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**Women's Empowerment and Livestock-focused Livelihoods
in Pastoral Communities in Northern Kenya**

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Abstract

Women's Empowerment and Livestock-focused Livelihoods in Pastoral Communities in Northern Kenya

By Timmie Roach

Introduction: Pressures from increased population size, climate change, and economic development within low-income countries have caused many pastoralist societies to begin to transition from nomadic to more sedentary livelihoods [1-3]. This transition has led to detrimental effects on maternal and child health among women and young children in East Africa [4-6]. Women play a critical role in food provision and production as well as food practices and culture for their families. Thus, a key factor in achieving improved health outcomes for women and children is understanding the socio-cultural, economic, and environmental drivers of change in their health status. This paper will examine women's empowerment in the context of livestock-focused livelihoods within pastoral communities in Northern Kenya.

Methods: Cross-sectional, participatory qualitative research was conducted in Northern Kenya from May through August 2016 in Marsabit and Isiolo counties. A total of 66 focus group discussions, each 10-12 participants, were conducted at the ward level. Sites in Marsabit County included Karere Town, Laisamis, Korr, Turbi, Sololo and Butiye. Sites within Isiolo County included Burat, Kinna, Oldonyrio, Merti, and Ngaremara. Detailed summaries derived from women's empowerment FGDs were read, segmented, and coded by two independent coders using MaxQDA Qualitative Analysis Software.

Results: Women's empowerment was defined as the ability to provide for oneself and one's family. There were gendered differences in women's decisions regarding agricultural production, access and control over resources, and control and use of income within nomadic, semi-nomadic and sedentary community types. Women's autonomy in production was limited for livestock however autonomy in production for livestock products was strong. For semi-nomadic and nomadic communities, location played a significant role in women's access to and control of opportunities as well as their workload and control over time. Increased workload, intimate partner violence, and social stigma were identified as potential adverse consequences of increased women's empowerment.

Conclusion: Quantitative data alone is insufficient for measuring women's empowerment. While quantitative tools can assess patterns, the underlying attitudes and behaviors that contribute to those patterns are missed. Qualitative assessment in conjunction with quantitative measurement is required for filling gaps in women's empowerment research.

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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction and Rationale

Pastoralists rely on livestock as a primary livelihood strategy and represent some of the most socially, economically and politically marginalized societies in the world [7, 8]. Pressures from increased population size, climate change, and economic development within low-income countries have caused many pastoralist societies to begin to transition from nomadic to more sedentary livelihoods [1-3]. This transition has led to detrimental effects on maternal and child health among women and young children in East Africa [4-6]. Women play a critical role in food provision and production as well as food practices and culture for their families. Thus, integration of women's empowerment is required for any intervention working to improve agricultural production and maternal and child health. A key factor in achieving improved health outcomes for women and children is understanding the socio-cultural, economic, and environmental drivers of change in their health status. This paper will examine women's empowerment in the context of livestock-focused livelihoods within pastoral communities in Northern Kenya.

1.2 Problem Statement

In Kenya, pastoralists constitute roughly around 10-20% (4-10 million) of the population [9, 10]. A large proportion of which can be found in the arid and semi-arid regions of Northern Kenya and represent 75-85% of its population [11]. North Eastern Kenya is marked by significant economic, health, and gender disparities. Growing evidence has led many organizations and governments to recognize the importance of incorporating gender equity targets utilizing women's empowerment strategies into their program portfolios. However, with

this recognition comes a need for strategies that can effectively integrate women's empowerment into development interventions across different sectors and regions. While current research shows that there is a need for nutrition sensitive interventions, evidence gaps around how women's empowerment and livestock-focused livelihood interventions may positively or negatively impact maternal and child health and nutrition remain.

1.3 Purpose Statement

The aim of this research is to examine how women's empowerment, development, and maternal child and health intersect in order to improve metrics for measuring women's empowerment in the context of livestock-focused livelihoods. It will explore potential underlying economic, environmental, and socio-cultural drivers of changes in empowerment for women within pastoralist communities.

1.4 Research Question

Is there a relationship between women's empowerment and livestock-focused livelihoods amongst pastoral communities within northern Kenya?

1.5 Significance Statement

Findings from this research and other participatory activities will assist in identifying strategies for mitigation of these threats and enhancing accrual of benefits for women and their children.

1.6 Definition of Terms

5DE	5 domains of empowerment
ASALS	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
FGD(s)	Focus Group Discussion(s)
FP	Family Planning
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPI	Gender Parity in Empowerment
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
ILRI	International Livestock Resource Institute
IRB	Institutional Review Board
IREC	Institutional Review and Ethics Committee
MCH	Maternal and Child Health
OPHI	Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index
WASH	Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene
WEAI	Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index
WELI	Women's Empowerment in Livestock Index
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Chapter 2

2.1 Pastoralism in Kenya

Pastoralists rely on livestock as a primary livelihood strategy and represent some of the most politically disempowered and economically marginalized societies in the world [7, 8]. The pastoral lifestyle is characterized by seasonal mobility of an entire community and grazing of animals (i.e. cattle, camel, sheep, and goats) on communally-managed, open-access rangelands [12, 13]. Production is centered around subsistence with “families relying more on milk than meat for nutrition, selling animals to get cash for other economic needs, and building herd sizes to accrue social status, wealth, and risk buffering [14].” Pressures from increased population size, climate change, and economic development in low- to middle-income countries have caused many of these pastoralist societies to begin the transition from nomadic to more sedentary livelihoods [1-3]. However, this transition has led to detrimental effects on the diets, health, and nutritional status of women and young children in East Africa [4-6].

In Kenya, pastoralists constitute roughly around 10-20% (4-10 million) of the population [9, 10]. A large proportion of which can be found in the arid and semi-arid regions of Northern Kenya and represent 75-85% of its population [11]. North Eastern Kenya is marked by significant economic, health, and gender disparities. It is one of the least developed regions in Kenya with sixty four percent of the population living at poverty level and thirty five percent of the population is unemployed [15]. There is poor access to clean drinking water (39%), low primary (55%) and secondary (19%) school net attendance, poor access to mass media (3 %) and low road density (0.1) [16-18].

In terms of health, there is low life expectancy (51.8 years), an alarming doctor to patient ratio (1:120,823) and a population per health facility of 13,500 [17]. It has the lowest rates of coverage for family planning needs (10%), antenatal care (37%), skilled birth attendance (32%), births delivered at health facility (29%), and postnatal care for moms (14%) and newborns (5%) in the country. It has the highest levels of wasting (13%), the highest proportion of underweight children (19%), and an under 5 mortality rate of 44 per 1000 live births [16, 19].

When considering gender, the North Eastern region has the highest rates of women with no education (75%), illiteracy (76%), and female unemployment (87%) when compared to the other regions in the country. Women in this area are also the most likely to be in polygamous unions (32%) and undergone female circumcision (98%) when compared to women in the general population [16].

2.2 Women's Empowerment

Within academia and the development sectors there is an increasing recognition of the role women play in improved and sustained economic, health, and social outcomes. Research shows that women's empowerment is associated with improved outcomes in family planning (FP), Maternal and Child Health (MCH), Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene (WASH), nutrition, finance, and agriculture [20, 21]. In family planning, evidence links women's empowerment to increased use of modern contraceptive methods and decreased risk for unintended pregnancies [20, 21]. Within maternal and child health, women's empowerment is associated with higher rates of antenatal and postnatal care coverage, skilled birth attendance, institutional delivery, and mother/child vaccination [20, 21]. It is also associated with decreased rates of neonatal, infant, child and under 5 mortality [20, 21]. When considering the WASH sector, women's

empowerment is associated with improved sanitation, menstrual hygiene management, and latrine coverage [20, 21]. Within the area of nutrition, women's empowerment is associated with improved mother and child nutritional status and decreased rates of stunting [20, 21]. In the financial sector, women's empowerment was associated with increased business profits, investment and savings as well as household income [20]. Within agriculture, women's empowerment is associated with improved agricultural productivity [20]. In short, women's empowerment leads to better quality of life and well-being for women and their families. This knowledge and growing evidence has led many world organizations, national governments, and development programs to recognize the importance of incorporating gender equity targets utilizing women's empowerment strategies into their program portfolios. However, with this recognition comes a need for strategies that can effectively integrate women's empowerment into development interventions across different sectors and regions.

Defining women's empowerment can be complicated. This is because gender and the way different genders relate to one another is culturally and contextually specific. Thus, women's empowerment differs across regions and circumstances [22]. This variability is reflected in the lack of a consistent definition for women's empowerment within the field and across sectors. However, there is general consensus around some key factors. Women's empowerment consists of processes by which women are enabled to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes [22, 23]. However, choice is qualified. For a choice to be "real" there must be viable alternatives (i.e. consider conditions and consequences of choice) and the alternatives must be seen to exist [24]. Women's empowerment includes five core components: 1) women's self-worth; 2) ability to have and determine choices; 3) access to opportunities and

resources; 4) control of their lives within and outside the home; and 5) ability to influence the direction of social and political change [25]. There are also different levels of society (i.e. individual, household, community, institution) within which different types of power operate. Flintan (2008) describes the different types of power as “*invisible power* – the beliefs and attitudes that shape our understanding about who we are; *visible power* – that we can ‘see’ demonstrated in things like structures and behaviors; and *hidden power* – the ‘rules’ that determine who has power.”

Another concern that arises from the mutability of women’s empowerment due to context is measurement. What a woman wants and the types of decisions she makes are influenced by her experiences and conditions. Across academia and development sectors, there has been much debate around, multiple tools developed for, and many approaches utilized to address the need for measurement of women’s empowerment. The Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) and the Social Institutions and Gender Parity Index (SIGI) are two measurement tools that were created recently to address this concern in a global context. Between the two indices there are measures that assess individual, community, and institutional factors that influence women’s empowerment. Measures included in the WEAI focus on the individual level whereas the SIGI’s includes measures that focus on both the individual and the community/institution level. Lesson learned from the implementation of both indices may potentially be useful for development of livestock-based livelihood interventions that effectively integrate women’s empowerment for pastoral settings.

Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI)

The WEAI is a composite measurement tool developed by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), and Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) to track changes in women's empowerment levels due to intervention programming. It consists of two sub-indices that measure 5 domains of empowerment (5DE) and gender parity in empowerment (GPI). Thus, the WEAI is an aggregate index that measures the level of empowerment women have in their households and communities and the degree to which inequality between women and men within the same household exists.

The five domains of women's empowerment and their indicators include: 1) Production - assessed by input in productive decisions and autonomy in production; 2) Resources - assessed by access, ownership, and control of assets and credit; 3) Income - assessed by control over use of income; 4) Leadership - assessed by group membership and speaking in public; and 5) Time - assessed by workload and time for leisure. Domains are weighted equally as well as each indicator within a domain. The GPI measures the level of empowerment between male and female leadership within the household in an effort to identify gendered gaps in empowerment. To achieve this both the principal adult female and adult male in the household are interviewed. Households without a primary adult male are excluded. The mean GPI value of dual-adult households is used for the WEAI [26]. A pilot study utilizing the WEAI was conducted in Uganda. The total WEAI score for pilot districts was 0.789 (5DE = 0.777 and GPI = 0.898) indicating that 37.3 % of women were empowered and 54.4% of women had gender parity with the primary male within their household [27]. Disempowerment was associated with a lack of leadership in community, time burden, and lack of control over resources.

Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI)

The SIGI is also a composite measurement tool developed by Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) to measure discrimination against women in social institutions that contribute to gender inequality. Countries are scored on 14 indicators which are grouped into five sub-indices, each measuring a social institution dimension related to gender inequality. Indicators within each sub-index include: 1) Discriminatory family code – assessed by legal age of first marriage, early marriage, parental authority and inheritance; 2) Restricted physical integrity – assessed by violence against women, female genital mutilation, and reproductive autonomy; 3) Son bias assessed by missing women and fertility preferences; 4) Restricted resources and assets – assessed by secure access to land, secure access to non-land assets, and access to financial services; and 5) Restricted civil liberties – assessed by access to public space and political voice. The SIGI's sub-indices are equally weighted. SIGI and its sub-indices' scores range from 0 for low discrimination/no inequality to 1 for very high discrimination/complete inequality. Based on score, a country is then classified into one of five levels of discrimination (i.e. very low, low, medium, high, and very high) [28]. In 2014, Kenya had an overall SIGI score of 0.2157 indicating medium levels of discrimination. Sub-indices scores included a discriminatory family code medium score of .3502, a medium restricted high physical integrity score of .6122, a high son bias score of .4397, a high restricted resources and assets score of .5913, and a low restricted civil liberties score of .1951.

2.3 Livestock-focused Livelihood Interventions

Research supports livestock-focused livelihood interventions as a strategy for increasing production and consumption of animal sourced food (ASF) at the household level. ASFs are rich

in the protein, bioavailable micronutrients, and growth factors needed to meet the elevated nutrient needs of pregnancy, lactation, and early child growth and development [29]. In addition, ASFs are the only dietary source of B12 and are significantly richer in bioavailable vitamin A, zinc, and iron per 100 g when compared to grains, fruits, and vegetables [30-32]. Livestock, as sources of income generation, nutritious food, and productive assets, have the potential to assist in buffering shocks to the environment and economy as well as increase social capital within the community. In the long term, this can lead to improved food security and poverty mitigation. However, for these benefits to accrue and be sustained for women and children, livestock-focused livelihood strategies must incorporate women's empowerment strategies.

A key factor in achieving improved nutrition outcomes for women and children is the way in which interventions are implemented. Women play a critical role in food provision and production as well as food practices and culture for their families. Therefore, a required component for any intervention working to improve farm productivity and household nutrition is women's empowerment. However, context matters. Women's empowerment is multifaceted. It has different meanings across different settings when one considers such factors as time, individual perception and experience, cultural and social norms, income and status, as well as policy and legislation. While it has been shown that there is a need for nutrition sensitive interventions, there still remain evidence gaps around how livestock-focused livelihood interventions may positively or negatively impact maternal and child health and nutrition and whether these impacts function through a women's empowerment pathway [33, 34].

In Kenya, eighty percent of all livestock produced come from pastoral systems and livestock are estimated to contribute 43% to the country's agricultural gross domestic product [35]. This represents 13% of the national gross domestic product. Yet, pastoralists are still

socially, economically and politically marginalized [36]. Pastoral communities are vulnerable to environmental fluctuations (i.e. drought, floods), have limited access to infrastructure (i.e. road, health facilities), and experience challenges that come with the pastoral lifestyle (i.e. lengthy migration, exposure, limited food and water, conflict) [22, 36]. For pastoral women, these burdens are compounded by inequality in decision making, limited control of resources, and lack of access to social services. However, between their various productive (i.e. livestock care, food provision, fuel, animal fodder) and domestic (i.e. household, child care, care for sick and elderly) responsibilities, pastoral women play a significant role in income-generating activities and livestock production [36, 37]. Thus, implementing livestock interventions as a livelihood strategy for pastoral women makes sense. Livestock production systems offer many opportunities for implementing a plethora of activities that relate to gender promotion and equality as well as women's empowerment. Within pastoral societies, men, women, and children play a role in the care and management of livestock. Intervention activities can be adapted for households of different social and economic levels. In addition, implementing the livestock-focused livelihood strategies in the pastoral setting has great potential for effective integration of women's empowerment components that allow for sustained change.

However, there are special considerations that should be factored in when working with women in pastoral communities [38]. For most pastoralists, the family unit is valued and prioritized over individual well-being. This has influence on how decisions are made within and between households. Thus, it is important that interventions embed this family interlinkage within their strategies so that women's empowerment is effectively addressed but not separated from women's existing roles and livelihoods. Pastoralists have specific, culturally defined gender roles that determine livestock ownership and management practices. Men and women control

different types of assets, which function differently within the household. Men and women also keep animals for different reasons and have different preferences for types and number of livestock. For example, Heffernan et al. [39] found that women viewed livestock as a means of food security for their families whereas men viewed livestock as a means of prestige and long term investment. These differences lead to labor and gendered constraints in the structure and relationships of market value chains. Men and women have different roles that may change with location, over time, or between livestock types or commodities [37]. This has implications for the types of livestock technologies and innovations one can introduce and who in the household will truly benefit from it. The changing status of men as pastoral communities transition to more sedentary lives should also be factored into interventions aiming to improve women's empowerment. This sedentarization is driven largely by climate changes, developmental encroachment on pastoral grazing areas, and poverty. With this unwilling transition comes a diminishing of livestock herds and diversification of livelihoods adopted by women (e.g. small scale trading, handicraft production, firewood/charcoal selling) that may lead to feelings of emasculation and inadequacy (i.e. no longer able to provide for family) for men [22, 36]. Evidence shows that interventions designed and implemented with a gendered lens are more successful in improving development outcomes and sustaining change. Interventions that do not incorporate a gendered lens have the potential to produce adverse development outcomes for women's empowerment such as an undermining of the role and status, increased time and workload burden, altering of intrahousehold food distribution, dispossession of assets, diminish access to resources, and increased violence for women [14, 20, 37, 40]. Interventions that did not consider gender and cultural norms also produced unsustainable impact and lead to antagonism between men and women that strengthened social imbalances [22, 41].

Women's Empowerment and Livestock Index (WELI)

The WELI is a composite measurement tool developed to measure women's empowerment among women involved in livestock production. It has 6 dimensions of empowerment, which include: 1) decisions about agricultural production – assessed by autonomy in production and input into productive decisions; 2) decisions related to nutrition – assessed by autonomy in nutrition and input in nutrition decisions; 3) access to and control over resources – assessed by asset access and control and credit access; 4) control and use of income – assessed by control of farm income, non-farm income, and control over expenses; 5) access to and control of opportunities – assessed by access to markets, access to non-farm income opportunities, and access to training, information, and groups; and 6) workload and control over own time – assessed by total workload, proportion of revenue generating workload, and control over own time. Each dimension is weighted equally as well as the indicators within each dimension. The WELI was piloted in northern Tanzania among 4 small dairy holders. Results showed that there were low rates of adequacy found among women in the areas of credit, access to opportunities for non-farm income, control over non-farm income, revenue generating workload, and access to and control over livestock assets. High rates of adequacy were found among women in the areas of nutrition, access to information, training, groups and control over own time [42].

2.4 Conclusion

Pastoralists, especially pastoralist women, have previously been excluded from the larger global development agenda. Development strategies that have targeted pastoralists may often have done more harm than good, in terms of livelihoods and the environment [1, 2, 20, 22, 37]. However, growing evidence on the critical role women play in improved and sustained outcomes

for themselves and their families has led academia and development sectors to invest in women. This research examines how gender, nutrition, health and development intersect in order to improve metrics for measuring women's empowerment in the context of livestock-focused livelihoods. In addition, it explores potential underlying economic, environmental, and socio-cultural drivers of changes in diet practices, health, and empowerment for women in pastoralist communities. Integration of findings from this research and other participatory activities will help to identify strategies for mitigating these threats and enhancing the accrual of benefits for women and their children. In addition, this research will contribute to the development of a specific framework to guide integrated efforts to promote sustainable livestock-focused livelihood interventions, mother and child nutrition, health and well-being among pastoralists' societies in Northern Kenya and the development of contextually relevant tools to measure and monitor sustained traditional livelihoods and diets.

Chapter 3

3.1 Introduction

This thesis examines how gender, nutrition, health, and development intersect in an effort to improve metrics for measuring women's empowerment in the context of livestock-focused livelihoods. To achieve this aim, cross-sectional, qualitative research was conducted in collaboration with the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI) in Northern Kenya to explore relationships between livestock-focused livelihood interventions, maternal and child nutrition, and women's empowerment in pastoralist communities.

3.2 Population and sample

Cross-sectional participatory qualitative research was conducted in Northern Kenya from May through August 2016. Counties originally included in the sampling frame were Garissa, Marsabit, Turkana, Isiolo and Wajir. These communities included nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoralists as well as sedentary cattle keepers. A final selection of Marsabit and Isiolo counties was made based on the immediate safety and political situations within the counties as well as maximization of heterogeneity within the sampled population with regards to ethnicity, socio-cultural and economic contexts, and sedentarization patterns. The Emory research team worked in collaboration with ILRI staff to identify and select sites within Marsabit and Isiolo counties. Within the selected counties, 5-6 sites were identified to allow for the development of strata by type of sedentarization pattern (nomadic, semi nomadic, sedentary) for a total of 11 sites. In Marsabit County, sites included Karere Town, Laisaimis, Korr, Turbi, Sololo and Butiye. In Isiolo County, sites included Burat, Kinna, Oldonyrio, Merti, and Ngaremara. Two to four days were spent at each site depending on accessibility to location (e.g. distance, roads, lodging, food). At each site, permission and assistance with participant recruitment based on study needs was solicited from the area's Chief.

3.3 Data Collection

Six focus group discussion guides (FGDs) were developed in collaboration with ILRI (one per target group for each topic area). The topic areas for the guides included maternal and child nutrition, women's empowerment, and accelerated market value chains. Across topic areas, guides and subsequent discussions explored the valuation of animal sourced food (ASF) in the household, allocation and prioritization of ASF for family members, gendered roles in the

management of livestock, and ASF production including decision making regarding use, sale and purchase of ASF, and control of resources derived from ASF production. In addition, we examined time allocation patterns and women's engagement in the livestock market value chain to map potential factors that may benefit or threaten the capacity of women to accrue health, economic, and nutrition benefits of livestock development.

Focus group participants included women of reproductive age (18-40 years old) who were pregnant and/or had at least one child less than or equal to 5 years old, women older than 40 years, young men 18-40 years old, and men older than 40 years. Participants across FGDs represented Samburu, Rendille, Gabbra, Borona, or Turkana ethnic groups. In each site, six FGDs were conducted and facilitated in the indigenous language for that community. Two FGDs were conducted on maternal and child nutrition, one with pregnant women and/or women with young children and the other with older women. Two FGDs were conducted on women's empowerment, one with pregnant women and/or women with young children and the other with older women. Two FGDs were conducted on accelerated market value chains, one with young men and the other with older men. While each guide had questions specific to their targeted group, similar sections were included across the guides to allow for comparison afterwards.

The guides were reviewed by field enumerators and translators prior to use in the field. The guides were also piloted in each county prior to use in that county's selected sites. Feedback from reviews and pilots were incorporated into the final draft of each guide prior to implementation (see Appendix X for final guides).

At the beginning of research in each county, field enumerators and translators (5-6 per site) were identified by ILRI Field Directors to facilitate data collection. The field enumerators

and translators were trained over two days on recruitment, research ethics, informed consent, best practices for conducting focus groups and the field tools developed for our study. After obtaining permission, each focus group discussion was recorded and included one field enumerator, one field translator, and one Emory research team member. The field enumerator facilitated the discussion in the local language. The field translator translated the discussion for the Emory research team member and helped to conduct interactive activities. The Emory research team member took discussions notes and recorded information obtained through activities. Each discussion included 8-10 participants and was 2-3 hours long. A total of sixty-six FGDs were conducted across eleven sites.

3.4 Ethics and Informed Consent

The research was approved by Emory and ILRI ethical review committees. The study as well as privacy and confidentiality was explained fully to participants by field enumerators in the indigenous language (i.e. Borana, Gabbra, Rendille, Samburu, or Turkana) at each site. Then verbal consent to participate in the focus group discussion was obtained from participants. At the conclusion of the focus group discussion, a small gift of KSh 200 was given to participants for their participation.

3.5 Data analysis

Following each discussion Emory research team members met with field enumerators and translators to debrief discussions, listen to recordings, and produce detailed summaries of discussion and activities. An initial rapid analysis of data was conducted in the field by Emory research team members. Central themes were identified and preliminary linkages developed

between themes and data and reported to ILRI's point of contact weekly. A preliminary report was provided to ILRI from the Emory research team at the conclusion of field work.

After returning from the field, more detailed data analysis was conducted using thematic analysis of detailed FGD summaries. For this paper, the 22 women's empowerment FGD summaries were included for analysis. Each summary was read thoroughly to identify issues and recurring concepts that were then grouped into common themes and used to construct a coding framework. To verify and ensure reliability, the data were segmented and coded utilizing this framework by two independent coders using MaxQDA Analysis Software. Themes were analyzed across population group (i.e. young women [pregnant/child \leq 5], older women, young men, older men) and sedentarization status.

Chapter 4

4.1 Women's Empowerment

Empowerment

"Empowerment means what men can do, women can do." – (elderly woman, sedentary community, Samburu)

"[Empowered woman] knows how to challenge husband and get things they don't have." (elderly woman, semi-nomadic community, Rendille)

"Education helps empowerment because you learn a lot and you get employed." – (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Samburu)

"A woman with money, she can build a modern house. She is not dependent on anyone else. She can keep a savings and buy things like livestock, and make a profit." – (young woman, semi nomadic community, Turkana)

"An empowered woman manages her animals and property well. She can borrow money and start a small business and help her family. She may also run for politics or other leadership positions." – (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Gabbra)

Women struggled with the term empowerment across all communities. There were no words that directly translated into empowerment within the local languages. Thus, prior to

beginning discussions about women's empowerment, field facilitators were required to find words in the local language that closely approximated the concept of empowerment to define and briefly describe it. Women defined empowerment as having the ability to provide for themselves and their families. An empowered woman was characterized as possessing innate knowledge, understanding, and resourcefulness. She was described as smart, honest, experienced, and someone that speaks up and others listen to. In addition, an empowered woman was viewed as someone who is respected in the community, has the potential to play some role in leadership, and helps others less fortunate within the community. Education, employment, and livestock were viewed as facilitators of empowerment. Employment and livestock were regarded as pathways to building wealth, which in turn would better enable women to provide for their families' needs. Education was viewed as a route to increased knowledge and opportunity for employment. Within semi-nomadic and sedentary communities, some participants viewed empowered women as having less time to handle household responsibilities, leading to the potential loss of health, poor eating habits, and a decline in time spent with and care for their children. These concerns were not mentioned by participants from nomadic communities.

Disempowerment

"Knows nothing, is just there" – (elderly woman, nomadic community, Rendille)

"Maybe a woman's husband is wealthy but they have no understanding, so he does not give her anything. Even if you want to go to the hospital, he does not take you. Even if you ask him to pay school fees he does not. He does not buy food." – (elderly woman, semi-nomadic community, Borana)

"It is because of culture that we are not allowed to make decisions. It is making us to be behind in everything including empowerment." – (elderly woman, sedentary community, Rendille)

"Have to concentrate on livestock so no time to empower others." – (elderly woman, nomadic community, Rendille)

Women defined disempowerment as not having the ability to provide for themselves and their families. Disempowered women were characterized as submissive, lacking intelligence,

dependent on others, lazy, and not involved in the community. Poverty, unemployment, pregnancy, lack of education and illiteracy, substance abuse, illness, traditional and cultural practices, and conflict between ethnic groups were viewed as barriers to empowerment. Within semi-nomadic and sedentary communities, dependency on one's husband was also seen as disempowering. A bad husband could prevent a woman from caring for herself and her children through the withholding of money, squandering of resources, or physical violence. In addition, the time allocation required for household and livestock responsibilities (e.g. child care, collecting water and animal fodder) was also viewed as inhibiting to empowerment. The increased demand on their time from having too many kids and livestock to provide care for was viewed as preventing women from being able to capitalize on business opportunities away from the household. This may at first appear to be counter intuitive. How can livestock be both a facilitator and a barrier to empowerment? However, when you consider that women's empowerment is a process, if you recognize livestock as commodities that can reach a point of diminishing returns, it is at that point in which livestock changes from a facilitator of empowerment to a barrier to empowerment.

Age

“Elder women are more empowered because they have more experience, more perspective.” – (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Samburu)

“Younger women are more empowered because they engage in more activities that generate income.” – (young women, semi-nomadic community, Turkana)

“Yes, we are equal. In fact, there are girls who've gone to school and have come to build homes for their mothers.” – (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Samburu)

“Older women should be more empowered than younger women because we are closer to death.” – (elderly woman, sedentary community, Borana)

“Older women are more empowered than younger women however if a younger woman is bright she can be empowered too.” – (elderly woman, nomadic community, Rendille)

Across all communities, age was viewed as both a source of empowerment and a source of disempowerment. With increased age women gain experience, wisdom, and respect within the community. Older women are listened to more and their opinions are valued. Their children are older and can assist with household and livestock responsibilities, therefore easing older women's workload burden and demands on their time. This allows older women the choice of participating activities away from household (e.g. women's group, livestock market). Their elder children who are working also may send money for them so there is less need for older women to spend time pursuing income generating activities. However, for some, with age comes loss of physical capacity, spouses, and health. Older women within these circumstances no longer have partners to depend on for support. Thus, many older women become dependent on the goodwill and support of their children. If they have no children, particularly male children, they run the risk of losing property and assets to their husband's surviving family. In addition, loss of physical capacity and health prevent older women from caring for livestock and/or being able to participate in activities that generate income.

4.2 Access to and control over productive resources

Ownership of land and assets

"If a woman is given an animal as a gift, it still belongs to the husband." - (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Borana)

"When a woman owns livestock, the man has to beg for it if he wants it." – (young woman, sedentary community, Borana)

"Livestock are yours but you can't make the decision to sell them. However, the products from animals you can sell and use money." – (elderly woman, sedentary community, Rendille)

"When a woman get married, her husband gives her livestock (different from dowry), but she doesn't have control to sell it." - (young woman, semi-nomadic, Samburu)

Across communities, there were no laws restricting women's ownership of land and/or assets. However, within social norms and practices, control of land and assets mostly resided

with men. Women gain ownership of land and assets through inheritance from parents or through gifts upon marriage. However, the land and assets are viewed as being brought to the husband's household and thereby under his authority. Once a couple has children, ownership of land and assets is viewed as belonging to their children. However, within sedentary communities, ownership and control of land assets appear to be more equally distributed along generational lines. Younger men mutually decided with their wives anything pertaining to property and livestock that were considered as belonging to them. In addition, both male and female children were accounted for in cases of divorce from or death of a husband.

Decisions regarding the purchase, sale, or transfer of assets

“When they sell land, they should both be in agreement – but the husband is the final decision maker.” - (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Turkana)

“Decisions on whether to sell assets lies with the husband and first born son. Man's word is law.” - (elderly woman, semi-nomadic community, Turkana)

“Women can make the decision to give out food and animal products without needing permission from the husband.” (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Borana)

“The sale of assets is a mutual decision because it is believed that the assets belong to the children. If a consensus is not made, an asset will not be sold.” - (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Borana)

“If a man makes a decision regarding assets and sell without consulting wife, it will cause a disagreement. The woman will think he thinks she is inferior or that he doesn't trust her.” – (elderly woman, semi-nomadic community, Borana)

“Women only sell goats – don't sell camels or cows because prices are too high and negotiation is a barrier.” – (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Borana)

Generally, decisions regarding the sale of livestock were discussed mutually and made between the wife and husband across all community types. However, men were viewed as the final decision makers regarding the purchase, sale, or transfer of livestock. Women were viewed as the final decision makers regarding the purchase, sale, or transfer of poultry and livestock products. The gendered division in the sale of livestock and livestock products appear to stem largely from the community's proximity to a marketplace and the amount of income earned from

sale of the commodity. In communities that were closer to livestock markets, women were more likely to participate in the sale of smaller livestock such as sheep and goats. Sheep and goats were described as easier to handle and it did not require women to be away from her household all day. Gender tendencies remained with larger livestock such as camels and cattle. Women were prevented from selling larger animals because of perceived difficulties in physically managing animals, higher costs for purchasing animals, and difficulty negotiating fair prices with traders within the market. For men, there is also social stigma around the selling of livestock products because it is viewed as the domain of the women.

Widows

Widows are a unique case. They fall outside the typical social norms and practices regarding the ownership, control, and decision making about land, livestock, and assets. Widows are viewed as both empowered and vulnerable. Widows can do most things men do without the social stigma normally attached. In most cases, when the husband dies, the wife inherits his land, livestock, and assets. If the woman has children, these assets are held in trust by her for her children. Widows can control and make decisions regarding the management and sale of livestock and livestock products. In addition, communities view widow's participation in the livestock market with sympathy instead of affront. However, communities still perceive widows as vulnerable because they are no longer "protected" by their husbands. For example, within the marketplace, she runs the chance of her animals being stolen and unfair prices for her livestock. As well, if a widow has no male children or her male children are young, she risks being chased away from her land and her livestock taken by her husband's surviving relatives.

4.3 Control over and use of income

“It is a mutual decision but man has final say.” - (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Borana)”

“Cash transfer decisions are mutual between young men and young women.” - (elderly woman, nomadic community, Rendille)

“There is two different moneys. One from when a man sells a goat and one from when a woman sells milk. The money the man gets belongs to him and the money the woman gets belongs to her.” - (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Samburu)

“Money earned is shared between wife and husband. A woman can go earn money but she will still have to come home and give to husband. There is no my money and your money.” – (older woman, sedentary community, Borana)

Across the communities, women and men had control over and used the income they earned. Men controlled income derived from the sale of livestock. A portion of the earnings men derived from sale of livestock was expected to be given to their wives for upkeep of the household. However, the amount of income shared and the degree of control over income differed across community types. In nomadic and semi nomadic, the men were more likely to sell the livestock, bring money home, and share it with their wives for the purchase household needs. Only a small amount was retained by men for their personal use (e.g. 3,000 KSH out of 30,000 KSH). In sedentary communities, men were more likely to sell livestock and bring home an allowance (e.g. 5000 KSH) for their wives. Men retained a larger portion of the money earned for themselves. Women controlled income derived from sale of livestock products. Men were expected to ask women for permission to use livestock products or borrow income derived from the sale of livestock products. However, within settled communities there was joint decision making around control and use of earned income was the norm.

4.4 Access to and control of opportunities

“Women can participate in market if husband gives you permission to go do the business.” - (elderly woman, semi-nomadic community, Borana)

“Women can't leave the home because of children and household responsibilities” - (elderly woman, semi-nomadic community, Borana)

“A woman may go to the market and talk with others there for long hours before coming home only to find that the calves, goats, and sheep have not come back home.” - (elderly woman, semi-nomadic community, Samburu)

As discussed earlier, access to and control over livestock and livestock product markets within Kenya separates along gender lines. As a result, market opportunities fall similarly along gender lines. Livestock products, crops and poultry, sell in local, more informal markets; whereas larger livestock are sold in large, secure, and centralized markets. Because of their control over livestock products, crops and poultry, women predominate the informal marketplace. These markets tend to be local (e.g. main street in town, neighbor, local shops and schools) -- near to or within women's own communities. Men that do participate in the livestock products market tend to be younger men or children that are sent by older women to sell livestock products for them. Informal / local markets are perceived as more appropriate for these products because they are highly perishable and must be sold on a more regular basis than livestock.

The markets for larger livestock markets tend to be more formal and farther away from villages compared to informal markets. Most participation in livestock marketplace is by men. The few women that do sell livestock within the marketplace are generally widows and sell smaller livestock such as goat, sheep, and chickens. However, even when selling smaller livestock, women tend to sell more in their small local markets, for example to local butcheries or hotels. For semi-nomadic and nomadic communities, a large barrier to women's participation in the livestock market is the distance to the location and safety along the route. Marketplaces with good prices for livestock were on average a 2-3 day walk away. The time required to travel to these locations alone was enough to prevent women from accessing these marketplaces. When you add in the cost of lodging, food, security issues, and time away from household

responsibilities and children, the opportunity costs of accessing the livestock marketplace outweighs the benefits for women living in more remote communities. Gender differences in market participation among semi-nomadic and sedentary communities are starting to shift with the influx of assistance from county governments and international NGOs. For example, recent updates to livestock market infrastructures and safety in Northern Kenya has led to increased livestock market participation by women as food and service providers for livestock traders and sellers. Microfinance and livestock-focused livelihood interventions targeted toward women have also increased women's ownership and control of livestock and engagement in the marketplace as buyers and sellers of livestock.

4.5 Workload and control over time

“Household tasks are done by young men and women as well as older men and women; decision made at the group level with everyone” - (elderly woman, nomadic community, Rendille)

“Younger generation is different. Young men are more willing to do work traditionally reserved for women.” - (elderly woman, semi-nomadic community, Borana)

“Due to the load of work the women do, it has been said that their backbone becomes so strong that even a hyena cannot break it.” - (young woman, sedentary community, Borana)

“When do men do? They only milk camels, they water the animals and control the breeding of animals, that's what they do. The only difference between us and the men is that they control the breeding and they go to dig wells. Us women do more work.” - (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Samburu)

“Women are allowed to manage animals men manage if the man is away, sick or if you have someone to watch the kids for you.” – (elderly woman, semi-nomadic community, Borana)

There are set traditions that differentiate activities for men and women, however gender roles around the division of labor for management and care of animals appears to be more fluid.

Women and men share most responsibilities in the management and care for livestock.

Household responsibilities include such activities as cooking, cleaning, fetching water and firewood and child care. These activities are considered women's work. Women are also responsible for management and care of animals residing near the homestead. Livestock

responsibilities include fetching grasses and fodder, milking, and care for sick, young, and pregnant animals. These activities are time and labor intensive and often prevent women from participating in activities apart from the household, including market opportunities. For example, in nomadic and semi nomadic communities, on a typical day, a young woman wakes up early in the morning to prepare food for her family and herders taking the animals out to graze (2 hours). She then travels long distances to go fetch water, firewood, or fodder for animals (4-6 hours). Once she returns home, she prepares lunch for her children (1-2 hours). Next, she may clean her home (2 hours) or go to the market to get household supplies (3-5 hours). When she returns home, she goes to look for young animals to bring to home (2 hours). She then milks the animals (2 hours) and then cooks dinner for her family (1-2 hours). For semi-nomadic and sedentary communities, this routine become more labor intensive once the rainy season begins. Animals are brought closer to home increasing livestock management and care responsibilities for women. In addition, planting and cultivation responsibilities for the farm are now added to women's list of duties. However, in sedentary communities, gender norms around household responsibilities and livestock care and management appear to be shifting. There is less social stigma for men and women performing work outside of the traditional roles. Men are more likely to assist their wives with household chores and child care. Women are more likely to be employed outside the homestead.

4.6 Potential for Adverse Consequences

“If a woman is empowered and involved with the community it does keep her from doing household chores and she may have less time to spend with her kids, which can affect the quality of care she can give them.” - (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Borana)

“It isn't appropriate for women to do men's work due to tradition/culture – if they do men's work the husband will beat them and other women will think they're crazy.” - (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Turkana)

“The men don’t like when women gain more power so the women fear their husbands because they might get beaten.” - (young woman, semi-nomadic community, Samburu)

Women viewed empowerment as a positive process across all communities. However, respondents also noted the potential for adverse consequences. The potential for intimate partner violence (i.e. emotional, physical, and sexual) should a woman disagree with her husband or fail to complete household responsibilities (e.g. cooking) was mentioned as a consequence of women’s empowerment. The potential for increased workload and burden was also mentioned as a consequence of women’s empowerment. Once women obtained permission from their husbands to pursue leadership and/or business opportunities (e.g. market participation, women’s groups, political office), they were still responsible and held accountable for completing their household and livestock responsibilities within the homestead. There is social stigma attached to women doing traditionally male roles. This has potential ramifications for how women are perceived in their communities. For example, reduced community esteem and loss of respect were mentioned as potential consequences for women selling livestock.

4.7 Seasonality and Climate Changes

“We don’t even eat during dry season. It is rare for us to eat during dry season because we walk long distances for 8 hours and then when we come back and we are very tired. We can’t even provide food for the children. We can only prepare tea and drink.” - (elderly woman, sedentary community, Rendille)

There is seasonal variability for women when considering their workload, food sources, agricultural productivity, and market pricing for livestock and livestock products. During the rainy season, animals are brought closer to homestead for safety, breeding, and castration. For semi-nomadic and sedentary communities, this is the time when they begin to plant and cultivate their farms. These activities increase women’s workload within the household. Their labor and time are now divided between farm responsibilities and additional livestock responsibilities.

Within semi-nomadic and nomadic communities, milk becomes the main food source due to its increased availability. The increased supply of milk also leads to a reduction in the market pricing for milk. During the dry season, semi-nomadic and nomadic communities migrate with livestock long distances to access water sources and farming stops for semi-nomadic communities. Livestock produce less milk and are slaughtered or sold for income to purchase food. Communities also look for more non-livestock sources of income (i.e. construction, selling firewood/charcoal) during the dry season. During this time women are required to travel further to collect animal fodder, water, and firewood. In addition, the price of milk increases due to the reduced supply. Changes in weather patterns due to climatic changes have altered this cycle. Increased rainfall has caused rivers to burst their banks, change routes, and flood nearby farms. Drought has reduced food availability, livestock breeding time, and farm planting and cultivation. Semi-nomadic and nomadic communities must travel even further in search of pasture and water sources for their animals. Livestock diminishes in quality and/or die. Women are also required to travel further along insecure terrain to obtain animal fodder, firewood, and water for household needs.

Chapter 5

5.1 Discussion

Pastoralists are among the most politically disempowered and economically marginalized societies in the world [7, 8]. As pressures from economic development, increased population, and climate change increase, many of pastoralist societies are beginning to transition from nomadic to more sedentary livelihoods [1-3]. Changes associated with this transition impact women and men within pastoral communities differently [43]. There are specific, culturally

defined gender roles within pastoralist communities that influence livestock ownership, management, and care practices [22, 43]. The types of assets that women and men control are different and have different functions within the household. In addition, men and women have reasons for keeping livestock as well as different preferences regarding livestock type [3, 12, 39, 40]. Gendered differences in decisions regarding agricultural production, access and control over resources, and control and use of income were found across all community types. While women's autonomy in production was limited for livestock (e.g. sheep, goats, chickens), their autonomy in production for livestock products was high. In addition, input into productive decisions for livestock and livestock products as well as access and control over resources were high. This indicates that while there may be gendered livestock management roles, other roles regarding livestock may be more fluid. More research into shifting roles among women and men in pastoral communities is needed.

Research shows that livelihood programs that integrate women's empowerment in their design and implementation are more likely to improve development outcomes and have sustained change when compared to livelihood programs that do not [12, 40, 43]. In addition, interventions that failed to incorporate women's empowerment were more likely to cause unintended consequences for participants that intervention that did incorporate women's empowerment. Adverse outcomes for women included undermining of their roles and statuses, increased time and workload burden, altering of intrahousehold food distribution, dispossession of assets, diminished access to resources, and increased violence against women [14, 20, 37, 40]. For semi-nomadic and nomadic communities, location played a significant role in women's access to and control of opportunities as well as their workload and control over time. Women were less likely to participate in livestock markets because of the market's distance from their

communities and lack of time due to their household responsibilities. Providing care for livestock and many children were mentioned as time consuming and thus a barrier to them participating in business opportunities apart from their homestead. In addition, additional workload and time allocation, intimate partner violence, and social stigma were identified as potential adverse consequences of increased women's empowerment. Thus, it is important that women's empowerment is considered in the design of livelihood strategy programs, assessed in communities prior to implementation of intervention, and revised as needed.

Findings from the qualitative interviews related well to the WELI framework. However, there were a couple of topic areas that surfaced that are not assessed within the WELI and should be considered for inclusion. Reproductive health and intimate partner violence emerged as barriers to agricultural production. Too many children were discussed a reason for increased workload and time allocation as well as limiting access to and control of opportunities. This suggests that interventions working to improve women's livelihood should include an access to family planning methods component. Intimate partner violence was discussed as a reason for decreased participation in the market and decision making in livestock production. This points to the dyadic nature of empowerment. Intervention working to improve women's livelihoods should integrate a component that includes a woman's partner as both are necessary to support empowerment.

5.2 Limitations

Due to constrained funding, verbatim transcription of focus group discussion recordings has not yet been obtained. For purposes of this paper, the subset of detailed summaries of focus groups conducted on the topic of women's empowerment (22 of 66 FGDs) was selected.

Analysis and key themes were derived from the women's empowerment subset of detailed summaries of and field notes. Though recordings were reviewed with translators and Emory research team members, the accuracy of translations will influence the quality and validity of information analyzed. On a couple of occasions there were participants within focus groups that spoke different languages. In focus groups, where facilitators/translators did not know both languages, we were unable to obtain notes for the information shared. In a few of our focus groups, there were participants with familial connections (e.g. co-wives, mother and daughter) as well as participants holding leadership positions within the community (e.g. chief, president of market board). This may have inhibited open discussion across participants. We obtained 63 out of 66 focus groups recordings. Recordings for older and younger Turkana women in Ngaremara Ward were lost and one FGD group of young Borana men in Kinna Ward did not consent to be recorded.

5.3 Public Health Implications

Despite the limitations of our data, there were significant implications for public health that emerged from the discussions. Quantitative data alone is insufficient for measuring women's empowerment. While many of the patterns observed would have been identified by tools such as the WELI, the reason for those patterns would have been lost and thereby difficult to address. Qualitative assessment is missing from measurement of women's empowerment and it is a necessary component for filling the gaps in women's empowerment research. Family planning and intimate partner violence also emerged as areas for further exploration within pastoral communities. These issues are not generally considered when designing programs for economic growth. However, given the discussions that emerged, government entities, public health agencies, probably should.

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Appendix

Dimensions of empowerment	Nomadic (1 community)	Semi Nomadic (5 communities)	Sedentary (5 communities)
<p>what empowerment means for respondents – social norms and attitudes</p>	<p>Very smart, understands everything, knowledge, sharp</p> <p>Knowledge she was born with - “[An empowered woman] knows things that she was born knowing”</p> <p>No difference between young women and older women in terms of empowerment</p> <p>Older women are more empowered than younger women however if a younger woman is bright she can be empowered too</p> <p>Work of elderly not acknowledged by others</p> <p>Livestock management will not empower women, no change</p> <p>“Education helps women to become more empowered.” – Elderly women, Korr Ward (Rendille)</p> <p>Older women more empowered therefore make more decisions</p> <p>Believes in herself - “Unless you are empowered, you won’t believe in yourself.”</p> <p>Speaks up; can speak in front of people – “when you talk too much, people say you know everything. When you’re not talking, you are not sharp”</p> <p>Can manage home and community</p>	<p>Age doesn’t affect empowerment</p> <p>Age affects empowerment; older women have less; some women say age doesn’t matter, it depends on characteristics of women</p> <p>“Elder women are more empowered because they have more experience, more perspective.” – Young Woman, Oldonyiro Ward (Samburu)</p> <p>“Older women are respected, have more experience and can say something and people will listen”</p> <p>Very bright, smart, intelligent</p> <p>Educated</p> <p>“Education helps empowerment because you learn a lot and you get employed” – Young Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>If not educated you are referred to as a “stone with eyes” – Young Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>“Young women are more empowered because they’ve gone to school.” – Elderly woman, Ngaremara Ward (Turkana)</p> <p>Livestock and money help empowerment</p> <p>“Livestock helps with empowerment because it’s a source of income. The money can pay health bills</p>	<p>“Empowerment means what men can do, women can do” – Elderly Woman, Karere Town (Samburu)</p> <p>“Empowered women can make decisions, the other one [disempowered woman] can’t.” – Elderly Woman, Karere Town (Rendille)</p> <p>“It is because of culture that we are not allowed to make decisions. It is making us to be behind in everything including empowerment.” – Elderly Woman, Karere Town (Rendille)</p> <p>if you are seen as a good leader or you can lead people, you can be empowered</p> <p>has a voice and is bright</p> <p>wealth and physical ability</p> <p>ability to lead groups (i.e. women’s groups)</p> <p>help: roads, livestock, loans, education (school insufficient, even if smart can’t go to next level because of poverty), business opportunities, women’s groups (more access to livestock market), not having as many children, less house chores</p> <p>Having money – being well off</p> <p>Empowered women should help others</p>

	<p>Ability to provide food for family (e.g. milk and meat)</p> <p>Wealth – can hire someone else to cook for family, feed milk and meat for family</p> <p>Physical ability - difficult to empower others if you are disabled/can't walk</p> <p>If empowered would have more control over livestock</p>	<p>and school fees – also animals hold cultural status” - Young Woman, Ngaremara Ward (Turkana)</p> <p>“Younger women are more empowered because they engage in more activities that generate income” - Young Woman, Ngaremara Ward (Turkana)</p> <p>Wealth – good housing, has livestock</p> <p>Empowered women have advantages such as having a modern house, can send kids to school, can produce goats and cows for dowry.</p> <p>“If a woman is empowered, it doesn't affect how she cares for her children, but it helps her get medicine for her children because she understands their needs. She can also send her kids to school.” – Young Woman, Ngaremara Ward (Turkana)</p> <p>Can provide for family – employed, buy food, pay school fees, responsible, educates boy & girl children, produces livestock for dowry</p> <p>“Livestock and money can be given to each woman, individually or as a group. If a woman has livestock and is employed, she can build houses and collect rent. She can install water so she doesn't have to travel far to fetch.” - Elderly Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>“knows how to challenge husband and get things they don't have” - Elderly Woman, Laisamis Ward (Rendille)</p>	<p>Livestock help empowerment but farming does not</p> <p>Ambitious, added weight, dresses and lives well, good income</p> <p>“Nowadays an empowered woman is a woman who can fend for her family. Before a woman going out to work was viewed as a prostitute.” – Old woman, Burat Ward (Borana)</p> <p>“Can tell a woman is empowered by how she dresses and what she eats” – Old Borana woman, Burat Ward, Kambi Garba village</p> <p>Depends on how industrious you are; have to seize opportunities; work with what you have</p> <p>Skills, wisdom, and sharpness which are god given helps one to become empowered</p> <p>Ownership of livestock would help to empower women; but managing them is difficult</p> <p>If a woman is empowered she will still help the disempowered – “we will still help each other” – Old Borana woman, Burat Ward, Kambi Garba village</p> <p>Livestock will provide money for business</p> <p>Empowered women don't spend their money; not quick to slaughter;</p>
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		<p>Knows how to talk to people</p> <p>Helps others – has better access to health and education – can share with other wives – Young Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>more involved with community; spreads information, teaches others, brings people together</p> <p>“An empowered woman manages her animals and property well. She can borrow money and start a small business and help her family. She may also run for politics or other leadership positions.” – Young Woman, Turbi Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Honest, tells the truth, doesn’t say bad things about people</p> <p>Respected in the community; Assertive in the community; people listen to her; doesn’t lie; listened to by community and elders</p> <p>“I see an empowered woman talking in front of people, then I feel I can also talk like that empowered woman. I feel myself am not coward. When I talk, people will listen to me.” – Elderly Woman, Oldonyiro Ward (Samburu)</p> <p>“Having livestock helps empower because you will have food for yourself. The food will give you strength to work; you can open a business and sell food for income. With income, you can buy livestock which multiplies profit because</p>	<p>Disempowered women take better care of their health than empowered women; Disempowered women will spend what they have; are quick to slaughter and eat or sell; Disempowered women take better care of their kids</p> <p>Qualities are given by god; some is general knowledge</p> <p>Participants feel they are empowered because they can voice their concerns, and they can manage and provide for their livelihood – Young women, Merti Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Provides for family</p> <p>Have enough livestock and money to provide for family</p>
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		<p>animals will give birth to more animals.”</p> <p>To help – build water tank, women groups, education to do business, right to own animals and property</p> <p>“A woman with money, she can build a modern house. She is not dependent on anyone else. She can keep a savings and buy things like livestock, and make a profit.” - <i>Young Woman, Ngaremara Ward (Turkana)</i></p> <p>Some women say empowerment does not affect a woman’s ability to do household chores – others say if a woman is empowered and involved with the community it does keep her from doing household chores and she may have less time to spend with her kids, which can affect the quality of care she can give them – Young Women, Turbi Ward (Borana)</p> <p>“Yes, we are equal. In fact, there are girls who’ve gone to school and have come to build homes for their mothers.” – Young Woman, Laisamis Ward (Samburu)</p> <p>“If you’re learned or not, you’re still taken as just a woman.” – Young woman, Laisamis Ward (Samburu)</p> <p>“Selling of live animals won’t affect an empowered woman because you can dedicate that duty to somebody like your husband, elder son, family members or friends.”</p>	
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<p>what disempowerment means for respondents – social norms and attitudes</p>	<p>Submissive, illiterate, busy with too many children/caring for children, busy with livestock</p> <p>Not bright; slow; “Knows nothing, is just there”</p> <p>Doesn’t know her rights; Doesn’t prepare house</p> <p>Lack of education</p> <p>Can’t help others - “Have to concentrate on livestock so no time to empower others.” – Elderly Woman, Korr Ward (Rendille)</p>	<p>Empowerment – “In this village of ours, we don’t have those things.” – Elderly Woman, Turbi Ward (Gabbra)</p> <p>Time – busy caring for animals</p> <p>Prevent: children; bad husband; being a widow; too much responsibility caring for animals; laziness; mother-in-law; sickness; maintains traditional ways; failure to go to school; lack of leaders; certain cultural practices; conflict between tribes;</p> <p>Drought/lack of water/no food</p> <p>Poverty and ignorance hinders empowerment; not having money or livestock prevents empowerment</p> <p>No formal education, drop out, illiterate, hasn’t completed university</p> <p>Poor, not equal to age mates, no money - Not able to take care of family needs; kids and husband don’t have clothing/wear rags, doesn’t have food, can’t pay for medical bills or send kids to school</p> <p>“Age does not affect how empowered a woman is unless she’s a drunk. Or when she is sick her</p>	<p>“During lunch time, we sometimes don’t eat until 3 or 4 pm because we are not equal.” – Old Samburu Woman, Karere Town</p> <p>Community esteem - Behavior within community and family can keep you from being empowered (bad attitude)</p> <p>Can’t take care of property, animals, house, family duties; doesn’t bathe or take care of responsibilities or children; lazy; not involved in community work, doesn’t check on community</p> <p>Prevent: age, children, poverty, sickness, illiteracy, lack of transport, distance (no roads), few livestock, lack of outside support (NGOs, govt), pregnancy, bad husband</p> <p>Less time for chores and family</p> <p>Doesn’t have good life, food, can’t care for kids, no property, poor health, can’t pay bills</p> <p>Poverty prevents empowerment and creates the biggest gap – livestock and farming can help them to be more empowered – BUT they prefer business (ex: kiosk) b/c they don’t have the energy to farm and livestock can lead to conflict</p>

		<p>empowerment many be affected.”</p> <p>“A disempowered woman can’t save up money and she drinks.”</p> <p>Dependent on husband – no work, business, doesn’t complain when husband doesn’t take care of her; Always fighting with husband; Sole provider</p> <p>“Maybe a woman’s husband is wealthy but they have no understanding, so he does not give her anything. Even if you want to go to the hospital, he does not take you. Even if you ask him to pay school fees he does not. He does not buy food.” – Elderly Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>A disempowered woman can’t build a good house; sometimes forgets to bring young animals back home and they may be eaten; doesn’t cook on time for children</p> <p>People don’t listen when she talks; doesn’t follow what community says/believe –</p> <p>“Doesn’t have a vision for future plans” – Young Woman, Oldonyiro Ward (Samburu)</p> <p>doesn’t know how to talk; tells lies; people don’t listen to them</p> <p>Negative traditions - “Women aren’t allowed to speak while men are speaking.” – Young Woman, Ngaremara Ward (Turkana)</p>	<p>with others if the livestock leaves the compound and goes to neighbors’ yard - Young Woman, Burat Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Having education doesn’t mean you are empowered - “there are women who are educated but the least of things like dressing they don’t know” – Elderly Woman, Burat Ward (Borana)</p> <p>“A disempowered woman walks around just because she has legs. She just walks around and eat. There is nothing she can do.” – Old Borana Woman, Sololo Ward, Waye Goddha Village</p>
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<p>Access to and control over productive resources</p>	<p>Man has the final decision on production</p> <p>Mutual agreement between man and woman to sell livestock; In some cases, women gets permission from husband to sell. If there is no husband, gets permission from elder son.</p> <p>For sheep and goats, the decision is mutual or woman’s</p> <p>Men: manage camels and cows</p> <p>Women: manage chickens, donkeys, livestock products (milk, fat, ghee, meat / skin, blood, eggs)</p> <p>Both: sheep and goat</p>	<p>“Major decisions are never made by women.”</p> <p>Owner of animal decides allocation of tasks and time management – usually husband; elder son or brother-in-law for widow</p> <p>Men: manage camel, cattle, and livestock products (e.g. manure, skin) – only when products bring in \$\$</p> <p>Women: chicken, donkey, livestock products (e.g. milk, eggs, fat, meat, sour milk)</p> <p>Both: shoats, occasionally cattle, donkeys, and chickens,</p> <p>Young boys: pigeons</p> <p>Men have the final decision on how money is spent because they sell the livestock</p> <p>Rarely sell animals (food during dry season, school fees)</p> <p>“A man can give away his livestock either after consultation with his wife or on his own” – Elderly woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p>	<p>Don’t usually slaughter animals; only slaughter once animals are hurt or dying</p> <p>Men: manage and control cows, and camels</p> <p>Women: manage and control chickens and livestock products (e.g. milk, meat, fat, skin, manure); when to slaughter animals</p> <p>Both: Donkeys, goats and sheep, livestock products (meat, manure, skin)</p> <p>“Man is the head, wife is the neck” – better if both made decision together – it’s a matter of understanding – Young Borana Woman, Butiye Ward, Bori Village</p> <p>Women don’t sell animals without first informing husband – it is seen as disrespectful</p> <p>Livestock given as gifts to wife are property of the wife</p> <p>Ownership of the livestock belongs to your kids</p> <p>Women don’t own livestock</p> <p>Women control livestock product and can sell them; doesn’t need husband’s permission but informs him</p>

		<p>In case of divorce man retains ownership of livestock, land, and bank account; household goods split 50/50; small kids stay with woman, older kids (≥ 7) go with man - "Doesn't matter if woman is not a weak creature, man will overpower her" – Young Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Women make decisions re: animals when husband isn't home (e.g. visitor, family member help requests)</p> <p>"The sale of assets is a mutual decision because it is believed that the assets belong to the children. If a consensus is not made, an asset will not be sold." – Young woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>"Men are ashamed to participate in female dominated markets." – Young woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Assets are only sold to benefit children; wife will call husband if he is away</p> <p>The father or son, if the father is not alive are the ones who make the decision when to buy, sale, slaughter animal; wife can request husband sell animal when there is need (food, school fees)</p> <p>the husband decides when to sell assets b/c he's the head of the family and he will keep other family members from trying to sell what's theirs</p>	<p>Livestock decisions are mutually made</p> <p>Men decided which animal to sell or trade</p> <p>Men has the decision when to sell animal however if a woman disagree she will discuss</p> <p>"Women can make the decision to give out food and animal products without needing permission from the husband." – Young Woman, Turbi Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Women make decisions for products but husband still has a say; if men sell products they will be mocked</p> <p>If a woman sells livestock without discussing with her husband the community will look down on her; but she can sell without discussion in case of an emergency</p> <p>"Selling assets is usually the man's decision however it is often discussed between man and wife. If either partner doesn't agree, the asset isn't sold." – Elderly Woman, Burat Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Both husband and wife will discuss and agree before selling assets</p> <p>Ownership of livestock belongs to your kids</p> <p>If marriage dissolve the property belongs to the man unless the woman has grown children, then the property</p>
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		<p>In divorce, the man gets all the assets unless the wife has children, then a portion will go to her</p> <p>Women decide when milk, fat, eggs, meat, skin and manure are kept for the house – community will mock the man if he manages products – Young Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Decisions regarding assets is by mutual agreement - “If a man make a decision regarding assets and sell without consulting wife, it will cause a disagreement. The woman will think he thinks she is inferior or that he doesn’t trust her” – Elderly woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>“There are things that a woman owns and things a man owns but once you marry it has to be mutual.”</p> <p>“Women don’t own animals. If given animal by father’s family, when brought to home of husband, ownership of animal becomes husband”</p> <p>“If a woman is given an animal as a gift, it still belongs to the husband.” – Young Woman, Turbi Ward (Borana)</p> <p>“Women can control land; can inherit from fathers; no laws that prevents women from inheriting land”</p> <p>Women are allowed to manage animals that men manage if the man is away, sick, or if you have someone to watch the kids for you</p>	<p>will remain with wife and kids and husband will leave</p> <p>Under Islamic religion a woman can own, buy, sell and inherit land from her father however under Borana tradition, girls don’t get a share in the property</p> <p>Women make all the decisions around animal products and chickens and sell them</p> <p>Live animals are sold by men but decisions shared by husband and wife; final decision is the man</p> <p>Men own livestock</p> <p>Traditionally women do not own animals</p> <p>Even if you are given animals by family members, if you sell your animal without permission from your husband, the community will say have made a mistake, you have done wrong</p> <p>Women do not own animals; even if given animals by family and you have children, that animal is not yours; even if you disagree with your husband, if you have kids, that animal is his; if you don’t have kids, then you can take the animal from him</p> <p>“Livestock are yours but you can’t make the decision to sell them. However, the products from animals you can sell and use money.” – Elderly Woman, Karere Town (Rendille)</p> <p>“Those livestock are yours but if the husband wants to</p>
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		<p>“If a man is seen to go sell milk, eggs, chicken, or skin, the community will think that the man has run crazy or gone mad.”</p> <p>It’s the authority of the man to sell or not sell animals or land.</p> <p>“Whatever he says it will be that way because it is our culture and he is the head of the family. We have just met it that way. So, it’s not something that the women will be fighting for because they will just be defeated.”</p> <p>Women are allowed to own animals; they may receive animals as marriage gifts from family, friends, or husband; they also may purchase on own through women groups</p> <p>Decisions on whether to sell assets lies with the husband and first born son; “Man’s word is law” – Elderly Woman, Ngaremara Ward (Turkana)</p> <p>Women are not allowed to control land, except when the husband has died - There are no legal policies that keep women from owning land; Women can access (buy) land if they have money</p> <p>Before if they divorced, the man can go and marry another wife and his small livestock might be left with his eldest son but the man will keep the rest of the livestock and property. No property will be given to the girls.</p>	<p>give any other person he can give. He won’t even consult you. You cannot even give to your brother if you love him.” – Elderly Woman, Karere Town (Samburu)</p> <p>If a woman sells without husband’s permission she is regarded as a thief, and seen as being disrespectful</p> <p>Women can own livestock, then they make these decisions; or when the husband is away they can make these decisions, but have to inform him later; but if the livestock belongs to the husband then she has to get consent when they’re married – but sometimes they sell livestock and inform their husband later - Young women, Merti Ward (Borana)</p> <p>When a woman owns livestock, the man has to beg for it if he wants it. - Young woman, Merti Ward (Borana)</p> <p>“When a woman get married, her husband gives her livestock (different from dowry), but she doesn’t have control to sell it.” – Young woman, Laisamis Ward (Samburu)</p>
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		<p>Now if they divorce, the property and livestock are divided equally between the man and woman. Even custody of the small kids will be divided among the man and woman, but custody of the older kids will be given to the father. In one example, after divorce a man took the child and the woman went to another. In another example, the wife became mentally ill so the husband took the kids and went to live with the other co-wives and just left the mentally ill wife.</p> <p>“In earlier times, if the husband died, the brothers of the husband could come and take the property and chase the woman away. No longer this way, it’s better. If brothers try to take property, a woman can go the chief/government to report the situation.”</p> <p>“There is nothing that prohibit us from owning land. You can’t own land of your husband. But if you have enough money to buy, like from groups, that merry-go-round, you can acquire the land. And the husband does not have any problem. But you cannot own the land of the husband.”</p> <p>A woman cannot control land unless she’s single; once she’s married the land goes to her husband; There are no legal policies that prohibit women from owning land;</p> <p>“When they sell land, they should both be in agreement – but the husband is the final</p>	
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		decision maker.” – Young Woman, Ngaremara Ward (Turkana)	
Control over and use of income	<p>Receive income from NGOs every 2-3 months</p> <p>Men give money from sale of animals to women; doesn't need permission to spend; keep small amount for personal needs; women control income earned from selling animal products</p> <p>“Cash transfer decisions are mutual between young men and young women.” – Elderly Woman, Korr Ward (Rendille)</p>	<p>When husband is present he makes decision on how money is spent; when not around wife makes decisions</p> <p>It is a mutual decision but man has final say.” – Young Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>The man decides how money can be used</p> <p>“The is two different moneys. One from when a man sells a goat and one from when a woman sells milk. The money the man gets belongs to him and the money the woman gets belongs to her.” – Young Woman, Oldonyiro Ward (Samburu)</p> <p>When the woman sells the beads, she is the one to know how to use that money. For the goat that the husband sells, they will discuss and share so that the wife can go and buy food for the family</p> <p>“if the man wants to buy a goat, and the wife says no, the man will just go drink all the money”</p> <p>Money earned from selling milk belongs to a woman</p> <p>“Women can use the money she earns as she likes but may discuss with husband how she uses it.” – Elderly Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p>	<p>“Money earned is shared between wife and husband. A woman can go earn money but she will still have to come home and give to husband. There is no my money and your money.” - Older Women, Burat Ward (Borana)</p> <p>“Despite women knowing their rights there are some who are still being oppressed” – Older Women, Burat Ward (Borana)</p> <p>When men sell livestock they give some money to the wife so she can buy household products</p> <p>In older times, it was more difficult for younger women (and easier for older women) to make requests of their husbands about getting supplies for the house – but now that people are “more civilized” it is easier for younger women to talk to their husbands without him getting angry – Young Woman, Burat Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Nowadays things are different. Women can earn money and own property. – Older woman, Burat Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Men decide the budget; if there is a disagreement on how the money is used, woman may give up the money to the man and go get credit to purchase the things she wanted to use the money for</p>

		<p>“Decision regarding how money is spent is made by the owner of the money; sometimes couples may combine their money and make the decision of how to spend mutually” – Elderly women, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>“In some households only the woman has the ability to work so she makes the decision about how money is spent.” – Elderly women, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Man decide how to spend cash because he is the head of the family and decides when to sell an animal; some men discuss with wife how to use money</p> <p>Women are allowed to inherit, buy, sell and own land – no laws the prohibit women from owning land – can also own livestock; traditionally girls wouldn’t be able to inherit but that has changed</p>	<p>Women manage money earned from the sale of animal products and chicken</p> <p>“Women are not careless like men, who just go use the money they get from the sale of animals, just drinking and eating miraa. Most women are responsible and will use the money to improve the household.” – Old Borana woman, Sololo Ward, Waye Goddha village</p> <p>“Some men may give money they make from sales to their wives. Some may spend the money how they want.” – Young woman, Turbi Ward (Borana)</p>
Access and control of opportunities	<p>Going to market takes 4 hours - Women don’t go to Merille or Wamba markets because it’s too far for them to walk, they only go to the local market in Korr and the llaut market</p> <p>Women sell goats, chickens and livestock products (goat milk, meat, skin, ghee, fat); trade donkeys</p> <p>Some cook for schools</p> <p>Women’s groups present – decisions made by whole group</p>	<p>“There is some stigma attached to women managing and selling livestock – “Community will say you are destroying things that belong to men.”</p> <p>Older women go to the market and sale goats</p> <p>Young women more like to participate in Oldonyiro market than old women because of distance</p> <p>Women’s participation has increased in market since recent changes to market</p>	<p>Gender doesn’t matter with activities – has more to do with ability</p> <p>Foodstuff markets have more women than livestock markets – but women do participate in livestock markets – men can participate in vegetable markets but it is looked down on because it is generally seen as a woman’s domain</p> <p>Moyale Kenya had more women participation</p>

		<p>Mainly men go to market</p> <p>“Women only sell goats – don’t sell camels or cows because prices are too high and negotiation is a barrier.” – Young Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>“Isiolo, Meru, and Nairobi are too far – women can’t leave kids”</p> <p>“Women can’t really leave the home because of the children and household responsibilities.” – Elderly Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>“Goat and sheep markets have lower prices, which is why women participate more”</p> <p>“Camels require a lot of attention so women can’t manage; time needed conflicts with household work and responsibilities”</p> <p>“Men participate in all markets for live animals more than women”</p> <p>Women mostly participate in local informal markets (e.g. milk, vegetable, skin)</p> <p>Mostly men participate in live animal markets</p> <p>“Women can’t leave the home because of children and household responsibilities” – Elderly Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>“Women can participate in market if husband gives you permission to go do the</p>	<p>because more goats were sold there</p> <p>Women participate in market for small animals (e.g. goats/sheep)</p> <p>More women are in the goat/sheep market than the cow market because they don’t have enough money to participate in the cattle market (30,000 – 50,000 KSH); men can travel all the way to Merti to get the cattle to sell but that distance is difficult for women</p> <p>More men in the livestock market than women – most brokers are men and men are the ones that take animals to the market If woman is seen in market selling, it is assumed that she is a widow</p> <p>More women in the market now since changes because women sell food in the market place (tea, soda, mandazi) – no increase in more women trading animals</p> <p>Women participate in the product “markets” more because they have products to sell daily and the livestock market is too far</p> <p>Only occasionally participate in the livestock markets, they mostly sell livestock to the butcher</p> <p>Age doesn’t matter when it comes to participation in market</p>
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		<p>business.” – Elderly Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Divorced women can decide on their own; participation in the vegetable market is where you will find more women; women mostly participate in the local Kinna market for livestock products; Mostly older women participate in livestock product markets</p> <p>get empowerment from women’s groups - Merri-go-round – allows them to get income without needing the husband’s permission, and they can buy livestock; start businesses; apply for loans; The property they gain through these groups, the men don’t have access to; These groups also help them to pay for everyday expenses – mostly used for their kids</p> <p>Activities differ on days when they have to go to the market (Tuesdays); will be away from home the entire day; return evening to complete household work during late hours; go to market every other week</p> <p>“It does. A woman may go to the market and talk with others there for long hours before coming home only to find that the calves, goats, and sheep have not come back home.” – Elderly Woman, Oldonyiro Ward (Samburu)</p> <p>Participate in women’s groups (table banking, merry-go-round, make beads and purses, group farms) geared toward making a profit</p>	<p>Husbands won’t allow their wives to engage in livestock markets</p> <p>Men control money made from selling livestock</p> <p>When a man sells an animal he will give a portion of the money earned to his wife; some keep all the money</p> <p>Once the money is home, it’s the woman who has control over the money</p> <p>The man will give some money that he earns to the wife and she can decide how to use it as she wants – but money she earns is her money to use</p> <p>Poor roads and lack of transport create barriers to them from selling items in the Moyale market</p> <p>Participate in women’s groups (table banking, merry-go-round, jewelry/ornament making) geared toward making a profit</p>
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<p>Workload and control over time</p>	<p>Domestic Tasks: prepare gourds for storing milk; prepare fire and food; fetch water and firewood (4-6 hours); make mats and ropes and donkey cages for carrying items during migration; go to market (5 hours); build/dismantle homes (7 hours/whole day); laundry; clean house; make wooden seats; fetch water (3 hours); childcare</p> <p>Productive Tasks: separate young and old animals; take donkeys to get water; fence goats/sheep; bring goats home from pasture; bring young livestock home; get seed for animals; milk (cows, sheep and goats) (2 hours); search for lost animals; prepare food for ppl looking after animals; prepare bowls for collecting camel milk; slaughter animals</p> <p>Leisure: Sleep; make beads; dance</p> <p>Men: Only men milk camels; older men give advice to young men; cut fencing, water animals, dig boreholes, play games, drive young camels back to homestead; take firewood to shrine; look after and milk livestock; sell live animals and meat; create fencing; take animals for pasture and water; castration</p> <p>“A lot of work is done by women.” – Elderly woman, Korr Ward (Rendille)</p> <p>Household tasks are done by young men and women as well as older men and</p>	<p>Domestic Tasks: Light fire; prepare food for family; prepare food for those herding livestock; clean house; patch house; collect water, firewood; collect wild fruits; laundry knit cloth to cover houses; make ropes; make/clean gourds for carrying milk and ghee; go to town for food stuffs; build homes (manyattas);</p> <p>Productive Tasks: open animal pens (bomas) and let/take young animals out to graze; collect animal fodder; milk cattle, goats and sheep; look for livestock (young animals) and make sure they’ve returned to pen; take care of sick and pregnant animals, give salt to animals, plant vegetables, maize and beans; tend farm (weeding); harvesting; fencing (chop wood); shop keeping; grazing; breeding; make and sell beads, bags, bangles, shoes to tourists; sell hides; shop keeping; women’s groups; NGO activities (gabions, dig trenches, micro loans, trainings); tourism; mine minerals, gems; make ghee; casual labor; visit group farms</p> <p>Leisure: visit friends; sleep; traditional festivals/ceremonies; sing; make traditional skins; teach/learn traditional things; watch tv; talk with husband; visit the sick</p> <p>Men: Branding, castrating; take livestock to graze; sell animals; planting; harvesting; look after</p>	<p>Have young girls to assist in chores on weekends</p> <p>Domestic Tasks: fetch water and firewood, fencing, child care, clean house, prepare/serve food, take care of elderly, make ropes and mats</p> <p>Productive Tasks: Planting, pruning, cooking for others, fetching water, selling (e.g. charcoal, miraa, firewood, and grasses), livestock care for others, milking (cows, goats, sheep), preparing land, sell shoats, care for livestock, butchery, shop keepers, sell vegetables, chips, sand, materials for fencing, watchmen, cooking for schools</p> <p>There’s no stigma against women that work men’s jobs</p> <p>Women can do the same work as men; no stigma or consequences</p> <p>“Men don’t do anything nowadays. They come home and sleep” – Elderly Woman, Burat Ward (Borana)</p> <p>“Just because the man doesn’t work doesn’t mean the woman can sit back. The woman will do it herself” – Elderly Woman, Burat Ward (Sedentary)</p> <p>Young boys nowadays don’t like livestock; have to force them to help</p> <p>Some women have sons that are willing to help with household chores</p>
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	<p>women; decision made at the group level with everyone – Elderly woman, Korr Ward (Rendille)</p>	<p>livestock; provide security from wild animals</p> <p>Exceptions: men milk animals (when doesn't have woman or children around); older women take animals to graze (when husband is deceased);</p> <p>"Women are allowed to manage animals men manage if the man is away, sick or if you have someone to watch the kids for you." – Elderly Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>One woman's spouse helps with household chores – neighbors talk about them and say she has 'bewitched' him – no consequences for husband; some men help with chores if the couple have understanding – Young Women, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>There is help with household chores – "house girls"</p> <p>"I would never ask a man to come and watch the kids. He wouldn't even accept it if you asked."</p> <p>"If you are sick some men can even cook for you. Some men may even call a neighbor to come help with household chores."</p> <p>"Some men don't know how to even light a fire. They've never learned"</p> <p>"Some men may have a wife who is for example a doctor and she has to go to work. So he will remain home to take care of the kids. That is</p>	<p>One woman said, "due to the load of work the women do, it has been said that their backbone becomes so strong that even a hyena cannot break it" – Young Woman, Sololo Ward (Borana)</p> <p>After men finish work, they sleep, but women don't – men can take naps but not women</p> <p>"Livestock activities are the responsibility of men and they don't need to be reminded how to do it themselves. Household chores are the responsibility of women and they don't have to be reminded. They have to know themselves what to begin with and how to do it." – Old Borana woman, Sololo Ward, Waye Goddha village</p> <p>"A wife cannot do anything without the permission of her husband except for maybe cooking." - Old Borana woman, Sololo Ward, Waye Goddha village</p> <p>Livestock managed by men and women</p> <p>Livestock is managed and owned by husband – but when a woman is given livestock as a gift she can make decisions concerning it</p> <p>One participant said they do not rest in the afternoon – they go to the farm – when they go to the farm, they're there all day – go on days before harvest for 2 to 3 days a week – Young</p>
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		<p>ok. No one will say anything.”</p> <p>“Younger generation is different. Young men are more willing to do work traditionally reserved for women.” – Elderly Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Now that children are required to go to school, older women look after the animals</p> <p>“When do men do? They only milk camels, they water the animals and control the breeding of animals, that’s what they do. The only difference between us and the men is that they control the breeding and they go to dig wells. Us women do more work.” – Young Woman, Laisamis Ward (Samburu)</p> <p>“Men are lazy. Apart from grazing they go sleep under trees. Then they come home and ask, ‘where is my tea’? – Elderly woman, Ngaremara Ward (Turkana)</p>	<p>Woman, Merti Ward (Borana)</p>
Domestic Violence	<p>“women can say no but sometimes they may be beaten”</p> <p>“if a man is quarrelsome, the wife handles everything.” – Elderly Woman, Korr Ward (Rendille)</p> <p>“wife must have sex when husband wants to”</p>	<p>Beating wife given as characteristic of good husband - “He should always beat his wife. You beat her and if she’s injured, he will slaughter an animal for her.” – Young Woman, Turbi Ward (Gabbra)</p> <p>If you beat your wife and you injure her (e.g. bruise/scratched/bloodied arm) husband will be told by elders/older guys to go slaughter animal – he is told to slaughter an animal because it is believed, if she has lost blood or been hurt</p>	<p>You would never advise a woman to leave her husband; If he beats you, persevere; If he talks bad to you just keep quiet; If it becomes too much a woman will leave on her own; but if she comes for advice it is not your place to advise her to leave her husband</p> <p>Should be silent and respectful when physically abused (e.g. broken arm); don’t tell neighbors; husband may slaughter an</p>

		<p>she isn't healthy; animal will return her back to health</p> <p>There are times when women beat husbands but it is not common; women will be regarded as bad people and community will believe he is abused; women will not be respected; will lose husband; won't be married again; considered disrespectful</p> <p>"If a wife is abused and beaten every day for no reason then she should come to her father or share information with elder in village so he can be punished."</p> <p>If a lady marries a guy and they realize he is not good, she will still stay with him; if he beats her continuously she will return to her father and stay there; husband will have no option but to look for another lady; woman can marry another guy</p> <p>If he is known for causing trouble, chaos, always fighting people, he may not marry because people will not give you their daughter</p> <p>"the men don't like when women gain more power so the women fear their husbands because they might get beaten"</p> <p>Typically, if the women run for leadership positions, they have to get permission from their husband</p> <p>Its ok for the wife to call the elders if the husband breaks the rules [he drinks, or</p>	<p>animal for her in apology; given broth and meat to help in healing; reward for obedience; Would advise daughter to endure</p> <p>If a woman doesn't prepare food in time, her husband beats her</p> <p>When women sell livestock without consulting husband they are beaten or chased away</p> <p>Good husband doesn't force sex if wife doesn't feel well</p> <p>if there are problems at home and she sells animal then its ok; don't have to wait for him if he is away when there is a problem</p> <p>Men usually sell live animals; women can sell animal if given permission by man to sell</p> <p>Women manage products, but some men take products and money from products by force</p>
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		<p>doesn't provide for the family, or beats her]</p> <p>There are some husbands that can be harsh to them but there are some instances when a husband allows them to be empowered or to have that freedom.</p> <p>When a husband is a drunkard he may sell all the livestock with no reason</p> <p>Men are responsible for livestock, decide what a woman will do; if women disagree they will be beaten – Elderly women, Oldonyiro Ward (Samburu)</p> <p>If a man asks for sex, they can't say no, it's man's right – Elderly woman, Ngaremara Ward (Turkana)</p> <p>"It isn't appropriate for women to do men's work due to tradition/culture – if they do men's work the husband will beat them and other women will think they're crazy" – Young Woman, Ngaremara Ward (Turkana)</p> <p>"Persevere in good and bad times. When you don't have adequate clothing and you sleep hungry, persevere. Don't let your neighbors know." - Elderly woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Beating to the point of death, they would not tell her to persevere – "can't keep her where she is likely to die." – Elderly Woman, Kinna Ward (Borana)</p> <p>Sometimes the situation is beyond the mother; issue is</p>	
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Widows	<p>If a widow is empowered, she can make decisions for livestock and the household, she’s in a position to control everything, even if she has an older son</p> <p>Can own livestock if don’t have older son; if husband dies, wife keeps everything</p> <p>Can sell livestock</p> <p>Gender roles are not as stringent when a woman doesn’t have a man (e.g. except for castration)</p> <p>“If a women doesn’t have a man to do (husband or son) she is able to do the thing men do except castration.”</p>	<p>Helped by family members until she remarries</p> <p>Assets remain with wife and children if man dies; if assets large, husband’s relative may try to come and claim some assets; if separated when man dies, ex-wife can still claim some of property</p> <p>Widow can make decision about buy, sale, trade, or slaughtering animals if she has no boy child</p> <p>Women gets all assets on death of husband; decision to sell hers</p> <p>Women don’t make decision regarding livestock (i.e. cow, camel, goat, sheep) unless their husband is deceased</p>	<p>Widows can do all the activities men do except milking camels, breeding and castration</p> <p>If a man dies, some women remarry but woman will also take over man’s responsibilities</p> <p>If a man dies, the woman is given custody of children and ownership of property</p> <p>If a man dies, in most situations the property will remain with the women and children. Asset don’t belong to the man’s siblings but they are those that take by force</p> <p>Widows can make decisions regarding selling but if she has a son then she shares the decision with him</p> <p>If husband dies, the wife and kids keep everything; even if separated when he died, she can still claim some of his property if she had a child with him</p>

			If the husband dies and wife has a son she keeps everything b/c inheritance goes to son; if they have a daughter then the husband's belongings go to his family
Weather/Climate	<p>Animals (shoats) stick closer to home</p> <p>Animals (shoats) sold during dry season to buy food (7 months)</p> <p>More milk during rainy season (5 months) – take for meals</p> <p>Drought changes activities involving animals; sell firewood</p> <p>rainy season – animals taken to butcher</p> <p>Mostly take milk for meals during the rainy season because milk is plentiful. During the drought, they sell livestock to buy food</p> <p>Used to get food relief from the government; now they get some money from NGOs (e.g. CARE)</p>	<p>Rainy Season: more milk, enough for home and to sell; hyenas; animals moved closer to homestead; busier/less free time; irrigate land between rainy season; breeding (issue during drought); babies don't survive if birth during dry season</p> <p>Dry Season: sell livestock; migrate to get food and water for livestock; farming stops; women travel far to look for grass/pick bird nests; animals die; animal quality diminishes; prefer camel because it survives better during drought and can provide milk, sell firewood</p>	<p>Have to travel further for grazing during the dry season</p> <p>Animals produce less milk during the dry season</p> <p>Farm during rainy season when the river is there</p> <p>“We don't even eat during dry season. It is rare for us to eat during dry season because we walk long distances for 8 hours and then when we come back and we are very tired. We can't even provide food for the children. We can only prepare tea and drink.” – Old Rendille Woman, Karere Town</p> <p>Have to travel far distances to collect water</p> <p>Animal slaughtered during severe drought</p> <p>More milk during rainy season</p> <p>Lost many animals during the drought</p> <p>Milk prices fluctuate during drought; more expensive in dry season when buying; less expensive in rainy season when selling</p> <p>Flooding, burst/overflowed banks, changed routes, flooded farms</p>

			<p>Travel further for pasture/grasses for animals (women)</p> <p>Don't cook during those times, not time; no lunch, just cook in evening for the next day</p> <p>More cultivation/farming responsibilities in rainy season; planting; less time for cooking</p> <p>Livestock brought closer to homestead for castration, milking and breeding during rainy season</p> <p>Migrate near water source during dry season; cut firewood and take to market</p> <p>Only slaughter meat in the dry season</p>
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