FACTORS INFLUENCING PARTICIPATION OF ELITE WOMEN IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE MAASAI COMMUNITY OF NAROK SOUTH SUB-COUNTY, NAROK COUNTY, KENYA

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DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other Institution or University.

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Recommendations

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DEDICATION

To my beloved husband Hon (Dr) Korei ole Lemein who inspires me each day with his love and commitment, my adorable sons; Collins Sampao, Ian Sokoine and Brian Simiren, who give me a reason to rise up early each morning. I reserve a special feeling of gratitude to my loving parents who laid a great foundation for my education. My late mother Mary Kauria an exceptionally wise woman who inspired my life through her strength, enduring spirit and love for the family. My late father James Kauria who taught me to work hard for what I aspire to achieve, my brothers, Ben, Wilson, Phil, Weldon, ken and many friends and relatives who offered moral support throughout the course of the study.

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ABSTRACT

This study sought to examine the participation and ascendancy of elite women in political leadership as it is of a national concern in Kenya. However, the case of Maasai community; especially within Narok South Sub-County has been focused in this study. The objectives of the study were to explore the influence of historical trends, socio-cultural, economic and demographic factors on women's political participation. On the strength of these objectives, a conceptual framework was developed illustrating the relationship between independent, dependent and intervening variables. A theoretical framework based on the Radical Feminist perspectives, the theory of Empowerment and the structural theory informed the study. This study adopted descriptive survey research design. The study targeted elite women in Narok south sub county. A sample of 372 respondents was targeted but 294 participated during the actual study. The study used a mixed method in data collection where Questionnaires, focused group discussions guides and in- depth interview schedules were used as the main tools for data collection. Quantitative data was analyzed using statistical package for social science version 21 (SPSS) and presented in the form of percentage, frequency distribution, chi-square and tables. In addition, analysis of variance was used to establish whether the mean differences between the variables were statistically significant or not. Qualitative data was analyzed using content analysis and presented in form of excerpts, through identification, examination, and interpretation of patterns and themes in textual data. Findings of this study were expected to contribute to the theoretical and empirical knowledge on how to empower elite women to participate in political leadership and inform policy formulators. The study established that historical trends in the Maasai have an effect on the participation of elite women in politics. It was also noted that elite women participation in politics is influenced by the socio- cultural factors, demographic factors and economic factors. The results indicated that the four selected variables were all significant in influencing the participation of women in politics in the Maasai community. The study therefore concluded that the participation of elite women in politics is influenced by historical trends, socio- cultural factors, demographic factors and economic factors. The study recommended that women need to be sensitized about their important role in politics and leadership in the community in order to overcome the historical trends that make them lag behind; the community should lessen the cultural issues that are disadvantageous to women and ensure that women are free to participate in leadership activities: the government should enhance policy recommendations on women economic resource ownership and wealth accumulation among women without having to get permission from the men; Parliament should initiate effective strategies to implement the two thirds rule as provided in the constitution in support of women and provide a level playing ground for both men and women in political participation. Finally, government should implement strategies that lead to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AA	Affirmative Action
API	African Press International
CEDAW	Convention for Elimination of Violence against Women
CAWP	Centre for Advancement of Women in Politics
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
FIDA	Federation of Kenya Women Lawyers
FPTP	First-Past-the-Post
FPE	Feminist Political Ecology
F.G.D	Focused Group Discussion
HON	Honorable
GOI	Government of India
GOK	Government of Kenya
IPU	Inter- Parliamentary Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KMO	Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin
MCA	Member of the County Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NARC	National Alliance of Rainbow Coalition
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODM	Orange Democratic Party
PR	Panchayati Raj
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SPSS	Statistical Packages for Social Science
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SDP	Social Democratic Party
TNA	The National Alliance
UN	United Nations
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Women around the world find themselves politically underrepresented   in parliament and far removed from decision-making at all levels. Over the decades, issues concerning women have taken on new dimensions and received varied treatment by the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Gender equality was first declared a development agenda in the United Nations Charter of 1945, and was subsequently addressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) of 2000 (Thomas & Wilcox, 2005) now referred to as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's). In spite of the International declarations affirming the rights and equality between men and women of which Kenya is a signatory, existing literature shows that women still constitute a disproportionately small percentage of those participating in political decision-making and leadership.

The Protocol to the African Charter on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003), and the African Plan of Action was to accelerate the implementation for the advancement of Women in political participation (1999). Many global Conferences have been held including Cairo Conference on Population and Development in 1994, Fourth World Conference on Women of 1995, and World Summit for Social Development of 1995 which affirmed that inequalities still persist in women's political representation despite the progress made globally in improving their status, through the establishment of a national task force on gender and education in 1995, a national policy on gender and education was not formulated until 2008 (Republic of Kenya, 2008). The policy provided a framework for planning and implementation of gender responsive education, as well as research and training but it suffered numerous setbacks.

According to Thomas and Wilcox (2005) women have both a right and an obligation to active participation in political leadership. In addition to this human right and obligation, political analysts and researchers from different regions of the world (Clinton-Rodham, 2003; Maathai 2006) have observed that when women get into leadership and management, they bring a different perspective of political leadership. From their findings these researchers have argued that having more women in politics would help solve problems associated with perpetual poverty, especially as it affects women.

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According to Epstein, Niemi and Powell (2005) put forward that women's leadership not only aids in building nations but also helps to balance up decision making processes. They further indicated that women legislators in the United States observed that decisions concerned with issues of education, health, gender violence, women's economic empowerment, peace, rights, dignity, and democracy are usually of great concern to women leaders. In the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century steady increase in women's political participation in Africa has been seen. In a UN report '*Africa and the Millennium Development Goals–2007 Update*', it is noted that the share of parliamentary seats held by women in Africa increased from 7 per cent in 1990 to 17 per cent in 2007, which is close to the global average. As at 2007, women held 48.8 per cent of seats in the Lower House in Rwanda, the highest percentage world-wide.

Epstein, *et al*, (2005), further noted that Ellen Johnson-Sir leaf became President of Liberia and Africa's first elected woman president in January 2006. By the end of the 20th century, a few African countries, for example Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and South Africa had set quotas for women in national and local legislative bodies, a sign of a renewed commitment to have more women in political leadership. Allowing of such quotas is also recognition of the historical injustices that women have experienced, and which make it more difficult for them to compete equally with men (Wanjohi, 2003). Despite the progress made in some countries, serious and persistent obstacles still hinder the advancement of women and their participation in political decision making processes. Some of the main obstacles are related to persistent poverty; lack of equal access to health, education, training and employment; cultural barriers; political structures and institutions that discriminate on women; and in some cases the impact of armed conflict and natural disasters, which has also contributed to women's low participation due to other challenges that accompany conflict.

Throughout the history of politics in Western and African countries, women political representation has been very low. Women have been seeking to participate alongside men in governance and decision making in all aspects of public life but progress has been slow due to many challenges on their way. These challenges take the form of small conflicts over access to resources, which add up to slow participation of women in political, economic and social empowerment (Tripp, 2000). The possible explanation for this scenario could be that gender issues in politics have not received due attention and redress. Women are always

relegated to the peripheries of political leadership and are marginalized. In their public and private lives, women have to struggle to articulate their desires and to find their own voices. Since Kenya attained her independence in 1963, women have been seeking to effectively participate alongside men, in governance and decision-making processes in all aspects of public life. (Nyokabi, 2010). Since then to date, women participation still remains very low.

Equal political participation of both genders is one of the critical pillars of good governance which entails freedom of expression, freedom of association among other fundamental rights. The third Millennium Development Goal (MDG) now known as Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) categorically states that all countries, Kenya included, need to eliminate gender disparities at all levels of education and labor relations. On this note, the Constitution of Kenya (2010) guarantees equal rights and freedom for women and men and upholds the principles of non-discrimination and equality. Articles 27(8) and (81) (b) of the Constitution provides that not more than two thirds of members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender as a way of bridging the gender gap (Kenyan Constitution, 2010). The participation of women in decision-making and politics is a human rights issue enshrined in the Constitution that is aimed to address many issues that have been a concern towards gender mainstreaming in Kenya from the 1980s.

Igwee (2002) on the other hand notes that despite subscribing to international commitments to empower women, Kenya still lags behind in the East African region in terms of women representation in politics and decision making. According to Nzomo (2012) Kenya compares poorly to the rest of the eastern African countries that have all attained 30% female presence in their respective parliaments. Rwanda's (56.3%), Tanzania (36.0%), Uganda (35 %), Burundi (32.1%); similarly, South Africa (44.5%), Mozambique (39.2%) and Angola (38.6%) have also attained the threshold. Despite the new Kenyan constitution that ruled that 30% threshold would progressively be achieved, women in Kenya still lag behind.

The exclusion of women from politics and other decision making structures in Kenya is a result of multiple structural and functional factors that vary in different social contexts across the newly established 47 Counties. It appears that the society as a whole has not yet acknowledged women's leadership rights and abilities. When the National Rainbow coalition (NARC) government was elected in 2003, it established the Gender Commission and an autonomous Ministry of Gender. The National Policy on Gender and Development of 2000 provided a framework with which the government could address gender imbalances

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strategically through established legal and institutional frameworks towards women empowerment and decision making. In the year 2012, the Gender Inequality index in Kenya was ranked at position 145 out of 186 countries according to the Human Development Report 2013. Available data indicates that gender inequity is still prevalent in the country, currently the National Assembly, Senate and County Governments do not meet the minimum one third gender constitutional representation requirement (Ouma & Maina, 2012).

According to African Press International, (2007), grassroots level hinders more than half of the population in their participation in politics. It is more apparent amongst the pastoralist communities (African Press International, 2007). Pastoralists' women remain marginalized and have little or no representation in local and national Government. In this context, very few were nominated or elected in the recent general elections, given the low political ranking regionally and globally in respect to female representation in Parliament currently standing at 9.9% of the total MPs in 2008-2012 Tenth Parliament (Nzomo, 2012). The Kenyan government recognizes the challenges that face elite women participation in leadership. The effort is seen through debates in parliament trying to push a bill aimed at addressing gender disparity and discrimination in leadership to promote women participation in leadership. In Kenya, and particularly in the Maasai community, women constitute slightly over half of the total population and form a critical portion of enhancing democratization of the political system in the country. There is still gender imbalance in Kenya's political field which is reflected also in Narok South Sub- County.

The Maasai community are plain Nilotes who are pastoralists and a few of them are agriculturists, (Ng'ang'a *et al*, 2006). The Maasai political culture practiced an egalitarian system of social and political organization based on age-sets, and had no system of centralized coercive authority, popular public opinion based on custom placed an obligation on people to carry out social duties, but not authority exercised by particular individuals (Sankan, 2006). Women could not talk in any meeting where men were present or giving their decisions concerning any matter in the society. In case there is information required by men they cannot stand in a meeting, instead a man will stand on their behalf while they give the information, women's roles were purely domestic, their voters' cards would always be in the custody of their husbands, who will determine whom they will vote for, women were restricted from political participation.

The Maasai women face great marginalization socially, economically and politically. The status of a Maasai woman in the society is unrecognized, even when it comes to land issues; a recent example is Peris Tobiko who faced challenges as the first Maasai woman to be elected to National assembly. This society had notably built gender tension and perceptions, especially regarding her place in marriage. They generally believe that a woman who is in political leadership would bring bad omen, animals would die and many other misfortunes would befall the community. Such assumptions only sustain the long held patriarchal gender stereotypes. This study sought to explore the factors influencing participation of elite women in political leadership in the Maasai community of Narok South Sub-County Narok County, Kenya

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Over the years, elite women in Narok South Sub-County have attempted to enter and participate in the political field at different levels. Whereas some have been successful, the number of women in political leadership is still very low compared to other Counties and countries such as Rwanda and Uganda. Over the years' various steps have been taken since independence by participants of the Beijing platform for Action, the United Nations target of achieving 30% representation of women in politics, to accelerate women empowerment through Education, Affirmative Action, political mobilization, articulation of demands and space for engaging women in political leadership. This has been done also through women's movements that have engaged in gender activism, gender sensitization mobilization, and capacity building of women political leaders. Regardless of the massive interventions which have been focused on pastoral communities, with the aim of empowering women to have an active role in the leadership; very little positive change is manifested. Hardly are women found in leadership position in Maasai community which is strongly culturally based on a patriarchal system. There have also been programs of social-economic empowerment for poor women among the pastoralist communities, Narok included in the change of the Kenyan constitution (2010), which was expected to provide ample opportunity for women in Kenya. Low women participation in leadership is a clear indicator of low representation of Maasai elite woman in Narok South Sub- County and women all over Kenya in leadership positions since Kenya attained her independence. It is against this background that this study sought to explore the factors influencing participation of elite women in political leadership in the Maasai community of Narok South Sub-County Narok County, Kenya

1.3 Broad Objective

The broad objective of the study was to explore the factors influencing participation of elite women in political leadership in the Maasai community of Narok South Sub-County Narok County, Kenya.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

The study was based on the following specific objectives;

i. To trace the historical trends of elite Maasai women participation in political leadership in the Maasai community of Narok South Sub-County.
ii. To determine the demographic factors influencing participation of Maasai elite women in political leadership in Maasai community of Narok South Sub- County.
iii. To establish socio-cultural factors influencing participation of Maasai elite women in political leadership in Maasai community of Narok South Sub-County.
iv. To assess economic factors influencing participation of Maasai elite women in political leadership in Maasai community of Narok South Sub County.

1.4 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions;

i. What are the historical trends of the Maasai elite women's participation in political leadership in the Maasai community of Narok South Sub-County?
ii. What are the demographic factors influence participation of Maasai elite women in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County?
iii. What are the social-cultural factors influencing participation of Maasai elite women in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County?
iv. What is the economic factors influence participation of Maasai elite women in political leadership in Narok South Sub County?

1.5 Justification of the Study

The study was justified on the following grounds:

The current study findings significantly contribute to the emphasis on the Human Rights framework of 1948 set by the United Nations on a common standard on human rights which states that all human beings, rich and poor, strong and weak, male and female, of all races and religions, should be treated equally and with respect to their natural worth as human

beings. The convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, treaties hold governments accountable for the respect for, protection of and realization of rights of individuals in their country. Therefore, the recommendations arising from this study may be instrumental to the government. The recommendations may help the government meet her international obligation as spelt out in the human rights framework of 1948.

The study also contributes to the ongoing debate on meeting the achievement of 30% target of women representation in politics in relation to the importance of an empowered women folk in political, social or economic strength of individuals. The study findings may sensitize stakeholders and community on the importance of having women in decision making and their access to information. This may help the stakeholders and the community formulate their socio-cultural factors in a way that does not limit elite women to participate in political leadership more so the Maasai elite women. The study may help the Maasai community treat their elite women like women in other gender progressive sub-counties and counties in Kenya.

Goal number five of the Sustainable Development Goals seeks to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls, which is believed to be achievable with the help of the 2010 Kenyan constitution and the Vision 2030.The outcome of this study may contribute in promoting women to political leadership by giving suggestions on how to empower women socially and economically and exposing the glaring gender gaps in favor of men in political leadership in Kenya this may contribute to the debate on the achievement of this sustainable development goal. The findings may also interrogate the lack of gender support structures in the Maasai elite women and offer knowledge that could increase Kenyan women's political visibility.

The study finding are of great importance in providing information that can form the basis for policy formulation, on how women can fully participate in politics with the help of the Kenya's constitution Section 70, which states that every person in Kenya is entitled to fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual. Furthermore, chapter 4 of the constitution embodies the Bill of Rights and affirms the rights of all Kenyans to education and in that sense the constitution ensures that women achieve the one-third rule in parliament and in decision-making processes.

Additionally, the study sought to establish demographic factors that influence Maasai elite women to participate in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County. It is hoped that the study findings may inform stakeholders in the Maasai community on how to bridge the communal gender gaps and to illustrate a number of considerations to be put in place to empower women to take up elective positions through participation in political leadership. From the scholarly perspective, the study findings may be of great importance to elite women, enlighten and empowered women in society, gender studies, and especially in the area of political sociology and political science disciplines, achievement of the one third gender rule through the 2010 Kenya's constitution, achievement of Sustainable Development Goal number five and achievement of the African Women Decade theme 7 and 8 on promoting women political participation in leadership.

Importantly, the study exposes an insight of the historical trends revealing the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership and the importance of women empowerment with regard to leadership. The knowledge generated and the recommendation made not only benefit scholars but also women aspirants. The results of the study are expected to assist the policy makers in coming up with appropriate policy frameworks that support women leadership among not only the Maasai women but all women from across the world especially those from the marginalized communities. The research findings are also useful source of information for NGOs and individual researchers in the   area of women empowerment and participation in leadership in the country.

It is also important to establish the effect of demographic factors on the participation of Maasai elite women in political leadership. This is expected to provide an appropriate insight into the various demographic factors that influence women participation in politics in the Maasai community. By understanding how factors like age, gender, and religion affect participation. These findings inform gender mainstreaming in Narok South Sub-County and in general the entire country.

On the socio-cultural front, the study sought to examine the impact of culture and other social norms on the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership. The findings of this study may be helpful in understanding the influence of social and cultural setting of the Maasai community on the participation of the elite women in the leadership and decision making in the community. By shading light on the socio-cultural aspects and the influence it has on the elite's women participation in political leadership. Knowledge generated may

benefit both the women, scholars and other policy makers who may use the information to put in place appropriate measures to remove the cultural barriers affecting women political participation.

It is also important to get an insight into economic factors influencing elite Maasai women in participating in political leadership. In this regard issues to do with ownership and control of economic resources assist in enhancing the leadership roles of women in the Maasai community. Having an understanding of this knowledge may assist in enhancing elite Maasai women participation in political leadership.

This study provides an avenue for Narok south sub-county women to realize their social situation and enable them develop strategies for challenging existing patriarchal structures at household, group and societal levels that impede their political participation with the help of Kenya's 2010 Constitutional provisions on women political participation. The study findings may further help policy makers, researchers, working towards achievement of inclusive and sustainable democratic institutions of governance question and understand the exclusion of women in parliamentary politics. The study is therefore timely as it helps to enhance the one third gender rule which empowers women to fully participate in leadership of the Country.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study was carried out in Narok South Sub-County on the Maasai elite women, in Narok County, the divisions are namely: Melelo, Ololulung'a, Majimoto/Narosura and Loita. However, a few limitations were encountered in this regard, the geographical terrain, sparse population, social-economic and cultural constraints and more so the ethnographic challenges such as some members of the family felt annoyed seeing the researchers. Another challenge was that women were too submissive to the extend when giving information. The researcher used methodological strategies to enhance credibility through an investigative process, study design, data collection, data analysis and presentation of findings to circumvent the realities of fieldwork. The current study used two research assistants as a remedy to enhance data collection process. Maasai Women are not accustomed to expression freely, thus, patience had to be exercised in this regard in order to encounter such a constraint. The study's academic scope focused on few elite women influence on participation in politics.

1.7 Definition of Terms

Community	Referred to a group of people who share the same customs, language, culture and values of a tradition or a group of people with a common characteristic or interest living together within a larger society (Farlex, 2003).
Cultural practices	Refers to the manifestation of a culture or sub-culture, especially in regard to the traditional and customary practices of a particular ethnic or other cultural group. In the broadest sense, this term can apply to any person manifesting any aspect of any culture at any time (Miller & Goodnow, 1995). In this study it referred to manifestation of culture or sub–culture, concerning the traditional and customary practices of a particular ethnic or cultural group.
Demographic factors	According to Khan (2010) demographic factors are education, religion and marital status that influence women's participation in political leadership. In this study, it referred to characteristics of a population expressed statistically such as age, sex, education, level, marital status, occupation, and religion.
Empowerment	This study adopted the definition of Paxton, Pamla and Hughes (2007) which referred to the accessibility of opportunities of person to earn a decent and honest living, make effective choices and then transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes.
Economic factors	Implies to factors to be taken into account by women when determining their investment in decision making e.g. management (Stutzer, 2004). In this study, it refers to current economic situation and describes activities that are connected with the use of money which makes an impact on economic freedom, economic development, property rights, financial freedom which influence the status.
Elite Women	This study adopted the definition of Hastings and Lindsay (2013) who referred elite women as female folks, who have the necessary educational qualification, most powerful, rich, gifted those who are able

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to affect political outcomes regularly and substantially.

Historical trends	This refers to a period of time that identifies events or particular things that happened before present time.
Influence	Referred to power affecting a person, thing or course of event, especially one that operates without any direct or apparent effort.
Leadership	Referred to the capacity of an individual to influence, motivate and make others capable of contributing to the society's wellbeing.
Policy	Implies rules, procedures, guidelines, that have been put in place by the government, NGOs which citizens have to adhere (Kabeer, 2009). In the current study, referred to as a set of ideas or plans that is used as a basis for making decisions, especially in politics.
Politics	Hay (2010) defined politics as the exercise of power, the science of government, the making of collective decisions, the allocation of scarce resources, the practice of deception and manipulation. In this study it referred to the distribution and exercise of power within society, the art of influencing people's belief's on the civic or individual level, when there are more than two people involved.
Political participation	According to Bird, (2003) referred to any activity undertaken by people with the aim of shaping, affecting or involving the political sphere. In this study it referred to ability to take part in the conduct of public affair, involve in decision making at all levels of government and have an equal right to participate fully in all aspects of political process.
Patriarchy	Referred to a social system in which males hold primary power, predominate in roles of Political leadership, moral authority, social privilege, control of property and holds authority over women's political aspirations and control women's 'free' choices in their lives (Tickner, 2001).
Social factors	Societal issues such as age, gender roles, level of education, decision making, cultural values and other social activities which influence women in role taking (Machiraju, 2008). In current study, referred to an aspect in life that affects and influences the human behavior in the society.

| **Women Empowerment** | According to Kelly (2007) it refers to participation in income generation activities that make women economically and financially independent in their status without subordination. In this study it referred to the process of enabling women gain an understanding of the underlying issues in society |

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is a summary of scholarly works on women's political participation documents including reports, evaluations, conference papers and educational materials reviewed for the purpose of this current study. The sub-topics under literature review include; historical trends, socio-cultural, economic and demographic factors influencing elite Maasai women's political participation. The theoretical framework, that is the radical feminist theory and the theory of empowerment and the Gidden's theory are presented and discussed in relation to how they influence participation as presented in the study. Further, the conceptual framework presents in particular the interrelations between independent variables, dependent variables and intervening variables.

2.1.1 Historical trends and Elite Women Participation in Political Leadership

During pre-colonial era, the involvement of women in politics using the western based structures started with colonialism. Many studies indicate that women were involved in politics. However, before the British colonized Kenya in 1895, many communities were governed by the councils of elder, who were men. Women and girls were only accorded domestic roles like farming, taking care of children, maintaining family homestead and tends the husbands. According to O-Mark Dwallo, (2010), Girls were socialized to be home makers and cultivators. Women were economically empowered as they sold their farm produce in the markets. However, in some communities, decisions affecting the community were left to the council of elders and the men in the community.

After independence women were still not recognized in political arena despite their contribution to the independence struggle. The lack of recognition of women in politics led to the fact that men dominate the political arena, formulate the rules of the political game and define the standards for evaluation. In addition, political life is organized according to male norms and values and, in some cases male life styles (Shvedova, 1998).

Globally, a rich diversity of processes and movements have emerged from the work of individuals, in raising awareness on the participation of women in politics. This literature underlines the high resistance as well as increasing inequalities and forms of exclusion for women's involvement in politics all over the world. Therefore, particularly in the 20th century, women's participation in politics has gradually become a global research question. This study thus hopes to enlighten the entire society to pay attention to the function and the significance of the women's participation in politics (Phillips *et al.* 1998). This study therefore sought to find out whether high resistance, inequalities and exclusion affects the elite from political participation in the Maasai of Narok South sub-county.

Further, there have been efforts to include women in political participation; Women's historic exclusion from political structures and processes is the result of multiple structural, functional and personal factors that vary in different social contexts across different countries. However, there is a generic issue in women's political participation that relates to the wider context of national and international politics, liberal democracy and development. Women's political participation relates to the nature of Politics in general and liberal democracy in particular. Democracy has historically tended to serve men better than women. As a political system from the ancient Greece to the modern times of the 21st century, it has built on the public-private dichotomy and excluded women from participation (Phillips *et al.*, 1998). According to research findings some of the old Maasai believed that women should not participate in politics as they lack traditional leadership skills while other stated that women have been excluded from political participation and it is now a new era to compete with men.

Women are still under-represented in positions of power, responsibility and leadership in the public domain of politics as most of the political thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Locke, Hobbes and Hegel considered women fit only for domestic roles in the private sphere and maintained that there was no place for them in politics because of their suitability in caring roles as mothers and wives, (Rai *et al.,* 2000). Women's participation and access to formal political power structures vary across countries. Nevertheless, there is a steady upward trend in women's political participation and representation in developed countries particularly in Nordic countries, where women representation in parliament is more than 33%, nine of them are ranked in the high human development category. However, medium and low human development countries have no significant improvements (Rai *et al*., 2000). As political representation varies across countries, so does it across Kenyan communities. Significantly

though, women access to political participation has been hindered in the Maasai of Narok South Sub-County.

In Germany, where elected representatives had more limited powers, supporters of women's rights were more sharply divided among socialist, liberal, and nationalist ideologies, women's organizations first appeared in Germany in the 1860s, but for years their efforts focused more on educational, civic, and charitable activities than on political or legal reforms. The German Social Democratic Party supported women's suffrage but distrusted the motives of middle-class feminists who sought to reform, rather than overturn the existing political system (Phillips *et al*.1998). In Kenya generally, and more so in the Maasai community, women's rights have not been supported and there is division in thought for women's participation in political leadership. Therefore, this current study sought to find out why political participation is low in the elite Maasai women of Narok South Sub-County.

In Nigeria, women were largely deprived access to education and therefore could not play an active role in government (Bush, 1995). A similar pattern of gender discrimination is seen in colonial Ghana, where even the few qualified women were denied entry into the administrative class of civil servants. Both Nigeria and Ghana were British colonies just like Kenya and therefore the colonial policies were more or less similar. Women were denied access to education; consequently, they were denied access to the civil service and to political jobs (Manuh, 1991). This study therefore sought to establish whether colonial policies and historical trends affected the elite participation in political leadership in the Maasai of Narok South Sub-County.

According to Misafi, (2014) it is noted that Tanzania indicated that women's participation in decentralized local governance is low. The study also established that women's participation is usually limited to physical presence. Moreover, it notes that participation is determined by incentives, access to information, power relations and women's interest in local governance (Misafi, 2014). The author emphasizes the importance of sound methodology when investigating women's political participation (Grabe, 2015). While there were no complete egalitarian societies prior to European control in Africa, colonialism exacerbated biased gender relations (Waiyago, 2002).

Hay (1995) observes that in many parts of Africa colonialism altered the status of women and reduced their powers through the imposition of Western conceptions of state and society, women, family and gender. The colonial administrative, economic and social systems introduced in Africa in general and Kenya in particular, embodied Western notions of state and society with their distinctions between public and the private spheres and accompanying ideas about women's traditional bases of influence, authority and power (Hay, 1995). The status of women in the Maasai community, economic and social systems is based on traditional influence, where authority and power are vested in men. The current study sought to establish the relationship between the Maasai pastoralist patriarchy and elite women's participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County.

The marginalization of women's institution during the colonial period was perpetuated through colonial policies. The colonial era left African women more politically disoriented and disempowered. While, African males were the first to learn the three R's (reading, writing and arithmetic) in schools, African females were confined to the three B's (that is baby, bath and broom) which confined them to the domestic sphere. Colonial education for girls was geared towards providing educated men with good wives and home makers. School girls were taught needlework, nurturing babies, cooking and bathing. The boys in the colonial elite schools were prepared to become good public servants while women were denied intellectual skills and grounding needed to engage them in modern politics (Nakanyike, 1991). The current study sought to assess the relationship between education and role assignment and its influence on elite women participation in Narok South Sub-County.

Misafi (2014) in his study on Women's participation in decentralized local governance with a focus on pastoral and non-pastoral women. The study established that women's participation is usually limited to physical presence. Moreover, it finds that participation is determined by incentives, access to information, power relations, knowledge of Kiswahili and women's interest in local governance. The study concludes that women's participation in local governance has no impact on policy changes (Misafi, 2014). Another study, based on fieldwork in northern Tanzania, finds that landownership amongst Maasai women is related to power within their marital relationships. Misafi argued that this predicts individual agency, in turn resulting in increased women's participation in political meetings.

Grabe (2015) on the other hand in his study Participation in Tanzania asserted that when women have access to structural resources they gain power in their marital relationships and

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this makes them more likely to become engaged in political participation and decision-making. The aim of the study was to provide evidence for the socio-psychological dimensions of women's political participation. Grabe highlights some of the limitations of her methodology, stating that it was not possible to account for women's initial interest in political activity, or for whether women with more progressive husbands were more likely to become landowners (Grabe, 2015).

Kenya's women presence and political participation in leadership and governance has a long history dating from pre-colonial through colonial to post-colonial period. The legendary Wangu wa Makeri-(1901-1909) defied patriarchal structures and rose to become a formidable leader who is said to have brought development and peace among her community. Many "unsung heroines" accomplished similar feats; including those who actively participated in the Country's liberation struggle of the 1940s and 1950s.Indeed, it is said that Wangu Makeri ruled large parts of Murang'a and commanded considerable respect because of her innovative skills in leadership, demonstrating that women can make significant difference even in hostile environments (Nyakwea, 1994).Given that there are existing patriarchal structures; elite women can still make significant difference and actively participate in political leadership in Narok South Sub County.

Women have been seeking to effectively participate in governance and decision-making in all aspects of public life since Kenya attained independence in 1963. But in the first four decades of postcolonial rule, progress towards women's access to formal political leadership positions has been slow due to a combination of structural obstacles that include: deeply embedded patriarchal socio-cultural values, undemocratic institutions and policy frameworks and low levels of civic and gender awareness. Narok South Sub-County has its historical trends but this current study sought to investigate whether there is a relationship between historical trends and low Maasai elite women political participation in Narok South Sub-County in particular.

Kenya ascended to the gender equality platform in the context of its commitments to various United Nations (UN) resolutions, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Convention for the Elimination of Violence against Women (CEDAW) (Nyanjom 2011). It also espoused the 1966 Convention Civil, Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. In1985, the country was at the center of gender equality initiatives when it hosted the formulation of the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, and

was at forefront of continental preparations for the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development and the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, a motion adopted by Parliament in 1996. However, despite Kenya ascending to all these international declarations, gender mainstreaming has remained elusive when it comes to elite women participation in political leadership.

According to Nzomo (2003) women's low representation in political issues translates into comparatively few women getting the opportunity to be nominated on party tickets to vie for political office. The nomination process of many of these political parties, particularly the major ones, is flawed to the extent that in many cases, deserving candidates are actually rigged out of the exercise. Women candidates are especially vulnerable as they are perceived as the weaker and more expendable candidates. All these issues can be traced back to the time of independence where women especially from the pastoralist communities have been culturally nurtured to believe that their place is not in public office leave alone political participation. This study attempted to examine the influence of the historic trends and the participation of elite Maasai women in politics.

Kenyan women have come a long way in penetrating the politically male-dominated world. Kenya's history has recorded great women who went through many difficulties and humiliating conditions to fight for equality and participation in politics. Since Kenya's independence from the British rule in 1963, female representation in Parliament has been very low.The late Grace Monica Ogot became the first woman mayor for Kisumu Town in 1965 and had to recieve permission from the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga to stand for a Parliamentary seat, winning the Kisumu constituency in 1969 (Nyokabi, 2010).In 1984,the late Grace Ogot earned a distinctive position in Kenya's political history; she became one of the few women to serve as a Member of Parliament and the only female Assistant Minister in former President Moi's cabinet.When the late Wangari Maathai ventured into the public sphere she faced tremendous challenges and opposition from men, her voice was drowned and ridiculed in private and in public spaces.She played a pivotal role in Kenya's politics and became a role model and mentor for many Kenyan women aspiring for leadership.

In 1997, Hon Charity Ngilu became the first ever female presidential candidate in Kenya under the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and finished fifth. Hon Charity Ngilu tried the Kitui senator seat and lost her bid for the eleveth Parliament. She has also served as Minister of Health.Former Justice Minister Hon Martha Karua became the MP for Gichugu in 1992. In

1991 she was recognized by Human Rights Watch as a human rights monitor (African Press International, 2007). In December 1995, she was awarded by the Federation of Kenya Women Lawyers (FIDA) and in 1999 she headed the government's team in negotiations with ODM regarding the political dispute that resulted from the 2007 election, and later endorsed as the national chairperson of NARC-Kenya political party. In the year 2008, she vied as the second ever female candidate for Kenya's presidency in 2013 but lost.

In 2007, Hon Martha Karua attempted to secure an Affirmative Action (AA) law through the constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Bill 2007 which sought to create seats for women and put their representation in parliament closer to their population size, but was rejected on grounds that the bill focused on women, and excluded other marginalized, minority communities and regions. Past political experience does not inspire confidence that women candidates can compete with men (African Press International, 2007). Women representative post was expected to bring positive change to women representation to Parliament but it might contribute negatively since they compete against each other. Progress seen is the appointment of the deputy speaker Joyce Laboso as the first woman to serve as a deputy speaker of the National Assembly (API, 2013). From 2002-2007, 18 women won the Parliamentary seats and in the nation's tenth parliament the number of women grew to 22, 16 of whom were elected and 6 were nominated. Considering that the total number in parliament was 224 members, women made10% of representation in parliament.

As at May, 2007,Kenyan Parliament had 222 members, 210 of whom were elected and 12 nominated by political parties represented in Parliament.There were a total of 18(7.7%) women parliamentarians 10 of whom were directly elected and 8 nominated (World Bank,2003). During the KANU (Kenya African National Union) regime that ended in 2002,there were only 9 women out of the 222 members of parliament.During the Narc (National Alliance of the Rainbow Coalition)government,the number of female MPs had at least increased to 18 out of 220 Members of Parliament (African Press International, 2007).

Women participation still falls short of the Beijing Platform for Action (the fourth World Conference for women in 1995),where it was agreed by all governments that there should be equal Participation of women and men in decision-making bodies. (African Press Internatioal, 2007). However, in the current Jubilee Coalition women participation falls short of the United Nations target of achieving 30% representation of women in politics.During Kenya's modern political history, women have never comprised of four percent of the

Members of Parliament. Women still lack an enabling environment in politics (African Press International, 2007).

While focus is on how political leadership has been constructed in post-colonial Kenya, this study account for why this existing form of participative view of political leadership accords little space for women's participation as leaders. This study on elite women's participation in political leadership is limited because of the masculine construction of the state and how its dominant political actors understand and deploy state power to serve specific interests (Schatzberg, 2001). Historically, in large measure, the only opportunity they provide women is the opportunity for co-optation into a male-centric system. In the history of Kenya, a woman member of parliament has never represented Narok South Sub-County. It has been the domain of men since independence. In the Maasai community, women respect and submit to men leadership. This study sought to establish how historic trends in the Maasai community influence the participation of the elite women in leadership positions.

2.1.2 Kenyan Political Landscape and Women Participation

The colonial era in Kenya destabilized the whole society economically, socially, and politically. Some aspects of the colonial intrusion had influence for women as a social category. Some of constraints were reinforced by the dominant patriarchal system. The colonial government in Kenya reinforced traditional patriarchal leadership forms and styles. In terms of leadership, nearly all the top colonial administrators were male. Their habits and lifestyles also duplicated and reinforced the traditional British family structure where women existed as appendages of the male bread winners and were popularized as social butterflies whose responsibility was to stand behind their spouses and provide obligatory moral support (Maeri, 2014).

According to Caroline, (2005), when the colonialist (British) took over the control of the country, the emphasized male dominance by transferring men's supervisory rights over land to individual legal ownership. As a result of this individual land ownership, women would be denied access to land, something that was new and foreign. This situation exerted a negative impact on the status of women in property ownership and the status of Kenya women was significantly affected by the coming of colonialists.

In most Kenyan communities, women are socialized to be dependent on men and the roles accorded to men carry a higher status compared to those of women. Men have more rights and privileges than women do, for instance in 1975, the first and the last time a woman was

elected in Meru region to parliament and in 1997. In Maara constituency, two women vied and lost while none contested for Chuka, Igambang'obe and Tharaka Nithi parliamentary positions. Some of the prominent barriers include cultural and traditional values that have cast women as second-class members of society. These come with negative stereotypes, intimidation and harassment. The Meru county woman representative noted that women suffer marginalization in leadership and decision making despite the advancement made in recognizing a woman's effectiveness in politics. Njuri Ncheke council of elders also admits that women have been politically marginalized in the region (API, 2006).

In Nyanza, the Gusii electorate has for many decades lived with the reputation of never electing a woman to parliament since independence. The only two who have stepped to parliament are former Maendeleo Ya Wanawake chairperson who was nominated by former president Daniel Moi. In keeping with that tradition, none of the constituencies in Marsabit, Isiolo, Turkana, Mandera, Garissa and Wajir elected a woman MP at constituency level, (API, 2006). Narok South Sub County is not left out when it comes to political marginalization which could influence the Maasai elite women from participation. Therefore, the study sought to investigate factors that influence elite women participation in Narok South Sub County.

Women representation has come a long way and promulgation of the new constitution in August 2010 was a milestone. The Constitution promised to increase space for women's participation through Article 27(28) and (81) b, which provided for not more than two-thirds representation of one gender in elective and appointive posts. Despite these efforts, the March 4th elections failed to deliver the much-increased women's representation to at least one third. There was no single female governor or senator elected and only16 out of the 290 Members of Parliament are women. This is the worst performance compared to the 22 women who made it to parliament in 2007 when the house had 222 legislators.

According to kivoi (2014) women representation in politics in Kenya is still lagging behind compared to other East African countries, she noted that 'In 2006 Kenya's performance score in overall representation was 66.2% which has been dropping and in 2011 the score was 49.5% having declined drastically by -16.7% percentage points (Figure 2.1). It is worth noting that representative democracy does not guarantee that the concerns of women and those affected by historical discrimination was addressed. As such, participation needs to be informed and organized, and needs to be predicated on freedom of and capacity for

association and expression. Citizen participation is meant to increase democracy and good governance, citizen empowerment and operational modalities of citizen involvement in public affairs.

Kenya still lags behind when it comes to equal gender participation in governance with a percentage score of 52.9% in 2011, compared to Rwanda which had a percentage score of 87.0%. Among the other East African countries, Uganda scored 68.5%, Tanzania had 71.9% whereas Mauritius had a score of 71.0%. It should also be noted that in 2011, Rwanda's score in women representation in Parliament stood above 80%. These gains made by women in Rwanda came about as a result of good political will from the country's political leadership that put emphasis on gender equity and equality'. This also indicates that the situation is worse among pastoralist communities where women are disregarded and not allowed to speak before men, the study sought to establish the reason for low participation in leadership.

In Kenya, for instance, there was no single woman elected or nominated in the first parliament of 1963-1969. It is only in 1969 that the first woman Member of Parliament, Grace Onyango, was elected while another woman was nominated. Since then a number of women have attempted to enter the political scene by contesting and being elected to either parliamentary or civic seats. However, the number is still low in relation to the Kenyan parliament, despite the fact that women constitute the majority of the population and voters. The table below shows how inequality between men and women has been reflected in the Kenyan parliament, from the first parliament to the current one.

Table 2.1. Women representation from 1963-2017 in Kenya's Parliament

Parliament	Period	Total no. of constituencies	No. of women elected	Available no. of slots for nomination	No. of women nominated
1st Parliament	1963-1969	158	0	12	0
2nd Parliament	1969-1974	158	1	12	1
3rd Parliament	1974-1979	158	4	12	2
4th Parliament	1979-1983	158	5	12	1
5th Parliament	1983-1988	158	2	12	1
6th Parliament	1888-1992	188	2	12	0
7th Parliament	1992-1997	188	6	12	1

8th Parliament	1997-2002	210	4	12	5
9th Parliament	2002-2007	210	10	12	8
10th Parliament	2007-2012	210	16	12	6
11th Parliament	2013-2017	290	16	12	3

Source: Nyokabi, Kamau, (2010), ***Women and Political Leadership in Kenya, Ten Case Studies,*** Heinrich Boll Foundation, P. 3 and current parliament records.

Table 2.1 shows the women representation in the Kenyan parliament since 1963 to-date. The table shows there has been a remarkable increase of women parliamentarians from 0-50 however compared to the total number of available positions only 17% of the available slots for women are occupied, this shows low participation of women in politics. This study therefore sought to establish the factors leading to this low participation. Although this compares well to other countries globally as noted by a UNESCO (2007) report that at the end of 2007, women held 17.7 percent of all parliamentary seats—over 50 percent more than a decade ago when women held 11.8 percent. This represents a consistent but small annual increase of 0.6 percentage points on average. During 2007, women took 2,013, or 16.9 percent, of the parliamentary seats up for renewal in 63 countries. Of the seats taken by women, 1,764 were directly elected, 116 were indirectly elected, and 133 were appointed.

Based on the report findings these Figures represent a slight improvement over the results from 2006 when women took an average of 16.7 percent of the seats. When the overall gains women made in 2007 are considered together with the stagnation and reversals in some countries, it becomes clear that there is little room for complacency when it comes to improving women's access to parliaments.

It is important to note that though Kenya has reached 17 percent women representation it is still far from achieving the quota of 30 percent required. It is also important to note that among the 17 percent the elite women of Maasai community are far much worse and under-represented in political positions in the country. Since the year 1963 there is no woman who has represented Narok South Sub County and those who have attempted to represent Narok and Kajiado County have experienced challenges.

A recent example is what happened in Kajiado East where the only women aspirant in the Maasai community lacked monarchical leadership. Accordingly, the centre of political power

rested not with the elders or age-sets representatives, but with a group of young men (inkopir) guided by ideas of militancy (Masharen, 2009). The general observance of culture governed their social setting, which determine why elite women are not participating in politics. They lacked a powerful social, economic and political structure to consolidate its military power and influence. The Maasai community was ruled under the authority of senior elders, age-set spokesmen and hereditary experts which could influence Maasai elite women from participation in political leadership (Masharen, 2009). Hence this current finding came up with much detailed findings on elite Maasai women participation and how that influences their political representation in parliament.

Article 81(b) of the Kenya new constitution, (2010) states that no more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender. The rule was meant to increase women's participation in politics and based on this rule, at least 117 MPs should be female now that males are still likely to dominate. It is evident that the number of women in the 11th Parliament went up, not because they were elected, but because of the affirmative action in the new constitution that provide for the county women representatives. Although this seems to be the highest ever number of women in the Parliament, it is worrisome that there is no single woman who was elected to the Senate. The constitution however provides for nomination of up to 16 women to the senate based on political party strength. The position of governor is purely elective and just like the senate, Kenyans did not entrust any of the women aspirants to manage the newly created 47 counties.

In the 10th parliament, there were 22 women MPs out of the 224 members. One-step more into the past indicates that the ninth Parliament had far less representation at 18. These percentages are much below the recommended threshold of 30 per cent under the new constitution. One indicator of gender inequality is the small number of women in decision-making positions and other national governance structures. This begs the question: when will Kenya ever implement her gender policies? (Maeri, 2014b).

The 16 women who were elected to Parliament in the 2013 general polls are essential for them to lead from the front in defending women rights at the policy and governance levels including fighting for the realization of the constitutional provisions on the two thirds rule. Sankan, (2006) notes that the challenge of women in leadership is greater for women in

Maasai land since they are not given an opportunity to engage in political positions due to social and cultural beliefs.

The belief in the Maasai is that if women are given an opportunity to lead, the community might be faced with many misfortunes. However, the first Maasai woman to be elected to Parliament was in the 2013 general elections. Despite, the emphasis laid in Article (27) of Kenya constitution 2010 that women and men have the right to political treatment, there is still gender imbalance when it comes to political participation. This includes the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. Article 21 Prohibits social and cultural practices that affect women participation in political leadership, but the practice still takes place (Kenya Constitution, 2010). The same law applies to all Kenyan citizens Narok included, this current study therefore sought to investigate why there is low elite Maasai women participation in Narok South Sub County. Women have been found to face a lot of stress in their daily work and this might have an effect on their participation in political leadership. The next sub section highlights the theories upon which the study is based. The theories help to understand the ideologies upon which certain phenomenon is built.

2.1.2 Socio-cultural Factors and Elite Women Participation in Political Leadership

Globally, many strategies have been formulated to make it possible for women to participate in political leadership, yet the level of women's participation in this field remains low. According to United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) (2001), there are more women in government than ever before, increasing by 10% in the last decade to an average of 18% of women in national assemblies. Australia has a new governor-general, who is the first woman to hold that position ever. In Japan, where public life is generally male dominated, a woman ran for prime minister's seat for the first time. Rwanda, being the first African nation with the highest number of women in parliamentary seat representation is now the first nation in the world where women outnumber men in parliament. In sub-Saharan Africa and Asian countries, women usually occupy an inferior position compared to that of their male counterparts (Paxton and Hughes, 2007). Narok Sub-County, in particular, has never been represented by a woman in parliament

In Israel, Palestine, Afghanistan, and Iraq, a culture of hegemonic masculinity prevails among the major political actors. Afghanistan was once considered a model of post-conflict restriction where women could hardly be said to enjoy security, political participation and

rights; instead they are faced by various violence, and illiteracy. In Botswana, women representation in decision-making positions is still low. It has not reached the minimum 30% representation in legislature; the representation is 11% in cabinet and 25% in local government respectively. This is still below the target set by the SADC heads of state in 2005 which was set to be achieved. This indicates that there are still challenges facing women in political participation Paxton and Hughes, (2007). The Maasai people believe that a woman has no right to decision making and has clearly stated roles, which are different from those of the male; they believe that women's role is purely domestic (Ole Lemein, 2014). The study sought to find whether roles can be changed due to women educational levels in the Maasai community of Narok south sub-county.

The leadership gap is a global phenomenon whereby women are disproportionately concentrated in lower-level positions and lower-authority leadership positions than men (Powell *et al.,* 2003). In addition, Graves and Powel (2003), contend that women occupy more than half of all management and professional positions but fewer developmental opportunities at work than men. Many of the gender differences in developmental opportunities may be driven by prejudice that women experience in the domain of leadership (Ensher and Johnson, 2005). In addition, women encounter greater barriers in establishing informal mentor relationship than men do (Powell *et al.,* 2003). When attempting to understand women's political participation across nations, concrete measures of culture are typically not available to researchers. In this context, researchers have turned to regional membership and religious beliefs to understand the impact of culture (Kenworthy and Makine, 1999).

Scandinavian countries are typically found to have higher numbers of women in parliament, both in the past and present. Similarly, researchers classify U.S into three categories, largely regional, political, and cultures, southern states having a traditionalistic political culture resulting to having fewer women in legislative office (Nechemias, 1987). The Maasai elite women have a wide leadership gap which has become a barrier to participation in political leadership; therefore, the current study sought to inform elite women on socio-economic factors in relation to elite Maasai participation in political leadership.

In Latin America and Asia, many factors contribute to this disadvantageous situation for women as a social entity. Along with this, there is increasing domestic workload and subsistence responsibilities. Since many indigenous women are also illiterate or have low

educational level, they are further marginalized by cultures of patriarchy and violence, which confines them to the domestic spheres. The traditional beliefs, customs, taboo, social, cultural perception and political practices have led to rules and codes of behavior that have long been instruments of ensuring gender structures are perpetuated (Paxton and Hughes, 2007). This study therefore, sought to examine the educational level and elite women participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County.

Women in many countries face numerous barriers in their access to education, health care, sanitation and political participation. Arguments about women's inferiority to men prevail across all dominant religions where religion has long been used to exclude women from aspects of social, political or religious life around the world (Paxton and Hughes, 2007). However, the major religions of the world are differentially conservative or patriarchal in their views about the place of women, both in the church hierarchy and in society. For example, Ahmed (1992) asserts that Protestantism promotes nonhierarchical religious practices and more readily accept women as religious leaders compared with Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity (Greek Orthodox or Russian Orthodox). In addition, Islamic law is typically interpreted in a manner that constrains the activities of women (Meyer *et al.*, 1998). The Maasai women face marginalization by traditional, social, cultural, economic, and political practices in society, this study therefore sought to investigate factors that influence elite women political participation in Narok South Sub-County.

The present study encapsulates the various socio-political developments and underdevelopments from representative regions of the world done ostensibly to clarify the gender differentials in political participation in various regions of the world. The flow of these political scenarios has been articulated; Europe's case comes in first, subsequently followed by American, Asian, and Africa and East Africa in general (Kipuri & Ridgewell, 2008). This gives a series of reviews to indicate the extent and intensity of changes in women's participation in politics. Their variations in levels of participation, gender gaps vary across societies (African Press International (2006). As compared to other regions in Kenya the Maasai women (pastoralist) have a big gender difference in political participation; therefore, the current study sought to assess factors that influence elite women participation in Narok South Sub- County.

Cultural ideas about women affect women's levels of representation throughout the political process. This happens from an individual woman's decision to political party selection of

candidates and decisions made by voters on Election Day. Women face prejudice as leaders because people assume that leadership is a masculine trait. Further, when women do lead social groups, they face diverse problems. Women are evaluated as autocratic in behavior and more negatively than the same behavior by men (Eagly and Carli 1992). The Maasai women still face prejudice as leaders which could be making it hard for them to participate in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County; therefore, the current study sought to assess factors that influence elite women participation.

The manner in which the seats are filled affects the capacity of women to challenge the patriarchal norms and values that are inherent in parliamentary debates. Women become accountable to the parties that nominated them, rather than to the voters. As Ballington and Karam (2004) have stated they cannot be separated from dominance if quotas are enforced with women placed in winnable positions; women are more likely to be elected. Women in political decision-making in the SADC region are affected by societal attitudes and norms and the socio-economic positions they hold in society Tripp (2009). The patriarchal norms and values in the Maasai community could influence the Maasai elite women from participating in political leadership therefore the current study sought to find out why there is low participation in Narok South Sub-County.

Some women who were elected to the top leadership position in their countries, especially in Asia, had famous husbands or fathers who preceded them in political life. Like Indira Gandhi and Corozon Aquino. (Borelli *et al*, 2002). With 14% women in the Senate and 15% in the House of Representatives, the United States leads the world in women's political representation, (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2006). Women do slightly better at the state level; where they hold 23% of seats, Centre for advancement of women in politics (CAWP, 2006). Therefore, the link in literature is to establish factors that influence Maasai elite women to participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County.

The major challenge that women face politically is over-coming the patriarchal nature of their societies. Women are discouraged and undermined by men and their parties from vying for parliamentary positions and given a hostile treatment by men during campaigns, which include verbal abuse and harassment which contributes to women lagging behind in political participation in Malawi, (Gaidzanwa, 2004). In Zambia, pressure is placed on parties to involve women candidates, but on the other hand, there is fear that they would be unable to win elections and are placed in constituencies where they will compete against each other.

Few women's gender identity is still predominantly conceived of as being domestic in nature in Zambia's 2001 elections (Kabemba and Eiseman, 2004). The patriarchal nature of society could be influencing Maasai elite women from participating in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County.

Structural political impediments also limit women's political participation. These include the legal minority status of women in Lesotho that has perpetuated gender inequalities. This minority status of women negatively affects their chances of full participation in politics and other spheres of public life, as they are viewed socially as falling under the same category as children. This lack of legal capacity not only prevents women from acquiring loans, financing their campaigns, and therefore limiting their options to run for elections (Letuka *et al.,* 2004). The study sought to find out the relationship between the economic factors and the elite Maasai women participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County.

International efforts to implement quotas in Afghanistan and Iraq have led to some of the largest jumps in women's representation ever seen. However, national gender quota laws do not always generate significant increases in women's participation in political leadership, (Dahlerup *et al.,* 2007). There are cultural and ideological arguments against women's right to participate in politics, which creates substantial barriers to women's political participation. Historically, there are beliefs that women did not have the capability to participate in politics (Okin, 1989). It took until the twentieth century for feminist political theorists to challenge the position of women in political theory (Pateman *et al.,* 1989). According to filed data, cultural and ideological arguments against women's right to participate in politics hinder elite women from political leadership.

Empirical study by Kivoi (2014) notes that stereotype beliefs on women leadership can be traced to cultural factors which are socially constructed. She further indicated that male gender roles tend to be more empowering and domineering, female gender roles seem to be less empowering and subservient in nature. These subservient gender roles and societal expectations hinder the participation of women in politics. Cultural practices and perceptions in Kenya represent major obstacles to women's participation in political governance and decision making.

Empirical study by Ouma & Maina, (2012) noted that most Kenyan communities still regard women as property. This attitude is largely to blame for the continued exclusion of women

from inheriting their parent's or even spouses' property. A study by Kivoi, (2014) indicated that practices such as early, forced, and/or arranged marriages impede women's empowerment and affirmative action in particular. Such practices, limit women's chances to advance their education which may open doors for political participation of women. Communal stereotypes, long held traditional anachronistic belief have for long viewed women as suited only for domestic chores and politics as domain for men only.

In Tanzania IPU, (2004) noted that participation in decision making which refers to different mechanisms for the public to express opinions and ideally exert influence can take place along any realm of human social activities including, political i.e. participatory democracy. In governance and leadership context; participation in decision making is a concept which aims to ensure that citizens have a direct voice in public decision. Throughout the history, participation in decision making through processes like voting and vying for leadership positions has been blinded by discrimination and limitation to some members of community specifically women. It is up to the 19th century when New Zealand became the first country to give women the right to vote, in 1893; and Finland was the first to adopt both fundamental democratic rights in 1906. There are still a few countries that deny women both the right to vote and the right to stand for elections.

According to Bartol, Martin & Kromkowski (2003) in their stuudy on Leadership and the Glass Ceiling It is noted that Traditional and persistent social cultural barriers have been shown to hinder the active pursuit of women to obtain positions of leadership. It is proposed here that with the globalization of business practices, opportunities, technologies, and cultures, women face new and different challenges that vary depending on the context of the environment in which they operate. Hora (2014) study on Factors that affect Women Participation in Leadership and Decision Making Position, it was noted that   most patriarchic societies, females are regarded as the inferior of the species and as a result of this, women are denied access to both honored and utilitarian role open only to males. Such roles as administration and disposal of property, leadership roles in societal affairs including religion and governance are exclusively belong to males. While it is known that such discriminatory practices exist in these countries, their prevalence and cultural value systems and norms that perpetuate them are not adequately understood. Hoyt, (2005) on the other hand noted that although women constitutes two third of the world's working hours, produce

half of the world's food and above all, bear and rear children, women continue to suffer from all forms of discrimination and from the absence of adequate protection against violence.

According to Waiganjo & Kandusi (2015) in their study on Social-Cultural Factors Affecting Maasai Women Participation in Decision Making in Tanzania, sustainable and all around developments of a society cannot be brought about without the full and unreserved participation of both woman and man in the development process. They further indicated that such a balanced development should also call for the elimination of all forms of discrimination, and the protection against all forms of violence against women Since 1985 Tanzania has been implementing CEDAW (Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women) which is an international agreement where countries have agreed to end all forms of discrimination against women.

In Kenya, the Pastoralists community is more marginalized by culture of patriarchy. Historically the Maasai community has always been ruled by directives of headmen with invested authority in the council of elders, age sets spokesmen and hereditary experts (*iloibonok*) and with a group of young men (*inkopir*) with no history of women included in community activities (Masharen, 2009), In this sense, compared to other Kenyan communities, the Maasai elite women of Narok South Sub-County are under-represented. The Maasai community regard women as children, and therefore their status could influence their participation in political leadership. The Maasai's are influenced by their strong culture, with a wide gender gap in political interest and knowledge and cultural barriers which could limit Women of Narok South Sub- County to participate in political leadership. Like the recent example of Hon Peris Tobiko of Kajiado east who faced great challenges, prejudice from her own community.

According to Waiganjo and Kandusi (2015) Maasai women; are limited to issues like attending community meetings or voting which at large affect the decisions which are made in the community. Women have continuously been holding back their participation even in situations where affirmative action have been put across to include women in decision making which is highly linked to social cultural limitations. They noted that most research done across East and Horn of Africa region on the status of pastoralists have stated that despite the numerous key tasks women fulfill in pastoralist society, they face this discrimination two-fold. Women are even less able than pastoralist men to participate in the decisions that affect their lives and livelihoods (Kipuri & Ridgewell, 2008).

It should be understood that the exclusion of women from decision-making bodies limits the possibilities for entrenching the principles of democracy in a society, hindering economic development and discouraging the attainment of gender equality Therefore this study aimed at looking at the social cultural limitations that Maasai women face in relation to decision making i.e. participating in vying for leadership, voting or active attendance in community decision making meetings and the findings may influence the right approaches to ensure women participation (Kipuri and Ridgewell, (2008).based on the review on socio-cultural factors that influence Maasai elite women participation in political leadership , noted that an insight into economic factors and how it influences elite women participation is important. This is discussed in the next section.

2.1.3 Economic Factors and Elite Women Participation in Political Leadership

In Malaysia, women have long been the mainstay of communities and are heavily involved in community initiatives in various forms. Though often they are heroes of community action, women's role in political leadership has become increasingly important. In some communities, they have established themselves as leaders and have acquired the requisite skills that have brought positive gender changes to their communities. However, they still face cultural, economic and social barriers in leading their community. In addition, they have to overcome those traditional barriers with resilience. This has become their intuitive motivation.

Historical comparisons of the percentage of women in Parliaments across regions in the Scandinavian nations have surpassed all other regions in their levels of women's political participation at all-time points (Haavio-Mannila *et al*., 2004). The review of this study may help the implementers on how to overcome the barriers towards elite women participation in political leadership. The current study utilized the findings from this study to explain the influence of economic factors on elite women participation in political leadership in the Maasai community.

The Middle East has persistently had the lowest average levels of female representation. Although women's representation in Latin America, Africa, and the West progressed slowly until 1995, as other countries registers low percentages of women in Parliament, Narok South Sub-County has not achieved at all. Culture stresses that beliefs and Attitudes influence both

the supply of and demand for female candidates (Paxton and Hughes, 2007). The current study confirms the findings in Paxton as it established that the low participation of elite women in political leadership has been caused by attitudes towards women in Narok South Sub-County.

Women's opportunities for education and employment are limited. The gender gap in political knowledge and interest is well established across both developed and developing countries, men are consistently found to be more interested in politics and have more political knowledge than women (Burns *et al.*2001). In the U.S. men scored the equivalent of an additional 2, 3, 4 years of schooling on objective tests of political knowledge compared with women. The U.S. gender gap in political interest and knowledge also varies by race and ethnicity. This gender gap is reversed among children and teenagers Alozie *et al.,* (2003). This study confirms that lack of political knowledge has an influence on low women representation in Narok South Sub-County.

In other countries women have made gains in employment and education, though they face cultural barriers to participation in politics. For example, 25% of the U.S. population still says that men are better suited emotionally to politics and 15% of Americans agreed with the statement "women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men" (Lawless and Theriault, 2005). Individual differences between men and women in levels of education are an important explanation for differences in political participation (Burns *et al.,* 2001).

Women's levels of education could explain differences in their levels of parliamentary representation across countries, however, there has been little evidence to support the argument that the percentage of women in education is a predictor of parliamentary representation (Kenworthy *et al*, 1999). Therefore, this current study agrees with Kenworthy sentiments and notes that the levels of education could explain why there is no parliamentary representation in Narok South Sub-County.

Arceneaux *et al,* (2001) on the other hand noted that it is difficult to establish a single measure of education that is appropriate across all countries. In the United States, law and other professional degrees provide an important path, and having more women in such pipeline occupations leads to more female participation in political leadership. Therefore, this current study agrees with the findings of Arceneaux that academic qualification provide an

important path for elite Women to participate in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County but the male counterparts should be educated and sensitized about women participation in political leadership.

Women's participation is still lower than that of their male counterparts, despite determined efforts to increase women participation. There are several factors hindering the process of women's participation in the political process: educational backwardness, lack of economic resources, inadequate mobility, structural deficiencies, religion, culture, and patriarchy (Villaluz, 2000). Most Bangladeshi women are still illiterate. They lack information on the political process and do not know how to mobilize for policies that respond to women's interests (Kabir, 2003).

The Maasai Women could also be faced by educational backwardness, economic factors, and patriarchy. Another study, based in Tanzania, established that landownership amongst Maasai women is related to power within their marital relationships. It is argued that this predicts individual agency, in turn resulting in increased women's participation in political meetings. The paper contends that when women have access to structural resources they gain power in their marital relationships and this makes them more likely to become engaged in political participation and decision-making (Grabe, 2015). The study aimed to provide evidence for the socio-psychological dimensions of women's political participation (Grabe, 2015). The author highlights some of the limitations of her methodology, stating that it was not possible to account for women's initial interest in political activity, or whether women with more progressive husbands were more likely to become landowners (Grabe, 2015). This current study sought to established whether Grabes structural resource theory play a major role in women leadership.

Political, socio-economic and cultural barriers predominantly constrain women's participation in all SADC countries. This is fundamental to the constraints that what women face is an entrenched patriarchal system in which family control and decision-making powers are in the hands of males. Traditional beliefs and cultural attitudes especially as regards women's roles and status in society remain strong, particularly in rural areas (Tripp, 2009). Therefore, this study sought to establish whether the findings of Tripp could apply to the case of elite Maasai women as they try to enter and participate in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County.

Traditional roles and the division of labour are still clearly gendered, the woman's role is typically that of a homemaker who performs reproductive functions and community maintenance, while the man is regarded as the breadwinner, is in charge of family decision-making, and has a right to public life. This is further amplified; women's gender identity is still predominantly conceived of as being domestic in nature and continues to act as a barrier to women's entry into formal politics (Olaleye, 2004). The results of this study concurred with Olaleye and noted that the Maasai community also has clearly stated roles for women in the society and this influence the Maasai elite women from participating in political leadership.

Practical manifestation of the patriarchal nature of many African societies is, for example, the fact that in Botswana and Mozambique, the media fails to give special coverage to female candidates' campaigns or to interview them. This further reinforces women's marginalized situation. According to Sebudubudu and (2005), Socio-economic factors identified in all SADC countries as contributing to the under-representation of women include their lack of confidence in participating in party politics except to vote, lack of time due to women's reproductive roles, lack of skills and lack of finances is expressed as a barrier to political participation in Narok South Sub-County. Mauritius is an example of a country in which parties, on an informal level, often require candidates to contribute substantial sums of money before the party can consider them for nomination (Bunwaree, 2008). Social-economic factors expressed in other countries could also be expressed in Narok south District as factors that influence Maasai elite women from participating in political leadership.

In Uganda, seven years of education and English language skills are sufficient educational credentials for women (Johnson, 2003). Women are disadvantaged by resource constraints because they received the same budgetary and other resources like general member of society, however, women covered a wider area. There was also role confusion in terms of who would do what, how and when. More specifically, the Local Government Second Amendment Act (1997) there is also negative attitudes of the lawmakers toward women (Goetz, 2004). In the Maasai community the elite could still be disadvantaged by resource constraints and thus their participation in political leadership is hindered.

Fuwa (2004) indicated that inequality in paid work undermines women's power within families which slows progress toward gender equality in other realms and are the ones whose families depend on feeding them. At the same time women are not the decision makers in the

household for issues like the use and control of resources in most of the communities in the country. A similar view was held by (Shayo, 1991) who indicated that most decisions are made by men who in most cases do not consider women's problems, needs, potentials and interests, women continue to be in the periphery in decision making. In the Maasai community the level of education among women is still very low and this affects the income they earn and with the many house hold chores they have to handle them and hardly have enough time for the family and for politics. The plan of action would be through empowerment of the girl child by providing courses at all levels of schooling, creating awareness on women political participation in relation to the Kenya constitution 2010, mobilization through training and outreach programmes. It is noted that apart from the influence of economic factors on Maasai elite women participation in political leadership a look at demographic factors is expected to provide more insight into the problem at hand.

2.1.4 Demographic Factors and Elite Women Participation in Political Leadership

Demographic factors like education, religion and marital status influence women's participation in political leadership (Khan 2010). It seems evident that formal education should be strongly associated with political participation for women and for men (Goetz 2003). Findings from decades of research into the factors influencing women and men's engagement into politics in the USA concluded that, education is especially a powerful predictor of political participation (Matland, 2005).

According to Inglehart and Norris (2003), there is still a lot of discriminative participation of women in politics in countries like Netherlands and Denmark. Gender inequality across all elected and appointed positions persists; although women have reached important milestones, such as 20% participation in national legislatures in many countries, women's participation still remains low. Over 60% of countries have reached at least 10% women in their national legislature, fewer have crossed the 20% and 30% barriers. In February 2006, only about 10% of sovereign nations had more than 30% women in parliament. Presidents and prime ministers, the top leaders of countries, are also typically men (Jalalzai *et al*., 2004). In Narok South Sub-County, there is gender inequality with no participation of women in parliament it is purely male dominated. Therefore, the study sought to establish whether the low level of women's participation in political leadership is supported by the statistics defined by Jalalzai.

The centre for advancement of women in politics argues that fewer than 30 women have served as governors since 1925 and even in 2004 (CAWP, 2006). Women held only 10% of these positions, (Centre for advancement of women in politics, CAWP, 2006). Global trends, of a single country, indicate significant variation across and within regions of the world. Over the past 15 years, more than 60 countries have adopted gender quotas, legislation or party rules that require a certain percentage of candidates or legislators to be women. The current study traced the trends of elite Maasai women participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County and sought to establish whether the situation facing elite Maasai women was similar to what CAWP had established from other countries. The study further sought to put in place strategies that can be used to address the low participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership in Narok south sub county.

Affirmative action enhances the participation of women in local government elections in many countries, as an extra measure, rather than considering women as credible and legitimate political actors (Mukhopadhyay, 2005). The scenario is not different in the case of Women Members of Parliament. The challenges faced by Asian-Pacific women are cultural stereotypes that exist in most societies, which hinder their empowerment in terms of access to participation. According to Center for Asia-Pacific Women in Politics, (2000) the public domain is mainly for men, while the household domain is for women contributing to the low participation of elite women in the leadership. The affirmative action has not been instrumental among the marginalized communities such as the Maasai. The current study also sought to examine whether these findings explain the reason why majority of elite women in Narok south sub-county are unable to participate in political leadership despite the affirmative action.

According to Parton (2007) Argentina became the first country in the world to adopt a national electoral law quota, resulting in a 17% increase in women's representation in the Chamber of Deputies in the subsequent election. Rapid gains like those in Argentina have shown that there is a slow and steady expansion of women's representation, such as Scandinavian women's political incorporation today (Dahlerup and Friedenvall, 2005).This study also sought to explore why elite women participation in other countries have women elected even to governorship position and have shown steady expansion of elite women participation as compared to Narok South sub county which reveals that there is very low participation in political leadership among the communities.

Paxton and Hughes (2007) noted that, in 1960 Sri Lanka elected their first women in political leadership. Close to a million Indian women were elected to positions in local government across the country, for instance, Karnataka elections in 1987 had more than 14,000 women elected along party lines in Mandai Panchayats. This comprised about 26 percent of the total membership (Purushothaman *et al*, 2000). In the 1994 elections, 37,689 women were elected in Grama Panchayats, which makes 46.7 percent of total Grama Panchayat membership, and the highest proportion for any state in the country (Government of India, 1995). In addition, women's representation in Panchayat Raj Institutions in Karnataka declines progressively (Batliwala *et al.,* 1998). They further noted that more women in Karnataka stood for election at lower levels as compared to men. The study also sought to examine whether Batliwala argument that participation of women was generally very low among many countries and societies applies to the elite Maasai women in Narok South Sub-County.

In Bangladesh, women's public status received a boost when the Union Parishad Ordinance was promulgated in 1976, reserving two seats for women in each union Parishad. Later, an amendment in 1983 increased the quota of seats for women to three. After 1983, women's representation in local government institutions increased sharply with the enactment of the Local Government (Union Parishad) Second Amendment Act in 1997, (Rahman 2000). The Act provided for women filling three seats in each union Parishad through direct elections. Women in Parliament have also experienced a remarkable journey in reaching their present level of 45 out of 345 seats. Since independence in 1971, the state has sought to bring women into national politics through electoral quotas. Under the constitution, 15 seats for women (4.8 percent of total seats) were reserved in Parliament. In 1979, the number reserved for women increased to 30 (or 9.7 percent). However, this provision lapsed in 1987 and for the next three years, there were no quotas for women in the national Parliament. The situation ended in 1990, when a constitutional amendment restored the 30 seats reserved for women (Common Wealth Secretariat, 1999). Although it is noted that awareness among elite women on political participation is low, there is hardly any documented evidence on elite Maasai women participation in political leadership, hence the need for the current.

In the Common Wealth Secretariat, (1999) report, it is noted that, the experience in Bangladesh reveals that women play an important role as law and policy-makers, at the local and national government level. Women have played a key role not only in decision making but also in development-related issues. It is also noted that   in instances where women have

actively participated in political leadership, they have been found to be related to powerful leaders and their political advancement. These women's leadership did not ensure significant advances in government for women and their position in politics has not significantly improved, both in politics and in local government decision-making in Bangladesh. Narok South has no history of an elected woman member of parliament even with the help of the Kenyan Constitution, (2010). Therefore, the study sought to examine whether the findings of the report by commonwealth that the elite women are not informed of their position in political leadership apply to the elite Maasai women despite having been extensively addressed in the constitution of 2010.

According to LeBeau and Dima (2005), there is lack of political will and a deliberate attempt by government to delay the process of women participation in political leadership. They further noted that the cumulative effects of the factors on women have therefore, generally resulted in low levels of participation and in national structures of political decision-making. The Namibia Women's Manifesto points out that, at the rate of progress from 1990 to 2004 in Namibia (which has been one of the best in the region), gender balance in top participation positions would only be achieved in 2050. The work of LeBeau is very elaborate on the factors that influence women's political participation for instance government support and political will. This study sought to establish whether these findings apply to elite Maasai women participation in Narok South Sub-County.

Kethusegile-Jeru (2004) notes that there is a serious concern for effective democratic governance benefiting the majority of people particularly women in Southern Africa. Increasing women's representation is by quotas and proportional participation. Gender quotas are now increasingly being viewed as an important policy feature for boosting women's access to decision-making bodies throughout the world reason being the in-built prejudices against women, the PR system works in favor of women. This current study sought to fill the gap that exists in literature on participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County.

The top performing countries in SADC with regard to women's representation in parliament (South Africa, Mozambique and Namibia) have PR systems. It is noted that, PR system by itself does not guarantee the increased participation of women, and that the chances of women being elected is greater when the PR system is combined with a party-based lists quota for women. If quotas are enforced, with women placed in elective positions, women are

more likely to participate. Although legal quotas in a PR system are often more effective in some countries, the introduction of quotas, especially in the form of reserved seats, has not led to the empowerment of women. It can create an easy avenue for women and take the responsibility off the parties to address gender concerns and to nominate women as electoral candidates' (Kethusegile-Jeru, 2004). In the Maasai community, there are limited chances for women to participate in political leadership even when it comes to elective positions. This study sought to assess   whether the argument of Kethusegile-Jeru that women are not supported by political parties in their bid to get elected to political leadership, in examining the case for low political participation among the elite Maasai women. The next section reviews the east African context of women participation in political leadership.

In Tanzania, 20% parliamentary seats are reserved for women in direct proportion to the numbers of seats that they win in the election, these special seats are in effect, nominated rather than elected and each party has its own rule for filling the special seats and discourage women from participating in politics which contends that the way in which special seats are distributed has affected negatively on women's chances of entering parliament through normal constituency elections. According to Meena, (2004) the first parliamentary election in 1961, 8.0% of women members were elected in constituency polls, compared with 4% in the year 2000. Reliance on special seats has taken the pressure off political parties to address the many challenges that women face in being directly elected, and to become more democratic in their internal procedures and structures. The study reveals that Maasai community has never nominated a woman or elected one to parliament from Narok south sub-county.

According to Ouma & Maina, (2012) marriage and parenthood are anticipated to have a stronger negative effect among women than men. She contends that while marriage may boost participation of men in politics and leadership positions it may act as a detrimental tool to women. Bolzendahl & Brooks (2010) notes that in the Netherlands and the USA married women participate less in politics than single women since after marriage women's leisure time declines to a great extent than men's, and women tend to increase the amount of time spent on housework. Ouma and Maina (2012), further noted that many women would rather join politics when their children have grown up or after their husbands have died, meaning that, marriage might lower political participation among women and boost it among men. In Narok south sub-county the Maasai women are excluded from political participation because of various factors including culture.

There is however, little documentation of the actual factors that contributes to this situation among the elite women in Narok South Sub-County. According to the Maasai culture women are prohibited to stand and speak before men and even compete with them in issues of decision making. The study sought to establish whether the low participation of elite Maasai women in politics is influenced by among other factors, demographic variables such as marriage, age, education level and the culture of the society.

According to Thomas (1994) gender is a socially and culturally constructed factor that is pegged on gender roles. It is a social tool responsible for distribution of roles based on femininity and masculinity. Allocation of gender roles is reinforced through socialization which in essence gives an individual his/her identity in the social structures. Sex and gender are not the same since sex is the biological difference between male and female and gender entails roles constructed through different socialization of males and females. Gender roles keep changing and evolving with time. Gender roles have tended to favor men as a result of the patriarchal and stereotypical nature of many African societies. This supports the use of the structuralism theory which helped to understand how various social structures have influenced the participation of women in political leadership.

Political participation and representation in Kenya has always taken a sexist perspective where women only participate as voters. Statistics have shown that Kenya still lags behind compared to other East African states on the level of women participation in political leadership (UN, 2000). The findings of the current study also noted a similar concern about the demographic related factors and how they influence elite women political participation. From a general perspective, women are excluded from political participation by the demographic factors as they are defined in terms of their sex and marital status.

Sex stereo-types are among the most firmly entrenched obstacles to the elimination of discrimination thus largely responsible for undermining gender equity (UN, 2000). In most religious organizations power and authority is believed to belong to men hence subjugating women. A similar view was noted from a study conducted by Tripp (2009) in Ruanda. The main concern in the study was about the quotas that many countries have set for accommodating women in political leadership. The quotas are aimed at enhancing women participation in political leadership. It provides a platform on which more women can participate in leadership freely without any form of discrimination.

Paxton and Hughes (2007) noted that religion is another source of anachronistic cultural beliefs in many communities in the country that excludes women from political leadership. Arguments about women's inferiority to men are present across all dominant religions, and traditionally religion has long been used to exclude women from aspects of social, political, or religious life around the world. This study agrees that in Maasai community gender stereotype poses the biggest challenge among the women who have believed that their being women alone hinders them from politics and other leadership positions. The results of the study suggest that a change in legislation to enhance the acceptance of elite women participation in political leadership is encouraged. The next sub section highlights the political landscape in Kenya noting how women representation in political leadership has been conceptualized before.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study employed the Radical feminist theory advanced by Grossman (1957) the theory of Empowerment advanced by Douglas and Perkins (1993) and the Giddens' Structuration theory advanced by Giddens in 1957 to explain why elite Maasai women are not participating in political leadership in Narok South Sub County.

2.2.1 Radical Feminist Theory

Radical Feminist theory by Grossman (1957) is one of the major contemporary sociological theories that analyze the status of women in society. It attempts to explain the societal differences between men and women. For example, cultural feminists look at the different values associated with womanhood and femininity as a reason why men and women experience the social world differently. Other feminist theorists believe that the different roles assigned to women and men within institutions better explain gender difference, including the sexual division of labor in the household, which contributes to marginalization of women in patriarchal societies. Women are thus, seen as objects and are denied the opportunity for self-realization (Grossman, 1957). Among the elite Maasai women it is noted that they are denied a lot of opportunities such as owning property such as land and other assets, they are treated like objects and are usually classified together with children meaning that they have no voice in the society. Women are marginalized in all aspects and they become their husband's property seen to have been acquired just like any other asset. This study therefore established a link between the concerns of the feminist theory in relation of

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women and the various issues surrounding the low elite Maasai women participation in political leadership in Narok south sub-county.

They advocate working within institutions to level the playing field through changing laws, education, and socialization to bring about gender equality (Phillips, 1998). The feminist theory provides an explanation for the differences between men and women and it is most concerned with giving a voice to women and highlighting the various ways women have contributed to society through participation. The Radical Feminist theory does not spell out the specific solutions to marginalization, oppression, discrimination and how to change laws, education and socialization to increase elite women participation to political leadership. This theory was adopted for this study on participation of women in political leadership as it helps in addressing the ills of the society based on gender, race and other social related factors that play a key role influencing the participation of women in leadership.

The weakness of the Radical feminist's theory is that it simplified the issues and suggested that men are the victimizers and women the victims, not all women are victims and not all men are corrupt, it ignored race, class and sexual orientation differences, it also talks of getting rid of traditional social roles and elimination of patriarchy it did not concentrate on how to achieve equal distribution of power and how women can overcome this barrier in order to participate in political leadership.

2.2.2 Empowerment theory

This theory advanced by Douglas and Perkins (1993) brings into perspective the fact that empowerment links individual's strengths and competencies, therefore, natural helping systems and behaviors are instrumental to social policy and social change. The theory also links individual wellbeing to the larger social and political environment to create a responsive community which classifies people in terms of wellness versus illness, competence versus deficits and strength versus weaknesses. Empowerment focuses on identifying capabilities instead of classifying risks and exploring environmental influences of social problems. However, it develops knowledge and skills by engaging professionals other than authoritative experts. Douglas and Perkins (1993) argue that the theory includes both processes and outcomes that suggest the actions of empowering; it includes participation in community level, organizational level, collective decision-making and shared leadership, to enable individual access to government and resources.

The theory suggests that there should be participation of both genders in society to achieve socio-political goals. Participation may be done successfully through gender communication in the following perspectives; efforts to gain access to resources, critical understanding of socio-political environment, collaboration with policy makers and program planners. The proponents of this theory stress that Community organization must pay attention to models of empowerment and develop preventive interventions. In the Maasai community a greater percentage of women are not entitled to ownership of resources, their socio-political environments are limited, there is little done so far in relation to women empowerment in terms of political participation in the community to promote women to political participation in Narok Sub South County (Field research, 2016).

The study sought to investigate ways in which elite women can be empowered politically, socially and economically for them to increase strength through developing confidence in their own capabilities, having decision-making powers to enable them achieve goals, efforts to gain access to resources and enhance elite women participation in political leadership. However, the theory does not spell out specific ways of empowering elite women's political, social and economic strength. This study therefore sought to find out the various strategies that can be used in empowering the elite Maasai women so that they can effectively participate in political leadership in the society. So far there is little evidence on how the empowerment of the elite Maasai women can be achieved in the midst of a strong cultural background.

2.2.3 Giddens' Structuration Theory

This theory was advanced by Giddens (1984) and it is a formal social theory, which can be seen as an answer to the classic actor/structure dualism. The theory is a logic conceptual and heuristic model of human behavior/action. The theory notes that behavior and structure are intertwined; people go through a socialization process and become dependent on the existing social structures, but at the same time social structures are being altered by their activities. This means that social structures are the medium of human activities as well as the result of those activities. Social structures not only restrict behavior but also create possibilities for human behavior. The point is, it is not all about the restrictions people encounter in unrolling their behavior in space and time, but people also contribute to the creation of a certain time-space-structure.

Structuration theory is based on the premise that the classic actor/structure dualism has to be re-conceptualized as a duality, the duality of structure. The structural properties of social systems exist only in so far as forms of social conduct are reproduced chronically across time and space. The structuration of institutions can be understood in terms of how it comes about that social activities become 'stretched' across wide spans of time-space by incorporating time-space in the heart of social theory means thinking again about some of the disciplinary divisions, which separates sociology from history, and from geography (Rose, 1999).

In structuration theory 'structure' is regarded as rules and resources recursively implicated in social reproduction; institutionalized features of social systems have structural properties in the sense that relationships are stabilized across time and space. 'Structure' can be conceptualized abstractly as two aspects of rules normative elements and codes of signification. Resources are also of two kinds: authoritative resources, which derive from the co-ordination of the activity of human agents, and allocative resources, which stem from control of material products or of aspects of the material world (Giddens, 1984). The theory provides an explanation that social conduct structures restrict human behavior and this influence the way the society considers different individuals. Women in the society face a lot of challenges which arise from the structural systems which deny them ownership of both allocative resources and authoritative resources. This denies women the chance to participate in political leadership since they lack the appropriate resources to back them politically.

Giddens' main claim for his theory is that it draws together the two principal strands of social thinking. In the structuralist tradition, the emphasis is on structure (constraint), whereas in the phenomenological and hermeneutic traditions the human agent is the primary focus. Structuration theory attempts to recast structure and agency as a mutually dependent duality (Rose, 1999). Some structuration theory concepts are time space distinction, reutilization, and system integration. Giddens suggest that human agency and social structures are in a relationship with each other, and it is the repetition of the acts of individual agents which reproduces the structure. This means that there is a social structure - traditions, institutions, moral codes, and established ways of doing things; but it also means that these can be changed when people start to ignore them, replace them, or reproduce them differently. This theory was adopted for the study to assess how social structures affect the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership.

2.2.4 Synthesis of the Theories

The key components of the radical feminist theory, the empowerment theory and the Gidden's structural theory used in this study are instrumental in articulating the various features of concern in this study. They complement each other well in explaining factors that influence elite women participation in political leadership. For instance, the radical feminist theory looks at the different values associated with womanhood and femininity as a reason why men and women experience the social world differently, considering roles assigned to women and men within the social institutions. However, the radical feminist theory does not spell out how the issues that inhibit women participation in matters of the society can be addressed.

The empowerment theory tries to spell out specific ways of empowering elite women's political, social and economic strength, in order to position them to participate in political leadership in the society. However, the theory does not clearly address the strategies that could be used to address issues of women empowerment in a cultural rich society like the Maasai. Giddens Structuration theory on the other hand spells out how structures in the society have spelt out the roles of men and women in the society hence denying the women effective participation in leadership roles. According to Giddens women are denied the resources that are key in their participation in political leadership Change. Any envisaged change should be sustainable, thus, implying that community's perception must and should be put into cognizance for political changes to be real. The strengths of these theories spell out the steps that could be undertaken by elite Maasai women so as to participate in political leadership roles. This was informed by the literature review that pointed out the need to undertake this study.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework explains participation of Maasai elite women in political leadership in Narok Sub County. The study examined historical trends, socio-cultural, economic and demographic factors of elite Maasai women and their participation in political leadership. The four independent variables were looked into individually and how they contributed to low elite women participation in political leadership. However, it was noted that the influence of the four independent variables on the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership was influenced by intervening variables such as gender awareness, education and training and policy issues. This is illustrated in Figure 2.1 below.

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Independent variable **Intervening Variable** **Dependent Variable**

Factors influencing elite Women participation

Historical trends		**Elite Women Political Participation leadership**
• Family background		• Access to Public/Government services/resources
• Colonial education		
• Colonial political structures		
Socio-Cultural factors		• Participation in Organizational Level
• Status of family in society		
• Women educational level		• Shared Leadership
• Patriarchal system		
Economic factors		• Participation in Community level
• Occupation/ investment		
• Land ownership		
• Income		
• Value of Wealth		
Demographic factors		
• Household size	• Education and training	
• Household head	• Policy issues	
• Marital status	• Access to public and government services	
• Age		
• Educational level		

Figure 2.1: Conceptualizing the relationship between factors influencing Maasai elite women participation in political leadership

Maasai elite women participation in political leadership in Narok south sub county. This current study considered four variables that is; historical trends, socio-cultural, economic and demographic factors as the independent variables of the study. The dependent variable was elite women participation in political leadership. Figure 2.1 above shows the relationship between the dependent and the independent variables. The independent variables in the conceptual framework above are explained below.

This variable on historical trends sought to examine how the previous perceptions and trends in the community towards women and leadership has shaped the current trends in women participation in political leadership among the elite Maasai women. The variable sought to expose how family background, colonial education and colonial political structures have influenced the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership.

Understanding the socio- cultural factors and the potential existence of strong family ties in a society are crucial in ensuring the success of elite Maasai women participation in political leadership as compared to other communities that seem to be more liberal in their cultural stance, closed communities such as the Maasai still have very strong culture that seem to make integration difficult. Even in multicultural and multinational environments, informal ties exist among the various ethnic groups and people tend to gravitate towards their kin. The challenge is greater among the elite Maasai women who after being exposed to other liberal cultures find it difficult to cope with their internal cultural issues particularly in terms of participation in leadership of the community. For the purpose of this study, the socio-cultural variables were conceptualized in terms of the status of the family in society, women educational level and the patriarchal system existing in the society.

In terms of economic factors and the influence they have on elite Maasai women participation in political leadership, the study sought to address issues related to occupation/investment, land ownership, income and value of wealth of elite Maasai women in Narok south sub county and how it influences their participation in political leadership, considering the existing economic factors in the society.

In terms of the demographic variable, the study sought to examine how various characteristics such as household size, mixed community, household head, marital status, age and Educational level influence the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership. This variable sought to expose the influence of demographic characteristics of elite Maasai women on their participation in political leadership.

The study conceptualized the dependent variable in terms of Access to public/Government services/resources, Participation in Organizational Level, Shared Leadership and Participation in Community level. The variable sought to identify the various ways in which participation of women in political leadership can be explained. This shows that the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership is influenced by the four factors discussed in this section. However, it is noted that the relationship between the variables might be influenced by such factors as Gender awareness, Education and training, Policy issues and access to public and government services.

2.4 Gaps exposed in literature review

The study aimed to fill inherent research gaps. This chapter has reviewed literature on various studies that have been done on elite women's political participation. The chapter discusses the influence of historical trends, Demographic, socio-economic and cultural factors and their relationship with light women political participation. From the reviewed literature, demographic characteristics such as education, marital status and religion have been observed across the world to influence participation of women in political leadership.

These factors have been noted to either promote or hinder elite women's participation in political leadership. Literature also suggests that economic factors in term of land ownership, job positions and income generation ability of the women influence their participation in political leadership. Past studies have shown that Women are economically disadvantaged; they are the majority poor yet take the highest level of participation in political issues in any country. Given that the political position requires a lot of resources for one to successfully win the loyalty of the electorate, women remain disadvantaged in all ways. It is noted that of the elite women refrain from participating in politics despite the fact that they have the economic support required.

The literature showed that women are burdened with multiple roles in the private and public sphere thereby hindering their participation in politics which requires a lot of time. Literature also shows that a country's culture determines women willingness to vie for a political seat. Cultures that are egalitarian will encourage women to participate in Political Leadership thus will have more women occupying leadership positions. However, cultures, through retrogressive customs, traditions and beliefs can also perpetuate the subordination and oppression of women. The gaps that the current study wishes to fill in literature were by investigating the influence of the elite women opinion on women's participation in political leadership in communities of the pastoral nature such as the Maasai community. Literature also showed that historic trends have had an influence on the role that women play in politics and more so their participation.

This review was conducted from a vast area reflecting the global, regional and national perspectives. Literature on pastoral communities was limited in scope however; the few studies that have considered the pastoral set up and in relation to factors affecting women participation in politics did not focus on elite women. But they have focused on general aspects of factors hindering women participation in politics.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology adopted by the study. It describes the study area, with a map of Kenya showing the study area, the research design, the study population, sample size and sampling procedure, data collection instruments, reliability and validity of the instrument and data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

This study was descriptive survey research design that examines the Maasai elite women participation in political leadership. Descriptive research design was appropriate because it involved observing and describing the characteristic of elite Maasai women as it exists. The design was also appropriate as it aided the researcher to obtain original data from representative and objective sample drawn from a large population hence having correct conclusions. The study used qualitative and quantitative data to get a respondent's perspective on a specified aspect in a predetermined structured manner.

3.3 Study Area

The study area was Narok South Sub County in Narok County. The sub county has six electoral wards namely; Sagamian, Sogoo, Melelo, Ololulung'a, Narosura-Majimoto and Loita (IEBC, 2012). See details in Figure 3.1 on page 58. The choice of Narok South Sub County for the study was guided by the fact that the area has some of the most remote areas where culture is still very strongly entrenched among the people (Narok South Sub County Social Services Office, 2015).

The study focused on four Divisions Melelo, Ololulung'a, Majimoto and Loita in Narok South Sub-County because they harbor majority of the Maasai (County development Plan, 2009). The sub county covers an area of approximately 15,087.8 square kilometers. It lies between latitudes of 0˚ 50˚ and 2˚ 05˚ South and longitudes 35˚ 58˚ and 36˚ 00˚ East. It borders the Republic of Tanzania to the South, Transmara Sub-County to the West, Bomet, Bureti and Nakuru County to the North, and Kajiado Sub County to the East. Administratively, the county is subdivided into 8 divisions with 54 locations (see map in Figure 3.1 on page 58).

These locations are: Olokurto, Mau, Osupuko, Ololulung'a, Mara, Loita, Central and Mulot. The Maasai predominantly practice pastoralists and agriculture. The sub county has a varying topography with altitude varying from 3, 098 metres above sea level in the highlands to 1,000 metres above sea level in the lowlands. The highlands, which consist of Upper Mau, Olokurto and Mulot divisions, receive 1,200 to 1,800 mm of rainfall per annum and have a high potential for wool sheep and dairy farming. The lowlands cover Osupuko, Mara, Loita, parts of Ololulung'a and Mau divisions. The semi-arid lowlands have good potential for sheep, goats and beef production. Temperatures range from 5˚c to 28˚c with lower temperature reaching 5˚c in June-September period while maximum temperatures reach 28˚c between November and February.
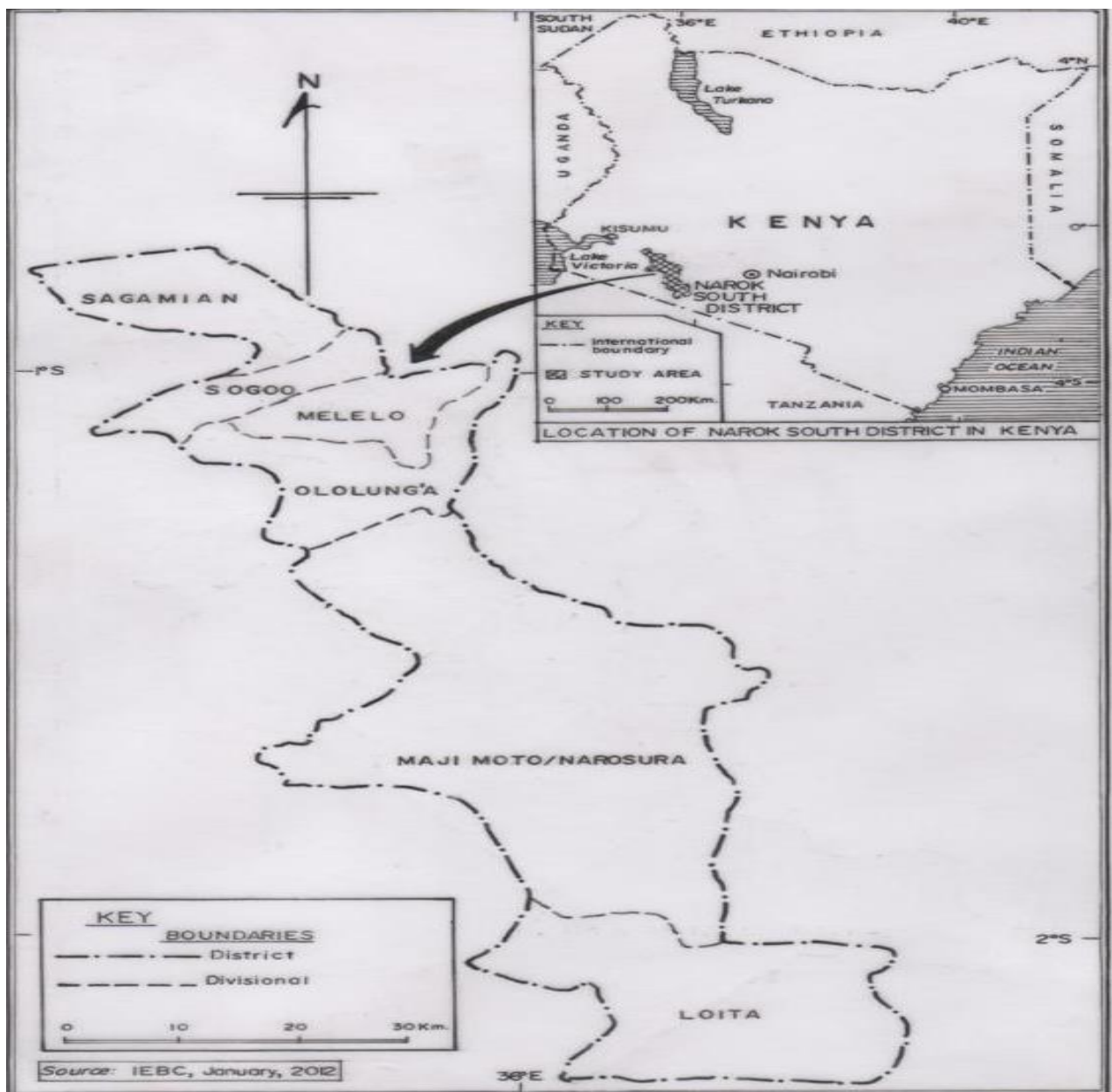
Figure 3.1: Map of Kenya showing Narok South Sub-County

The study was based on the last four Divisions since majority of the Maasai reside there. The sub county covers an area of approximately 15,087.8 square kilometers. It lies between latitudes of 0˚ 50˚ and 2˚ 05˚ South and longitudes 35˚ 58˚ and 36˚ 00˚ East. It borders the Republic of Tanzania to the South, Transmara Sub County to the West, Bomet, Bureti and Nakuru County to the North, and Kajiado Sub County to the East. Administratively, the county is subdivided into 8 divisions with 54 locations.

According to the Narok south sub-county statistics office (2012), the elite Maasai women are employed as teachers, working in different ministries, engaged in business and farming which is an indication of able leaders. Culturally the Maasai women whether they are literate or not are considered to be home makers and have no place in leadership and decision making in the community. The Maasai elite women are faced with this cultural challenge because they are not given the chance to participate in the leadership of the community even when they are very capable. A woman is considered the property of the husband immediately she is married and hence she takes up her role as a home maker immediately. This shows that Maasai women have been sidelined from community leadership and hence their participation in political leadership has remained very low. The current study was concerned about why elite women are not participating in political leadership in Narok South Sub-county of Narok County (field notes, 2016).

3.4 Population of the Study

The target population is 5016 elite women from Narok Sub County (Kenya National statistics office, 2014). The respondents for this study were women from different educational levels that are; Certificate, Diploma, Degree and Post- graduate from Melelo, Ololulung'a, Narosura- Majimoto and Loita drawn from Narok South Sub-County. The distribution of the population in the four areas is provided in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1: Population Distribution for the Study Area

Location	Population	Percentage (%)
Melelo	1014	20
Ololulung'a	2159	43
Narosura-Majimoto	1091	22
Loita	752	15
Total	**5016**	**100**

Source: Narok South Sub County Social Services Office, 2015

From Table 3.1 presents the population distribution of the respondents. The Table shows that Ololulunga has the highest number of elite women in the sub county with 2159 households representing 43%. Followed by Majomoto with 1091 households representing 22 % with elite women, Melelo has 1014 households representing 20% while Loita has only 752 households representing 15% with elite women. This indicates that Ololulunga has the highest number of households because of its proximity to the urban setup compared to inerior areas like Loita where people are still so inclined to their culture. Other studies such as Akaro (2010), who also establsihed that most people living in rural setups have low academic background compared to those living in urban and peri urban areas.

3.5 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis for this study was the elite women in the four selected areas of Narok South Sub- County. The focus on the elite women allowed the study to assess the factors that hinder their political participation in terms of social-cultural factors, historical trends, economic factors and the demographic factors. The essence is, despite these women having a good education and professional achievement they are still not interested in political participation as contestants like other Maasai women who have resorted to being voters and not active involvement in political positions.

3.6 Sampling Procedure

This study adopted purposive and proportionate sampling. The key informants were selected on the basis of their education level, their professionalism, years of experience and their continued touch with the local community in their daily work. The method helped the researcher to get more precise data on the subject matter of the study.

Secondly, the study used both stratified and simple random sampling methods to select elite women from the four study locations Melelo, Ololulung'a, Majimoto/Narosura and Loita, based on the academic qualifications. This study used data from central bureau of statistics to divide the population in their different categories for sampling. This method was appropriate since women at different education levels have unique characteristics. Simple random sampling was used to pick respondents per strata. The method was appropriate for this group as the respondents have the basic requirement, they are all elites.

3.7 Sampling size

There are various methods that can be used in the determination of a sample for a particular research. For instance, Kothari (2004) suggested that a sample size must not be less than 30% while Yamane (1967) recommended the use of a sample size determination formula in determining the sample size for the study. Since the study has a defined target population size (N) the Yamane formula (1967) was used in determining the sample size (n). According to Yamane (1967) a sample size n can be determined as follows;

$$n = \frac{N}{1+e^2N}$$

Where; n-sample size

      N- Target population

      e- Error

      N= 5016

      E=0.05 Hence

$$N= \frac{5016}{1+ (0.05)^2 5000}$$

Where N =5016

      e=0.05

$$n = \frac{5016}{13.5}$$

      = 372

The study used purposive sampling to get the required sample size of 372 (only these residents had knowledge what participation political leadership) respondents who were derived from the target population of 5016 elite women in Narok South District using Yamane formulae. This represented 7.4% of the population. Proportionate sampling was used to ensure representativeness of all the residents in four areas of residence. This distribution is provided in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Sampling Frame

Level of Education	Population	Percentage Sample	Sample
Diploma and below	2733	7.4	202
Degree	2016	7.4	150
Post graduate	267	7.4	20
TOTAL	**N=5016**	**22.2**	**n=372**

Table 3.2 shows the distribution of the respondents on the basis of the education level where three categories of education were used. It was noted that out of the 372 sample an equal proportion was selected from each category. Most of the elite women respondents with a total sample of 2733 had attained a diploma level, a sample of 202 respondents was selected, for degree the total was 2016 and 150 were considered for the study while post graduate out of 267 elites only 20 were selected to participate in the study. The sampling procedure was as discussed in item 3.7 below.

3.8 Data Collection

The study used semi-structured questionnaires and unstructured interview guides to collect data.

3.8.1 Questionnaires

The researcher administered the questionnaires. According to (Isaac and Michael,1995) questionnaires are most preferred in social research as the instrument helps to gather data over a large sample and in diverse regions and hence save time. The questionnaires were semi- structured so as to determine the factors influencing participation of elite women in political leadership in the Maasai community. Using Likert Scale, a scale of 1 to 5 where five was "strongly agree", 4 was "Agree", 3 was "Not Sure", 2 was Disagree and 1 was Strongly Disagree was used in each questionnaire. The questionnaires were administered to the entire sample of residents of Narok South (372). The questionnaire is as attached in appendix II.

3.8.2 In-depth Interview Method

Unstructured interview guide was used in this study to collect qualitative data. Specifically, interview guides were used to collect qualitative data from the elite women households of Narok South. The researcher made appointments with these respondents and conducted the interviews. It was administered to ten (10) Key informants who were the elderly women and men, women political leaders, illiterate and literate men and resourceful local women who witnessed the emergence of the colonial and post-colonial period in the community which covered the historical aspect through snowballing method. This promoted the notion of giving voice and agency to participants and also enable them reconstruct their experiences and knowledge within the topic under study, the in-depth interview was conducted between 4th and 12th February 2016 in line with the focus group discussions. The interviews were guided by lead questions formulated from the objectives of the study to guide the study; while the researcher took control of the discussion to make sure the respondents did not go out of the topic of discussion. The few elite women in the areas were therefore assumed to hold critical information on issues of interest to the current study. The study also engaged key informants in an interview with the women who hold key positions in the public offices and also the politicians   in the areas (Patton, 1990). The interview guide sample is as attached in Appendix III.

3.8.3 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions were organized as a means to obtain data, with the help of a moderator who took notes to put together responses from three groups of female, male and both male and female comprising 10 members of elite women, non-elite women and men of similar status. Each focus group discussion was composed of an average of 14 individuals who share certain characteristics, which were relevant for the study. The largest FGD had 12 respondents and the smallest had 10 participants. The discussions were held on 4th to 11th of February 2016 as shown in Table 3.3. Refer to appendix v.

The discussions were well planned and designed to obtain information on the participants' beliefs and perceptions on the defined area of interest, topics to be discussed were decided before hand with predetermined list of questions, interviewer's aimed to find the right balance between maintaining control of the discussion and allowing the participants the space to redefine the topic and generate novel insight (Fetterman, 1989). A tape recorder was also used to record detailed information from the respondents for transcription later.

3.9 Data Collection Procedures

The researcher sought for a research permit from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (NACOSTI), and the County Education Officers in Narok. In addition, two research assistants were selected from the community to assist in data collection. The research assistants who had completed undergraduate were taken through training on how to use the instruments. After the one day, training the research assistants were tested orally to ascertain whether they had grasped the concepts under investigation. The data was collected from the respondents in February 2016. The questionnaires, interviews and the FGDs were conducted concurrently to save time and also to ensure that the process is as effective as possible in engaging the respondents.

3.10 Instrument Reliability and Validity

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) whenever a test or other measuring device is used as part of the data collection process, the validity and reliability of that test is important. Just as we would not use a math test to assess verbal skills, we would not want to use a measuring device for research that was not truly measuring what we purport it to measure. After all, we are relying on the results to show support or a lack of support for our theory and if the data collection methods are erroneous, the data we analyze will also be erroneous. Reliability refers to the extent to which the instrument of research gives consistent data after a number of trials (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). In order to ensure that reliability was promoted, the researcher ensured that the interview questions draw from the study objectives.

First, in enhancing validity and reliability of data collection instrument, an extensive review of literature was conducted to ensure that the variables scales were based upon established concepts. Secondly, individuals from the field of sociology at Maasai Mara University and leadership from the local Maasai community were consulted and requested to freely review the research instruments in order to ensure that they met both face and content validity. According to Weiers (1988) judgment of experts regarding the representatives of the instrument is often a source of constructive input and suggestions for getting the instrument better aimed in the direction of characteristics measured.

Analysis was done in light of the objectives of the study and also in totality in order to compile a complete picture of the study eventually. Validity is defined as the accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences, which are based on the research results (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). In other words, validity is the degree to which results obtained from the

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analysis of the data actually represents the phenomena under study. To properly evaluate the validity of the research, the researcher determined if information obtained from the analysis of the data is accurate and relevant to the topic.

Second, a pilot study was conducted in Kajiado East Sub County to examine the viability of the research plan between the 10th and 20th of January 2016. First, pre- contact was made to identify the elites, whom the researcher discussed the purpose of the study and requested for their cooperation. This group was very useful as it assisted in detecting weaknesses in the design of the instrument and to provide a basis for correcting the instruments before being used in the actual study (Nachmias and Nachmias, 2008). The respondents of the pilot test do not have to be statistically selected, (Nicholas, 2008). Mugenda and Mugenda (2008) recommend 10% of the sample size therefore to increase reliability, the researcher considered 10% of 372 sample size to give a total of 37 respondents from the selected area of study with similar characteristics.

According to Kothari (2004) a reliability coefficient of 0.7 and above is regarded appropriate and the instruments were therefore accepted for use in the study. The results are presented in Table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4: Reliability Statistics

Items	Cronbach's Alpha	No. of Items
Overall reliability	.909	30
Historical trends of Maasai women participation in political leadership	.680	7
Demographic factors influencing participation	.768	7
Socio-cultural factors influencing participation	.770	7
Economic factors influencing participation	.701	7

Source: Field Data, 2015

The results in Table 3.3 show that the reliability of the questionnaire was appropriate for this study. The overall questionnaire reliability index was 0.909, the reliability for the objectives were 0.68, 0.768, 0.770 and 0.701 respectively. The overall reliability was tested on 30 item statements. The questionnaire was therefore considered reliable and used for further analysis.

3.11 Data Analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative techniques were used to analyze data. The researcher used Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 21 for windows to analyze quantitative data from survey using descriptive statistics of frequencies, percentage and mean scores. The qualitative data collected from the field through the interviews and the FGDs were analyzed thematically. The key themes were well organized and where possible verbatim captions were captured and presented in boxes. The characteristics of the respondents, date when the interview and FGDs was conducted were indicated for each box that was used to present the key findings.

Quantitative data was collected through the questionnaire. The data collected was sorted and coded by assigning numbers or symbols for identification purposes. The coded data was then entered in the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (version 21). SPSS was used because it has inbuilt statistical functions that assisted in classifying and summarizing the data into descriptive statistics that is, mean, frequency and percentages. Further analysis was done where inferential statistics that is Chi-square analysis and analysis of variance were computed for each objective in order to test whether there was an association between the dependent and independent variables of the study in order to make deductions and generalizations about the entire population based on the data. The test was done at a 5% significant value, where by the association is considered significant when the significant value was less than the 5%. The findings of the study were summarized using frequency tables and charts.

3.12 Summary of the Data Analysis Matrix

The summary of the study variables and the methods of analysis was done and presented in Table 3.5. The table shows the research objectives, types of data; measures used the research instrument and the data analysis techniques. Refer to appendix vi.

3.13 Ethical Considerations

An introduction letter was obtained from Egerton University's board of Post-graduate studies, to enable the researcher obtain a research permit from the National Council for Science and Technology. The researcher sought consent from the Narok South Sub-County Government and other related bodies informing them the purpose of research. All information collected was treated with total confidentiality and ethical rules and standards were fully adhered in order to protect the identity of the respondents.

CHAPTER FOUR
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the analysis of data collected from the 294 respondents from the four sub divisions of Narok South Sub County that were studied. Further analysis on the factors affecting participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership are presented and discussed in this chapter. The chapter is organized to cover the general information of the sample; response on effect of historical trends, socio-cultural factors, economic factors and demographic factors on the elite Maasai women participation in political leadership is presented. Under each section the results are presented in three steps, first the descriptive analysis, second, inferential analysis and third the qualitative data where the themes deduced from the interviews and FGDs are presented.

4.2 Results

4.2.1 General information of the sample

Data was collected from 294 respondents out of the targeted 372 of the elite Maasai women in the area. This represented 78% response rate, the response rate was more than the 70% as recommended by Mugenda and Mugenda (2003). Questionnaires were used to collect data from among the elite Maasai women in the study area.

The general characteristics of the respondents considered were age, educational level and the religious background. Age was important for this study because it influences a person decision to make informed choices in life including political participation. The distribution of the respondents in terms of age is presented in Figure 4.1.
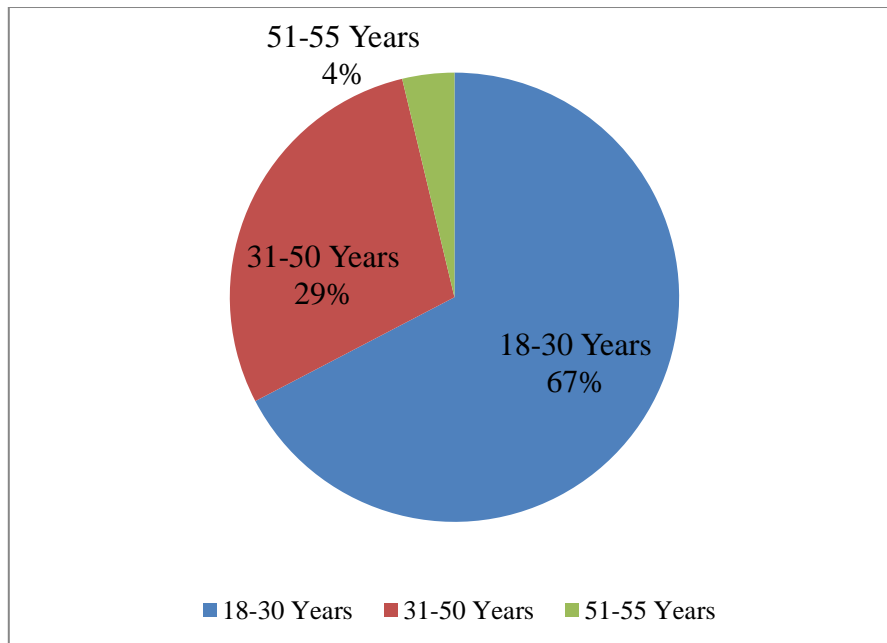
Figure 4.1: Age of Respondents

Source: Field Data 2016

The results presented in Figure 4.1 indicate that majority 198 (67.3%) of the elite women who participated in the study were between the age bracket of 18-30 years. Therefore, the study received a majority of the responses from youthful elite women. The youthful elite women were followed by the middle aged, 31-50 years, who had 85 (28.9 %) and the old, 51-55 years, who were approximately 4% of the sample. This is representative of the population under study that has a majority of the elite being youthful. It's noteworthy that the Maasai community did not educate the girl child until after the campaigns of educating the Maasai girl child

Education was also important in this study because the study mainly targeted the elites who are believed to have open chances in all areas of life including their participation in politics. The distribution of the respondents in terms of education is presented in Table 4.1

Table 4.1: Level of Education

Education level	Frequency	Percent
Diploma	176	59.9
Undergraduate	111	37.7
Post Graduate	7	2.4
Total	**294**	**100.0**

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The results presented in Table 4.1 show that most of the respondents 176 (59.9%) had Diploma qualifications from various fields of study, 111 (37.7 %) had undergraduate degrees and only 7 (2.4%) of the respondents had post graduate qualifications. This implies that most Maasai women elites who participated in the study had attained the requisite level of education and leadership for appropriate responses. It is important to note that this study considered the elite who were defined as educated persons hence the findings.

Religion was also considered important for this study because sometimes it may influence women participation in public office. Religion influences the beliefs and norms of an individual and hence it affects the perception of the people to have open chances in all areas of life including their participation in politics. This is presented in Figure 4.2 below.
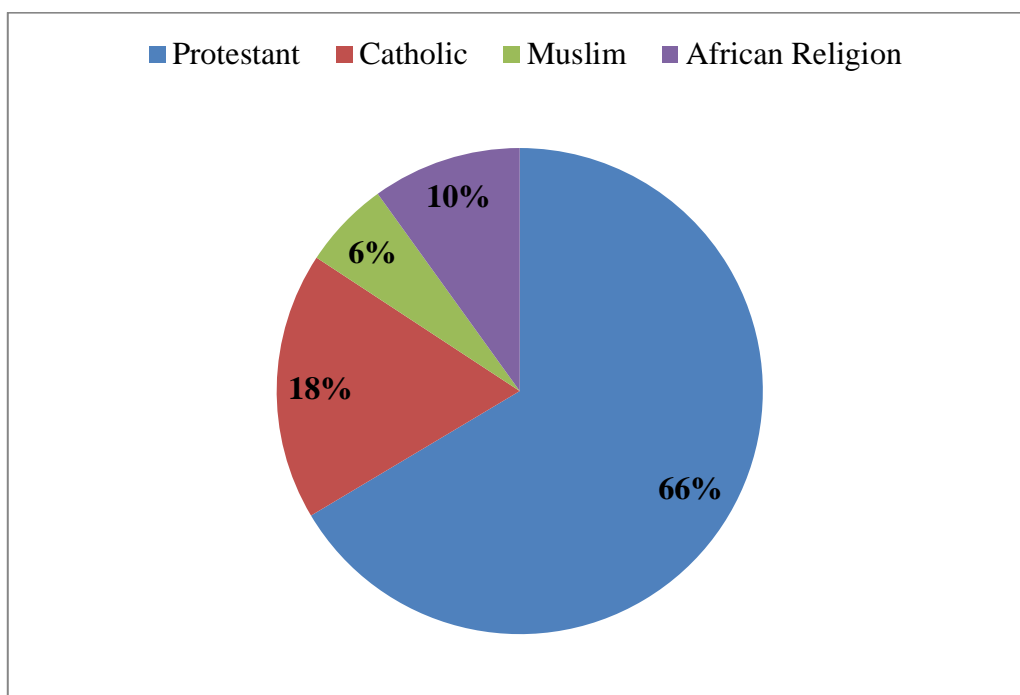
Figure 4.2: Response on Religion

On religion, the study established that majority of the respondents 194 (66.0%) were Protestants, 52 (17.7 %) were Catholics, 17 (5.8 %) were Muslims and the rest 29 (9.9%) were from the African religion. This implies that most elite Maasai women professed the Christian faith. Although religion has long been seen as an instrument through which people are to be liberated from their cultural ties, but the case for the Maasai women is contrary to this assumption. The religion has long been used to exclude women from aspects of social,

political or religious life around the world indicating that women's inferiority to men prevail across all dominant religions.

4.3 Historical Trends of the Maasai Elite Women Participation in Political leadership

This section presents research findings, interpretation of data and discussion derived from the historical perception on how elite Maasai women have been excluded from political leadership. The study sought to establish the effect of historical exclusions of the Maasai women from leadership and how this affects their participation in leadership matters in the community. The respondents were asked to give their views and opinion regarding their participation. The results are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Elite Women Views on Historical trends

Statement	SD	D	N	A	SA
Elite Women Political Leadership Is Accepted	32 (10.9)	113 (38.4)	0	108 (36.7)	41 (13.9)
High Resistance of Women Processes Dominate	25 (8.5)	122 (41.5)	27 (9.2)	97 (33.0)	23 (7.8)
Increasing Inequalities Hinder Elite Women from Political Leadership	20 (6.8)	96 (32.7)	13 (4.4)	94(32.0)	71(24.1)
Forms of Women Historic Exclusion from Political Structures Hinder Elite Women from Political Participation	22 (7.5)	69 (23.5)	29 (9.9)	62 (21.1)	112 (38.1)
Elite Women Have Been Kept Outside the Public Domain of Politics for Many Years	21 (7.1)	9 (3.1)	5 (1.7)	139 (47.3)	120 (40.8)
Elite Women Fit Only for Domestic Roles	44 (15.0)	160 (54.4)	15 (5.1)	34 (11.6)	41 (13.9)
If Perceptions Change in The Community Am Able to Participate	21 (7.1)	5 (1.7)	9 (3.1)	137 (46.6)	122 (41.5)

The results presented in Table 4.2 show that most of the respondents 113 (38.4%) disagreed while only 108 (36.7%) agreed that elite Maasai women political leadership is accepted, this shows that the community does not accept women's engagement in politics. It is also noted that most respondents 122 (41.5%) disagreed that high resistance of women processes affect the participation of women in political endeavor's in the community while only 97 (33.0%)

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agreed with the statement. This implies that most elite Maasai women do not believe that high resistance to women process influences their participation in politics.

The study further established that most respondents 94 (32.0%) agreed while 71 (24.1%) strongly agreed that increasing inequalities in the political environment hinder elite women from political leadership in the community. Only 96 (32.7%) disagreed with the statement. This is because women in the community whether educated or not have been looked down upon and this has continued to widen the inequality gaps between the men and the women in the community.

On whether the various form of women historic exclusion from political structures hinder elite women from political participation most of the respondents 112 (38.1%) strongly agreed that women exclusion might attribute to their historic exclusion from political structures. Only 69 (23.5%) disagreed with the statement. The observation revealed there is high resistance, inequalities and exclusion affecting the elite from political participation. Women's historic exclusion from political structures and processes is the result of multiple structural, functional and personal factors that vary in different social cultural contexts.

The results in Table 4.2 also show that most of the respondents 139 (47.3%) agreed while 120 (40.8%) that women in general from the community have been kept outside the public domain of politics for many years and therefore this has affected their participation in politics even now. Only 21 (7.1%) of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. Majority of the respondents 160 (54.4%) disagreed with the statement that elite women fit only for domestic roles in the society with only 41 (13.9%) agreeing with the statement. Although this is the perception on the ground from among the community members, most of the women 204 (69.4%) disagreed with that position and indicated that it is one of the factors men use to intimidate them when they attempt to get into politics.

The results in Table 4.2 also show that majority of the respondents 137 (46.6%) agreed and 122 (41.5%) strongly agreed that a change in community perceptions towards women may be able to encourage more women to participate in political leadership in the community. This implies that the low participation of elite women in leadership of the community is instigated by the perception of the community towards women. The women have been considered fit only for domestic roles in the private sphere and maintained that there was no place for them in politics because of their suitability in caring roles as mothers and wives. This agrees with other political thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Locke, Hobbes

and Hegel who held a similar perception that, historic trends define women as home makers and sideline them from leadership roles of their community. This finding confirms the myth held by many different groups of people the world over that women are home makers just fit for domestic chores. This means that it is not just in the Maasai community that women are regarded as home makers fit for domestic chores.

The summary for the seven Likert items used to define the historical trends of Maasai elite women participation in political leadership is shown in Figure 4.3.
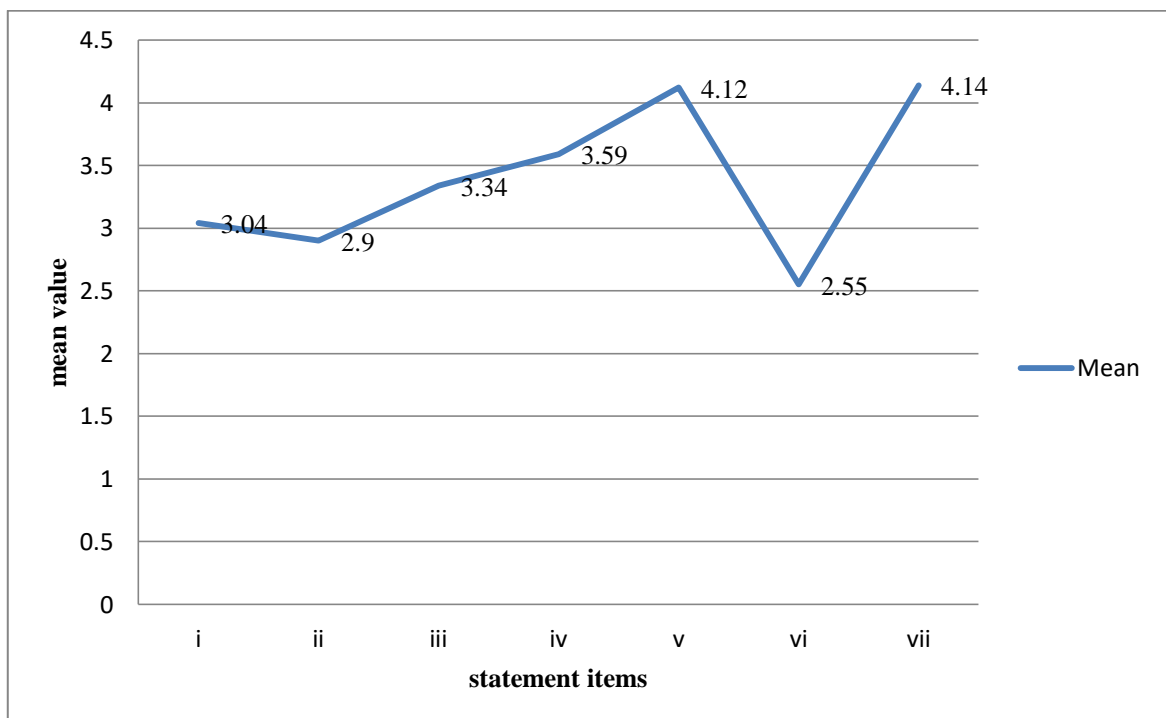
Figure 4.3: Mean Values for the Statements
(Key – refer to Table 4.2 for the items)

The results in the Figure 4.3 clearly show that the mean responses for the first three Likert items were approximately 3. This implies that the respondents were not sure that elite women political leadership is accepted, high resistance of women processes dominate and increasing inequalities hinder elite women from political leadership. This is also true for Likert item number six where the respondents were not sure whether elite women fit only for domestic roles. However, on average the respondents agreed with Likert items four, five and six. Implying that on average the respondents agreed that   forms of historical exclusion from political structures hinder elite women from political participation, that elite women have

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been kept outside the public domain for politics for many years and if perceptions change in the community elite women are able to participate in political leadership.

Factor analysis was further used to establish whether the item statements were suitable for use in further analysis. In this case, an item statement was suitable for use in further analysis if it had a factor loading of 0.4 or more as suggested by Field, (2009). The factors loading are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Factor loading for each item statement on historical trends and women participation in political leadership

Statement	Factor loading
Elite women political leadership is accepted	.477
High resistance of women processes dominate	.603
Increasing inequalities hinder elite women from political leadership	.653
Forms of women historic exclusion from political structures hinder elite women from political participation	.426
Elite women have been kept outside the public domain of politics for many years	.506
Elite women fit only for domestic roles	.764
If perceptions changes in the community am able to participate	.616

The results in Table 4.3 show that all the item statements that were considered in defining the effect of historical trends on elite Maasai women participation in political leadership had factors loadings of between 0.426 and 0.764. This indicates that all the statements were suitable for use in analysis. Further analysis was therefore done to test the adequacy of the data sample for use in the analysis. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) Measure of Sampling Adequacy and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity were computed for the first objective. The results were presented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4. KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.583
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	510.746
	Df	21
	Sig.	0.000

The results in Table 4.4 shows that the data met the sampling adequacy since the KMO = 0.583 and the chi- square test was 510.746 with a p= value of 0.000. This indicates that the items used in conceptualizing the effect of historical trends on the participation on elite women in politics were adequate for use in the study. This agrees with the suggestions of (Field, 2009) who indicated that for an item to be regarded as having statistical adequacy for use in the study the KMO value must be more than 0.4. The chi- square calculated value was big at 510.7 which indicate that there is a significant association between historical trends and the participation of elite women in politics in the Maasai community.

In order to test the level of significance of the results and determine the extent of the variance in the responses, the analysis of variance was computed and the results presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5. Analysis of variance

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	8.967	2	4.483	8.950	.000
Within Groups	145.774	291	.501		
Total	**154.741**	**294**			

The results in Table 4.5 shows that there exists a significant difference in the means between and within the groups (F= 8.950; p =0.000). The results also show that the mean square between and within the various statement items had a large difference indicating that the variation in the responses was very small meaning that there was a statistically significant

association between historical trends and the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership in the Maasai community.

4.3.1 Thematic analysis of qualitative data

The results from the questionnaire were compared to the results from the interview and Focus Group Discussion on the historical trends on the elite Maasai women participation in political leadership. The results from interview and Focus Group Discussion were summarized and presented in themes of research issues. The results of the focus group discussion held at Ololulunga division the headquarters of Narok south- Sub County on 4/02/2016 were presented in Box 4.1.

Box 4.1. Narrative on Historic Trends

Area: Ololulunga- sub county offices

Size of the group: 12 members

Age: varied between 25 years to 50 years

Highest education level: Master's Degree

Lowest education level: Diploma

Gender: Females

Date of interview: 4/02/2016

Findings

This Focus Group Discussion argued that; the general believes among the community   is that leadership issues are to be handled by men while women play a subordinate role of home making and performing domestic chores. "The role of women in leadership among the Maasai community remain of subordinate nature, whether literate or illiterate" reiterated on the group members.

The group also agreed that though women form the majority of the voters in all the wards and constituencies in the county but it is unfortunate they can't vote for fellow women. This was attributed to the historical perceptions which have socialized women to believe that leadership positions are not for them. Even among the elite women, they still don't believe that those women can lead them effectively.

The results in Box 4.1 show that the respondents were somehow upset with the way the women are treated yet they cannot take the initiative to effect changes in the political climate because they are the majority voters. The women in the Focus Discussion Group had the feeling that the leadership positions belong to the male and that they have to respect men as leaders. This implies that women have the potential to initiate change on how they participate in politics but because of the historical trends which dictate that the leadership position is for men and they have to support them. Lack of support for women candidates is not unique to Kenya.

While commenting on the state of affairs in the United States, Jewell and Whicker (1993), note that 'in the past neither Democratic nor Republican parties actively pursued women to be candidates for state office, with a few exceptions, nor have they consistently provided adequate support to those women who were candidates. At the time of this research, Kenya had a multiplicity of political parties, many of them briefcase outfits without structures.

Women who participated in this study lamented that Kenyan political parties were no more than personality cults, tribal groupings or outfits set up to sell nomination certificates and not organizations based on ideology. Even though the smaller parties serve as alternative routes to nomination for candidates, and particularly for women, men rigged out of nomination by the larger political parties, many end up not sending a single representative to parliament or to local authorities, as they simply do not enjoy the kind of grassroots support required to win elections. Other respondents such as the CDF officer corroborate these sentiments. Their views and results of the in-depth FGD interview held on the same date with the FGD at Ololulunga county offices are presented in Box 4.2.

Box 4.2 Narrative on Historic Trends

Area: Ololulunga- sub county offices
Age: 47 years
Highest education level: Degree
Gender: Female
Status: project officer CDF
Date of interview: 4/02/2016

Findings

The project officer above argued that, 'The reason why women are not interested in participating in political leadership among the Maasai community is because of the intimidation they get from men any time they show interest. She indicted that "Culture is so strong in the community that women always have to follow the decision made by men at any given time whether in the home or in political leadership'.

History has it that, in the Maasai community a woman is regarded as home makers and is not given a chance in political leadership position. Accordingly, women are believed to be subordinate to men and nothing more than that. It was interesting to note that the historical socialization of women has always regarded them as children and they are the possessions of the husband who makes all the key decisions both in the home and as pertains to the leadership in the community. Women with political ambition are always intimidated and called names. Being considered spoilt, prostitutes and rebellious. Most elite Maasai women therefore don't bother to participate in any political endeavor's because they string to avoid many issues arising'

According to this respondent in Box 4.2 historical trend pose the highest challenge on women participation in leadership, historically the Maasai community makes women believe that their role and position of women is to make a home and raise the family. The culture indicates to them that they are not fit for the political and hence leadership positions in the community. Elite women though educated or not are all regarded the same in the face of culture. This agrees with the argument of Waiganjo and Kandusi (2015) who noted that most of the roles of different groups in the society are socialized and passed over from generation to generation and often limit the particular group to what is expected of them.

It was further noted that often, social roles are constructed with a set of social and behavioral norms that, within a specific culture, are widely considered to be socially appropriate for individuals of a specific grouping. Therefore, in this study Maasai women's social roles sought out for included indicators like traditional roles between men and women in the community and how they can affect the later. Social roles, specifically family responsibilities present a barrier to elite women's participation in leadership positions.

Findings from discussions conducted at Narosura primary school on 10th February 2016 are presented in Box 4.3. Narosura is one of the remote areas in terms of infrastructure, low number of educated women and community negative perception of women in leadership. Having an understanding of the perception of the women from this setting was important in making deduction on effect of historic trends on the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership.

Box 4.3 Narrative on Historic Trends

Area: Narosura primary school
Size of the group: 12 members
Age: varied between 21 years to 54 years
Highest education level: Degree
Lowest education level: P1 teacher (certificate)
Gender: Female
Date 10/02/2016
Findings
'Jane (not her real name) a primary school teacher at Narosura indicated that, even though we have to follow culture, it has really affected our self-esteem as women, we are like prisoners because many cultural issues in our community seems just to give men more power and authority over us, we are nothing and always have to depend on men for all our decision including the political decisions. Men have to decide for us every other thing and it does not matter whether you have gone to school or not'.

Naserian also a primary school teacher at Narosura primary school 'since time our culture has always discriminated against us the number of girls who have gone to school have just started raising in the recent past otherwise the few of us who were allowed to go school were just lucky. The participation in politics requires the numbers, though women are many and the majority of the voters but very few of them are literate and can make decisions on their own; this small number can't make any difference in a competitive election with men who command control over their wives and their children.

It is clear that past conceptions about women in the Maasai community has contributed a lot to the oppression that is seen in the community. Women have grown up knowing that they are not fit for   political leadership and that historical events have always placed them at the mercy of men in terms of leadership.

The finding in Box 4.3 indicates that women feel oppressed by the historical trends in the community. From the caption, it is noted that the forms of women historic exclusion from political structures plays a major role in baring the elite women from political participation in Narok South Sub County. The Findings from the discussion indicates that since time before women were supposed to take the back sit when it came to issues of leadership in the community. Even those who had attained an education, they were still regarded not fit to hold any public office. This perception is what has kept women out of the political arena till now. Though the respondents disagreed that Women were not only fit for domestic roles in Narok South Sub County, but the reality was that most men considered women only for the domestic chores.

There is a lot of dissatisfaction from the elite women with regard to the position that history has pushed them to in their own community. Women feel that they are enslaved by historical myth and perceptions in the community. The women are already marginalized and unrecognized; women; irrespective of their education level are excluded and vulnerable to harmful customs and unequal opportunity in decision making and the vulnerability is spearheaded by the community itself. Maasai women are considered as minors in their culture and have to be always represented by their father or husband in sensitive matters and in decision making on those issues.

Box 4.4 Narrative on Historic Trends interview 4

Area: Melelo primary school
Size of the group: 16 members
Age: varied between 25 years to 54 years
Highest education level: Degree
Lowest education level: P1 teacher (certificate)
Gender: Female
Date 12/02/2016
Findings

'our culture has always discriminated against us the number of girls who have gone to school have just started raising in the recent past otherwise the few of us who were allowed to go school were just lucky. The participation in politics requires the numbers, though women are many and the majority of the voters but very few of them are literate and can make decisions on their own, this small number can't make any difference in a competitive election with men who command control over their wives and their children…'

The response in Box 4.4 also indicates that Maasai culture influenced women participation in politics and this was directly tied to the historic trends where women have been socialized since long time ago, to believe that they were only meant for domestic chores and not for leadership positions especially regarding politics. In a similar account, most patriarchal societies, females are regarded as the inferior of the species whether they are educated or not. Because of this, women are denied access to both honored and utilitarian role open only to males. Such roles as administration and disposal of property, leadership roles in societal affairs including religion and governance exclusively belong to males.

While it is known that such discriminatory practices exist in these societies, their prevalence and cultural value systems and norms that perpetuate them are not adequately understood. This study therefore notes that the historical trends in the Maasai community as a patriachy society discriminates women against and denies them the opportunity to take up leadership roles in the society.

4.4 Socio-cultural Factors and Elite Women Participation in Political Leadership

This section presents research findings, interpretation of data and discussion derived from the socio-cultural factors and how it affects elite Maasai women political participation. The study sought to establish the effect of social cultural factors on women participation in political leadership in the Maasai community. The respondents were selected from among the elite women of the Maasai community. The study required the respondents to react to various item statements that were used to conceptualize the effect of social cultural factors on elite women

participation in political leadership in the Maasai community. The results are presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Effect of social cultural factors on women political participation

Items	SD	D	N	A	SA
Cultural Values Affect Elite Women Participation In Political Leadership	7 (2.4)	15 (5.1)	4 (1.4)	130 (44.2)	138 (46.9)
Discrimination Is a Contributing Factor To Lack Of Elite Women Participation In Political Leadership	14 (4.8)	17 (5.8)	17 (5.8)	135 (45.9)	111 (37.8)
Occupation Affects Elite Women Participation In Political Leadership	16 (5.4)	28 (9.5)	6 (2.0)	196 (66.7)	48 (16.3)
Patriarchy Represses Women Participation In Political Leadership	8 (2.7)	80 (27.2)	19 (6.5)	41 (13.9)	146 (49.7)
Elite Women Have Been Kept Outside The Public Domain Of Politics For Many Years	13 (4.4)	25 (8.5)	10 (3.4)	151 (51.4)	95 (32.3)
Elite Women Should Occupy Inferior Positions Compared To Male Counterparts	44 (15.0)	75 (25.5)	12 (4.1)	99 (33.7)	64 (21.8)
Elite Women Has No Right To Decision Making, They Are Purely Fit For Domestic Roles	56 (19.0)	156 (53.1)	11 (3.7)	35 (11.9)	36 (12.2)

The results from Table 4.6 above show that most of the respondents agreed with most of the statements used to establish the effect of social cultural factors on the participation of elite

women in political leadership since the results on the table shows that most responses lie on the agree. From the Table 4.6 the results show that majority of the respondents 138 (46.9%) strongly agreed while 130 (44.2%) agreed that cultural values affect elite women participation in political leadership. It is also noted that 135 (45.9%) agreed while 111 (37.8%) strongly agreed that discrimination is a contributing factor to lack of elite women participation in political leadership. Similarly, majority of the respondents 196 (66.7%) agreed that occupation effects elite women participation in political leadership. This implies that it is difficult for the elite Maasai women to participate in politics because they occupy the lowest ranks in the public offices.

On whether patriarchy represses women participation in political leadership, majority of the respondents 146 (49.7%) strongly agreed with the statement meaning that the patriarchy nature of the community where women are regarded to hold a supportive position to the men has a great effect on their participation in political leadership in the community as seen in Table 4.8 above. The findings also revealed that the hardest challenge for women who aspire to get into politics is overcoming the patriarchal nature of their societies. He contends that women are discouraged and undermined by men and their parties from vying for parliamentary positions and given a hostile treatment by men during campaigns, which include verbal abuse and harassment which contributes to women lagging behind in political participation not just in the Maasai land but in Africa and all over the world.

The results in Table 4.6 also show that elite women have been kept outside the public domain of politics for many years as indicated by 151 (51.4%) this could be a factor affecting women's bid to participate in political leadership. It was also noted that there was a mixed reaction on whether elite women should occupy inferior positions compared to male counterparts 151 (51.4%) agreed with the statement, this shows that some of the respondents had the perception that women should occupy inferential position while almost a similar number did not agree with the statement. This contradicts the study findings in Scandinavian countries where it is noted that these have higher numbers of women in parliament both in the past and present. The findings of noted that women leadership has been noticed and appreciated elsewhere so it should not be a hindrance under whatsoever circumstances in other countries and society like the Maasai.

The results further show that most of the respondents 156 (53.1%) disagreed that elite women have no right to decision making; they are purely fit for domestic roles. The findings confirmed that in the Maasai it is believed that a woman has no obligation to decision making and has clearly stated roles, which are different from those of the male; they believe that women's role is purely domestic.

The mean responses in this domain of the structured questionnaire are summarized in Figure 4.3.
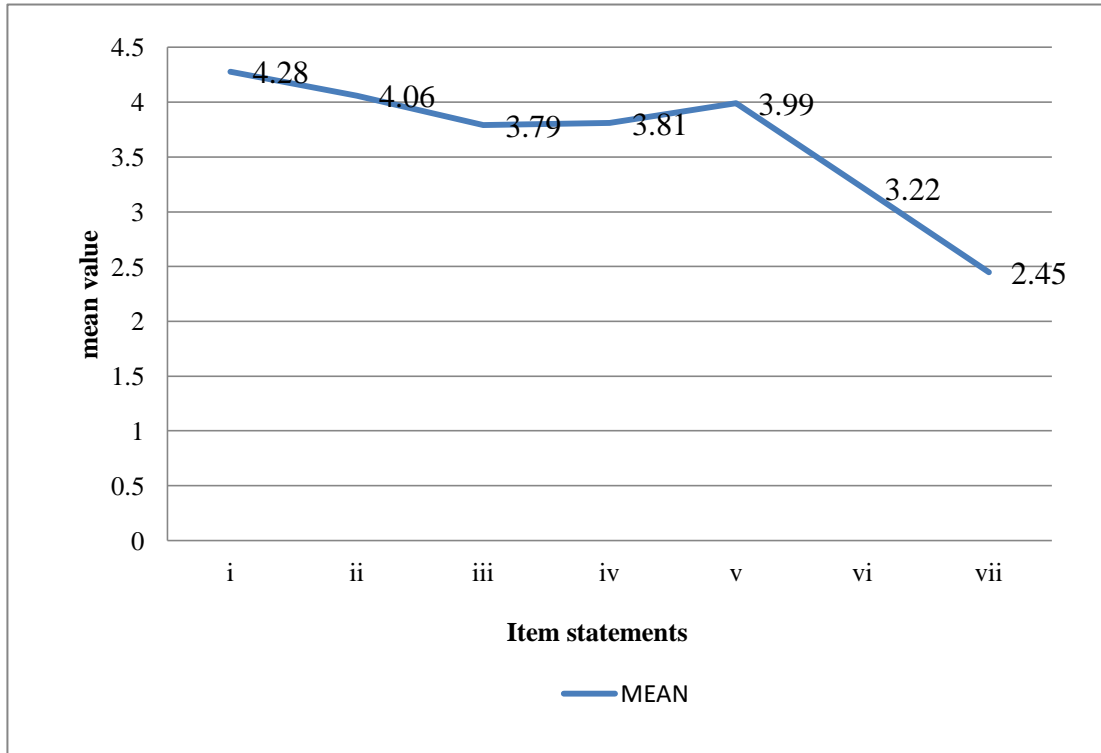
Figure 4.4: Summary of the means (Key – refer to

Table 4.6 for the items i-vii)

The results summarized in Figure 4.4 show that the respondents agreed with the Likert items one to five. therefore, on average the respondents agreed that cultural values affect elite women participation in political leadership, discrimination is a contributing factor to lack of elite women participation in political leadership, occupation effects elite women participation in political leadership, patriarchy represses women participation in political leadership and elite women have been kept outside the public domain of politics for many years. However, on average, the respondents were not sure of the Likert item number six and seven. Therefore, the respondents were not sure whether elite women should occupy inferior positions compared to male counterparts and whether elite women have no right to decision making and are purely fit for domestic roles.

The study further used factor analysis to test whether the item statements were suitable for use in further analysis. According to Field (2009) a statement item is only included in the study findings if its factor loading is 0.4 and above. The results were presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7 Factor loading on socio-cultural factors

Statements	Extraction
Cultural values affect elite women participation in political leadership	.688
Discrimination is a contributing factor to lack of elite women participation in political leadership	.763
Occupation effects elite women participation in political leadership	.484
Patriarchy represses women participation in political leadership	.591
Elite women have been kept outside the public domain of politics for many years	.578
Elite women should occupy inferior positions compared to male counterparts	.822
Elite women have no right to decision making, they are purely fit for domestic roles	.359

The results in Table 4.7 indicates that all the statements except one which had a factor loading of less than 0.4 and hence it was not used in further analysis. The rest had a factor loading ranging from 0.484 to 0.822 hence were appropriate for use in further analysis.

The sampling adequacy was tested using the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy. The chi square was also computed to test whether there was an association between the factors under test. For the data to be said to have sampling adequacy the KMO value is expected to be 0.4 and above (Field, 2009). The results were presented in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.612
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	746.989
	df	21
	Sig.	.000

The results in Table 4.8 shows that the data used had the sampling adequacy since the KMO = 0.612 and the chi- square test was 746.989 with a p= value of 0.000. This indicates that the items used in conceptualizing the effect of social cultural factors on participation on elite Maasai women in political leadership were adequate for use in the study based on the KMO value.

The Chi-square calculated value of 746.98 was greater than the critical value of chi square. This indicated that there is a significant statistical association between social cultural factors and the participation of elite women in politics in the Maasai community. The findings showed that culture affects the advancement of Maasai elite women into positions of leadership. Further analysis was done using the analysis of variance where the variance was computed as presented in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Analysis of variance

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	34.357	2	17.179	36.130	.000
Within Groups	138.362	291	.475		
Total	**172.719**	**293**			

The results in Table 4.9 show that the variance in the responses as indicated by the mean square between and within the groups was large enough implying that the significance of the results was not by chance. The results further indicate that the influence of socio-cultural factors on the elite Maasai women participation in political leadership was significant (F= 36.130; p =0.000).

4.4.1 Findings from the focus group discussion

The results from the FGD conducted in Ololulunga and Loita, on the effect of socio-cultural factors on elite Maasai women participation in political leadership. The groups were convened and given the briefing on the purpose of the study. Though the men were allowed to attend but unfortunately none of them showed up for the discussion. The women were encouraged to be as free as possible in discussing the real issues pertaining to the study. The findings were summarized in Box 4.5.

Box 4.5: Response on Focus Group Two at Ololulung'a

Area: Ololulunga- sub county offices

Size of the group: 12 members

Age: varied between 25 years to 50 years

Highest education level: Master's Degree

Lowest education level: Diploma

Gender: Female

Date of discussion 4/02/2016

Findings

One of the unemployed female participant of mid-age (36 years) boldly noted; 'Men ensure that women do not get any form of forum where they can share their views by even joining the women groups so that they can monitor what goes on in these groups. Whenever men feel that the group is not up to any good in their perspective, then they force their women to quit". 'For this to be felt, women are left to carry all the chores of the home while men don't bother with anything. This preoccupation of the women is a strategy to make them not think of anything else but the family and home'. Another participant in the group indicated; 'personally I am left to fend for the family ensure that the children are taken care of, there is food and even pay the daily bills of the family. My husband has no job; he has to meet all the expenditure decision in the family. He some time takes all the money to go and enjoy with his friend, yet according to our culture and the way we have been socialized as women there is nothing much that you can do'. A third participant also observed similar issues by adding that socially the work of the women among the Maasai community is to make a home. Culturally women are not given any freedom to argue with their husbands because they are seen as any other property in the home. This gives our men the power and authority over us and any women going contrary to this is considered a rebel and other women are warned against her. This is serious but, then it is according to how our culture and the past history has shaped the community, so that is why women, whether literate or illiterate never have time to think of engaging in politics'

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The captions in Box 4.5 show that social cultural factors play a very significant role in hindering elite women participation in leadership in the Maasai community. Women who participated felt that the culture of the community is intimidating and denies them all the rights and freedom of defining their course in life. This agrees with the argument by (United Nations 2000) that Sex stereo-types are among the most firmly entrenched obstacles to the elimination of discrimination thus largely responsible for undermining gender equity. These cultural perceptions do not encourage women at all to actively participate in politics. In most pastoral communities' power and authority is believed to divinely belong to men hence subjugating women. Thus, women are encouraged to play subsidiary roles since their place is in the kitchen and men are the decision makers.

Similar sentiments were captured in a discussion held in Loita which was one of the areas in the interior of the county. A group of 14 women met at Loita primary school and the discussion focused mainly on the four key issues of concern according to the study objectives. The findings were presented in Box 4.6.

Box 4.6: Focus group at Melelo

Area: Melelo primary school offices
Size of the group: 10 members
Age: varied between 22 years to 45 years
Highest education level: Bachelor's degree
Lowest education level: certificate
Gender: Female
Date: 11/02/2016
<u>Findings</u>

Most women who freely spoke at the forum showed dissatisfaction with the culture just as it was seen in Ololulunga. One of the participant noted that '…culturally women are there to be seen just like the children, we have no voice even in simple decision making in the household because the culture prohibits women from talking before men. You can't imagine the intimidation that culture has put women in. Even when we are walking together the man must always walk ahead while us women follow with the children to show respect for the man (pause) our culture is just bad' a woman who is seen to be so much outgoing and who shows signs of commitment to leadership is tagged as a rebellious women and other women are even warned not to associate with her, those who defy this order by their husbands are mistreated, sometimes beaten by their husbands because it is

The results in Box 4.6 still emphasized that the Maasai culture is discriminating against women whether they are educated or not. This can clearly be seen from the excerpt in the box where the respondents were just disgusted about the culture which does not in any way recognize the women in the society. Culture, which is measured by looking at existing ideas, customs, norms and behaviors of the Maasai people and how it influences women's participation in decision making. With notable history of strong traditional leadership structure in the Maasai community, the role of women was the focus of the study. Traditional leadership is acquired through appointment with respect of certain age set where by age set structure is only determined by male members of the community. Traditionally women are mainly leaders in women development groups and not community. The study revealed that male supremacy and dominancy has a greatly influenced on accepting women for leadership in the community.

Women in the Maasai community were considered incapable of leading, the doctrine has gone too deep in the community to the extent that women do not consider that community decision making organs as an area that they can participate. It was also realized that women ideas are perceived as inferior to men and hence not given much consideration as useful contribution in the community. Likewise, women were found not seeing the benefits of getting involved in politics. Cultural ties still hinder women social acceptance in leadership positions. The study also shows that women are not participating effectively in politics and are not well accepted by the community to participate in politics. Stereotyping was found existing in the community regarding women abilities that assumes women incapable of leading and that the leadership role is accrued to men only.

The study findings in Box 4.6 established that women's participation is usually limited to physical presence. Moreover, he noted that participation is determined by incentives, access to information, power relations and women's interest in governance. Further the findings established that landownership amongst Maasai women is related to power within their marital relationships and hence it has an implication on the leadership endeavor of the women. It is argued that this predicts individual agency, in turn resulting in increased

women's participation in political meetings. From the responses derived in this study it can be noted that when women have access to structural resources they gain power not only in their marital relationships but also in their engagement in political participation and decision-making.

4.5 Economic Factors and Elite Maasai Women Participation in Political Leadership

It was also important to establish whether economic factors affect the participation of elite women in political leadership in the Maasai community. This objective aimed at establishing whether the economic power of the women is a hindrance to their political leadership in the community. The frequency distributions of the responses in the structured questionnaire are summarized in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Effect Economic Factors and Participation of Elite Women in Political Leadership

Statement items	SD	D	N	A	SA
Financial inability affects elite women participation in political leadership	15 (5.1)	38 (12.9)	0	127 (43.2)	114 (38.8)
Land ownership affects elite women participation in political leadership	30 (10.2)	72 (24.5)	9 (3.1)	133 (45.2)	39 (13.3)
Economic dependency on men affects elite women participation in political leadership	15 (5.1)	35 (11.9)	6 (2.0)	123 (41.8)	115 (39.1)
Economic challenges at family level are the contributing factors to lack of elite women participation in political leadership	18 (6.1)	52 (17.7)	5 (1.7)	164 (55.8)	55 (18.7)
The level of education of an elite woman has significant contribution on political participation	20 (6.8)	31 (10.5)	1 (0.3)	135 (45.9)	107 (36.4)
I have chances of participation in political leadership if a get empowered through training	9 (3.1)	5 (1.7)	10 (3.4)	136 (46.3)	134 (45.6)
There is limit on elite women's opportunities for education and employment	31 (10.5)	24 (8.2)	8 (2.7)	124 (42.2)	107 (36.4)

The results in Table 4.10 revealed that most of the respondents 127 (43.2%) agreed and 114 (38.8%) strongly agreed that financial inability affects elite women participation in political leadership this means that most of the elite women from the Maasai community lack the financial power to enable them engage in political leadership. It was also noted that most of

the respondents 133 (45.2%) agreed that women have no right to own land among the community and hence land ownership affects elite women participation in political leadership.

This means that women lack the appropriate asset power to empower them economically and hence they are unable to engage in political leadership. Wanjala and Odongo (2010) and (Kivoi 2014) indicated that in most Kenyan communities' women have no access to land and property rights though they are guaranteed in the constitution. This economically incapacitates them hence they cannot vie and run successful political campaigns where campaigns are highly expensive. Therefore, this discrimination of access of women to means of production especially land and property rights severely contributes to this low level of their active participation in politics and governance.

The results in Table 4.10 also show that most respondents 123 (41.8%) agreed while 115 (39.1%) strongly agreed that economic dependency of women on men affects elite women participation in political leadership. This implies that women's dependency might be a factor affecting their dependency in political leadership. The results also show that majority of the respondents agreed that economic challenges at family level are the contributing factors to lack of elite women participation in political leadership, meaning that most of the elite women take up their active role in raising the family with their little financial resources and hence are unable to engage in leadership. The findings indicated that women are economically incapacitated by men so that they cannot vie and run successful political campaigns where campaigns are highly expensive.

On whether the level of education of an elite woman has significant contribution on political participation most respondents 164 (55.8%) agreed, meaning that most women have lower levels of education which only provide little income and hence denies them the economic power required to engage in political leadership. It was also noted that majority of the women 135 (45.9%) agreed that if they get empowered through appropriate training they have chances of participation in political leadership. And finally, most respondents 136 (46.3%) agreed while 134 (45.6%) feel that there is limit on elite women's opportunities for education and employment.

A summary of the mean responses is presented in Figure 4.4
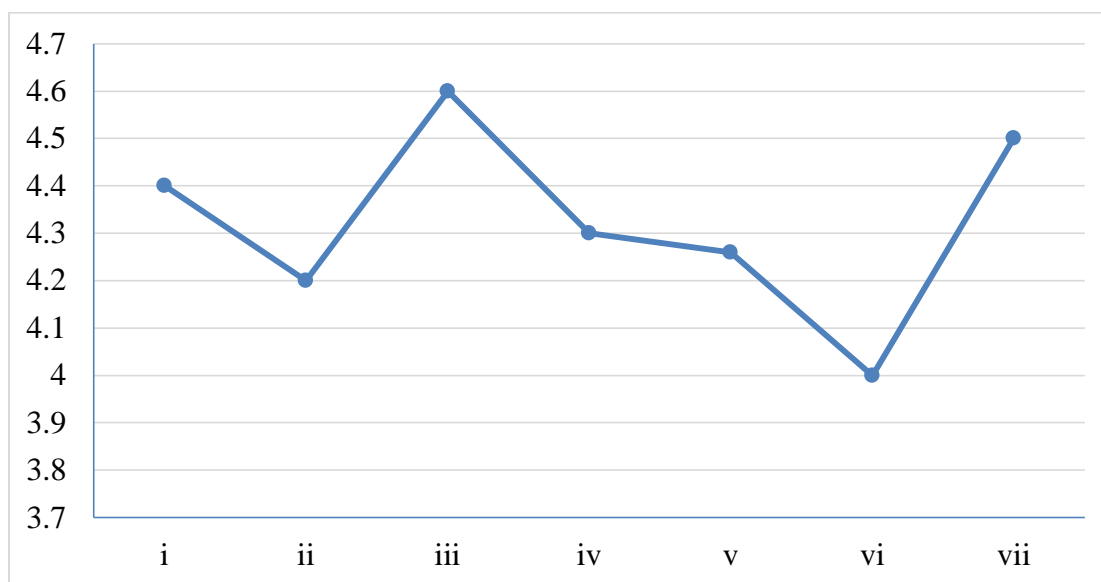
Figure 4.5: Mean   Value of Economic Factors

(Key – Refer to Table 4.10 for the items)

The Findings shows that on average respondents agreed with the responses under this domain. Therefore, the respondents agreed that financial inability affects elite women participation in political leadership, land ownership affects elite women participation in political leadership, economic dependency on men affects elite women participation in political leadership, economic challenges at family level are the contributing factors to lack of elite women participation in political leadership, the level of education of an elite woman has significant contribution on political participation, women have chances of participation in political leadership if they get empowered through training and there is limit on elite women's opportunities for education and employment.

Factor loading was used to test whether all the item statements were suitable for use in further analysis. Any factor with a loading of less than 0.4 was eliminated from the analysis. The findings are presented in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Factor Loading

Statement	Factor loading
Financial inability affects elite women participation in political leadership	.592
Economic dependency on men affects elite women participation in political leadership	.455
Economic challenges at family level are the contributing factors to lack of elite women participation in political leadership	.511
The level of education of an elite woman has significant contribution on political participation	.547
I have chances of participation in political leadership if a get empowered through training	.559

The findings in Table 4.11 show that out of the seven item statements used to collect data on the objective only five met the factor loading threshold 0.4 and above. Financial inability was considered to have the highest effect on elite women participation in political leadership since it had the highest factor loading of 0.592. Economic dependency of women on men had the lowest effect with a factor loading of 0.455. This shows that of the five item statements used in conceptualizing the effect of economic factor on participation of elite women in political leadership in the Maasai financial inability had the highest influence. This implies that women need to be financially empowered so that they can participate in political leadership in the community.

Factor analysis was also used to test whether there was a significant association between economic factors and elite Maasai women participation in political leadership. This was

achieved by computing Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy and the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity. The results were presented in Table 4.12

Table 4.12: KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.744
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	579.462
	Df	21
	Sig.	.000

The results in Table 4.12 show that the statements used to define the effect of economic factors on the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership had sampling adequacy (KMO = 0.744). Field, (2009) recommended that for a set of items to be considered to have sampling adequacy and hence used for further analysis in any study the KMO should be 0.4 and above. The results further show that there is a strong significant association between economic factor and the participation of elite women in politics in the Maasai women (chi square = 579.462; p = 0.000).

Analysis of variance was used to test whether the association between the variables was significant or is just by chance. The mean square values and the F statistic were determined as presented in Table 4.13 below.

Table 4.13: Analysis of Variance

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	15.156	2	7.578	15.453	.000
Within Groups	142.710	291	.490		
Total	**157.866**	**293**			

The results in Table 4.13 show that there exists a significant difference in the means (p<0.05) showing that age has a statistically significant influence on the economic factors affecting the participation of women in politics (F= 15.453; p =0.000). These findings noted that financial inability among the women in rural communities is the biggest hurdle in their quest to venture into elective politics. In a Census Report (2009) it was also indicated that women are economically incapacitated hence they cannot vie and run successful political campaigns

where campaigns are highly expensive. This implies that economic factors play an important role in the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership in the community.

4.5.1 Analysis of FGD and interview results

The respondents were also engaged in a FGD discussion on effect of economic factors on elite Maasai women participation in political leadership. The participants in the discussions freely contributed to the topic and showed their discontent on how the leadership structures are tied to economic power which most of them lack. The themes that were captured in the discussion were presented in Box 4.7 below

Box 4.7: Response on Economic Factors and Women Political Participation

Area: Maji Moto Secondary School

Size of the group: 10 members

Age: Varied Between 25 years to 50 years

Highest education level: Bachelor's Degree

Lowest Education level: Diploma

Gender: Female

Date: 6/02/2016

Findings

The discussion clearly indicate that women are disadvantaged economically because they are not entitled to any form of an asset that gives a person economic power. It was noted that the culture of the community plays a role in denying women this economic power as most of them are treated as part of the property of the men. The lack of entitlement of women to any asset makes it very difficult for them to seek for any financial support. One of the participant had this to say; 'Personally, I experience high level of intimidation of women from men in all aspects of economic matters. She noted that Maasai men have a complex nature that we can't understand because they always make sure that the women's voice is not heard anywhere' and any women who seems to rise up above the rest and go against men's are intimidated financially and this means ensuring that all their financial sources are blocked. '----- imagine even us who are working men are responsible to every coin we earn; they even demand our identity cards and ATM cards and keep them, she retorted'. This was justified by some of the sentiments made by the officer at the social service office in an interview held at Ololulunga on 4th February 2016 who bitterly lamented that '…………even the loans we give to the women through groups it's the men who manage them, can you believe that when the women come to collect this money they must come with the men (husband) or if the husband is not there they come with their sons, and the shocking truth is that they

From the findings in Box 4.7 it is noted that women are discriminated both in their own home before getting married they remain the property of their parents and have no rights to own anything in the home. When they get married they became the property of their husbands. The results show that women are not allowed to own land and are denied anything close to having any title to land. Land is a man's business not women, noted by another participant. It was also noted that women have low education level that only puts them in positions where they only earn little and this little is used to feed the family, so they are left with nothing and hence can't even think of going into leadership because they lack the financial backing. This indicates that women are unable to engage in politics because it is an expensive activity and they lack the financial backing. This current study's findings are shows that Maasai women are limited to issues like attending community meetings or voting which at large affect the decisions which are made in the community.

Women have continuously been holding back their participation even in situations where affirmative action have been put across to include women in decision making which is highly linked to social cultural limitations. According to the research done across East and Horn African region on the status of pastoralists; have stated that; despite the numerous key tasks women fulfill in pastoralist society, they face this discrimination two-fold. They are even less able than pastoralist men to participate in the decisions that affect their lives and livelihoods. Very few women have succeeded in campaigning for an open parliamentary seat (Kipuri & Ridgewell, 2008).

In a FGD conducted at Ololulunga, other respondents also indicated that economic factors effected elite women participation in political leadership.
The findings are presented in Box 4.8.

Box 4.8: Other Respondents on economic factors

Area: Ololulunga- sub county offices
Size of the group: 12 members
Age: varied between 25 years to 50 years
Highest education level: Masters Degree
Lowest education level: Diploma
Gender: Female

Date: 4/02/2016

Findings

The themes indicated in this discussion also reflected the discontent of women in the way they are handled by the men in the name of culture as one participant indicted;

'...Men won't allow us to have anything that can help us generate our own income. even the money I get from selling milk or beans or maize from the farm it is the man who will decide what the money shall do, a woman in our community is not supposed to make any financial decisions if the man of the house is there, we must consult on anything we want to do unlike men'.

It was also noted that most elite women felt disadvantaged as they were the once to work and feed the family. Another participant indicated that; 'people always say that we depend on men for our economic wellbeing yet they take our hard-earned money and spend it with their friends and expect you not to complain. They sell all the farm produce yet we are the once who ensure that the work is done, they take our IDS and ATM cards and decide what to do with our money, they won't allow us to take a loan anywhere even in women groups...'

The bitterness was seen in all the discussions held which indicates that some of the men that boosted economic power are because of their hard-working women. The economic disadvantage of women is brought about by the selfishness of men which is defined by

The findings in Box 4.8 indicate that women are denied any chance by their husbands to own anything or engage in anything that helps then to generate any income that can empower them. The finding shows that culture and historic trends have negatively affected women and denied them the economic power in favor of men who have misused it for their own selfish needs. Women lack the right to own any economic resource including access to their own

money all in the name of culture. This therefore poses a big challenge to the participation of elite women in political leadership in the Maasai community. These arguments pointed out that land ownership amongst Maasai women is related to power within their marital relationships and it is culturally under the title ship of the man. He further established that when women have access to structural resources they gain power in their marital relationships and this makes them more likely to become engaged in political participation and decision-making. However, this right to ownership and access is not seen in the Maasai and hence women remain deprived off the economic privileges that accompany resource ownership. This therefore implies that economic factors influence elite women participation in political leadership in the Maasai community.

4.6 Demographic Factor and Elite Women Participation in Political Leadership

The last objective of the study sought to find out the effect of demographic factors on participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership. The views presented by the respondents were analyzed and presented   in Table 4.14 below.

Table 4.14: Influence of Demographic Factors on Elite Women Participation in Political Leadership

Statement	SD	D	N	A	SA
Age affects elite women participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County	37 (12.6)	98 (33.3)	30 (10.2)	82 (27.9)	47 (16.0)
Gender affects elite women's participation in political participation in Narok South Sub County	9 (3.1)	114 (38.8)	6 (2.0)	112 (38.1)	53 (18.0)
Geographical terrain hinder elite women from political participation in Narok South Sub County	63 (21.4)	122 (41.5)	40 (13.6)	40 (13.6)	29 (9.9)
Elite Women population affects their participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County	30 (10.2)	113 (38.4)	0	123 (41.8)	28 (9.5)
The public domain is mainly for men while the private household domain is for the elite women in Narok South Sub County	26 (8.8)	106 (36.1)	11 (3.7)	88 (29.9)	63 (21.4)
There has been cumulative effects that resulted to low elite women participation in Narok South Sub County	2 (0.7)	55 (18.7)	42 (14.3)	152 (51.7)	43 (14.6)
Reliance on nominations has made elite women not to compete with men in Narok South Sub County	24 (8.2)	31 (10.5)	48 (16.3)	137 (46.6)	54 (18.4)

90

Source: Field Data 2016

From the findings presented in Table 4.14 it is noted that most of the respondents 98 (33.3%) disagreed that demographic factors affect elite women participation in political leadership, while 82 (27.9%) agreed with the statement. The study also established that slightly more than half of the respondents 114 (38.8%) disagreed while the rest 112 (38.1%) agreed that age affects elite women participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County. This implies that Gender affects elite women's participation in political participation in Narok South Sub County.

It was also noted that most respondents 122 (41.5%) disagreed that gender affects elite women's participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County, indicating that just by virtue of them being women they were not allowed to participate in the political leadership in the sub county. The findings revealed that gender issues affect women so much because of the stereotype.

The results in Table 4.14 also show that most of the respondents 98 (33.3%) disagreed while 82 (27.9%) agreed that the geographical terrain might not be a factor influencing the participation of elite women in political leadership. The study also noted that majority of the respondents 113 (38.4%) disagreed that noted that Elite Women population affects their participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County, while 123 (41.8%) agreed with the statement. This shows that though most of the voters are usually women but with very few of them being literate they also have the cultural perception about women in leadership.

The results further revealed that most of the respondents 106 (36.1%) disagreed that public domain is mainly for men while the private household domain is for the elite women in Narok South Sub County. It was further noted that, majority of the respondents 152 (51.7%) agreed that there have been cumulative effects that resulted to low elite women participation in Narok South Sub County. Similarly, most respondents 137 (46.6%) agreed that reliance on nominations has made elite women not to compete with men in Narok South Sub County. The findings revealed that gender stereotype has a remarkable influence on women participation in politics.
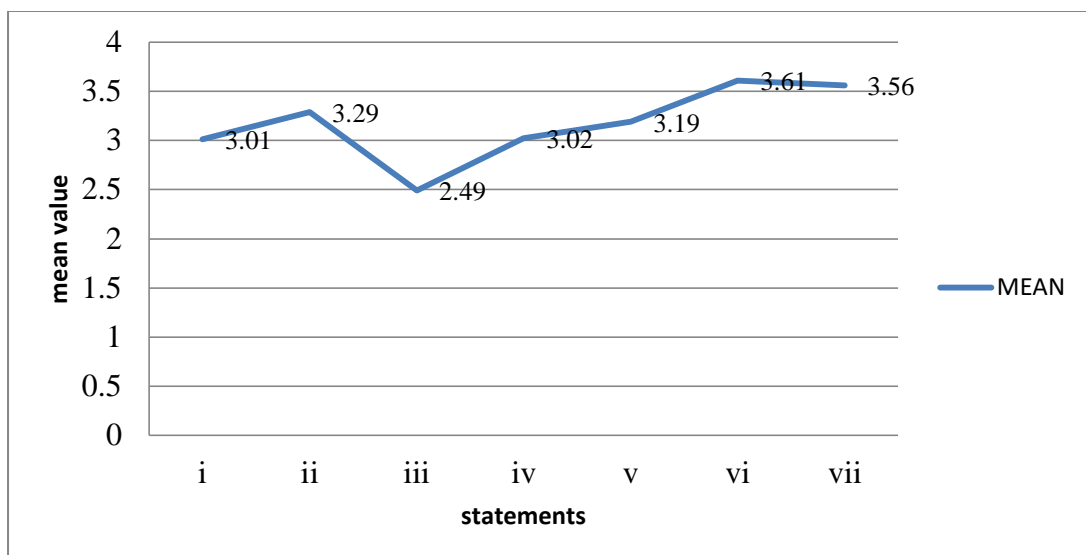
Figure 4.6: Mean Values of the Statements

(Key – Refer to Table 4.14 for the items)

Figure 4.6 shows that the respondents were not sure of the Likert items number one through five. However, the respondents approximately agreed with items six and seven. Therefore, the respondents were not sure whether age affects elite women participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County, gender affects elite women's participation in political participation in Narok South Sub County, geographical terrain hinder elite women from political participation in Narok South Sub County, elite Women population affects their participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County and the public domain is mainly for men while the private household domain is for the elite women in Narok South Sub County. However, the respondents agreed that there have been cumulative effects that resulted to low elite women participation in Narok South Sub County and agreed that reliance on nominations has made elite women not to   compete with men in Narok South Sub County.

Further analysis to establish the item statements that were suitable for use in the study was tested using factor analysis where the factor loading was computed and any item that did not meet the factor threshold of 0.4 and above as suggested by (Field, 2009) were eliminated. For the purpose of this study all the items that defined the effect of demographic variables on elite women participation were considered since they had factor loading above 0.4 as presented in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Factor Loading

Statements	Extraction
Age affect elite women participation in political participation	.662
Is gender that affects elite women participation	.548
Geographical terrain hinders elite women from political participation	.834
Elite women population affects their participation in political leadership	.679
The public domain is mainly for men while the private household domain is for elite women	.703
There have been cumulative effects that resulted to low elite women participation	.814
Reliance on nominations has made elite women not to compete with men	.879

Source: Field Data 2016

The findings in Table 4.15 shows that all the factors considered were adequate and therefore suitable for use in further analysis as they had a factor loading of more than 0.4 as suggested by (Field, 2009).

To test the sampling adequacy of the statements defining demographic factors and the participation of elite women in political leadership, the KMO and chi- square analysis were computed and used to test the association between the variables as presented in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16: KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.563
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	630.611
	Df	21
	Sig.	.000

Source: Field Data 2016

The findings in Table 4.16 show that the items used to describe the objective had sampling adequacy (KMO = 0.563). It is also noted that there is a strong statistically significant association between demographic factors and the participation of elite women in politics in

the Maasai as indicated by the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity (Chi Square =630.611; p value = 0.000). This implies that demographic factors of the elite Maasai women affect their participation in political leadership in the community.

The analysis of variance was computed to test whether the association between the variable was just by chance or it was statistical. This was tested using the mean square statistic and the F – statistic. The results are presented in Table 4.17 below.

Table 4.17: Analysis of variance (ANOVA)

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	19.221	2	9.610	18.962	.000
Within Groups	147.490	291	.507		
Total	**166.711**	**293**			

Source: Field Data 2016

The results in Table 4.17 shows that there exists a significant difference in the means (p<0.05) showing that age has a statistically significant influence on the demographic factors affecting the participation of women in politics (F= 18.962; p =0.000). This implies that there is a causal effect between demographic factors of the elite Maasai women and their participation in political leadership in the community.

4.6.1 Analysis of the FGD on demographic factors

Though men were invited to participate in the discussion none of them was willing to attend. The respondents were engaged in a discussion to establish the influence of demographic variables on the participation of elite women in political leadership. The findings are presented in Box 4.9.

Box 4.9: Response on Demographic factors and women participation in politics

Area: Narosura primary school

Size of the group: 21 members

Age: varied between 25 years to 50 years

Highest education level: Diploma

Lowest education level: P 1

Gender: Female

Date: 10/2/2016

Findings

The findings of the study indicated that most respondents had the view that the demographic factor did not necessarily have an influence on their participation in political leadership in the community. Some of the issues raised were noted in the following captions; as a woman I have nothing of my own, I don't own any thing so long as I am married, the man is everything. He will dictate what I will buy and how I will spend my salary and other earnings. I can't be allowed to own any piece of land, nor even a goat. I am made to do all house and home related chores despite the fact that I am employed.' 'It is a high time men treated women as human being and not just objects or part of their assets. In the Maasai culture a woman after being married becomes the property of the husband and therefore for he is to follow the instructions given by the husbands. She further noted that we don't have any right to own anything including our own salaries. Our husbands manage everything and we are just left watching. We can't not therefore go against the cultural rules despite the full knowledge that we have of this intimidation'.

The findings in Box 4.9 revealed that the girl child in Narok South does not inherit land which implies that gender played a role in sidelining women in matters of ownership of property in the Maasai community. Entitlement to land gives the owner security of use rights, under current private property regimes it also permits owners to speculate and profit from the property as a market commodity. Girls in the Maasai lack this right hence they lose the opportunity to inherit land makes them lack security to use their father's land or husband's land securing micro finance or bank loans when they need funds to register, campaign and participate as an aspiring political member in the region.

The results in Box 4.9 also inferred that most women in Narok south sub county actively involve themselves in Domestic chores as compared to men as opposed to other occupations as public service. The situation serves as an impediment in their endeavor to marshal the needed resources to participate in political leadership process.

From the in-depth interview conducted the CDF and social services officers in an earlier interview at Ololulunga on 4th of February 2016 indicated that most women in Narok south sub county are made by circumstances to depend on their husbands for economic support hence unable to participate in political leadership. It was interesting to note than even women who hold positions in the county still indicated that they have to abide by the culture and remain under the mercy of men on economic issues. Box 4.10 below shows the response by one of the respondents who noted that;

Box 4.10: Response on Demographic factors and women participation in politics

Area: Ololulunga Day primary school
Size of the group: 12 members
Age: varied between 25 years to 50 years
Highest education level: Diploma
Lowest education level: P 1
Gender: Female
Date: 4/2/2016
Findings

One respondent indicated that;

'As women, I have nothing of my own, I don't own anything so long as I am married, and the man is everything. He dictates what to buy and how to spend my salary and other earnings. I can't be allowed to own any piece of land, nor even a goat. I am made to do all house and home related chores despite the fact that I am employed.'

Another respondent also indicated

'It is a high time men treated women as human being and not just objects or part of their assets. In the Maasai culture a woman after being married becomes the property of the husband and therefore for he is to follow the instructions given by the husbands. She further noted that we don't have any right to own anything including our own salaries. Our husbands manage everything and we are just left watching. We cannot therefore go against the cultural rules despite the full knowledge that we have of this intimidation'.

From the caption highlighted in Box 4.10 it is important to note that women felt that by the fact that they were women, they were discriminated and not allowed to own anything. These results indicate that women cannot participate in politics because they need money to do so and they can't be allowed to have any money including their own salaries. Hence, they cannot afford to raise the finances to participate in the politics just by the fact of their gender. The findings also noted that Maasai women are minors in their culture and have to be always represented by their father or husband in sensitive matters and in decision making on those issues. In this study, the Maasai woman is by birth a member of her father's family line, which means she cannot own land etc.

4.7 How best to address the problem of low women participation in politics

The respondents were asked to clearly indicate how they feel about the challenges facing women in regard to participation in politics and how it can be addressed. Various issues were raised both on the questionnaire and during the discussions; the main issues that were summarized as; increase the level of awareness among the women and men in relation to women participation, the believe that women position is in handling domestic chores, patriarchal nature of the community, lack of financial support, low level of education, lack of confidence among the women themselves and the strong cultural believe.

Regarding the awareness campaign, most of the participants in the focus group discussion and the interview held by the officer in charge of gender in the sub county, it was noted that many forums have been held to sensitize women into leadership but the response has been very low, the officer in charge of gender issues at the social services office had the sentiments in Box 4.11.

Box 4.11: Responses from the gender office in the sub county

Area: Social Services Office

Highest education level: Degree

Gender: Female

Date: 5/2/2016

'I don't think awareness alone will work in enhancing women participation in political issues among the Maasai community. Here in this office, I experience high level of intimidation of women from men in all aspects. To me women have the information, they are aware of what their role in politics is, they believe they can make it if it was their wish, but their male counter parts won't give them the space. Personally I try my best to enlighten the women about their role not just in politics but in the general leadership in the community but when they get back to the village none of them even wants to hear about it again ……. In my view those people who require the awareness and education are the men so that they can come out of their cultural beliefs about women and fully support women in their political desire for leadership'

Similar sentiments were echoed by the officer in charge of CDF at the sub county, according to her, the challenges facing the elite Maasai women are all as a result of men's patriarchy. She cited high level of intimidation of women from men not even their husbands. This has made women not to attempt to engage in any form of politics. She noted that women have been enlightened about their role both in the society and also in leadership. According to most of the enlightened women, the problems women face results from the men who don't regard them as having the ability to make decisions in the community.

According to this officer the only remedy for women participation in politics and any other decision making process in the society is the sensitization of the men. If the men are sensitized and they accept to support women, then women will have a fair playing ground to participate in decision making in the community. Many other respondents supported this view as shown in Box 4.12.

Box 4.12: Strategies to support women participation

Area: CDF Office Ololulunga

Size of the group: 12

Age bracket: Between 30 and 50 years

Highest education level: Degree

Lowest level of Education: Certificate

Gender: Female

Date: 4/2/2016

Finding:

……'It is men and not women who should be taken to these sensitization forums to be able to support the women because, us women we know what we are supposed to do, we understand our roles very clearly and we only lack the support from men because our community is a patriarchal community. If the men can change their beliefs and opinions about women then the challenges that are bearing us from fully engaging in politics will not be there'

……. 'She insisted that continued education and sensitization of women will not change anything among the Maasai community because the culture is very clear and intimidating about the role of women in the society'. To me Maasai men have a complex way of life that we can't understand because they always make sure that the women's voice is not heard anywhere' and any women who seems to raise up above the rest is regarded to go against men is therefore regarded as rebellious and even the husband is sometimes sidelined by the other men in protest that the woman in question will influence their wives and their daughters.

The responses in Box 4.12 supports the sentiments raised by the gender and social work officer that there is no point of continued sensitization of women to participate in politics and be freed from the york of intimidation and suppression from the men and the culture. It is a high time that the men are now educated so that they can be willing to support the women. She instated that women are sensitized but when they get home to their husbands they still go back to the cocoon of culture and they feel that they don't want to go against the culture and the social norms of the community. The study noted that women are usually sidelined and

sometimes even cursed for showing any form of disrespect to their men. She noted that the Maasai men have a complex and hence they must be sensitized on how to support women and give them the chance to participate in decision making in the community. An interesting observation in Narosura where we held a focus group discussion where women were also engaged by the researcher on the same issue of why women are not bothered about participating in politics, one of the women groups' leader from Narosura had this to say; Box 4.13 below.

Box 4.13: Responses on Women views on participation

Area: Narosura

Size of the group: 15

Age bracket: Between 30 and 35 years

Highest education level: Diploma

Lowest level of Education: Certificate

Gender: Female

Date: 4/2/2016

Finding:
'it is not that we don't want to participate in politics but we will be sidelined even by our fellow women on instructions from their patriarchy husbands who hide in the shadow of culture, to the men women are not supposed to stand and speak before them, they are supposed to be house wives taking care of their husbands and children at home and not holding public office. we even have men in our women groups not because they want to participate and help us develop, but just are there as spies to know what we are planning and take the report back to their fellow men in the village just to ensure that we are not planning any thing against them. It is sad to note that women are forced to surrender their ATMs and identity cards to their husbands after marriage so that the man can decide when and how the money earned can be used even if the man does not work. (Same sentiments were shared by the social service and the CDF officer at Ololulunga).

'….. when we are giving out some grants in our groups men have to be present for the married women and if the man is not there at the time the money is being given out, the women must come accompanied by her son however young and surprisingly it is

From this caption, it is noted that women have a fear that if they participate in politics they will be sidelined by the community, many of them noted that the community sees the women who participate in politics as being loose and unable to make a home. They are labeled as prostitutes and men discourage, their wives from associating with them and this isolation makes women feel so discouraged and hence decide not to try their lack in politics.

Box 4.14: Responses on Women views on Participation

Area: Loita primary school

Size of the groups: 14 members

Age: varied between 25 years to 50 years

Highest education level: Bachelors

Lowest education level: Certificate

Gender: Female

Date: 11th February 2016

Findings:

Another respondent to the same statement said …

'to me I believe that men are not willing to let go of the women, they ensure that we are incapacitated financially and we have no economic activity that aims at generating finances for us. We are treated just like the kids and hence have no say. Men need to be sensitized more than we need because we know what we are supposed to do only that we don't have the space and power to'

Another respondent indicated;

'……have you seen a Maasai man and woman walking on the road (pause) you may never know they are together because our culture dictates that the man must always walk ahead and the women and the children walk after him (a sign of respect and head ship) . We are so intimidated that we grow up believing that men are everything that we need. Our culture is so bad that even some of us when we see our fellow women try to rise up even for our good we shy away from them for fear that we will be chased away by our husbands. We are even the ones who call them names. We see them as prostitutes, indiscipline, home breakers and always believe that their children are spoilt because they lack the discipline from imitating their mother'

From the discussion, it was noted that majority of the women have been intimidated to the extent that they accepted their role as domestic other than leadership. Most of them felt that, they better do what culture dictates even if it is intimidating to them than go contrary and be regarded as the spoiled lot. Many Maasai leaders have held the belief that the culture and other social beliefs have really played a role in keeping women outside the political arena They indicated that Education has been a major obstacle; Women in Maasai land are not given an opportunity to vie for political positions due to cultural beliefs that women cannot lead men. In addition, there were beliefs that if they lead many misfortunes will befall the community. This is also experience by the women in Meru. According to the council of elders admits that women have been politically marginalized in the region.

The findings of this study indicated that some obstacles hinder women's participation in political affairs worldwide. They include low education and literacy levels, low access to financial resources, cultural attitudes and stereotypes, religion and socialization, among other factors.

4.8 Discussion

This section presents a discussion of the findings based on the study specific objectives. It begins with the first objective, which was to trace the historical trends of Maasai elite women participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County. The discussion proceeds to objective two, which sought to determine demographic factors which influence participation of elite women in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County. Objective three, which sought to establish. Socio-cultural factors which influence participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County. The last objective sought to assess the economic factors which influence participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County.

The current momentum in the Kenyan politics is facing a dilemma of either passing the two-thirds gender rule, under the constitution of Kenya (Amendment) bill 2015. The findings of this study differ with the bill as an attempt to level the playing field for women in Kenya, it proposes a number of measures to ensure that single gender cannot make up more than two thirds rule of Kenya's national assembly, the study findings shows that the gender gap persists and women struggle to make their voices heard when it comes to elective positions, the two third rule was to institutionalize increased participation for women in Kenya. This is a negative indicator for elite women of Narok South Sub-County as seen from the findings of

the study of low political participation. It also indicates that the level of political education, empowerment and awareness is low among women of Narok South Sub-County. This may explain why there is low political participation among the elite Maasai women folks as most of them are not aware of their political rights. An insignificant number stated about the one third gender rule which could bring out real changes in elite women's political lives. It is apparent that delays in delivering the one third gender rule is influencing elite women participation this study found out that a greater percentage of elite Maasai women are not participating in politics. This calls for serious policy formulation and implementation.

4.8.1 Historical trends and women participation in political leadership

The first specific objective of the study was to trace the historical trends of Maasai elite women participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County. This current study considered that there are historical trends that hinder elite women participation in political leadership. Statistical results in Table 4.2 provide details on these historical trends. Thirty-eight percent of the participants disagreed with the statement that elite women political participation is accepted. This indicated that a large population of the community does not support women participation in political leadership. With the society not supporting elite women participation in political leadership, means that women have no say in major policy and political decisions of the society. The findings above are in support of Misafi (2014) findings in his study that women participation in political matters is usually limited to physical presence only and their participation has no impact on policy changes a situation that affects elite women participation in political leadership in the Maasai community.

This study revealed that women in Narok South Sub-County face all forms of women historical exclusion from political structures from Table 4.2 indicates that 38 and 21 percent of the respondents respectively agreed and strongly agreed that, forms of historic exclusion from political structures hinder elite women from political participation. The findings depict the long time held views of the role of women especially in taking active leadership in politics. This supports the observation made by Phillips *et al.*, (1998) that there is high resistance, inequalities and exclusion affects the elite from political participation. Philips *et al.*, (1998) further noted that women's historic exclusion from political structures and processes is the result of multiple structural, functional and personal factors that vary in different social contexts across different countries. The forms of exclusion have been long historically held even during the colonial period as suggested by Manuh (1991) and Bush (1995) who both suggested that it is from the colonial period that women were deprived of

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their right to education thus altering the status of women in the society a situation that persists even to the Maasai community under study.

Findings on whether elite women have been kept outside the public domain for many years from Table 4.2 shows that 47 and 41 percent of the respondents respectively agreed and strongly agreed that most women from the community have been kept outside the public domain of politics for many years thus affecting their participation in politics. This finding agrees with other political thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Locke, Hobbes and Hegel (2000) who held a similar perception that, historic trends define women as home makers and sideline them from leadership roles of their community. Also, it further supports the argument of Rai *et al.* (2000) who indicate that women have been considered fit only for domestic roles in the private sphere and maintained that there was no place for them in politics because of their suitability in caring roles as mothers and wives.

The above historic perceptions held by the Maasai community should be streamlined so as to allow elite women participate in political leadership as enshrined in the country constitution which promised to increase space for women's participation through Article 27(28) and 81(b), which provided for not more than two-thirds representation of one gender in elective and appointive posts as the study found that 47 percent of the respondents agreed and 42 percent of the respondents strongly agreed that if the historical perception changes in the community they are able to participate in political leadership across the community.

4.8.2 Demographic factors and the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership

The second specific objective of this study was to determine the demographic factors which influence participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County. Findings from Table 4.14 reveal that gender affects elite women participation in political leadership as most of the respondents, 56 percent, were in support of the assertion. This supports the findings of Ouma & Maina, (2012); Khan (2010) and Burns & Schozmann (2001) who noted that gender issues affect women so much because of the stereotype. It was also noted that most respondents 41 percent, disagreed that gender affects elite women's participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County, indicating that just by virtue of them being women they were not allowed to participate in the political leadership in the sub county.

The study also noted that majority of the respondents 38 percent, disagreed that Elite Women population affects their participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County, while 41 percent agreed with the statement. This shows that though most of the voters are usually women but with very few of them being literate they also have the cultural perception about women in leadership.

The results further revealed that most of the respondents 36 percent, disagreed that public domain is mainly for men while the private household domain is for the elite women in Narok South Sub County. It was further noted that, majority of the respondents (52 %) agreed that early child marriage and female genital mutilation resulted in low elite women participation in Narok South Sub County. Similarly, most respondents 47 percent agreed that reliance on nominations has made elite women not to compete with men in Narok South Sub County. This agrees with the findings of (Khan 2010) that gender stereotype has a remarkable influence on women participation in politics.

On religion, the study established that majority of the respondents 194 (66.0%) were Protestants, this implies that most elite Maasai women professed the Christian faith. Although religion has long been seen as an instrument through which people are to be liberated from their cultural ties, but the case for the Maasai women is contrary to this assumption. The religion has long been used to exclude women from aspects of social, political or religious life around the world indicating that women's inferiority to men prevail across all dominant religions.

Ahmed (1992) and Meyer *et al.*, (1998) observed that Protestantism promotes nonhierarchical religious practices and more readily accept women as religious leaders compared with Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity (Greek Orthodox or Russian Orthodox). In addition, Islamic law is typically interpreted in a manner that constrains the activities of women. Religion is another source of anachronistic cultural beliefs in many communities in the country that excludes women from mainstream leadership. Arguments about women's inferiority to men are present across all dominant religions, and traditionally religion has long been used to exclude women from aspects of social, political, or religious life around the world (Paxton and Hughes 2007).

4.8.3 Socio cultural factors and the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership

The third specific objective of this study was to determine the socio-cultural factors which influence participation of elite women in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County. Statistical results in Table 4.6 on how cultural values affect elite women participation in political leadership, 44 percent of the respondents agreed and 47 percent strongly agreed that cultural values affect elite women participation in political leadership in the Maasai community in Narok sub- County. Such cultural values that hinder political participation among the elite women are in line with Kivoi (2014) who asserts that stereotype beliefs on women leadership can be traced to cultural factors which are socially constructed, he further asserts that male roles are more empowering and dominating while female roles are less empowering and subservient in nature. The findings are also in line with Paxton and Hughes, (2007) who asserted that traditional beliefs, customs, taboo, social, cultural perception and political practices have led to rules and codes of behavior that have long been instruments of ensuring gender structures are perpetuated in the society.

On how patriarchy represses elite women participation in political leadership 50 percent of the respondents strongly agreed and 14 percent agreed that patriarchy represses women participation in political leadership in the community under study. This supports the findings of Gaidzanwa, (2004) who noted that the hardest challenge for women who aspire to get into politics is overcoming the patriarchal nature of their societies. He contends that women are discouraged and undermined by men and their parties from vying for parliamentary positions and given a hostile treatment by men during campaigns, which include verbal abuse and harassment which contributes to women lagging behind in political participation not just in the Maasai land but in Africa and all over the world.

On how elite women have been kept outside the public domain of politics for many years, results from Table 4.6 indicated that 51 percent of the respondents agreed and 32 percent of the respondents strongly agreed that elite women have been kept outside public domain of politics for many years in the community under study. This finding concurs with Letuka *et al*. (2004) who found that women in Lesotho are treated as minorities in decision making and they socially fall under the same category as children, thus most societies including the one under study keep women from the public domain including the domain of political leadership.

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On whether elite women have no right to decision making and that they are purely fit for domestic roles 53 percent of the respondents disagreed and 19 percent strongly disagreed with the assertion, this suggests a change of commonly held belief on women and right to decision making. This finding is contrary to Ole Lemein (2014) who found that Maasai believe that women have no right to decision making. However, Lemein's finding is corroborated by the findings in Table 4.6 on whether elite women should occupy inferior positions compared to their male counter parts. The present study found that 34 and 22 percent of the respondents respectively agreed and strongly agreed that women position in the society should be inferior ones compared to those of men which are a continuation of patriarchy and male domination in political leadership.

4.8.4 Economic factors and the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership

The fourth specific objective of this study was to establish economic factors which influence participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County. In these objective respondents were asked various questions with regard to economic factors and the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership. On the aspect whether financial inability affects Maasai elite women participation in political leadership, results from Table 4.10 indicated that 43 percent of the respondents agreed and 39% of the respondents strongly agreed that financial inability affects elite women political participation in Narok South Sub-County. These findings agree with Sebudubudu and Osei (2005) report that SADC countries factors for underrepresentation of women include lack of finances that will help women productive roles, the same is echoed in Villauz (2000) who in giving out factors for women underrepresentation in leadership include the lack of financial and economic resources. Villauz and Espine (2000) further gives factors like lack of education and cultural backwardness which affect leadership participation, this too is supported by the findings of this study. Table 4.10 shows that 46 and 19 per cent of the respondents respectively agree and strongly agree that the level of education of an elite woman has significant contribution to the political participation among elite women in Narok South Sub-County.

On whether land ownership affects elite women participation in political leadership among Maasai women in Narok South Sub-County results in Table 4.10 indicate that 45 percent of the respondents agree and 39 percent of the respondents strongly agree that land ownership affects elite women political participation in political leadership. This finding agrees with

Kivoi (2014) who both indicated that in most Kenyan communities' women lack access to land and property rights though they are guaranteed in the constitution. This economically incapacitates them hence they cannot vie and run successful political campaigns where campaigns are highly expensive.

On if economic dependency on men affects elite women participation in political leadership results from Table 4.10 indicate that 42 percent of the respondents agreed while 39 percent of the respondents supported the assertion. The findings are in line with those of Wanjala and Odongo (2010) who indicated that women are economically incapacitated by men so that they cannot vie and run successful political campaigns where campaigns are highly expensive.

Also in checking whether economic challenges at family level is among the contributing factors to the lack of elite women involvement in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County results from Table 4.10 indicate that 56 percent of the respondents agreed while 19 percent strongly agreed that these challenges affect women participation in political leadership. The results in Table 4.10 revealed that most of the respondents 43 percent agreed and 38 percent strongly agreed that financial inability affects elite women participation in political leadership this means that most of the elite women from the Maasai community lack the financial power to enable them engage in political leadership. It was also noted that most of the respondents 45 percent agreed that women have no right to own land among the community and hence land ownership affects elite women participation in political leadership. This means that women lack the appropriate asset power to empower them economically which hinders their political leadership in the community.

It is a high time men treated women as human being and not just objects or part of their assets. In the Maasai culture a woman after being married becomes the property of the husband and therefore has to follow the instructions given by the husbands. One of the FGD sample response claimed, "We don't have any right to own anything including our own salaries, our husbands manage everything and we are just left watching. We cannot therefore go against the cultural rules despite the full knowledge that we have of this intimidation". The findings are in line with Olateye (2004) who found out that women' involvement in activities which are domestic in nature is a barrier to women entry into formal politics as society views women more as home makers and men as bread winners.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of key findings of the study. Conclusions regarding participation of elite women in political leadership are given and recommendations towards improving the situation and further areas for research are examined in relation to the objectives of the study.

The broad objective of this study was to explore the factors influencing participation of elite women in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County Narok County, Kenya. It sought also to establish the level of awareness among the elite women regarding those factors that influence their participation in leadership position in the community and the country at large. It highlights the influence of historical trends; social cultural factors, economic factors and the demographic factor on elite Maasai women's participation in politics in Narok south sub county, Narok County. The study used a descriptive survey design to evaluate the opinion and views of the Maasai elite women on the factors that influence their participation. Questionnaire, in-depth interview and a focus group discussion was used in collection of data.

The study sought to answer the following research questions. What are the historical trends of the Maasai elite women political participation in leadership in the Maasai community of Narok South Sub-County? How do demographic factors influence participation of Maasai elite women in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County? What are the social-cultural factors influencing participation of Maasai elite women in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County and how does the economic factors influence participation of Maasai elite women in political leadership in Narok South Sub-County.

The study used mainly primary data collected from elite Maasai women using self-administered questionnaires. In-depth interviews were conducted on key informants from among the elite Maasai women and focus group discussions conducted on specific groups in the four locations; Ololulunga, Maji Moto, Narosura and Loita in the study area. A sample of 370 elite Maasai women was selected using simple random sampling method. Each focus group discussion had on average 14 members who participated actively in the discussions.

5.2 Summary

This section presents a summary of major findings based on the objectives of the study, theoretical perceptions and data analysis.

The effect of historical trends on women participation in political leadership was evaluated using several item statements rated on a five scale Likert. Findings of the study revealed that there is a statistically significant association between the historical trends and women participation in political leadership among the elite Maasai women in Narok south sub county. It was established that there is high resistance of women processes that are seen to empower the women to leadership positions, there is also an increasing level of inequalities among the women. The perception that women only fit for domestic roles hinders elite Maasai women from participation in political leadership in the Maasai community.

In regard to the effect of demographic factors on participation of elite women in political leadership, the study established a positive and significant relationship between the variables. Among the issues addressed were age, household size, household head, and education level of elite women in the Maasai community. The findings from the study showed mixed reactions on whether demographic factors really influenced women participation in political leadership. The responses from the key informant disagreed that demographic variables have anything to do with the low women participation in political leadership. Their point of contention was that even the elite women of the right age are not given a chance to participate because of men dominance in political leadership. The findings of the study therefore reveal that demographic factors might not necessarily have an effect on elite Maasai women participation in political leadership.

The study also sought to establish the effect of social cultural factors on the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership. The findings of the study also established a very high positive statistical association between the variables. Gender stereotype, discrimination among women, patriarchy and the form of occupations held by women were noted to have an influence on their participation in politics in the sub-county. The results indicated that the culture of the Maasai discriminates against women and it does not allow women to participate in decision making regarding leadership of the community. Culture prohibits women from not only speaking but even standing before men.

The Maasai culture regards women like children and usually they are the possessions of the man and therefore are not allowed to participate in the leadership issues of the community. The same was echoed from the FGDs where it was established that the socio- cultural setting of the Maasai does not give women a chance to participate in major decision making even in the homes. This makes it very difficult for elite Maasai women to participate in political leadership in the community. The findings from the study therefore reveal that socio- cultural factors affect elite Maasai women participation in political leadership.

The findings of the study also established that there was a positive statistically significant association between economic factors and the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership in Narok County. The results indicated that women are economically deprived within the community and they do not have the resources that should empower them economically. The study revealed that women lack financial ability, they are not entitled to land ownership, most of them have low education levels and have limited chances to get employment as among the major economic issues affecting their participation in political leadership. A similar response was observed from the sentiments of the key respondents and the themes from the focus group discussion. It was noted that resources like land were not to their title and hence they were unable to seek financial support that is very important for one to participate in politics.

5.3 Conclusions

The study sought to establish the factors that affect the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership in the community. The findings of the study have shed light on how historical trends, socio- cultural factors, political factors and demographic factors play a role in enhancing participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership in the Maasai community.

5.3.1 Empirical Conclusions

This study concludes that elite Maasai women participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County is influenced by historical trends in the community. Women are highly disadvantaged by the historical exclusions which have seen them sidelined from decision making and leadership process in the community. Although women feel they have the ability to participate fully in political leadership they are faced with the negative attitude and the historical definition of their roles in the community.

It is also evident that elite Maasai women participation in politics is influenced by socio-cultural factors. The findings of the study revealed that the Maasai culture is used to intimidate the elite women and hence affects their participation in political leadership. The study concludes that the only way the elite Maasai women can participate in political leadership is by ensuring cultural change to give them more autonomy and recognition. By giving women more rights to decision making may eliminate the discrimination they suffer under the cultural values.

The study also concludes that economic factors influence elite Maasai women participation in political leadership in Narok south sub county. The study revealed that women lack of financial resource and entitlement to asset possession play very significant role in influencing their participation in politics. In job opportunities women earn little as compared to men and they lack the opportunities that are a pre- requisite to participate in political leadership like men. These are serious challenges that affect elite women's participation in political leadership especially in the Maasai community.

The findings of the study indicated that, demographic factors have positive influence on the participation of elite Maasai women in political leadership. There seems to be mixed perception on the level of education. The findings from the interview and FGDs revealed that women who have a higher levels of education are of the right age and the political dominance by male deters them from actively participating in politics. Therefore, it is concluded that though demographic variables influence elite women participation in political leadership the effect was very small.

5.3.2 Theoretical conclusions

The study was premised on three theories namely Radical feminists' theory advanced by Grossman (1957) the theory of Empowerment advanced by Douglas and Perkins (1993) and the Giddens' Structuration theory advanced by Giddens in 1957 to explain why elite Maasai women are not participating in political leadership in Narok South Sub County.

There is a growing consensus internationally that the different roles assigned to women and men within institutions as depicted by the radical feminist's theory better explain gender difference. The sexual division of labor in the household is a reflection of women marginalization in patriarchal societies. Women are thus, seen as objects and are denied the opportunity for self-realization. This is seen clearly in the study findings that revealed that

elite Maasai women are virtually denied the chance to participate in political leadership due to the social structures that discriminate against them in terms of culture.

The results of the study have revealed that women were disadvantaged due to lack of resources that are a pre-requisite to accessing political leadership positions. Empowerment links individual's strengths and competencies. This however requires natural helping systems and behaviors that are instrumental to social policy and social change. The finding is in line with the empowerment theory that most elite Maasai women are likely to participate in politics because they have been educated. The theory of Empowerment brings into perspective the predicaments of Maasai women and their participation in political leadership. Lack of willingness among the men to liberate women and empower them by all means makes it very difficult for the elite women to participate in political leadership. According to this theory there is need to equip women with skills and competences that may enhance their full participation in political leadership. The current study supports the proponents of this theory by concluding that elite Maasai women should be empowered to participate in leadership at all levels because they have the potential.

The findings of the study clearly indicate that the social and cultural structure of the Maasai community poses as the greatest barrier to elite Maasai women participation in political leadership. The structural theory depicts that communities are organized on specific structures which define the roles and duties of different people in the society. The theory clearly shows that the role of leadership and participation in key decision making is for men while women are supposed to play subordinate roles   particularly domestic chaos. According to the proponents of this theory, women are sidelined from the leadership structures and are considered not suitable for the leadership position. The findings of this study established a similar scenario in the Maasai community.

5.4 Recommendations

From the findings, it is evident that family background, colonial education, colonial structures, status of family in society, women educational level, patriarchal systems, occupation, land ownership, income, value of wealth, household size, age and marital status influenced elite Maasai women political participation. In addition, these characteristics also have a bearing on gender awareness, education and training, policy issues and access to public and government services. While educational level scored fairly, access to government resources, shared leadership and participation at community level scored low.

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Therefore, based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations were made for stake holders and policy makers: -

(i) The first study objective sought to trace the historical trends of Maasai women participation in political leadership in the Maasai community of Narok South Sub-County. The study found out that there is a statistically significant association between the historical trends and women participation in political leadership among the elite Maasai women in Narok south sub county. It was noted that there is no high resistance of women processes that are seen to be disempowering women to leadership positions, there is also an increasing level of inequalities among the women. The study, therefore, recommends that women need to be sensitized about their important role in politics and leadership in the community in order to overcome the historical trends that make them lag behind. The government should ensure that their commitment to enhancing women leadership through the assent to various conventions is implemented to help remove the historic trends that are influencing women participation in politics.

(ii) The second study objective sought to determine the demographic factors influencing participation of Maasai elite women in political leadership in Maasai community of Narok South Sub-County. The study found that there were mixed reactions on whether demographic factors really influenced women participation in political leadership. The responses from the key informant disagreed that demographic variables have anything to do with the low women participation in political leadership. Their point of contention was that even the elite women of the right age are not given a chance to participate because of the men dominance in political leadership. The findings of this current study therefore reveal that demographic factors might not necessarily have an effect on elite Maasai women participation in political leadership. Hence the study recommends that there is also need for the community to remove the demographic barriers that they put for women which influence their participation in politics. Such barriers as marriage and the focus on religion need to be removed to give women room of participation.

(iii) The third study objective sought to establish socio-cultural factors influencing participation of Maasai elite women in political leadership in Maasai community of Narok South Sub-County. The study found out that gender stereotype, discrimination among women, patriarchy and the form of occupation held by women had influence on

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participation of elite Maasai women in politics in the sub county. The results indicated that the culture of the Maasai discriminates against the women and it does not allow women participate in decision making regarding leadership of the community. Culture prohibits women from not only speaking but even standing before men. The Maasai culture regards women like children and usually they are the possessions of the man and therefore are not allowed to participate in the leadership issues of the community. The same was echoed from the FGDs where it was established that the socio- cultural setting of the Maasai does not give women a chance to participate in major decision making even in the homes. The study, therefore, recommends that the community should lessen the cultural issues that are disadvantageous to women and ensure that women are made free to participate in leadership activities. This will involve sensitization programmes for the women and men about their role in freeing the women to participate in leadership.

(iv) The fourth study objective sought to assess economic factors influencing participation of Maasai elite women in political leadership in Maasai community of Narok South Sub County. The results indicated that women are economically deprived within the community and they do not have the resources that should empower them economically. The study revealed that women lack financial ability, they are not entitled to land ownership, most of them have low education levels and have limited chances to get employment as among the major economic issues affecting their participation in political leadership. The findings further show that resources like land were not to their title and hence they were unable to seek financial support that is very important for one to participate in politics.

The study, therefore, recommends that there is need for the government to put in place strategies to enhance economic resource ownership and accumulation of wealth among elite Maasai women without having to get permission from the men. This will enhance their participation in politics because they will have the financial backing required for them to effectively participate in politics. The government should further domesticate Sustainable Development Goal five that aims to end discrimination against women and girls everywhere. For instance, the government should have a quota of positions preserved for women. Although, quotas might have negative impacts on deepening democracy, when adopted in contexts where the key institutions of democracy and human rights are weak or absent, and where elected political actors are weakly accountable to electoral constituencies, they are deemed appropriate.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

A number of findings of this current study raised questions, which require further investigations. The following are therefore suggested areas for further research:

(i) A systematic longitudinal study to determine the various ways of empowering elite women as the community progresses from traditional perception to modern inclusivity of women into political leadership.

(ii) Research on political environment and strategies that can be put in place to enable elite women participate in political leadership.

(iii) A systematic study comparing elite Maasai women and other elite women in Kenya should be carried out in order to determine their level of awareness of participation in political leadership in the Maasai in Narok south sub county.

(iv) A purely qualitative research should be carried on the perceptions of the elite Maasai women of Narok south sub county to shed light on their status.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Dear Respondent,

My name is Zeddy Kauria and I am a PhD student (Sociology) at Egerton University, in the department of peace, security and social studies and currently undertaking a research on participation of elite women in political leadership in the Maasai Community of Narok South Sub- County in Narok County. As part of the requirement of the course, I am required to take a research in my area of study and therefore request you to answer the questions honestly to enable me accomplish the objectives of my study. Information collected will be used for the purpose of this study only and with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you for your time and patience.

Zeddy Kauria

PhD Student

APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ELITE MAASAI WOMEN

Instructions for filling the questionnaire

(a) Please respond to ALL the questions in section one, two, three and four

(b) Read the questions carefully and understand before writing your response.

1. Your age bracket:

  18- 30…………………. ( )
  31-50………………….. ( )
  51 -55………………… ( )
  Above 60 years ( )

2. Your level of Education:

  Diploma………………… ( )
  Under graduate…………. ( )
  Post graduate……………. ( )

3. Religion: Protestant ( ) Catholic ( ) Muslim ( ) African religion ( ) others

SECTION A: Historical Trends

Indicate the extent to which you agree towards participation of elite women in political leadership. (Mark on scale 1-5) 1- strongly disagree, 2- disagree, 3-not sure 4-Agree, 5-strongly agree.					
	1	2	3	4	5
4.Elite Women political leadership is accepted in Narok South Sub County					
5.High resistance of women processes dominate in Narok South Sub County					
6.Increasing inequalities hinder Elite women from political leadership in Narok South Sub County					
7. Types of women historic exclusion from political structures hinder elite women from political participation in Narok South Sub County					
8.Elite Women have been kept outside the public domain of					

politics for many years in Narok South Sub County					
9.Elite Women fit only for domestic roles in Narok South Sub County					
10.If perceptions changes in the community am able to participate in Narok South Sub County					

SECTION B: Socio-Cultural Factors

Indicate the extent to which you agree towards participation of elite women in political leadership. (Mark on scale 1-5) 1- strongly disagree, 2- disagree, 3-not sure 4-Agree, 5-strongly agree.

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Cultural values affect Elite women participation in political leadership.					
2. Discrimination is a contributing factor to lack of Elite women participation in political leadership.					
3.Occupation affects Elite women participation in political leadership					
4. Patriarchy represses women participation in political leadership					
5. Elite Women have been kept outside the public domain of politics for many years in Narok South Sub County					
6. Elite Women should occupy inferior positions compared to male counterparts in Narok South Sub County					
7.Elite Women has no right to decision making, they are purely fit for domestic roles in Narok South Sub County					

SECTION C: Economic Factors

Indicate the extent to which you agree towards participation of elite women in political leadership.(Mark on scale 1-5) 1- strongly disagree,2- disagree, 3-not sure 4-Agree, 5-strongly agree.					
	1	2	3	4	5
1. Financial inability affects elite women participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County					
2. Land ownership affects elite women participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County					
3. Economic dependency on men affects elite women participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County					
4. Economic challenges at family level are the contributing factors to lack of elite women participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County					
5. The level of education of an elite woman has significant contribution on political participation in Narok South Sub County					
6. I have chances of participation in political leadership if I get empowered through training in Narok South Sub County					
7. There is limit on elite women's opportunities for education and employment in Narok South Sub County					

SECTION D: Demographic Factors

Indicate the extent to which you agree towards participation of elite women in political leadership.(Mark on scale 1-5) 1- strongly disagree,2- disagree, 3-not sure 4-Agree, 5-strongly agree.					
	1	2	3	4	5
1. Age affects elite women participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County					
2. Gender affects elite women's participation in political participation in Narok South Sub County					
3.Geographical terrain hinder elite women from political participation in Narok South Sub County					
4.Elite Women population affects their participation in political leadership in Narok South Sub County					
5.The public domain is mainly for men while the private household domain is for the elite women in Narok South Sub County					
6.There has been cumulative effects that resulted to low elite women participation in Narok South Sub County					
7.Reliance on nominations has made elite women not to compete with men in Narok South Sub County					

8. From your own opinion which demographic factors affects women from political participation?

9. Why is there low elite women participation?

10. What can be done to improve participation?

APPENDIX III: KEY INFORMANTS' INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SECTION A: (Historical trend)

1. Perception influences women political leadership in Narok South Sub County?

   Explain your answer

2. High resistance of women processes dominate in Narok South Sub County

   Do you agree? Explain your answer

   If not why is there low women participation?

3. Increasing inequalities hinder elite women from political leadership in Narok South

   Sub County

   Do you agree? Explain your answer

   If not why is there low women participation?

4. Forms of women historic exclusion and political structures hinder elite women

   Political leadership in Narok South Sub County

   Do you agree? Explain your answer

   If not why is there low women participation?

5. Elite Women in Narok South Sub County have been kept outside the public domain for
    many years?

   Do you agree? Explain your answer

6. Patriarchal systems affect elite Women in Narok South Sub County

   Do you agree? Explain your response

SECTION B: (Socio-Cultural Factors)

1. Cultural values affect elite women participation in political leadership?

   Do you agree? Explain your response

2. Discrimination contributes to lack of elite women participation in political leadership?

   Do you agree? Explain your response

3. Occupation affects elite women participation in political leadership

   Do you agree? Explain your response

   If not why is there low women participation?

4. Patriarchy represses elite women participation in political leadership

   Do you agree? Explain your answer

   If not why is there low women participation?

SECTION C: (Economic Factors)

1. Financial inability affects elite women participation in political leadership

   Do you agree? Explain your response

   If not why is there low women participation?

2. Land ownership affects elite women participation in political leadership
   Do you agree? Explain your answer

   If not why is there low women participation?

3. Economic dependency on men affects elite women participation in political

   leadership

   Do you agree? Explain your response

   If not why is there low women participation?

4. Economic challenges at family level is a contributing factor to low elite women

Participation in political leadership

Do you agree? Explain your response

If not why is there low women participation?

SECTION D: (Demographic Factors)

1. Age affect elite women participation in political leadership

   Do you agree? Explain your response

   If not why?...

2. Gender affects women participation in political participation?

   Do you agree? Explain your response

   If not why?...

3. Geographical terrain hinder elite women from political participation

   Do you agree? Explain your response

   If not why?...

4. Elite women population affects their participation in political leadership
   Do you agree? Explain your response
   If not why?..

5. Marital status affects elite women participation in political leadership
   Do you agree? Explain your response
   If not why?...

6. Educational level affects elite women participation in political leadership
   Do you agree? Explain your response
   If not why?..

APPENDIX IV: QUESTION GUIDE FOR FOCUSED GROUP DISCUSSIONS.

Themes for discussion

Historical trends of elite Maasai women participation in political leadership

1. What is the historical background of Maasai women?

2. What is the historical trend of Maasai women political participation?

3. What do you think about elite Maasai women participation in political leadership?

4. What according to your own opinion are the basic causes behind low women representation in parliament?

5. Do you think there is high resistance to women participating in political leadership in Narok South Sub County? Explain your answer.

Socio-cultural factors influencing elite Maasai women participation in political leadership

6. In your own opinion what do you think about cultural factors in relation to elite Maasai women participation in political leadership? Explain your answer.

7. What is the background of patriarchy and what is its role in women participation in Political leadership? Explain your answer.

8. What do you say about elite Maasai women occupation and participation in political leadership? Explain your answer.

9. How does the family status influence the elite Maasai women occupation and participation in political leadership? Explain your answer.

10. Does women educational level influence the elite Maasai women participation in political leadership? Explain your answer.

Economic factors influencing elite Maasai women participation in political leadership

11 Do investment affect elite Maasai women participation to political leadership? Explain your answer.

12. What are the strategies that can be used to empower elite Maasai women participation to political leadership?

13. Can value of wealth influence the elite Maasai women participation in political leadership? Explain your answer.

14. Do you think income influence the elite Maasai women participation in political leadership? Explain your answer.

15. What are your suggestions on elite Maasai women political participation?

Demographic factors influencing elite Maasai women participation in political leadership

16. Does household size influence the elite Maasai women participation in political leadership? Explain your answer.

17. What do you think about mixed community and elite Maasai women participation in political leadership? Explain your answer.

18. Does household head affect elite Maasai women participation in political leadership? Explain your answer.

19. Could marital status influence the elite Maasai women participation in political leadership? Explain your answer.

20. What has the new Kenyan constitution accomplished in relation to Maasai elite women participation?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

APPENDIX V: DESCRIPTION OF FOCUSED GROUP DISCUSSIONS.

Table 3.3:

FGD Description	Number of Informants	Ages	Place of Interview	Interview Date
Employees from various department	12	Varied	Ololunga CDF office	04/02/2016
Teachers and other employees	10	Varied	Maji moto secondary school	06/02/2016
Women group leaders	12	Varied	Narosura primary school	10/02/2016
Women group leaders	14	Varied	Loita primary school	11/02/2016

Source: Field Data, 2015

APPENDIX VI: DATA ANALYSIS MATRIX

Table 3.5:

Research Objectives	Types of data required	Specific data	Research instruments	Data analysis techniques
To trace the historical trends of Maasai women participation in political leadership in the Maasai community of Narok south sub- county	Nominal and Ordinal	-Historical background -Colonial education -Colonial political structures	Questionnaire, thematic list and Focus Group Discussion	-Narratives -excerpts -Means -Percentages -Chi-square
To determine the demographic factors influencing participation of elite Maasai women participation in political leadership in the Maasai community of Narok south sub-county	Nominal and Ordinal	-Women population -Gender Age	Questionnaire, in-depth Interview and Focus Group Discussion	-Narratives -excerpts -Frequency tables -Percentages -Chi-square
To establish socio-cultural factors influencing participation of Maasai elite women participation in political leadership in the Maasai community of Narok south sub-county	Nominal and Ordinal	-Gender roles education -patriarchal systems -Ethnicity -Religion	Questionnaire, in-depth Interview and Focus Group Discussion	-excerpts -Narratives -Frequency tables -Chi-square
To assess economic factors influencing participation of Maasai elite women participation in political leadership in the Maasai community of Narok south sub-county	Nominal and Ordinal	-occupation -investment -Income level -land ownership -family background	Questionnaire, in-depth Interview and Focus Group Discussion	-Narratives -excerpts -Frequency tables -Chi-square

APPENDIX VII: RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MS. ZEDDY KAURIA
of EGERTON UNIVERSITY , 768-20500
narok,has been permitted to conduct
research in *Narok County*

on the topic: *PARTICIPATION OF ELITE*
WOMEN IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN
THE MAASAI COMMUNITY OF NAROK
SOUTH SUB-COUNTY NAROK COUNTY,
KENYA

for the period ending:
2nd September,2017

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/16/70962/13482
Date Of Issue : 2nd September,2016
Fee Recieved :ksh 2000

....
Applicant's
Signature

....
Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation

APPENDIX VIII: NACOSTI AUTHORIZATION LETTER

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone:+254-20-2213471,
2241349,3310571,2219420
Fax:+254-20-318245,318249
Email:dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
when replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No.
NACOSTI/P/16/70962/13482

Date:
2nd September, 2016

Zeddy Kauria
Egerton University
P.O. Box 536-20115
EGERTON.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *"Participation of elite women in political leadership in the Maasai Community of Narok South Sub County, Narok County, Kenya,"* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Narok County** for the period ending **2nd September, 2017.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Narok County** before embarking on the research project.

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

BONIFACE WANYAMA
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Narok County.

The County Director of Education
Narok County.

APPENDIXE IX: EGERTON UNIVERSITY AUTHORITY LETTER

EGERTON
Tel: Pilot: 254-51-2217620
              254-51-2217877
              254-51-2217631
Dir.line/Fax: 254-51-2217847
Cell Phone
Extension; 3606

UNIVERSITY
P.O. Box 536 - 20115
Egerton, Njoro, Kenya
Email: bpgs@egerton.ac.ke
www.egerton.ac.ke

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GRADUATE SCHOOL

Ref:………………   Date:…………………………..

AD17/0308/11   26th April, 2016

The Secretary,
National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation
P. O. Box 30623-00100,
NAIROBI.

Dear Sir,

RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PERMIT – ZEDDY KAURIA REG. NO. AD17/0308/11

This is to introduce and confirm to you that the above named student is in the Department of Peace, Security and Social Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

She is a bonafide registered PhD student in this University. Her research topic is entitled **"Participation of Elite Women in Political Leadership in the Maasai Community of Narok South Sub-County, Narok County, Kenya."**

She is at the stage of collecting field data. Please issue her with a research permit to enable her undertake the studies.

Yours faithfully,

Prof.Dr-Ing. Benedict M. Mutua, PhD, Rer.Nat
DIRECTOR, BOARD OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

BMM/mk

"Transforming Lives Through Quality Education"
Egerton University is ISO 9001:2008 Certified