	0	0	34	34
None	16	2	1	19
Total	81	10	69	160

Chi-square: = 81.960

Degrees of freedom (df) = 10

p -value =0.0001

Results in Table 4.17 above show that the chi-square statistic is 81.960 with an associated p -value of 0.0001. Since $p < 0.05$, a rejection of the null hypothesis and thus acceptance of the alternative hypothesis. Therefore, level of education has a major link with the changes happening in the role of women in the Borana pastoralist community. This means that education is a key factor influencing the changes happening in the roles of Borana women.

Hypothesis 4:

H₁: There is significant social and economic effect of changes on traditional roles of women on the women status and decision making in the Borana community.

H₀: There is no significant social and economic effect of changes on traditional roles of women on the women status and decision making in the Borana community.

To test this hypothesis, two variables were identified as the indicators of change in women status and decision-making due to changes in the traditional roles of women due to economic and social forces. These variables were;

- a. Increased involvement of women in leadership.
- b. The decline in the number of forced marriages.

Expectation:

- a. The greater the extent of change in the traditional activities of women in the Borana community, the greater the participation of women in leadership. Table 4.18 shows the Chi-square test results.

Table 4.18: Extent to Which Women Believe that Traditional Roles of Women have Changed and Strength of Agreement that Women Participation in Leadership has Increased.

The extent of change in traditional roles	Strength of agreement in increased participation of women in leadership				Total
	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree	
Very great extent	7	5	6	40	58
Great extent	0	0	16	21	37
Moderate extent	6	0	16	37	59
Low extent	0	0	0	6	6
Total	13	5	38	104	160

Chi-square:= 27.421

Degrees of freedom (df) = 9

p-value =0.001

The outcomes in Table 4.18 demonstrate that the Chi-square statistic is 27.421 with an associated *p*-value of 0.001 when the critical value is $p < 0.05$. There is a rejection of the null hypothesis, and thus acceptance of the alternative hypothesis. Therefore the increased participation of women in leadership has a major connection with changes in the traditional women roles in the Borana community.

Expectation:

b. As the socioeconomic status of women increases, women traditional roles change leading to a reduction in the number of forced marriages. Thus, the greater the extent to which women believe that the traditional roles of women have changed, the more they agree that the number of forced marriages have decreased. Table 4.19 shows the Chi-square test outcomes of the relationship between the two variables.

Table 4.19: Extent to Which Women Believe that Traditional Roles of Women have Changed and Strength of Agreement that the Number of Forced Marriages have Decreased.

The extent of change in traditional roles	Strength of agreement that the number of forced marriages have decreased				Total
	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Very great extent	1	4	24	29	58
Great extent	0	0	15	22	37
Moderate extent	4	13	17	25	59
Low extent	0	0	5	1	6
Total	5	17	61	77	160

Chi-square:= 27.421

Degrees of freedom (df) = 9

p-value =0.004

The findings in Table 4.19 indicate that the Chi-square test statistic is 24.231 with an associated *p*-value of 0.004. In this case, since the critical *p*-value is $p < 0.05$, there is a rejection of the null hypothesis and an acceptance of the alternative hypothesis. The findings shows that as women improved their social status and became economic independent (often through education and involvement in decision-making) the greater the decrease in the number of forced marriages.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This section finalizes this study on factors influencing these changing gender roles and its consequences on the pastoralist household among the Borana women in Isiolo town.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

Many of the tradition that women undertake have changed to significantly. However women were still found to be responsible for the preparation of family meals, they looked after children and educated them. However, it was also discovered that today things have changed since women are taking up roles that were previously deemed to be for men. Other roles that have changed include building houses, fetching firewood and water, hospitality for guests and domestic functions. The factors influencing these changes include education, capacity building and women empowerment, economic hardships and unemployment of men and poverty.

From the study outcomes, it was found out that women are constantly subjected to discrimination and persistent inequalities based on their gender. Some are even subjected to multiple discrimination and are also excluded from economic empowerment as a result of existing socio-cultural factors. The findings also demonstrated a variety of factors that impact women economic empowerment with gender roles serving as one of them. Women are pressed to undertake household roles that comprise taking care of the children, husband, and the family. This has discouraged women from engaging in economic development as they have to cope with the burden of household chores.

Gender stereotyping was revealed as the other factor that hinders the economic empowerment of women. The findings further revealed that women economic empowerment was equally affected by family responsibilities as a result of specific roles for women like childbearing.

From the study outcomes, it was established that with time, although in a slow pace, women leadership, as well as their involvement in community development, is being accepted by their male counterparts. This is opposed to the notion that socio-cultural factors significantly affect on the involvement of women in conflict resolution and decision-making. Generally, women sought the views of their male relatives as they held a belief that society had reserved leadership role for men. It was also found out that men were expected to engage in conflict resolution and decision-making, where their female counterparts were required to be spectators.

The emerging domestic and economic together with social needs of the family and the overall community have significantly stretched women's gender roles beyond the traditional limits. Most women are becoming decision-makers and work at the same time with the aim of providing income for their families.

5.3 Conclusions

The socio-economic factors which influence the changing gender roles among the Borana women include; norms, values, practices, and attitudes. Examples of these cultural aspects are; preference for sons, socialization of children, deeming it taboo if men undertake domestic chores, lack of rights to property inheritance by women, marital practices, and failure to recognize the role and contribution of women. Poverty and patriarchal ideology serve as the other major factors that influence gender roles within the Borana community.

The major factors that disadvantaged Borana women are mainly related to society. As it is indicated in the literature of this thesis, every society maintains a set of behavioural patterns found both in its social institutions as well as within the individual personalities. The society equally determines different gendered positions or roles in accessing and controlling economic resources together with their decision-making ability at the family and community level. Moreover, it plays a major role in constructing gender inequalities where men are portrayed as dominant, while compared to their female counterparts. Irrespective of variations in gender identity across different cultures, there is a common pattern where females are subordinate to males.

Women in the Borana community albeit their contribution in all aspects of life to their family and their community in general, they are denied due recognition and the right position. According to the findings, they have been marginalized and suppressed both by their families and husband. Sources of their marginalization are rooted in the cultural norms, beliefs, societal expectation and attitude towards females. This is similar to the finding by Hobson & Oláh, (2006) which makes cultural norms and beliefs responsible for the suppression of women. As the research reveals, Borana women spend much of their time every day in backbreaking domestic chores. Even though there are some incidents where men take the initiative to support their wives, because of the patriarchal nature and conservative members of the community, men feel pressured into not continuing to do such activities on a regular basis and therefore women are unquestionably disadvantaged. This finding is also in line with Gornick & Meyers (2003) where women couple productive activities with the reproductive activities and as a result one can suppose that men's workload is much lower than that of women. It is worthwhile to maintain the fact that what appears as exclusively male-dominated activities, they are always complimented by women's labour.

Response from men on the changes in gender roles have not been taken positively by some in the community. Women are seen as threats and a source of intimidation especially when they have access and control over resources. In many instances, such scenarios have brought about family misunderstandings and breakups which impact negatively on the house. However, it is important to include men as part of the women empowerment process; this way support by men towards such initiatives will make the process successful and sustainable.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings from the research, the researcher recommends the following;

1. For the conditions of women to change in the Borana community, it is imperative that all community members are mobilized and provided with the right resources. Education serves as one of the most essential resources towards promoting changes that will enhance behaviour modifications at both levels of the individual and within the family setting.
2. There is need to include men in women empowerment initiatives so that they can understand the changing roles. This can be done by inviting men to trainings that target women. This strategy helps mitigate the jealousy that projects from targeting women alone, which may sometimes trigger gender-based. It can also encourage men to see the benefit of women's economic activity for the household as a whole, and thus trigger their active support for their wives' business.
3. Dialogue between the youth and the elders should be conducted regularly to enhance recognition of the critical role of women and their contribution to the economic development.

4. The County Government of Isiolo should take measures that are effective in providing opportunities for women. Women should also be given relevant trainings so as to adapt to the new cultural environment.
5. The County Government of Isiolo should also partner with other non-state actors in community sensitization forums and enhance women's participation and involvement in development initiatives in the community.

5.5 Areas for Further Research

The study suggests an in-depth study on factors limiting gender roles be carried out focussing on the effects of religion, geographic location, the changing climate conditions and devolution. Research with the basis of this thesis, covering a wider geographical area in Kenya should be conducted to establish whether or not there are other factors influencing gender roles changes among Pastoralist women in other communities.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Questionnaire for the Household

This questionnaire is used for data collection for use for academic purposes only. Strict confidence will be maintained for all information provided. Do not reveal your name or any identification on this questionnaire. *All questions should be answered as indicated by either filling in the blank or ticking the option that applies.*

PART I: - SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS:

1. Marital status. ((Please tick as applicable))

Married []

Single []

2. What is your family size?

0 []

5-6 []

1-2 []

7 and above []

3-4 []

3. Education level:

None []

Primary []

Secondary []

Certificate []

Diploma []

Degree []

Masters []

PhD []

4. What is your family setup? (Please tick as applicable)

Married [] Separated [] Divorced [] Single []

5. Age group:

20 to 29 []

30 to 39 []

40 and above []

6. Economic activity

Employed Business []

Business Woman []

Casual labour []

Section B: Traditional roles of women

7. What do you consider to be traditional roles of women in this community? E.g. in decision making, at household level, in community activities etc.

.....

8. What is the level to which changes in traditional gender roles of women changed in this community

- a) Very great extent ()
- b) Great extent ()
- c) Moderate extent ()
- d) Low extent ()
- e) Very low extent ()

Mention some key traditional roles of women that have changed.

.....

9. Do you engage in your traditional culture?

Yes () No. () others ()

10. Mention some key traditional role of women that have changed

.....

11. What are the traditional views of women in regard to their roles?

.....

Section C: New roles of women

12. To what extent has the women in this community changed their roles?

- a) Very great extent ()
- b) Great extent ()
- c) Moderate extent ()
- d) Low extent ()

e) Very low extent ()

13. To what extent has the following roles changed for women in this community?

Tick where appropriate: 1 means- very low extent 2 means-low extent 3 means-moderate extent 4 means-great extent 5 means-very great extent

Changed roles	1	2	3	4	5
Child rearing					
Building houses					
Domestic functions					
Food, skins, and hides preparation					
Firewood and water fetching					
Hospitality for guests					

Section D: Factors influencing the changes occurring in roles played by women

On a scale of 1-5, kindly reveal the level into which the following factors have caused changes in the role of women (1 means-very low, 2 means-low, 3 means-moderate, 4 means-high and 5 means-very high)

Factors influencing the changes occurring in roles played by women	1	2	3	4	5
Education					
Capacity building					
Women empowerment					
Economic hardships					
Poverty					
Family violence					
Unemployment of men					

14. Are there any cultural activities that affect the economic status of females in your area?

Yes () No ()

If yes, name some.

.....

.....

15. Kindly rate the following statements on factors that have caused changes in role of women

Where 1 means-strongly disagree, 2 mean- disagree, 3 means-not sure, 4 means-agree and 5 means-strongly agree

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
Socio-cultural factors have a major impact on women's involvement in decision making					
Culture has always wanted women to be chaste and modest in all actions					
There has been a resurgence of traditional values that call for women to be feminine, supportive, and dependent					
The need to unite the family united and offer food for their children has made the roles of women change					
Modernization has made it possible for women to change their roles					
Increased economic independence among women serves as the leading factor of changes in families					

Section E: Effects of these factors on the changing social and economic roles of women

16. On a scale of 1-5 where 1 represents-strongly disagree, 2 represents-disagree, 3 represents-not sure, 4 represents-agree and 5 represents-strongly agree state your level of agreement with the statements presented regarding the effects of changing gender roles

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

17. In your own opinion, what are the other effects of changing social together with economic roles of females?

.....

18. What are some of the challenges of changing social and economic roles of women?

.....

19. What is the perspective of men of changing women's roles

.....

20. How do men respond to changing women's role? Tick where appropriate

They support women in their careers ()

Men help women in household work ()

Men leave women who have become more empowered than the men ()

It has resulted to increased single mothers who take care of everything ()

21. How are your wife's social activities affecting the household and family unit?

.....

22. Has this change in your wife brought any arguments to the household or to your relationship?

.....

23. Do you know any man who would not support women's empowerment?

.....

Appendix II: Key Informant Interview Guide

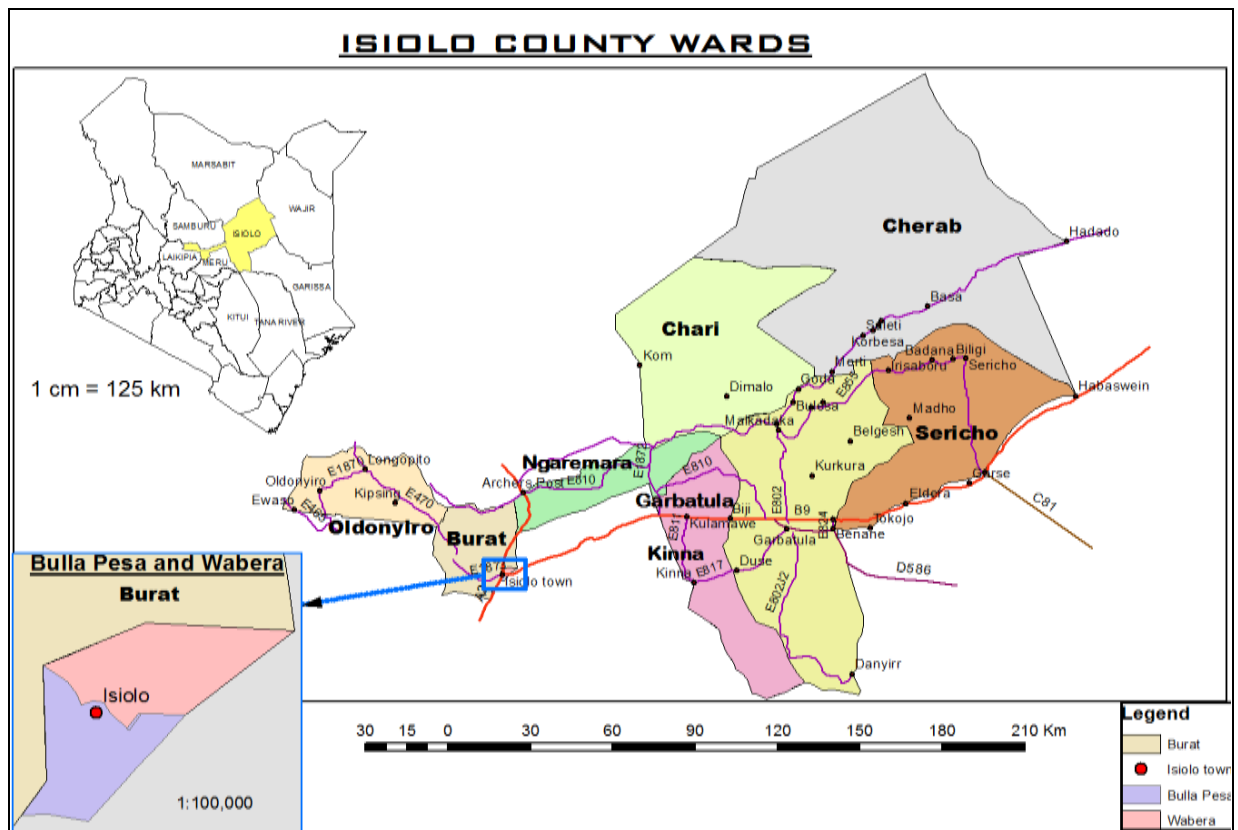
1. Based on your experiences, are the roles played by women in the modern times different as compared to the traditional era?
2. How do you describe the changing roles of women in this sub county?
3. What are the effects of changing roles of women in this county?
4. What are the main challenges faced at this era of changing role of women?
5. Are there ways in which the challenges faced during the role change are addressed?
6. What measures did you take to solve the problems you faced?
7. How is a woman, earning an independent income, perceived?
8. What is the greatest outcome since your wife started to engage in organizations/started her own business?
9. How have roles and responsibilities within the household changed?
10. Who performs household duties if the woman works increasingly outside the household?
11. What dimension of change has the new gender roles brought about?

12. What are the main contributions to the changing gender roles in this community?

13. How do women adapt to changing economies?

14. What are the factors that impacted women's economic empowerment?

• Appendix III: Map of Study Area



Source: GIS Maps, 2017