



Regional Learning &
Advocacy Programme
for Vulnerable Dryland
Communities

CHANGING NATURE OF GENDER ROLES IN THE DRYLANDS OF THE HORN and EAST AFRICA: IMPLICATIONS FOR DRR PROGRAMMING

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report explores gender in relation to three dominant processes of change that are occurring in pastoral communities in the Horn and East Africa – i) changes in access to land and natural resources; ii) the commercialisation and privatisation of pastoral assets; and iii) shifts in governance and decision-making processes. The report then considers to what degree gender relations and the changes taking place are included within drought risk reduction (DRR) and response strategies, and what lessons can be learnt for developing more effective, gender-sensitive drought-related interventions. In each of these sections future scenarios and recommendations are identified. The report concludes by providing recommendations to DRR actors for more gender-sensitive interventions and support in pastoral areas.

In the pastoral areas of Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda land use change has increased at an unprecedented rate. This has resulted in a fragmentation of the rangelands across the region and encouraged the privatisation of resources as competition over remaining grazing areas and water sources has grown. Many pastoral communities have become more sedentarised. Such change affects men and women differently.

As sedentarisation has increased, many women have found new opportunities to develop businesses and raise their income. However this also means that their responsibilities and workloads increase which may cause problems for them. Though such activities can provide much needed cash, these increased incomes do little to address the root causes of women's vulnerabilities that affect their lives including marginalisation from decision-making processes and insecure access to resources and assets. This is particularly the case for *pastoral* women, as pastoralists in general tend to be marginalised. As a result they still remain highly vulnerable to forces that they have little or no control over including drought/climate change, and more powerful actors appropriating assets, resources including land, and markets.

Privatisation and individualisation of resources can have a number of negative impacts on women: where land access have been formalised often women miss out; fences and other barriers mean they have to walk further to collect water and other resources; and the breakdown of communal support systems leave women highly vulnerable. NGOs and government often fail to effectively address the particular needs of women.

Increasingly livestock and livestock products are being commercialised as markets and market infrastructure improve, governments and development agencies encourage such processes, and pastoralists are drawn further into a monetary economy. Such processes affect men and women differently. Not least this is because women tend to focus more on household welfare and livestock's contribution to nutrition, while men focus more on economic production and income generation.

Men and women also have different abilities to access and use new information, opportunities and improved technologies. These differences may lead them to have different priorities regarding investments in the adoption of new practices and technologies. To date this has rather limited women's integration in the market

economy and allowed men to dominate markets. However with increasing pressures for diversification and new opportunities opening up, change is occurring. In order to optimise the benefits of this change a number of constraints need to be addressed. These include overcoming the challenges of establishing marketing groups and cooperatives; securing access to productive assets and monetary benefits; and building up effective skills and business acumen. More mobile pastoralists (men and women) will have their own particular needs and challenges that arise from their non-sedentarised lifestyle.

As livestock marketing increases new social organisations are being created. Ensuring the sustainability of such organisations can be difficult. In many cases less formalised organisations such as women's income generating groups involved in livestock marketing have shown greater success in developing trade and mechanisms for controlling it, than formal livestock marketing cooperatives dominated by men. Long-term capacity building and technical support as the groups develop, is key however. To date women's enterprises have remained small and up-scaling them is challenging (though not impossible with the right support).

These changes are contributing to shifts in decision-making processes and the role and place that women and men have in them. This is occurring at all levels – from the household to community to government. This has implications for how gender-sensitive development can be supported in pastoral areas.

Many women are achieving greater degrees of voice and participation in decision-making processes. Even at a community level women are increasingly playing a more public role. Women may find alternative and parallel forums more effective than trying to break into male-dominated customary ones. Social and cultural barriers to women's full participation tend to be complex and embedded, needing more change than just the quotas of an NGO and not least a long-term perspective. Poorer, less powerful women may find it particularly difficult to engage. Women's key role in conflict and peacemaking is likely to be ever more relevant as the probability of conflicts over reducing resources increases. However the nature of many conflicts has changed and thus women are likely to need assistance in addressing the new causes and impacts of these.

Drought interventions in the past have been criticised for their lack of gender sensitivity. In recent years, improvements have been made, not least due to an increasing emphasis on supporting livelihood-based interventions as well as or instead of short-term humanitarian responses. Such interventions have had more success in understanding local livelihoods and building on indigenous systems of early warning and drought response, and increasingly involve women. However though there are some clear exceptions, many NGOs and government organisations still ignore or struggle to understand and address gender issues, and this is having an ongoing negative impact on the sustainability of the interventions as well as on gender relations in communities. As drought increases under predicted climate change and rangelands become more fragmented it will be ever more important that gender is mainstreamed into all drought interventions if women, and indeed communities as a whole, are to benefit.

Many conflicts exist between addressing short-term needs of communities (men and women) and supporting sustainable long-term development and security. This is particularly the case in pastoral areas where short-term solutions to such as food and water insecurity can negatively impact on the long-term health and productivity of rangelands and pastoral systems, upsetting or destroying local rangeland management institutions and processes. The interconnectedness of pastoral systems is often ignored, so a badly planned activity can have highly negative impacts on the system as a whole.

Food and water aid can upset local coping mechanisms – it can also aggravate gender relations. The decisions and actions of one part of the household and community will impact on others – therefore interventions that target men only can have an impact on women (and vice versa). Food and water aid causes dependency. Alternative approaches to food aid where communities are encouraged to ‘bank’ food for future use, can offer greater opportunities for longer-term growth. By spending relief funds locally, interventions such as destocking help to secure pastoral livelihoods for the future. Indeed, here women have proved to be as capable of involvement in such activities as men. Understanding risk preferences and ability to cope with shocks is likely to become more important in the face of increasing climate variability.

It is apparent that many DRR interventions focus on more sedentarised pastoralist communities (more accessible and easier to provide services for). Those pastoralists still leading a mobile lifestyle (in order to make best use of available resources) are often left out of decision-making and planning processes, and from the benefits of DRR interventions. Often the needs of these mobile groups are only addressed once in a critical state and arriving in relief centres. More effort needs to be placed in identifying and supporting the special needs of these mobile communities, both men and women: without them the full potential of rangeland productivity and other benefits will not be realised.

NGOs are in a position to advocate for less powerful groups whether they are pastoralists as a whole, women or those facing drought. But often NGOs consider such issues to be too politically sensitive for them to get involved in. However, if fairer and more equitable development is to occur and to which many NGOs espouse, then more positive action must be taken and the challenges that these groups face be tackled.

Recommendations:

Preparing to address gender issues in pastoral area

1. *NGOs, development agencies and government working on DRR in the drylands including need to improve the mainstreaming of gender throughout their organisations as well as in programmes, interventions and activities. This should be an ongoing process with clear roles and responsibilities defined. More innovative schemes such as ‘gender mentoring’ can generate increased levels of support and interest.*
2. *The meaning of ‘empowerment’ needs to be clarified and agreed upon – it can mean different things to different people. Indicators for empowerment should be identified*

and used within gender-sensitive evidence-based data collection and further monitoring/evaluation of interventions including DRR.

- 3. An indepth gender and contextual analysis has been highlighted as an important starting point for humanitarian relief interventions. This can be collected through rapid assessments. However more in-depth participatory methods are likely to provide fuller and more useful data. Once collected the data needs to be fully analysed and form the basis of further monitoring of change. Studies on the implications of increased labour on women and the household as a whole need to be carried out.*

Planning to address gender issues in pastoral areas

- 4. Clear and sound rationales for focusing on gender, how and why should be developed by projects/interventions before design or at the very least prior to commencement of activities. This should be understood and developed by all involved.*
- 5. Interventions in pastoral areas (including DRR) need to be designed and implemented in a manner that recognises the interconnectedness of pastoral systems. Positive impacts across the system should be aimed for, and negative ones mitigated or reduced.*
- 6. The changes occurring in pastoral systems and communities need to be fully understood together with their driving forces. These should then influence and feed into decision-making processes in and for pastoral areas including in relation to rangeland management, livelihood development and diversification, and conflict resolution.*
- 7. Planning and implementation in the rangelands needs to be done at a temporal and spatial scale that will support the long-term sustainability of pastoral systems. Short-fix solutions need to be embedded and integrated within this through better planning, design and more thoughtful implementation that limit the impact of interventions on the long-term health of pastoral systems. They should support processes aimed at longer-term more sustainable change. Community-based drought management and risk reduction planning and activities can help in addressing this.*

Addressing gender issues in pastoral areas

- 8. Security of access to assets, resources and land for pastoralists and in particular pastoralist women, need to be advocated and supported as part of development interventions. Women who lead more mobile lifestyles as part of pastoral systems are likely to have different needs than those who do not, and therefore require special attention.*
- 9. It should be recognised that socio-political change can generate challenges as well as benefits for different groups within communities. Only those affected can decide if the changes experienced are worth the possible costs involved. Women in particular will need to consider the impacts of more income generation opportunities on their workload and the long-term implications of this. Different interventions and support is required for different groups of women reflecting new divides in pastoral communities (such as wealth) due to the changes taking place. Polygamous households for example*

may require special attention to ensure that all wives benefit. Community planning and more poverty-focused approaches (including for livestock and market development) can go a long way to helping women and men make the right decisions about future change.

10. *New and innovative solutions, structures, and mechanisms may need to be designed to deal with the new forces of change – these should be developed with the pastoral men and women they are intended to support. Different structures and mechanisms may be required for men and women to reflect their different needs, priorities, and form of pastoralism that they practice. Particular attention should be paid to the requirements of more mobile communities who have been neglected in the past. The premise of this support should be that it is mobile and flexible.*
11. *Ways to positively support women in decision-making processes need to be identified. The establishment of new decision-making forums is likely to provide greater opportunities for women's participation than trying to make customary ones more gender-equitable. Understanding what mechanisms women already utilise for influencing decision-making processes and capitalising from them is a must for identifying appropriate mechanisms and forums for increasing their influence. Women's empowerment at the local level can be encouraged and complemented by women's participation in more formal politics as part of programmes of democratisation and good governance.*

Ensuring long-term positive impacts

12. *Care needs to be taken that benefits are not created for one particular group in the community at the expense of another. This includes ensuring that improvements in livestock production etc. support women's concerns for the security of household members – strategies to do this may be different to those supporting privatisation and commercialisation.*
13. *Ways to mitigate negative impacts of these processes need to be identified. This can include re-instilling communal mutually-supporting values that may have been destroyed by more individualistic attitudes. Working in groups and cooperatives can be one way of encouraging this – women may be better placed to do this. There is a need for long-term capacity building and support connected to such group/cooperative development.*

Advocacy and Lobbying

14. *NGOs and government need to work together to advocate for the rights of women and in particular those who are particularly marginalised. Ways to do this sensitively will need to be identified. Working together with government will give greater strength and legitimacy to actions taken.*

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ACRONYMS

ALRMP	Arid Lands Resource Management Project
CAHWs	Community animal health workers
CBDRM	Community-based disaster risk management
CBEWS	Community-based early warning systems
CBNRM	Community-based natural resource management
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
CMDRR	Community-managed disaster risk reduction
CSO	Civil society organisation
DRR	Drought/Disaster risk reduction
EW	Early warning
FEWSNET	Famine Early Warning Systems Network
GBV	Gender-based violence
Ha (ha)	Hectare
KCC	Kenya Creameries Company
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NTFP	Non-timber forest product
OAU/IBAR	Organization of African Unity/Inter-African Bureau for Animal Resources
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PFS	Pastoralists field schools
PLI	Pastoralist Livelihood Initiative
REGLAP communities	Regional Learning and Advocacy Project for vulnerable dryland communities
SWDI	Somali Women Development Initiative
WASH	Water, sanitation and hygiene
WFP	World Food Program
WSCG	Women's Savings and Credit Group

I.0 BACKGROUND TO THE REPORT

The Oxfam-led Regional Learning and Advocacy Project (REGLAP) is a consortium project that aims to promote resilience among vulnerable dryland communities in Uganda, Ethiopia and Kenya² through policy change and practice. An important part of this is to encourage its partners and others to develop policy and carry out activities and interventions in a gender-equitable manner.

In response, REGLAP commissioned a study on the diversity and changing nature of gender roles in dryland communities in the Horn of and East Africa, and the implications for drought risk reduction (DRR) programming.

The overall objective of the study is: *To highlight the diverse and changing gender roles in pastoral areas in the region and the need for improved and regularly updated gender analysis to improve programming and policy implementation.*

Specific objectives are to:

1. Provide an overview of the diversity and changing gender roles in pastoral communities in the region;
2. Review how effective DRR interventions have been in addressing gender needs;
3. Provide recommendations for policy advocacy and practice for development actors.

This report highlights the findings of the study. The study draws its evidence from published and non-published (grey) literature including project/programme reports. It should be noted that many of the reports have been produced internally to the organisations involved and therefore may not be as objective as an assessment conducted by an external reviewer. Though the author believes that the trends identified in the study are a good reflection of the reality of pastoral areas in the region, further verification would be of benefit.

The report is divided into six sections. The following three sections consider three dominant processes of change – i) changes in access to land and natural resources; ii) the commercialisation and privatisation of pastoral assets; and iii) shifts in decision-making processes. The next section considers to what degree gender relations and the changes taking place are included within DRR and response strategies, and what lessons can be learnt for developing more effective, gender-sensitive drought-related interventions. In each of these sections future scenarios and recommendations related to these are identified. The final section of the report concludes and provides overall recommendations for DRR actors.

² Somalia is also included but not a major focus.

2.0 GENDER RELATIONS IN PASTORAL SOCIETIES

Details and complexities of gender relations in pastoral societies are described elsewhere and therefore will not be considered in depth in this report (see for example Flintan 2008; Bruggeman 1994; Kristjanson et al 2010; Ridgewell and Flintan 2007; UNCCD 2008; Hodgson 2000). Rather this report will explore gender in connection to some of the main processes of change occurring in pastoral areas and the impacts that these are having on relations within pastoral households and communities. Before this however, some key points of reference on typical gender relations in pastoral communities in East and Horn of Africa will be considered from the literature.

Pastoral women are members of a pastoral grouping most commonly, a clan. Though women's position may be viewed as subservient, marginalised and disempowered the clan can offer many benefits including social protection. Borana say: "*Niitii Gosaa*" meaning "the clan wife," which implies that any wrongdoing against the woman by anyone is considered as an offense against the clan. Customary rules and regulations govern access and ownership of clan assets including livestock. Ultimately all property belongs to the clan, and decisions pertaining to it reflect the maximisation of benefits for the clan. Access is not restricted by 'ownership': everyone is able to access much of the property of the others in the household and indeed within the clan. It is unlikely that anyone within the clan (and usually outside the clan) will be denied access to resources in time of genuine need.

Both men and women have access to livestock as 'owners' and/or as 'users'. Because a woman tends to move to her husband's clan, she often holds small numbers of livestock (if any) when she marries (so that her clan does not lose the animals). Often terms of access to livestock are complicated and depend upon a number of factors including the status of the man or woman and stage in his/her lifecycle; the wealth of the household; exposure and education; and other factors such as the presence of drought. It will also depend upon the type of livestock production system in place – for example amongst the group ranches in Kenya migrations are limited by boundaries; in Borana a system of herd splitting into *warral/fora* herds is utilised; and in northern Uganda pastoralists depend more on the use of *manyattas* and *kraals*. Within all of these the normal roles and responsibilities of men and women, boys and girls, are different.

Gender determines the different roles that men and women play in pastoral society, as well as the power relations in the household. Households apply customary rules and regulations on a day-to-day basis so much variation exists. Access to livestock does not necessarily mean control, and it may be the case that women play a role in the management of livestock and use products such as milk, but are not able to dispose of them – such decisions are likely to be made by both husband and wife. Unilateral decisions concerning the use of livestock assets are considered uncustomary. Commonly however, the husband will have the final word and in some cases a subordinate situation exists where women have little say. Large sales of livestock tend to be controlled by the clan elders. A woman tends to have greater control over livestock that is given to her through a dowry or gifts.

A pastoral woman is likely to be dependent upon the presence of males in the family to enable an effective livestock-based production system: female-headed households may find this particularly challenging especially if they cannot afford to hire a herder. Not only are men needed in order to more directly access clan resources, but also a man can provide protection for the household and a woman's own assets. The presence of sons for example, gives greater reason for a woman to maintain control over livestock and other assets if her husband dies (though the livestock may be divided between the sons when they reach maturity). In divorce, women often fail to come away with sufficient resources for their wellbeing. It may also be difficult for a woman to access information – for example, extension messages and community announcements are usually made in public forums, which women may be unable to attend.

Women often manage sheep and goats as they tend to be kept closer to the homestead. Women also tend to be left responsible for the home herd of cattle and camels when men take others on migration. As such, women's roles in livestock management should not be underestimated and often their knowledge of livestock as well as grazing areas, migration routes and water points is rich. Women and men typically have different objectives for keeping animals, different authorities and responsibilities, and different abilities to access and use new information and improved technologies. These differences may lead them to have different priorities regarding investments in the adoption of new technologies and practices, and/or different ideas about how best food and livelihood security can be attained.

Variations and divisions may also exist within 'women' as a group with status, level of education and wealth all having an impact on how different groups of women access resources etc. and the gender roles they play. In polygamous households there will be different power relations between the wives and favouring by the husband.

Increasingly pastoralists are finding it necessary to supplement livestock-based activities through livelihood diversification. This can include employment opportunities, trading of goods, and sale of natural resources including charcoal, and tourism. Women play a key role in this diversification, sometimes becoming primary household providers.

During times of severe drought households and communities adapt their activities, roles and responsibilities in order to survive. The strategies used will differ from one area to another and community to community. Difficult decisions are made concerning such as family splitting and the distribution of remaining resources. Both men and women have their role to play and will be effected by the decisions made by the other. Women can be as capable as men in adapting to drought and finding ways to ensure the survival of household members and assets such as livestock.

Gender relations in pastoral societies are changing due to a number of endogenous and exogenous factors. These are having an impact on how pastoral societies and livelihoods currently function and will continue to develop in the future. The next three sections will consider some of the main trends, dynamics and impacts of these changes.

3.0 CHANGES IN LAND USE AND ACCESS TO RESOURCES

Pastoral areas in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda have seen exceptional changes in land use over the last century. Pastoralists in Kenya and Uganda first felt the brunt of change under colonial governments, followed by newly formed governments at independence. Ethiopian pastoralists too experienced the enforcement of new international boundaries, which divided pastoral groups. All have seen a steady increase of commercial investment in the rangelands for tourism or for large-scale agricultural farms which have challenged and removed access to key pastoral resources (Flintan 2011).

In the last few decades, such land use change has increased at an unprecedented rate resulting in a fragmentation of the rangelands across the region. This is having a fundamentally negative impact on pastoral livelihoods, systems and abilities of pastoralists to cope with drought. Further, such trends have encouraged a privatisation of resources as competition over remaining grazing areas for example, has grown (ibid). The impacts of such processes on pastoral men and women are likely to be different, together with their priorities and needs for coping with them. This section will consider some of the processes of land use change and the impact of these on women in particular, as well as on household and community gender relations.

3.1 Commercial agriculture

Across the region governments are increasing the opportunities for commercial investors to lease land for large-scale agricultural production. In Kenya for example the Tana Delta has been a key site for commercial investment despite the area providing dry season grazing for up to 3 million livestock at a time. New deals of 40,000 ha, 90,000 ha and 120,000 ha are in the pipeline. Resettlement schemes have been established and the land is being fenced. In response, pastoralists are now attempting to mark off corridors to allow access to remaining grazing areas and the River and to enclose grazing areas. Hay and crop residues are being purchased. New social organisations are being established for marketing of livestock and production, and accessing fodder. Women in particular, are taking up new income generation activities including trading in livestock and livestock products (discussed further below). Poorer pastoralists are most negatively affected by the land use changes taking place being unable to join socially organised groups or buy their own plots of land (Nunow 2010; Flintan 2011).

In Ethiopia too, commercial investments have created problems for both men and women. Not only have resources such as dry season grazing areas been removed, but water courses have been polluted (Afar, Ethiopia – Kloos et al 2010; Tefera and Flintan 2007). In some cases women have been able to benefit from new employment opportunities generated by the farms – for example cotton picking (Rettberg 2010). Plans to increase agricultural investment on 3.7 million ha, much of which is found in pastoral areas, will present further challenges (Flintan 2011).

Communities who inhabit land that is leased out to investors may receive compensation and resettlement. The experience of such schemes is poor and often results in communities being worse off than they were (ibid). Where land use can be proved for such as resettled smallholder farmers, compensation can be paid for the investment they

made on the land they are removed from. In pastoral communities it is difficult to prove land use, and so often compensation is not paid.

Gender issues are often neglected in displacement in relation to compensation and to job creation. Monetary compensation tends to be controlled by men; even in cases where both spouses sign and take the money women may lose control of it. In the Gilgel Gibe project, Ethiopia only men and female-headed households were eligible to collect compensation payments, which resulted in a growing dependence on men. Agricultural crops had to be left behind and women in particular were affected in relation to household food security. Income generation opportunities were poorer in the resettlement areas and such as fuelwood had to be collected from further away (Kebede 2009).

3.2 Shifts to agriculture away from livestock-dominated production

Because of the changes taking place in pastoral areas in the region, many pastoral groups have been forced to reduce their mobility and to lead a more sedentarised way of life. Increasingly pastoralists rely on a satellite system of livestock production where agriculture is carried out around a permanent (or semi-permanent) household, and herds join others in the settlement to be taken on migrations to find pasture and water as a single grazing unit, mainly herded by young men (Dodoth Uganda – Bruggeman 1994; Boran, Ethiopia – Gemtessa et al 2005).

Others in the community will be left with responsibility for the agricultural plots, which can be worked as combined units (as found in some parts of Borana – Gemtessa et al 2005) or worked by individuals. Despite the challenges of growing crops in drylands with variable and unpredictable rainfall, agro-pastoralists across Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda are attempting to do so. With livestock numbers reducing as access to resources is curtailed, pastoralists are ever more relying on grains to supplement diets and to sell for cash increasingly required for household purposes (as a predominantly non-monetary society has become monetised). A reliance on irrigation or watering of crops for all or part of the year is common. As a result most agriculture is found relatively close to permanent water sources such as rivers.

Changing roles and responsibilities

The shift in land use and livelihood systems is having an impact on the roles and responsibilities of men and women, and gender relations between them. In the past and simply put, men tended to have more role in and responsibility over livestock, and women over household tasks and childcare. Today, some key changes can be seen.

The shift to more agriculture in pastoral livelihoods means that labour is required for agricultural tasks. Where households still have sizeable herds, men tend to remain responsible for them and it is left to women to take up extra agricultural activities. In particular women are given those tasks that have been termed 'drudgery' e.g. planting and weeding (Jijiga, Somali region, Ethiopia – Kassa and Bekele 1998). Amongst the Dodoth of Uganda too, women do most agricultural work though men participate in de-

stumping and digging (Bruggeman 1994). In Karamoja women are almost totally responsible for agriculture in their home gardens, though men may assist at busy times (Stites et al 2007). And in Teso agro-pastoral communities women contribute at least 50% of livestock production related labour and 60% agriculture (Eseni and Ossiya 2010). More labour is also required to cook grains rather than livestock products, which also adds to women's work burden.

It has been shown that where opportunities exist for women to be involved in other income generating activities, men are more likely to take on the roles of agricultural production. In Karamoja, as livelihoods become increasingly diversified, as well as a shift in female-to-male ratio as more women and girls out-migrate in search of economic opportunities (selling water, working as domestic servants, washing plates in restaurants, working in breweries), more men work in the homestead plots (Stites et al 2007). In parts of Kenya however, sedentarisation and the under-employment of settled males have been associated with problems of idleness, debt and *miraakhat* addiction (Enghoff et al 2010).

Tenure security, distribution of and access to land for agriculture

Though women may have a clear role in agriculture and agro-pastoral systems, they may not have security to the land that they work on. Rights to land in pastoral areas in general may be insecure and this depends upon the policy/legislation of the country as well as a number of other factors including enforcement of legislation, governance structures, access to assets such as money to influence decision-making processes, powers of other land users, priorities of governments etc. As such, pastoral women's security of access may be doubly marginalised: as pastoralists and as women (Kipuri and Ridgewell 2009). In particular this is the case in Ethiopia where a formalised tenure vacuum still exists in the majority of pastoral areas³ because policy and legislation protecting pastoral rights to lands still need to be developed (Flintan 2010).

Planting crops is one way of increasing tenure security as it more clearly shows that the land is being used than pastoralism does, so improving usufruct rights and increasing the legitimacy of the land use in the eyes of government (in particular if tax is being paid).⁴ Many pastoralists plant some crops for this purpose. Local government may allocate land for this against the rules and regulations of customary institutions – the latter often being more concerned about having land under common property use and open for grazing rather than cultivation (Borana, Ethiopia – Flintan 2010).

³ An exception is Afar region where a policy and legislation have been developed, however implementation has yet to commence.

⁴ In Ethiopia for example, the Oromia Rural Land Administration and Use Regulation No. 39/2003 states that if land users fail to use their land in every production season (except in the case of restoring fertility) land use rights can be terminated (Article 3.5). After a period of three years without cultivation, the land will be expropriated; in the case of irrigated land, this can be applied after two years (Article 22.1).⁴ This provides direct incentives for cultivating the land on a continuing basis, and any necessary mobility away from the land for a period of time - for example, in times of drought - could threaten the land's security and is therefore unlikely to be conducted.

Gender equity is promoted within policies and legislation pertaining to land in all three countries. In Ethiopia women's rights are enumerated, discrimination is prohibited and equality of rights to use, transfer, administer and control land has been laid down in Articles 25 and 35 of the Constitution. The 1997 and 2005 Federal Land Administration and Utilization Proclamations also support women's equal rights.⁵ Land certification carried out in the highland areas of Ethiopia over the last decade has in general reflected such support for equity and women have benefited from the process (Holden and Tefera 2008). However it is yet to be seen to what degree such rights are protected in practice and/or are reflected in policy/legislation in pastoral areas. Where pastoral land has been informally privatised commonly women have lost out (see below).

Kenya has very much supported individual land tenure as the mechanism for sustainable economic growth – this has prioritised individual land titling over and above communal property regimes. In 2009 however, Kenya adopted a new Land Policy, which provides greater opportunities for communities to secure rights to their 'community land'. The Policy also allows for secondary-user access of land e.g. for access to water points or drought reserves, and recognises the particular role of women. These components have been endorsed and supported by the new Constitution (approved in August 2010) (GoK 2010) which states that land laws will be revised and enacted to effect the new provisions (Article 68). The rights of 'marginalised communities,' which include pastoralists, are given special attention.

In Uganda an amendment to the Land Act introduced the requirement that spouses consent to disposal of land on which they subsist. The PEAP (2001) also provisioned for Communal Land Associations, which can provide security for landless women. However a study in agro-pastoral households in northern Uganda showed that ownership of land is predominantly vested in males who own 80% of the land. It is said that this impacts negatively on household food security as men dictate what to produce, how much and largely control benefits (Essenu and Ossiya 2010).

Where women are allocated land in formal distributions it is often smaller and of poorer quality than that which would be allocated to men (Cotula 2007). Increasingly, in pastoral societies that are turning to agriculture however women are being provided with land as the benefits are clearly seen (Uganda – Bruggeman 1994; Borana, Ethiopia – Flintan 2010). Under customary arrangements land tends to be inherited through the paternal line of descent, but remains under the control of clan elders. On the death of her husband a woman may be allowed to hold onto communal land and in particular if

⁵ The 1997 Proclamation's Article 6 (FRLAUP 89/1997) requires that regional land administration laws be free from gender discrimination and confirm the equal rights of women in respect of the use, administration and control of land, as well as in respect of the transfer and bequest of landholding rights. It empowers regional nation states to autonomously administer land and, importantly, to determine the manner in which they implement this. Under the federal proclamation, regional states should also provide for communal use land areas to be demarcated.⁵ The proclamation provides the basis for land registration and certification and a 2005 addition (FRLAUP 456/2005) strengthens the basis for upgrading the land administration system and implementing sustainable land use planning. It remains the case that Peasant Associations or *kebele*, established in the 1970s under the Dergue regime, are responsible for distributing land at the local level.

she has sons (or other male kin) who can plough the land for her. If without children she may have to return to her own village. An increasing influence of Sharia and government laws has contributed to more equal inheritance of assets for women.

Impacts on food security and vulnerabilities

Where women are centrally involved in agricultural production they tend to have a high degree of control over the agricultural produce. Amongst the Dodoth (Uganda) for example, women have full control over the yield (Bruggeman 1994). However, this may not always be the case: in Borana, Ethiopia though women and girls make a considerable contribution to crop farming they only seem to control the proportion of grain consumed at home and sometimes they are allowed to sell a small portion of the harvest, with their husband's consent (Gemtessa et al 2005). In Somali region (Ethiopia) after harvesting, agricultural produce is divided into three approximate portions; one portion for the household consumption, the other portion for saving at home and the third portion to be sold to the local market. Women are responsible for selling surplus agricultural products and are able to control the use of money raised (Tessema undated). However, though there may be some spare produce for sale it can be difficult for women to access markets, both due to distance and lack of time.

As livestock numbers have reduced or become less productive due to rangeland degradation (e.g. encroachment of bush) so too has access to livestock products. Milk in particular is usually considered under a women's control, (though this may only be the case once the milk has entered the door of the house) (discussed in more detail in Section 4.0). Changing herding practices have meant livestock spend longer time away from the household and therefore women have lost access to them (Hamer, Ethiopia – Siefulaziz 2004). In some cases it has been indicated that as milk levels have reduced, women may compromise the health (even life) of calves to ensure that there is enough milk left for their children (Bruggeman 1994). With less available milk people are becoming more reliant on 'hunger foods' - in Karamoja for example 129 different wild foods are used in times of hunger. However as rangelands are degraded these wild foods are also disappearing (Grade 2011). It has also resulted in a decrease of use for such as rituals or ceremonies, and the amount of milk dedicated to sharing with visitors or with poorer households has dropped sharply. These changes have negative implications for social networks of reciprocity that assist communities in managing vulnerability over time and in times of crisis (Uganda – Stites and Mitchard 2011).

Food security is also being challenged by the reduced amounts of livestock products as pastoral societies become more sedentarised. In Kenya for example, settled Rendille children were three times more likely to be malnourished than nomadic children during the drought year of 1992, attributed to the reduction of access to camel's milk amongst settled communities (Nathan et al 1996). And in Uganda it has been shown that households with diversified herds have a better food security status (Eseno 2005).

Communities in Karamoja explained that household food consumption has changed over time, with people today eating significantly more purchased items, wild foods and residue than was consumed in years past or in their parents' generation. One of the

underlying factors in these changes is the disruption of the balance between crops and livestock. A group of young Matheniko women attributed the changes in crop production to worsening weather patterns and blamed the increased number of raids in recent decades for more limited access to meat, milk and blood. They explained that when their mothers were children they were able to rely on both their harvests and their livestock: *If they didn't have corn, they still had cows. They had meat, blood, milk and plenty of ghee... Now we don't have milk like we used to and instead of meat we eat beans, and we need cash to buy that so we have to sell charcoal* (Stites et al 2007: 42).

Indeed, where livestock numbers have reduced and in the absence of alternatives, communities are more likely to engage in activities such as charcoal making/selling (Turkana, Kenya – Omolo 2010; Ethiopia – Flintan et al 2011, Gemtessa et al 2005; Uganda – Stites et al 2007). Often women play an active role in these activities even though they know they are damaging the environment (Uganda – Stites et al 2007; Ethiopia – Oumer 2007): “the multiple roles played by women have created conditions whereby they influence and are influenced by the environment. As the environment degrades and the forests are depleted this relationship becomes increasingly negative; the scarcity of resources increases, demanding more time and energy to secure them” (Ethiopia – Mamo 2007). In Harshin, Somali region Ethiopia the enclosing of land has also allowed trees to be cut for charcoal – and in many instances this activity has driven the enclosure process (see below). Though some women are involved in the trading of charcoal, it is mainly men who make the initial sales. As a group of women (interviewed in 2007) described:

...mostly it is the men who are responsible for the destruction of the environment in this area. These days, we find it difficult to get animal feed and firewood as well as other resources from the forests, which were easily available. It is the men who are selling the trees inside the enclosure for charcoal production and they are not listening to us when we tell them to stop this activity and find other alternative jobs (ibid).

Women will go to great lengths to extract resources including entering dangerous insecure areas such as ‘no-go’ zones in Karamoja, Uganda putting them at risk of rape, kidnapping and killing. Often they will have to travel long distances to take goods to town and markets. Having reached markets they will be eager to sell the products quickly, often taking the first and lower price, as they hurry to return home (Stites et al 2007). This feeds the process of further degradation as more fuelwood, charcoal or other natural products need to be produced or collected to make up for the small income received.

Reductions in livestock numbers also have an impact on women’s security through shifts in cultural practices. Taking cattle into a marriage provides an important social safety net for women and children and recognition and status for men. With reduced livestock numbers bridewealth has also decreased and the actual handing over of bridewealth can be purposively delayed reducing women’s access to the animals and their products (Bruggeman 1994). In Karamoja, Uganda, it is suggested that as the rate of marriages

with cattle declines, the nature of Karamojong society shifts and, eventually, new forms of social safety nets and new means of acquiring status and power are likely to emerge. This process is gradual, however, and is happening in different ways among different groups (Stites et al 2007: 75).

3.3 Privatisation of grazing land and other natural resources

Demands for land for growing crops and fattening livestock, and an intensification of competition for securing remaining resources have increased trends of individualisation and privatisation of pastoral lands and other resources.

Privatisation of grazing land

In many societies property rights reflect, if not determine a person's status or degree of inclusion within a group. Since women often do not have direct access or control over resources they tend to lose their indirect rights when societal changes occur because those who have traditionally controlled resources are able to increase their own rights at the expense of others. Agrarian reform programs have often granted land to household heads under the assumption that the whole household will benefit. Contributing to this assumption is the patriarchal norm that men are heads of households and better manage household's assets. In sub-Saharan Africa, reform has often sought to transform customary tenure land into state property or individualised private property. During the transition men have acquired complete and legal ownership of land, sidelining women's user rights. Whilst different persons may have held different rights to a piece of land, titling usually gives just one of these persons absolute and exclusive rights to that land. Women are unable to claim ownership rights to land during the time of transition because their access rights are generally indirect and often dependent on a male relative. The increasing proportion of female-headed households in rural communities means that many families are left landless. As markets in land increase, richer women may be able to purchase land on their own which means the divide will grow between the rich and the poor. This is a common feature of the privatisation process (Lastarria-Cornhiel 2001).

The privatisation of grazing land is most clearly seen in Kenya where colonial policies and interventions led to the establishment of group ranches. In the south of the country these ranches have since been divided into individual land holdings. At the time of subdivision 99 per cent of the members of group ranches were men, and women were expected to gain rights to land through their spouses. During the division of the ranches to individual plots women had no forum to pursue and articulate their interests and claims, and men were provided with the title deeds. Though some married women favoured subdivision on several grounds: inheritance for children, land ownership and freedom to conduct independent decisions, others were aware of how subdivision restricted access to grazing and a breakdown of shared life patterns. Women's usufruct rights under traditional systems were curtailed and they were unable to access land and secure loans. Now a woman is forced to obtain fuelwood from a finite source within the confines of her 'parcel' and longer routes have to be taken around fenced off areas to collect water (Joekes and Pointing 1991; Verma 2010; Mwangi 2007; Athoo 2002).

In Maasai communities close to Nairobi (e.g. Kitengela) there are exceptionally high rates of male-out-migration in the area, and these have had a profound impact on gender relations. Women are often left as 'de facto' heads of their households but without decision-making power and a voice in community discussions (Verma 2010).

In the crop producing highlands of Ethiopia, it is said that women have benefited from the certification schemes that have taken place (see above). However, as previously mentioned, there remains a formal tenure vacuum in most pastoral areas. In some parts land allocations have taken place informally in order to divide rangelands into individual grazing enclosures. In Harshin District, Somali Region for example a scramble to privatise grazing land has taken place. In general women have not been included in this land-grabbing: only in those communities where the clan has more formally divided the rangeland between its members. Even here, only widows with children have been allocated land and those without children or were unmarried were not included in the distribution. There are also incidences of men marrying more wives in order to access a greater number of parcels of land: the size of the family influenced the amount of land allocated during the more formal distributions. Once the land had been allocated some of these men then divorced their wives who were then left home/land-less (Flintan et al 2011).

Though initiatives such as individual enclosures have had some positive impacts for those households and individuals that have established them (including providing opportunities for hay making, fattening of livestock and use of the resources as a drought reserve) they have contributed to the growth of individualism and privatisation of rangeland resources and the further fragmentation of the rangelands. This has increased pastoralists' dependency on external support and thus increased their vulnerability. In Harshin at the height of the 2011 drought for example pastoralists purchased 2000 litres of water per month per shoa. At a price of 120 Ethiopian Birr (around US\$7) per barrel of water (25 litres?) and 500 Birr (US\$20) for a bundle of crop residue only the well-off could afford to do so. The rest were highly dependent upon water tankering activities of NGOs and government (Bekele 2011).

Initiatives supported by NGOs such as haymaking can also be problematic. Such activities demand women's time already under pressure; often the hay is spoilt due to unpredicted rains; and if households have to move the hay has to be left behind (Ethiopia – Ridgewell et al 2007). Where enclosures have been set up for livestock, women's workload also increases. Such enclosures contribute to more sedentarised livelihood practices, restricting mobility so making it more difficult to find feed in the dry seasons. As one woman in Harshin stated:

Land enclosures are a curse on the community (Oumer 2007).

Privatisation of water

Women can be hard hit by changing climates and for example, increased incidences of drought. Often they travel long distances to find water for household needs making

them vulnerable to attack including rape – a risk that may have increased in recent times.⁶ They may also have to carry water for crops and livestock.

There is nothing that we pastoral women do not do.....the entire task from cooking to building huts waits for us.....I spent most of my time looking for water. Especially during severe droughts I wake up very early in the morning, around 2:00a.m, to fetch water. I reach the water source after traveling long distance tired and exhausted. And there I have to queue waiting for my turn. It is already about mid-day when I get back to my village. There the usual chores wait for me that I should carry out during the rest of the day...” (Pastoral woman from Arero, Ethiopia in FSS/Cordaid 2009).

A quick solution to this problem is the provision of water points and storage tanks. This can have a direct positive impact on women’s workload and health, as well as that of the household. However the establishment of water points can also contribute to the overall privatisation of rangeland resources: owners of water points are increasingly likely to charge for use of water whereas in the past water would have been a shared, communal resource. Though water infrastructure may be provided with the proviso that the water is used for domestic use, often the water is used for livestock too contributing to larger numbers of livestock being kept around settlements with likely knock-on negative impacts on local rangeland productivity (Flintan et al 2011).

Those who do not have their own water points may only be able to access water by paying for it. This has placed a pressure on women to access cash either independently through income generation activities or from their husbands so increasing their reliance on them. Alternative activities such as the provision of donkeys to carry water have reduced the time and effort taken for women to collect water (Ethiopia – Acacia Consultants Ltd 2005) and may be a more effective support than the building of more water points in pastoral areas.

Further in some parts the provision of water points for livestock have also been developed, often without due attention to their long-term negative impacts on rangeland management and livestock production (Flintan et al 2011). As such the provision of more water points may not be the answer to improving rangeland and livestock productivity and in many cases can disrupt rangeland management practices and effectively the productiveness of rangelands in the long term.

⁶ Violence and insecurity in Karamoja is not limited to raiding. The tension and fear created by the constant presence of ‘enemies’ affects all aspects of life, including livelihood strategies, and brings specific risks for women. Bokora and Matheniko women and girls are fearful of going out to collect natural resources, and reported that women and girls are raped and sexually assaulted by enemy men. Some of the sexual assault victims are murdered and left in the bush. Most women interviewed reported hearing of a rape several times a month, with murders of women or girls occurring once or twice every few months. The perpetrators may be raiding parties, scouting parties, or simply groups of marauders from enemy or allied groups...Most said that regardless of having suffered the attack and the continuing danger, they had to go back the next day to collect resources in order to survive (Sites et al 2007: 59).

Privatisation and reduced access to other resources

As land has become privatised/individualised so too have resources on that land. Women are often secondary users of land and therefore are hard-hit when new owners prevent access. Interventions that help increase the value of resources through commercialisation for example, can encourage privatisation of resources and the limiting of access to only those who belong to the management or business/marketing group (Flintan 2010; Nduma et al 2000). In Kenya for example, NGO support for commercialised fodder production along riverine areas has been targeted exclusively at men – not only has this meant that women have missed out from the benefits of such trade but the now limited access to these riverine areas has meant that women are no longer able to access previously common resources such as grasses, required for hut building and other purposes (VSF-Suisse 2011).

Alternatively, the exploitation of resources such as NTFPs (non-timber forest products) including aloe vera, gums and resins offer great potential for income generation and supplementation of pastoral livelihoods. In Kenya for example, the trade is well developed and products produced in pastoral areas are found on supermarket shelves in Nairobi and elsewhere. Opportunities for growing plants/trees domestically are also being explored. Issues of Fair Trade and/or Good Harvesting Practice can be considered and the products (assuming they comply) can be marketed under these banners, often then being able to access lucrative niche markets (Flintan 2007).

In an attempt to protect remaining resources from over-exploitation some women have set up self-help groups to assist management of resources and put in place rules and regulations controlling use of some of natural resources that they depend upon (Ethiopia – UNCCD 2007).

Impact on social systems

The privatisation and individualisation of common property resources can have significant negative impacts on pastoral social systems with knock-on repercussions for the productivity of pastoralism and rangelands. Social networks are central to food redistribution across households in all wealth groups with women particularly responsible (Foley et al 2010). Without these networks poorer members of the community are more vulnerable and in particular in times of crisis. For example, in Harshin, Ethiopia, it has been shown that although overall food availability is not a problem, household access to food is. Though traditionally there was a strong culture of sharing in Somali society, this is becoming less common. Due to the enclosing of land described above, the sharing of grazing resources rarely occurs now in those villages that have divided up the rangelands, and where it does it tends to be on the basis of a formal agreement between neighbours and/or relatives rather than through community arrangements. This is having a direct impact on general food security of the communities (Flintan et al 2011).

A further problem is that in order to access resources, men from outside these communities have arranged marriages of convenience with local women and girls in order to gain access to land and forest resources: often the more wives the larger the allocation. After staying for a short period of time they will move away to another location without informing their wives and often leaving them with children to care for. In some cases the women are divorced – they have served their purpose. In Somali society an unmarried mother is stigmatised and in many cases they are forced to move away and will be subjected to various social, economical and cultural problems (Oumer 2007). Other social problems include an increased prevalence of men sitting around chewing *khat* whilst women and children look after the animals in the enclosures (Haggman 2006).

3.4 Future scenarios and recommendations

Trends of land use change in pastoral areas are set to continue. This is likely to mean increased responsibilities and workloads for women but greater opportunities for raising their incomes. The benefits of this will only be realised if women have secure access to land and other resources/assets. The security that women had in the past under customary tenure practices is reducing as customary institutions weaken, and there is little formal tenure security to take its place. Where land tenure has been formalised, though policy and legislation promotes gender equity, in reality women often lose out being unable to negotiate on an unlevel playing field and access fair treatment. As a result women are in danger of ‘falling between two stools’ – customary institutions and that of government/legal systems (Odoko and Levine 2009; Flintan 2010).

WFP data shows that in drylands the more food secure households generally have more animals; these households are not only wealthier, but also have greater reliance on own-production and can smooth consumption and weather shocks through the sale of animals when necessary. Purchased food items, particularly grains, form an important part of the diet of many households during at least some part of the year, and improving access to these food sources will also help to bolster food security at the household level (Uganda – Stites et al 2007: 74). Food security in pastoral areas is being challenged by the reduction in household holdings of livestock and livestock products – agriculture is a poor replacement as production is reliant on highly variable rainfall, which often fails. This means women have less access to such as milk, which they rely upon for household, cultural and economic needs. Rangeland degradation further reduces milk production and access to rangeland products, which otherwise could be used to supplement diets. In Borana there are examples of women returning non-producing agricultural land (due to lack of rainfall) to grazing land, which they rent out (Ethiopia – Steglich and Bekele 2009).

The privatisation and individualisation of rangeland resources including grazing and water has meant that fences and barriers to movement have increased and access to private lands been challenged. This means women’s secondary use of land has been curtailed and/or prevented altogether. Fuelwood and water may now need to be collected from further away, or purchased – requiring cash. As pressures on pastoral systems increases women in particular are looking for ways to diversify incomes. Often they will

rely on the exploitation of natural resources to do this. In order to optimise the benefits of such exploitation and to reduce environmental degradation women require assistance in accessing fair prices, controlling use and access of resources, and developing mechanisms to ensure their sustainability. Reducing marketing chains, removing unnecessary middle-men and ensuring women have more control and power over the processes can contribute to this.

Emerging markets exist for many dryland products. Commercialisation of products needs care however: experience has shown that increasing the value of a particular natural resource that was customarily accessed by several household members may result in the alienation of the resource to only a few. This can have the effect of magnifying gender imbalances in a given society (Mamo and Ridgewell 2007). It is recommended therefore that any commercialisation is based upon well researched gender-sensitive value chains, that take into account customary norms and values. Identifying ways to 'add value' can also improve incomes.

Though women may benefit from and increase in individual water points and enclosures, these may have a fundamentally negative impact on the pastoral system as a whole increasing rangeland fragmentation and contributing to the breakdown of communal social support mechanisms. Richer women and those with access to assets may be able to benefit from these processes but poorer women may lose out. This increases the divides between rich and poor.

NGOs and governmental organisations often fail to understand or account for the different ways that men and women experience changes in land use and access to resources. As a result many of the challenges that women (in particular) face remain unaddressed, and this contributes to the growth of inequities between men and women, rich and poor. Opportunities do exist for improving women's access to resources, income generation, and their empowerment through such as livelihood diversification – however in order to do this women need to be included in community planning processes and decisions over access to land and resources. Interventions need to take place in a gender-sensitive manner ensuring that the rights that women hold under customary systems are not undermined or overridden, and that social support networks remain strong: these are vital for overcoming drought and maintaining healthy pastoral systems. New and innovative ways for encouraging communal support mechanisms may need to be initiated as property and resources increasingly become individualised.

4.0 COMMERCIALISATION⁷ OF LIVESTOCK AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS

Increasingly livestock and livestock products are being commercialised as markets and market infrastructure improve, governments and development agencies encourage such processes, and pastoralists are drawn further into a monetary economy. Such processes affect men and women differently. Not least this is because women tend to focus more on household welfare and livestock's contribution to nutrition, and men more on economic production and income generation (Uganda – Esenu and Ossiya 2010). Men and women also have different abilities to access and use new information, opportunities and improved technologies. These differences may lead them to have different priorities regarding investments in the adoption of new practices and technologies (Kristjanson et al 2010). To date this has rather limited women's integration in the market economy, However with increasing pressures for diversification and new opportunities opening up, changes are occurring.

4.1 Livestock

Though the success of pastoralism as a production strategy has depended upon women's diverse economic roles (Hodgson 2000), it is only in recent years that women have played a more central role in livestock marketing. In the past this was perceived to be the role and responsibility of mainly men, and liberalisation, market integration and export orientation and diversification have led to a concentration of production resources by male individuals and constriction of access, control and ownership by women (Uganda – Esenu and Ossiya 2010).

As access to resources including land is becoming increasingly privatised and inputs need to be paid for, there is a greater need to raise cash from livestock sales. New social organisations are being established around marketing of livestock and production/accessing of fodder. Women in particular, are taking up new income generation activities including trading in livestock and livestock products (Kenya – Nunnow 2010; Ethiopia – FSS/Cordaid 2009). In northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia it has been shown that though men may own more, women own all types of livestock including cattle, and in some instances camels too. And they are increasingly involved in herding activities (McPeak et al 2012).

More and more livestock is being managed for commercial markets rather than subsistence, changing herding strategies and livestock preferences. As a result higher value fodder is sought to fatten animals; and cross-breeding and 'improving' of breeds is taking place. Communications and transport to deliver animals to markets are also being developed. However often such processes fail to include poorer pastoralists who are most negatively affected by the land use changes taking place being unable to join socially organised groups, buy their own plots of land or invest in improvement of livestock

⁷ In the pastoral context commercialisation can be understood as a distinct process that occurs when the monetary value of a product is taken into account during the production process itself rather than when commodities are sold out of sheer necessity.

production (Tana Delta, Kenya – Nunow 2010).

By owning assets, women gain power and authority in their households and communities and their risk of mistreatment is lessened (Flintan 2008). Livestock are an important asset for women because it is often easier for women to acquire livestock whether through inheritance, markets or collective action processes, than it is for them to purchase land or other physical assets, or to control related finances (Rubin et al 2010). Livestock is often more equitably divided than such as land (Flintan 2008). Small animals can be more readily converted into cash and easily managed (i.e. easier to feed and water).

However, the relative informality of livestock property rights can be disadvantageous to women when their ownership of animals is challenged (Kristjanson et al 2010). This can be the case when livestock and livestock products become more valuable through such as commercialisation. Men have greater control over marketing processes and decisions about which stock to sell and where. Though men may be happy to increase commercialisation of livestock, they may not be so keen on other commercial activities (Ethiopia – Devereux 2006). And though women may be more willing to try out new opportunities for livelihood diversification (showing a more entrepreneurial nature than men – Hodgson 2000) they may be restricted in their success due to a lack of secure access to assets including livestock and control over commercialisation processes, as well as the skills and knowledge to optimise market opportunities.

Male and female livestock farmers select and utilise different technologies based on their ownership, access and control of resources. Women are more likely to link innovations to indigenous knowledge. Women are more likely to select technologies that address household food security. However technology generation and dissemination are generally market-oriented (Uganda – Essenu and Ossiya 2010). This suggests that there is a gap in the design and generation of technologies that fulfill women's needs, including those that can assist with the achievement of household food security.

Livestock trading often involves movement across clan and international borders. A great deal of the East/Horn of Africa region's livestock is transported to ports in Somaliland and then on to the Middle East while other goods move in both directions. Most of those involved in this trade are middle-aged men although there have been a growing number of young men plus women of all ages joining the businesses (Umar & Baulch 2007). Women are in a very favourable position to capitalise on this aspect of business development, as they do not have a primary role in inter-clan conflicts. Animosity and violence between Somali clans for example is common and has been complicated by rivalries between Ethiopia and Somalia as well as the effective collapse of the Somali Republic since 1991. Men therefore find it difficult to cross clan boundaries and may be viewed with suspicion or even hostility if they do so. Women's roles as non-combatants and often peacemakers, gives them much greater freedom firstly to move into other clan territories and also to work with women from other clans to build business alliances. This opens up many possibilities. However restrictions still apply and such activities involve traveling far from home in a region well known for gender-based violence and restrictions on movement irrespective of clan allegiance (Oumer 2007).

4.1.1 Livestock marketing groups

A key intervention supported by government and NGOs has been the promotion and provision of support for the establishment of groups and cooperatives for livestock (and agricultural) marketing. There are two main types: one, cooperatives with the main purpose of marketing livestock (usually entirely made up of male members); and two, income generation groups (including savings and credit groups) which may later evolve into marketing cooperatives – these can have a more diverse focus than livestock marketing alone and are made up of mainly female members.

A comparison of these two groups (male livestock marketing groups and women's savings and credit groups that were also involved in livestock marketing) showed that in many aspects the women's groups were more sustainable and effective, despite the fact that they only dealt with relatively small numbers of animals. It was suggested that a primary reason for this was that the focus of the women's groups was more strongly linked to household food security and women's empowerment, whereas the men's marketing groups targeted commercial development – there was more incentive for success in the former than in the latter. Women were more content with smaller but steady incomes that contribute to household security. In addition, the women's groups promoted collective support and self-help – loans were facilitated between members and solidarity and group commitment were developed, seen in the willingness to pool resources to purchase livestock. These seem to be important steps in group development that are being missed by male-dominated livestock marketing groups, which were often fragmented, poorly organised and malfunctioning (Griffith 2008).

Establishing women's groups and cooperatives can be at odds with community values however. In Harshin, Somali region, Oxfam GB helped women set up marketing cooperatives (numbering six today). The women faced widespread opposition from community leaders, members, and even their own husbands and had to struggle for their independence and approval by proving their ability to manage the cooperatives and the benefits to the household and the community (e.g. provision of support during times of drought and building of a high school). Since then, the women have provided significant numbers of sheep and goats for restocking programmes (discussed more in Section 6.2.7) (Oxfam GB undated; Tessema undated).

In women-only groups, there may be pressure to include one or two men to take up positions that require literacy (Ethiopia – Tessema undated). However illiteracy need not be a problem as a study on groups in Kenya proved: the groups took pride in having detailed memorised knowledge of their constitutions, by-laws, philosophies and administrative and operational procedures (Coppock et al 2006).

In mixed-sex groups women members tend to be under-represented in leadership positions (Tessema undated). Mixed groups appear to work well for women, when there is a large female majority in the membership and when there is a supportive culture, recognising women's rights. Where these conditions do not apply, men can dominate women and tend to secure a greater proportion of the financial benefits. This

suggests that a delicate balance must be struck, in deciding whether or not to admit men to established women's groups (Uganda – Ruhindi and Livingstone 2009).

The establishment of women's income generation groups often goes hand-in-hand with savings and credit schemes. Women can find it particularly difficult to access credit through normal channels, so NGO-supported schemes offer important alternatives (Flintan 2007). Joining savings and credit groups may be the only way for many poor women to obtain sufficient resources to start up and profitably operate a livestock-related enterprise. In Borana Ethiopia and northern Kenya, it has been shown that female-headed households in particular derive significant financial benefits from women income-generating groups (Steglich and Bekele 2009). In Uganda, the availability of credit to livestock farmers has been shown to be a significant positive factor in enhancing food security in agro-pastoral households (Eseny and Ossiya undated).

As a result, many women have established individual or group businesses that purchase, process and trade in pastoral products like meat and milk, as well as other ventures including vegetables and handicrafts (Wabekbon Consultancy 2009; Kristjanson et al 2010). Across northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia, important lessons have been learnt from the experiences of GL-CRSP PARIMA. Here the development of group business plans, increased understanding of marketing chains, study visits, the development of support, and linkages with markets all contributed to over 25,000 heads of goats and sheep being sold over 12-18 months to two exporters. Though both men and women have been involved, women have emerged as the most innovative leaders (Desta et al 2006; Coppock et al 2006). Self-initiated groups tended to be more successful than those established by NGOs or government (northern Kenya – Coppock et al 2006). Forging new relationships among buyers and sellers, have been beneficial to jump-start the formation of marketing chains (Wabekbon Consultants 2009).

National and local governments have also supported women's group mobilisation. The Somali Women's Affairs office, Ethiopia and the Cooperative Promotion Bureau have been supporting the Somali Women Development Initiative (SWDI). Reportedly the initiative has had remarkable success in small-scale business development and empowering Somali women. The report document of The SWDI indicated the project is has benefited 391 poor pastoral women directly and more than 3000 family members indirectly (Ayalew 2006).

In Uganda the National Agricultural Advisory Service has been promoting animal marketing and husbandry in pastoral areas. Women also engage in horticulture and crop production, trading, honey, agro-processing such as grain milling, and firewood collection and charcoal production. New animal husbandry enterprises include bull-fattening (women's groups can buy a male cow and sell it close to twice the price after several months of fattening). Pig farming is particularly profitable in Central/Western Uganda, and has been supported by Danida, but it conflicts with the dietary restrictions of pastoral communities and the significant Muslim population. Poultry production is also

profitable, but has been discouraged as a result of avian flu fears⁸ (Ruhindi and Livingstone 2009).

Strong producer organisations can also play an important role in efficiently delivering veterinary services to poor livestock-keepers. For example, the Kenya Women's Veterinary Association has partnered with the government to develop the country's semi-arid and arid areas through improvements in livestock-keeping. By building capacity in livestock and disease management skills in local communities, the association has helped improve control of zoonoses and reduce the incidence of tick-borne diseases in cattle and Newcastle disease in poultry. An impact study carried out in 2007 (Kimani and Ngethe 2007) reports that the formation of women's groups has helped improve control of livestock diseases, particularly transboundary diseases (Kristjanson et al 2010).⁹

4.1.2 Capacity building

Livestock marketing is complicated and demands years of ongoing technical support (Griffith 2008). For women this may have to start with basic education in mathematics, reading and writing. In Kenya ongoing support in education and business development go hand-in-hand through Project Boabab where girls and women are practically supported and mentored in order to develop business plans and set up their own businesses (Kunhiya, personal communication in Flintan 2008). CARE Kenya too, under the ELMT programme, trained over 900 individuals, many of the women, in business development services (CARE Kenya 2010).

Women also require assistance in livestock marketing – a concept that may be entirely new to them. In Somali region Ethiopia, IRC has been providing capacity building for the Somali Women Development Initiative (mentioned above) including training in livestock-related issues and awareness raising on markets and other business opportunities, organisational and business management; agro-processing; livestock marketing; and small scale industry management. And in Harshin, Oxfam GB has provided training on small-scale business development, bylaw development and personnel management (in conjunction with the government's Cooperative Office), as part of their support for developing cooperatives. Oxfam also helped the members through the laborious registration process. Exchange/learning visits with other communities created opportunities for new ideas as well as enhancing their own capabilities as well as that of their community (Wabekbon Consultants 2009).

⁸ Women are also involved in shopkeeping, hairdressing/beauty saloons, wedding services, hotel/lodging, tailoring and knitting. The establishment of local vocational, secondary and tertiary educational and training institutions, with significant numbers of students, has provided opportunities for women to set up businesses supplying food and snacks to students. A range of businesses have sprung up around these institutions – video shops, hairdressers, fashionable clothes stores, stationeries, and pool (billiards) “joints”. In general, women, as entrepreneurs and as employees, are well represented in this new service sector – so any efforts to promote the service sector, and the establishment of new public institutions in pastoral areas, will tend to promote women's economic empowerment.

⁹ However the recent restrictions placed on community animal health workers in Kenya have meant women may find it more difficult to access affordable veterinary care.

Innovative approaches for learning include *pastoral field schools* (PFSs) (for example in Somali region, Ethiopia supported by Oxfam GB). Here knowledge is transferred through example and 'doing'. Topics include animal feed conservation and silage preparation, animal fattening, livestock marketing, livestock disease prevention and management, traditional livestock disease management practices, and water and natural resource management. In addition to these, family planning issues, conflict resolution, discussions on ways to reduce *khat* and cigarette addiction, and fund raising for participants are also discussed. The total number of participants in a given PFS is 40 and out of this approximately 70-85% are women (Hailemariam 2011). In Uganda too farmer field schools have been an excellent platform for reducing gender-based violence (Okoth et al 2010). Other innovations include mobile outreach camps supported by FARM Africa in Afar where extension staff base themselves in temporary camps close to settlements (IIRR 2004).

4.2 Milk

In the Horn and East of Africa pastoral women tend to be responsible for milking animals and for the use of the milk.¹⁰ Milk can also be sold: it may also be traded for labour or to build goodwill and reputation with a woman's female friends and relatives. In the dry season in particular, there can be a conflict between leaving sufficient milk for young animals, and taking some for household needs. In times of food scarcity, it may be the case that given the opportunity a woman will leave young animals with insufficient milk in order to keep children healthy. This may cause disagreement with her husband, seeking to maintain the health of the herd.

It can be argued that calorific requirements can be better served by selling milk rather than by drinking it. About three kilograms of milk are required to support a man for one day, but at an exchange rate of 1:3:5 (by weight) one kilogram of milk will buy enough grain to support nearly five men (Holden et al 1991). In addition as households increasingly require cash for purchase of now privatised rangeland resources, there is more pressure on households/women to sell milk and/or butter or ghee.

Where and when milk is available its sale is becoming more commercialised, despite the challenges of accessing markets. Women in northern parts of Kenya can walk over eight hours to take milk to markets: here women accounted for 90% of individual traders (Wabekbon 2009). In Borana, Ethiopia some families set up contracts guaranteeing a regular supply of milk for their clients. In some of the more settled

¹⁰ Milk products (butter, ghee and hard cheese) are particularly good source of energy and the fat soluble vitamins contained in milk. Cheese and yogurt are also a good source of protein and other micronutrients such as calcium and phosphorous. The extent to which, pastoralists depend on milk versus other animal products has been attributed to an efficiency of energy production, as well as the availability of grazing. Milk is available daily during certain seasons, meat only sporadically; and it allows a system, which provides subsistence for more people per unit area than any other arid zone production method. In parts of Eastern Africa, pastoralists can survive exclusively on milk because the double rainfall allows year round milking (Sadler et al 2009).

villages (*ollas*), the women sometimes sell milk and yoghurt to passing cars during the long rainy season. Though the price is cheap (ETB 0.50 for a cup) it is a welcome income (IIRR 2004). The contribution of such incomes, though small, may be of critical importance in times when food production does not suffice to satisfy energy requirements (i.e. during dry seasons) (Nori et al 2006).

Where a strong market value for milk and/or dairy products is established, women's roles in dairying may be enhanced and their labour refocused on marketing rather than production (Kristjanson et al 2010). Women have developed ways of better marketing milk by working together and pooling resources. Women can use existing transport linkages to get the milk to markets: in both Somali region and in Borana, Ethiopia women assign trucks drivers to take the milk to nearby towns on a daily basis. On the following day the truck drivers return with the empty containers, cash raised and/or grocery orders placed by the women. Cooperatives have been established to manage these transactions (Ridgewell and Flintan 2007). In Kenya, CARE supported women to improve the storage of milk and its' marketing (CARE Kenya 2010).

In northern Kenya too traders collect milk from watering points, individual pastoralists or brokers/middlemen. Prices of milk vary from place to place being lowest in far off collection points and high near rural centres. Milk prices also vary by seasons, Milk is transported by donkey cart – the further transported the higher the cost. This implies that as distance from the market town increases, the price per litre of milk at the farm gate goes down (Wabekbon 2009). In Kajiado, women have developed the Ololeilai Women Milk Supply Group and they sell pooled milk to Kenya Creameries Company (KCC). Today the group has over 100 women members. The dairy board of Kenya trained the women on milk products management and handling. Additionally the women have learnt basic bookkeeping so they can keep records of how much milk is delivered to KCC. Helen Nkaiseri, one of the local women leaders explains:

This is an action admired by our husbands, our leaders and even the government and the Ministry of Livestock and we are the only women group supplying a larger amount of milk to KCC. I want our women to know that we can fight poverty, time has come where nothing is for free, you have to wake up do things for ourselves. We must improve our lives and economy as women.

Usually women are able to maintain control of the income raised from selling milk and milk products and are likely to spend it on household needs (Ethiopia - Gemtessa et al 2005; Tessema undated). However this may not always be the case as Brockington (2001: 310-11) describes: though Maasai women have control over milk the control over the income may be "*continually negotiated and contested.*" As such any new patterns of trade and change are to some extent dependent of its impact on the autonomy and interdependence between men and women in general.

Evidence from dairy farming in East Africa shows that where and which milk is sold can determine whether women manage the milk income or not. Women have greater control over the evening milk than the morning milk. Formalising milk markets through member-based collection centres and cooperatives can in some instances lead to

women losing their income from milk. Evidence shows that women manage more income from milk sold at local markets and to neighbours and mobile traders than they do from milk sold to collection centres or chilling plants. A survey of households in Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda showed that women received dairy income in 35% of the households that sold milk to individual traders but in only 16% of households that sold milk to collection centres (EADD 2008).

4.3 Skins and hides

In the pastoral societies of Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda most livestock are sold live e.g. for export, and therefore there are few opportunities to make use of livestock products such as skins and hides. However as local markets for meat increase, there is likely to be increasing opportunities for pastoral communities to benefit from these products.

In Harshin District, Ethiopia Oxfam GB has been supporting the development of small-scale businesses to improve the livelihoods of pastoralists. Progress has been made in livestock and livestock product marketing including curing hides, drying and preserving meat and fattening/marketing of livestock through the development of women's cooperatives (described above). By 2005 the cooperatives had supplied 2,320 pieces of hide to the Hargeysa market, for a substantial profit with a further 1000 hides ready for marketing in 2009 (Wabekbon Consultants 2009).

The sale of hides and skins is more common in Kenya. While males overall are the ones most likely to earn income from their sale, a few wives and female heads of households routinely participate in these activities (northern Kenya – McPeak et al 2012).

4.4 Impacts of commercialisation of livestock and livestock products

The impacts of livestock commercialisation on women, men and gender relations differ from community to community depending upon local contexts including socio-economics and the already existing gender relations. It also depends upon the degree to which other opportunities for income generation and livelihood development exist; as well as access to assets, skills and networks.

In Teso, northern Uganda, it has been shown that as pastoral communities became more agropastoral, with accompanying processes of liberalisation, market integration and export orientation and diversification, there is a concentration of production resources by male individuals and constriction of access, control and ownership by women. Macro-policies such as liberalisation, privatisation, urban centric agro-processing and markets and crop-focused infrastructure marginalise agro-pastoral female livestock farmers limiting their opportunities for market integration. These policies have also led to increased male dominance over traditional 'female' livestock commodities, such as poultry that have gained market relevance and value. As a result agro-pastoral women here continue to have a greater dependence on subsistence rather than market integration (Essenu and Ossiya 2010).

In other parts of the region however women appear to have had more success in the new marketing and commercialisation opportunities arising: this is particularly the case where women have worked together benefiting from 'group power'. Women are working collectively towards a common goal, building solidarity and support networks that support their endeavours (Wabekbon Consultants 2009). Membership in such groups enables women to overcome many of the legal hurdles that they face as well as more effectively lobby government departments and other decision-making agencies affecting their livelihoods (Kristjanson et al 2010).

Though the development of such groups may have clear impacts in terms of meeting welfare needs and increasing access to more productive resources, it can be more challenging to achieve the more strategic needs of women. This was a situation experienced by Oxfam GB Uganda where support provided clear economic benefits but strategic benefits were more difficult to identify both by the women themselves and by Oxfam (2004). Nevertheless it is suggested that involvement in such groups and greater access to monetary income have increased confidence and self-esteem (Steglich and Bekele 2009; Oumer et al 2007); women's position and status in local communities (Oxfam GB Ethiopia 2011; Oumer et al 2007); financial independence (Griffith 2008); control over assets (Griffith 2008); and a greater say in both household and community decision-making processes (Oxfam GB Ethiopia 2011; Gemtessa et al 2005). In some cases NGOs have deliberately tried to challenge gender-related cultural norms by providing women with livestock rather than men (Cordaid 2009). Again, though such actions may provide women with greater opportunities for economic gain, the impacts on their empowerment have not been clearly ascertained.

In Harshin, women describe a behavior change in their husbands due to the increased role of women in marketing of livestock. Men, who were initially skeptical, often became convinced of the benefits of their wives' participation. Some men who forbade their wives from participating regretted their decisions on seeing how others were benefiting. Additional benefits reported include greater exposure to towns, increased experience with banks and financial services, and the chance to provide a service to the community. One WSCG near the town of Yabelo in Borana said they now feel confident traveling into the town and approaching NGOs or government in pursuit of assistance in dealing with a problem affecting their community. Many women expressed appreciation for the trainings and awareness creation made possible by the intervention. Most of these women are illiterate, with little to no formal education experience. When describing the trainings and their increased awareness, they often make positive analogies, like "it was like we had our eyes closed and now we can see," or "it was like we were children [financially speaking], and through the trainings the NGO is bringing us up." Such appreciation and recognition of the value of awareness is a particularly encouraging sign in a capacity building intervention (Griffith 2008).

Men's reactions to such gains may not always be positive however. Men can feel threatened by women's increasing economic power (Somalia – Kandagor 2005). In some communities such changes have generated debate and discussion. One elderly man spoke for many of his generation at a workshop when he asserted that women should

maintain traditional roles, and cited a Somali proverb: "*Hooyadu mar waa dabaakh, mar waa doobi, mar waa daabad, marna waa furaash*" (A mother's function is to cook, launder, nurture and be a wife to her husband). This view is based in part on tradition but also the frustration that many men feel when not being able to support their families as custom prescribes (Oumer et al 2007).

More involvement in marketing of livestock and livestock products has increased women's workload. This may have a detrimental impact on roles within the home. Young daughters often have to fulfill the role of their mother, so that they in turn are unable to attend school. However these days working is not a matter of choice for women so they must endure these hardships. Despite this most women seem to be of the opinion that even those in families with a male household head earning a secure livelihood should have the right to earn a living themselves if they want to (ibid).

Women's increasing control over income can have a detrimental impact on men's self-esteem and confidence. They are no longer the 'sole provider' for the household. As a result many just 'give up' and leave the responsibilities to their wives. In Somali region where women are highly involved in business, many men rather sit with their fellows and chew *khat* than carry out menial and labourious jobs, considered to be 'women's work' (in Oumer et al 2007). While the future might be brighter for women and their daughters, without also addressing the concerns of Somali men and their sons the positive position of women may well be compromised (Devereux 2006).

It has also been shown that where a man may consider his wife's income is adequate for household needs, he may withdraw his own contribution. As such it is said that women have only won the 'freedom to be poor' (Robertson 1995 cited in Brockington 2001). As Brockington (ibid) discusses the extent of dependence upon women and the extent of their independence in using their income as they wish is the product of delicate negotiations and power play. Indeed, a husband may try to take over his wife's business as it becomes more successful – where marketing leads pastoralists to shift from large to small stock (which can have overall higher market value) women may be pushed out of the management and trade (Kristjanson et al 2010).

Commercialisation processes are also contributing to significant changes in what were communal, reciprocal societies (as mentioned in the Section 3.0). As people get more involved in a monetary-based economy more individualistic attitudes are surfacing and competition over a reducing resource base is increasing. In Karamoja, Uganda raiding has become increasingly commercialised and today, is normally carried out through individual or non-customary decision-making, ruthless and rule-less in action (Stites et al 2007). The increasing commercialisation of the livestock sector as a whole has contributed to this.¹¹

¹¹ Today in Karamoja commercial motives underpin many raids. In a commercial raid, cattle are not retained by the warrior or his family but are sold or bartered as quickly as possible for goods, food, cash or weapons. Commercial raiding takes place not at the order and oversight of seers and elders, but by young warriors, often as a means for personal gain or at the behest of shop keepers, livestock agents and politicians. Asked what motivates raids and the quick turn-around of cattle for monetary gain, a group of

Working together as cooperatives and groups goes some way to mitigating such impacts. Milk, for example, is a traditional product, produced and consumed within a clear set of cultural rules. The creation of markets challenges these social norms and provides new opportunities, however it can also result in restrictions. These norms surrounding milk are being renegotiated, both implicitly and explicitly, as households face the costs and benefits of these new opportunities (McPeak 2006).

4.5 Constraints to marketing livestock and livestock products

Access to livestock and livestock products for sale highly depends upon household and gender relations. There is a tendency for development interventions to recognise men alone as herd owners and decision-makers, and to work with them and not women, on marketing of livestock. Amongst Boran pastoralists in northern Kenya this has enabled men to take over nearly all the activities associated with livestock marketing. Women complained about their exclusion especially as they believe that livestock marketing is much more profitable than the petty trading that had been targeted at them. They felt that the customary roles of men should not block their access particularly when interventions are coming from outside the community (Wabekbon Consultants 2009).

Establishing cooperatives is challenging (IIRR 2004; Desta et al 2006; Flintan 2007). As a result cooperatives are often plagued by financial problems including debt and corruption. Consensus is difficult to reach amongst a diverse group of members: there can also be disparity in power between men and women, and the reluctance of women to become members of coops where the majority of members are men (IIRR 2004: 83). Often both men and women need support in improving their capacity to work as a cooperative and to manage them properly including leadership skills.

Though some exceptions have been mentioned above, unlike their husbands, women are less likely to be given training in modern small-business management, product processing and marketing. As result, they are unable to analyse profit-margins, and lack information on record keeping, communications services, access to appropriate equipment and facilities in marketplaces (e.g., cold storage, stalls) and understanding or predicting market trends. A higher illiteracy rate¹² amongst women also constrains them and leaves pastoralist women vulnerable to exploitative middlemen (Wabekbon

youth at a kraal explained: *It is motivated by hunger. There is nothing to eat. And we are born here in this bush so we don't know how to grow food! We grow up and find that our father has no animals. He will suffer. And what will we eat? So you look for wild fruit until you are tired and then you decide, 'let me raid even if I die.'* Right now, even if I go to town, there is no one who will give me food [in the absence of cash or something to trade]. You just starve until you have the temptation to steal. This is why they say 'the boys are bad,' but it is the starvation of the old people and the children that leads us to raid (Stites et al 2007: 61). Also men are encouraged by mothers to bring large numbers of livestock as bridewealth for their daughters.

¹² For example in Khalalio in Mandera 96.5% of women and 89.5% of men in Khalalio in Mandera did not attend school and only 8.6% of women and 11% of men can read and write (Omolo 2010). And in Teso, Uganda (an agro-pastoral area), 50% of female livestock farmers had no formal education compared to only 17% of men (Essenu and Ossiya undated).

Consultants 2009). Women usually cannot travel far: anything further than 40km can be considered more than a day's walk and therefore beyond the ability of many women (Little 2001). There is a need for local traders and pastoral groups to organise themselves into larger marketing associations or cooperative unions, which would place them in a better negotiating position (Ethiopia – Desta et al 2006).

Ndungu et al (2004) found that Kenyan women pastoralists pay more for information as individuals than do men —whether for livestock extension materials, for animal-disease warnings or for livestock market updates. Particularly in the informal economy, groups of women producers are better able than individuals to access information and services. Clusters and networks of women can access resources more cheaply as well as more easily than can individuals. Groups of women entrepreneurs requiring the same service are usually in a better negotiating position with potential suppliers or can bargain more effectively with buyers than they could alone. However 'external' decisions such as the banning of CAHWs in Kenya, is likely to have negative impacts on women's access to services such as veterinary care.

Lack of access to credit and productive assets limits women's opportunities to develop commercial enterprises: few women own land; there is often a need for husband's signatures in order to get a loan; loans are often of a small size so there is not enough to build capital equipment; and incomes are usually seasonal but repayments are demanded on a weekly or monthly basis. Banks may only give loans to the politically connected. Male service providers can limit women's use of inputs e.g. veterinary services.

Major challenges to women's business development include: lack of start-up capital; regulations and bureaucracy in non local languages; lack of knowledge about market information, middlemen and marketing chains; and production in small amounts which makes marketing in cities where prices are higher, unviable (Esenu and Ossiya 2010; Field 2009). High market dues and multiple taxation; poor post-harvest storage; distance and lack of means of transport are further constraints in Uganda (Esenu and Ossiya 2010). In Harshin, Ethiopia, marketing is challenged by high vulnerability to changes in market prices and the difficulties of cross-border trade (restricted by government). However the greatest problem is their increased requirement for water for rising livestock numbers: and for some cooperatives unable to pay the cost of purchasing water this has limited the number of livestock they can hold (Oxfam GB undated). Conflict and migration due to drought also restrict the functioning of women's groups.

Milk marketing offers great potential for women. However, milk is highly perishable, and yoghurt goes sour after several days. If there are no buyers then women have no choice but to give unsold stocks to their families before they spoil. Increasingly town dwellers rely on powdered/dried milk. The lack of milk processing and storage facilities means that the milk that cannot be sold is wasted (if not returned to the household – only possible in some cases) (Gemtessa et al 2005). Further challenges experienced in northern Kenya are described in Field (2009). Milk marketing tends to occur on a small

basis with high transaction costs due in part to the remoteness of many pastoral areas (Wabekbon Consultants 2009). It is rare for milk production and marketing to be more than a micro-enterprise.

The reduction in livestock numbers due to such as shifts to agricultural production, loss or degradation of grazing areas, and/or drought has meant that in many pastoral areas there is rarely a surplus of milk to sell. For example in Dhas *woreda*, Borana over the last ten years, rangeland productivity has declined reflected in the reduction of the daily milk yield from about four litres to 0.75 litres per cow. The decline in milk yield is apparently severe in that many of the pastoral communities do not get milk for consumption during dry seasons and some cows do not even produce enough for calves (Gemtessa et al 2005).

Men may prefer to see milk kept for the herd than sold and can ensure that women's access to the herd is limited (McPeak and Doss 2006). Research in northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia showed that men deliberately resisted increased marketing activities by their wives by moving further away from towns (McPeak et al 2012). Women's status is closely connected with their ability to provide milk and its scarcity is not only material deprivation, it can also make women feel intimidated and socially inferior.

Nevertheless there is still scope for improving the marketing of milk and milk products. With the exceptions of a few examples (some described above) few development interventions have focused on milk – this has been a missed opportunity. As Hodgson (1999) states for the Maasai: a significant failure of development schemes in Maasailand was that they ignored milk products.

4.6 Future scenarios and recommendations

Commercialisation of pastoral livestock and livestock products is growing. Many new opportunities are opening-up for improving the sale and marketing practices of livestock within pastoral and agro-pastoral societies (Ethiopia – Bekele 2011; Wabekon Consultancy 2009). Throughout Horn and East Africa meat demand will increase, and as a result local markets and traders are becoming more pro-active in seeking local suppliers. Experimental use of camel bone as 'false ivory' is one of the new innovations occurring (Field 2009). Cross-border trade is being formalised with greater investment from governments to facilitate it. The migratory nature of pastoralism can make it difficult to access a regular market. However as pastoralists become more sedentary, there are likely to be more opportunities to trade. Indeed, as small towns have grown in pastoral areas, so too have women's opportunities to sell milk (McPeak 2006).

As described above women and men experience commercialisation differently having different needs, priorities and access to assets, knowledge, skills, and opportunities. A key distinction is that women tend to have greater concern for household welfare than men, and this is reflected in decisions that women make about livestock marketing and their participation in it. This has also enabled men to dominate markets that have been geared towards demands of buyers, and concentrate marketable assets in their hands.

Generally new technology and its dissemination have been market-oriented. As the market value of livestock increases and trade grows, women's rights of ownership may be lost and their access to milk diminished (Sikana et al 1993).

More mobile pastoral women are likely to have different needs and priorities, and opportunities than more sedentarised women. Interventions that aim to support them need to take this into account. Mobile processing machinery and collection points might be more appropriate for example. The premise of the support should be that it is *mobile* and *flexible* (Watson 2011).

Development actors that have supported men in this approach may have contributed to the marginalisation of women from such processes including the conflicts that have arisen between men and women, and the lack of investment in improving livestock production for household requirements including such as milk production. In order to increase food security in pastoral communities, it is vital that more effort is placed on identifying how livestock production can be best improved both for household and women's needs and priorities, as well as for commercialisation. The challenges that women in particular face need to be identified and ways to overcome them developed with local communities. It is vital that men as well as women are involved in such discussions to ensure their support, and that they are not marginalised in the process.

As livestock marketing increases new social organisations are being created. Ensuring the sustainability of such organisations can be challenging and important lessons have been learnt (and described above) comparing the experiences of women's income generating groups involved in livestock marketing, and more formal livestock marketing cooperatives often dominated by men. Often women's income generating groups have had greater success in the long term in developing trade and mechanisms for controlling it. Capacity building and technical support is highly important however and is required on a long-term basis as the groups develop. For women this may have to start with basic literacy and numeracy skills; innovative approaches such as pastoral field schools can offer new and practical learning forums. However, the development of such groups can be challenging amongst more mobile communities who may have particular priorities and needs – often these are not fully addressed within supporting interventions.

Ongoing socio-political change, including the promotion of women's rights, creates an enabling environment in which women's income generation groups and cooperatives play a crucial role in bringing about tangible benefits. It has been suggested that agencies (supporting such initiatives) should create more transparency in project implementation and foster continued peer-learning mechanisms amongst agencies to improve their support. A policy learning dialogue with respective government agencies can help to overcome the often too mechanistic administration of cooperative promotion that jeopardises the establishment of strong, self-reliant, and accountable women's groups (Steglich and Bekele 2009).

If handled appropriately in a gender-sensitive manner, the commercialisation of livestock

(cattle as well as sheep and goats) and livestock products (including milk from camels¹³) can bring advantages for both women and men. In many cases women are better positioned to get involved in trading, being more willing and able to work together in cooperatives and across societal divides such as different clans. Where women have been involved in commercialisation processes they have realised economic benefits, which it is said, has led to increases in women's status, access to and role in decision-making processes, and in their confidence and self-esteem. However, clear improvements in empowerment are difficult to measure and few NGOs have spent time developing appropriate indicators. As such 'improvements in empowerment' are often based more on hear-say rather than any clear indications and evidence of change.

Businesses run by women tend to remain small. Though women may be content (at least for the time being) with receiving fewer non-tangible benefits derived from such as group membership) this should not be interpreted as a shortcoming. In fact, women explain that they regard their empowerment and newly gained knowledge as the basis for present and future success in small enterprise (Desta et al 2006b). Micro-enterprises tend to have little significant impact on household and community livelihood security, nor on women's empowerment. Upscaling such enterprises is highly challenging, though not impossible with the right support.¹⁴ At the same time implications on such as women's workload need to be better understood, recognised and accounted for.

Socio-political change can also generate challenges for pastoral households. With more children going to school in general, there is more work for both women and men.¹⁵ A women's group in Lwemiyaga, Uganda for example, commented on the difficult trade-off between increased participation in schooling by local children and decline in the availability of children's labour for household production. The women understand that sending children to school brings long-term benefits for their children and for themselves, but they must absorb the consequent loss of labour and income. Given that

¹³ Camel milk provides an important source of sustenance and income for women in pastoral families. In Somali region Ethiopia out of the total camel milk produced by a household, up to 60% is traded. Camel milk has found new markets in the major urban areas, as more and more Somali move to an urban livelihood. Camel milk can last for three days, and is thus transportable over considerable distances. Camel milk is transported to Somaliland from Jigjiga zone and the northern parts of the Somali Region, as well as to the large towns within the region. Somali women practice a collective milk marketing institution called '*hagbad*' where a member receives a specific amount of milk on a rotational basis to benefit from the sale (Bekele 2011).

¹⁴ Some relative successes include milk cooling and processing including pasteurising, flavouring and making into cheese and yoghurt. Some of the region's important investors include "Alpha" in Uganda, "Brookside" in Kenya and a German-owned enterprise that packages camel milk for sale in Kenya's "Nakumatt" supermarket chain. The Nyakahita Women's Group in pastoral western Uganda packages ghee and sells its product to the "Uchumi" supermarket chain. Congolese and Burundian cheeses sell well in Ugandan supermarkets, and now have local competitors (Ruhindi and Livingstone 2009). The majority of these enterprises face challenges in both supply and sales however.

¹⁵ In areas where livestock is becoming a less central part of livelihoods systems there is less need for keeping children/youth at home for herding purposes. However in such as Karamoja, the schooling that they provide may not bring pastoral children many advantages. Though they might receive free school lunches whilst attending school, the schooling they receive is often of poor quality (Karamoja Uganda – Stites et al 2007).

under Uganda's UPE (universal primary education) programme all children must go to school, there is a lack of labour for grazing. The members of the women's groups have tried to overcome this by establishing rotational grazing days for members. Each member works two days in a fortnight (Ruhindi and Livingstone 2009).

Niche marketing of products from local breeds¹⁶ can generate employment and income for the poor – both livestock keepers and others involved in processing and trading the product. It can empower women, reverse the decline in the breeds concerned, and conserve both the environment and cultural values. It can be pro-poor because it is the poor who tend to keep local breeds, and because the type of work and amount of income generated may make it unattractive for wealthier individuals (LPP et al 2010).

To fully realise benefits from commercialisation opportunities in a sustainable manner, women require stronger security of access to livestock and other assets including land. As discussed in Section 3.0 this does not have to mean individual title, but can mean other ways of ensuring greater security through customary and common property holdings. Stronger security to assets gives them greater power to negotiate and develop fairer terms of trade. Interventions that increase women's access and rights to livestock, and then safeguards women from dispossession and their stock from theft or untimely death, can help women move out of poverty. It has been shown that where the comparative prices of milk and meat shift in favour of meat, men become more concerned about calf survival and thus pressure women to take less milk. Development initiatives that increase the direct access by women to small local livestock markets or to cooperatives that can broker their livestock transactions could enable women to have more control over the income generated (Kristjanson et al 2010).

Women also require actions and mechanisms that will support their involvement including appropriate marketing infrastructure and processing facilities. They also need protection from harassment and other dangers, when traveling to markets and inside them. Mobile phones and radios can be useful tools for accessing information on prices, markets etc. Though in Uganda ownership of radios is low amongst pastoral women, one radio can have a large impact as women often listen together and information is shared. Phone banking services, such as those of M-PESA in Kenya, are attractive to clients in remote rural areas. Establishing women's resource centers in pastoral area trading centers appears to be an important next step. These would be places where women could access business development services, internet services, television and radio, as well as a variety of informational materials. Charging for these and other services would make such centers sustainable (Ruhindi and Livingstone 2009).

Commercialisation of livestock and livestock products demands large changes in both social and livelihood systems. These will not occur overnight, and social changes in particular will take some time to adjust. Men may not be supportive of their wives getting involved in income-generation activities. As people get more involved in a

¹⁶ For example in Somali region, Ethiopia blackhead sheep and the large white goat breed have annual growth rates of 18% and 33%, respectively. They are well adapted to drought, and are considered a delicacy in the Middle East due to their low fat content (Bekele 2011).

monetary-based economy more individualistic attitudes are surfacing and this can damage the communal, collective nature of pastoral systems. Working together as cooperatives and groups goes some way to mitigating such impacts. Too much change too quickly can also damage rangeland productivity as mechanisms to control access and management may not keep up with land use changes occurring. Unless change is managed it is easier for individuals to take advantage of such lack of controls. Community-based monitoring and evaluation systems may have to adapt to new circumstances including in land use and livelihoods.

It should also be recognised that diversification is not necessarily a panacea for pastoral development and security, and can cause greater risk during periods of stress (Little 2001). For example, Omolo (2010) argues that involvement in many coping and survival strategies is a sign of distress in Turkana livelihood systems, rather than a sign of a growing pastoral economy.

With rising costs of inputs and greater competition for resources, there is limited economic logic for vulnerable households to increase their herd size as income from short-term value added livestock production outweighs the benefits from herd growth. A more poverty-focused livestock based market approach can be the answer to this lack of growth. This pays greater attention to understanding and addressing the underlying issues that push poor producers out of the production system and/or prevents them from moving upwards out of poverty, while other producers are able to take advantage of new marketing opportunities, benefit and grow. Using this approach Oxfam GB Ethiopia has developed a programme of support for value added livestock marketing in Somali Region, specifically targeted at women (Bekele 2011).

Change will be more sustainable if generated from within individuals, households and communities rather than being imposed from outside. Development actors can play an important role in this change by fully understanding the different needs and priorities of men and women, and developing opportunities with communities, which will address these. However it is up to individuals and communities to make change happen, and women in particular may be happy to see smaller, seemingly insignificant transformation over a longer period of time, rather than a dramatic change that can upset gender relations.

5.0 SHIFTS IN DECISION MAKING PROCESSES

The changes occurring in pastoral societies and systems described in the previous sections are contributing to shifts in decision-making processes and the role and place that women and men have in them. This is occurring at all levels – from the household to community to government. This has implications for how gender-sensitive development can be supported in pastoral areas.

5.1 In the household

Traditionally pastoral women hold a significant amount of control over decision-making processes in the household and in particular in relation to food distribution and childcare. It is common in pastoral societies for an adult woman to have their own tent, hut or home, or a sectioned off part of it, in which she exercises control over who enters, sleeps and eats there; controls all the property and possessions kept within; and nurtures and nourishes her children. Many customary practices are important cultural events that take place in the household and are under the jurisdiction of women.

In a study carried out in Samburu and Rendille, northern Kenya roughly 99% of all male informants stated that they always listened to their wives' advice and that the advice given by their mothers, sisters and other female relatives influenced their decision-making. It was understood that women have a tremendous amount of unrecognised power in their hands, which some women are aware of and some are not. Samburu and Ariaal men freely admit that they do not want to acknowledge this power since they fear what women would do if men actually lifted this veil of secrecy and openly recognised it (Mitchell 2003).

Evidence suggests that today women have a greater role in decision-making processes within households (Kenya - Omolo 2010; Ethiopia - Oxfam GB 2011; Gemtessa et al 2005; McPeak et al 2012). Increasingly women are demanding more choice over marriage (Flintan 2008). Women are taking up more central roles in livestock production and marketing (see previous Sections). And they can have greater financial independence and control over assets (Ethiopia/Kenya – Griffith 2008).

By earning an income independent of their husbands, women have the opportunity to make more decisions within the household. A major change in this regard is that in the past a large sum of money would be earned occasionally from the sale of an animal but now there is a small but continuous flow of money from petty trading or other businesses. Due to this, as well as the tendency of women to spend money on necessities rather than 'luxuries' (such as *khat*), household security has improved in many cases. This new assurance was expressed by one woman in the following terms:

Whatever happens, women will not return to their homes even if normality returns, because we have gained economic independence (in Oumer et al 2007).

Such changes have been attributed to a number of factors including women's empowerment through new economic opportunities and advantages, education, improved access to (and control over) resources, participation in income generation

groups that build solidarity and 'group power', and an improved awareness of women's rights (Gemtessa et al 2005; FAO 2003; Oxfam GB Ethiopia 2011; Oxfam GB Uganda 2004). In addition it is due to the more general changes occurring in pastoral areas, some of which have been discussed in the previous two sections. In response women are increasingly taking on new roles and responsibilities including in some cases as 'household provider'. As one informant in a study in Somali region, Ethiopia stated:

All women, whether they live in the town or in the countryside, are fighting for the survival of their families. This used to be only the responsibility of men (in Oumer et al 2007).

In addition, the numbers of female-headed households have increased. In Turkana Kenya this is due to a number of reasons including increased deaths of husbands due to conflict and raiding, separation/divorce and mothers who remain 'single' as men cannot afford bridewealth today due to loss of animals. According to a survey carried out in 2009, female-headed households were at 25% compared with male-headed households (74%). A few (0.5-1.0%) were child-headed households. Considering that the Turkana is a patriarchal society the 25% of female-headed households is a substantial number (Omolo 2010). In Uganda other contributing factors include the loss of males due to death from HIV/AIDS (Ruhindi and Livingstone 2009). However even within female-headed households sons and other male relatives may influence decisions made. And a study in northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia showed that many women do not see great advantages of being a female-head of household: they have less standing in the community, they cannot participate in men's/political meetings, and the responsibilities are high. Others however enjoy the freedom and control that they now have (McPeak et al 2012).

In some circumstances and areas, men still highly dominate decision-making processes. In Teso, northern Uganda for example where 80% of the land is owned by men, men dictate what to produce, how much and largely control the benefits (Esenu and Ossiya 2010). This contrasts with Karamoja, where it is said that women make the decisions about which crops are planted and will take the crops to market for sale. For example, one Tepeth woman expressed shock when asked if men or women decided what should be planted:

"How can a man make decisions about the crops that I am going to put in my garden? It is for me to decide!" (Stites et al 2007).

It is also suggested that though women are gaining more information on government legislation and regulations concerning such as property rights, and are glad to know this, they do little to bring about change unless a conflict or argument over property arises. This may have to do with the fact that in general pastoral households work well as a partnership between man and wife, and initiating unnecessary conflict will damage this partnership and thus the health and the strength of the household as a whole. Wangui (2003) suggests that the household should be seen as a site of both cooperation and conflict. Men and women may cooperate if it benefits all but not if it benefits one more than the other. Conflict may be limited by social norms. In a study in Kajiado, Kenya, she found that cooperation more than conflict was found. Some men for

example said they would take up previously female dominated activities such as weeding as a failure to help would result in losing crops. Cooperation breaks down when individuals fail to see the benefits of their labour. Women may withhold labour from the family farm and hire it out. This increases their economic power and thus their ability to negotiate within the household. In some communities women run away from their husbands if they feel they are being unfairly treated: returning to their parents' homes.

5.2 In the community

Public decision-making in pastoral societies mainly involves men, with the highest authority usually residing with elders. For example, in Afar Ethiopia, men hold all customary titles at the clan level and consequently decision-making bodies. In matters of arbitration a woman's testimony is considered half that of a man's. Similarly the blood price for a woman is half that of a man (Tafere 2006).

Cultural practices however can also promote the respect of and protection of women, plus ensure that their voices are heard. For example, in Borana, if a woman appears at a *kora* (a community meeting), all will stop to listen to her and act on her complaint before moving on with their meeting. Additionally Oromo women carrying their *siiqqee* sticks as symbols of womanhood (and sisterhood) may intervene in a dispute and refer it to the elders whilst command respect and authority through it (IIRR 2004). Communities in the Karamajong cluster (Uganda, Kenya, Sudan) also have their own traditional response mechanisms including *alokita*, the traditional right of women to air grievances (EU/UNDP 2004). However, with the increasing pressures on pastoral societies as livelihood and social systems change, the authority of such institutions is weakening and thus women's protection from them.

Women have access to greater independent income as well as ability to contribute a greater percentage of household income. This has both increased their own self-esteem as well as their status in the household and the community. Further, it is suggested that women's relatively new role as milk and shoats marketers has given them the opportunity to participate in the 'public' or external sphere, rather than being confined to the 'private' or domestic domain. However it is suggested that women's participation in the public sphere is still, in the main, oriented towards fulfilment of their traditional obligations in the domestic sphere. For example, a big part of the income earned from dairying is spent on domestic-related expenses such as food, child-care and socialisation of young children (Ethiopia – Wabekbon Consultants 2009). As a result men still tend to make public decisions (concerning such as in conflicts, resource use and allocation, investment, movement of livestock/household, marriage arrangements) (Ethiopia – Tessema undated; Turkana, Kenya – Omolo 2010).

In some cases new decision-making forums are being established, which if developed in a gender-sensitive manner offer new opportunities for women's participation. However this is difficult to achieve. Often such forums are developed based on customary practices which may have some advantages, but also are likely to contribute to reinforcing traditional gender inequities. For example in Ethiopia, natural resource

committees set up to manage forests and forest resources are based on traditional management structures such as the *Gadaa*. This has limited the role of women in decision-making processes related to the forests – an important resource upon which they depend (Mamo 2007). Some organisations have attempted to influence change through such as training women in public speaking, leadership, and how to take a more active part in decision-making structures.

A study of women's participation in and influence of economic decision-making structures in Kajiado, Kenya showed that it was "minimal" with only two women serving on the land board and women lacking exposure to economic development processes, knowledge about their rights and little awareness of the avenues open to them to exert influence on development planning. Lack of leadership, advocacy and analytical skills further constrained women's involvement. Indeed, changes will not occur overnight, but as Dekha Ibrahim, a well respected¹⁷ community worker and activist in Wajir noted:

Even one woman joining the committee of a pastoral association is a really big step¹⁸ ... And she is often worth five men, because other women will be making their voices heard through her. For some women, the older they get, the more liberating it can be. They feel that they have finished delivering children and can now realise their potential. It is these women who tend to participate in the pastoral associations.

Indeed, as women have becoming increasingly empowered (see above), more are willing to challenge inequitable decision-making processes and institutions. In Nagayo, Samburu area in northern Kenya a woman has been appointed chief (Cordaid & IIRR 2011). Increasingly women are allowed to attend the meetings of male elders (Turkana Kenya – Akabwai undated). And in Borana elders argued that women are given more rights and privileges than men in their society, and where this is not the case it is the fault of the individual and not of customary practice (Elemo 2005). The head of the Oromia Pastoral Association, Nure Dida, agrees, suggesting that more women than ever before are taking part in community decision-making processes and forums, encouraged by men who realise the value of their contributions. This is particularly true in times of conflict, when women's role in peacemaking is central to an effective resolution.

Indeed, traditionally women have played an important role in both conflict and peacemaking (PFE 2008; Flintan 2009; Stites et al 2007; IGAD 2010). Today, however, conflicts have increased, and the nature of conflicts has changed. As land and resources have become more individualised/privatised there may now be less inter-conflict clan over access to resource but more internal fighting between neighbours (Ethiopia – Flintan et al 2011). As resources have become scarcer due to factors highlighted in Section 2.0, competition over them has increased. Drought may heighten this competition though often communities may be more open to sharing what resources they have in these times as part of two-way reciprocity.

¹⁷ Though sadly, recently deceased

¹⁸ This agrees with Birch and Shuria (2002) who suggest that even minor gains in women's representation can actually be highly significant.

In response to these changes in conflicts, women's roles within them have also changed, and today as conflict has a more long-term detrimental impact on livelihoods, they tend to be more concerned with peacemaking than egging on warriors. A well-acknowledged example of women's success in peacemaking is the Wajir Peace and Development Associations' Women's Peace Committee, which worked alongside the largely male Al Fatah elders peace committee. The Peace Committee built up enough respect in an extremely conservative Somali society to challenge traditional practices including a campaign to ensure that criminal courts dealt with rape rather than families or clans. They used a number of strategies including public demonstrations and marches and training the police to improve their handling of rape cases. This was widely accepted and incorporated in the revision of the Al Fatah Peace declaration that Oxfam supported in 2009. When asked why women in the Committee were so empowered, most of the women pointed to the good girls secondary schools in Wajir and role models, such as Dekha Ibrahim (mentioned above).

Other initiatives in the region led by women include peace caravans, peace crusades or tours, 'whistle-blowing' (IGAD 2010; Flintan 2008; Cordaid & IIRR 2011; AU/IBAR 2003) Tekle Rupe's peace run, and the establishment of 'safe villages' such as Umoja Women's Village in Samburu¹⁹ (Wax 2005). Also, in Samburu three women initiated the establishment of a group (Sakuu Women Peace Foundation) to promote peace in the area. Innovative ways to do this included the holding of a soccer tournament for young warriors, which culminated in a mixed team game followed by a visit to Tanzania for a further match there (Cordaid & IIRR 2011).

Not all men are happy with such changes however. For example, Ahmed a pastoralist from Afar region in Ethiopia is deeply suspicious of women's empowerment in his village:

It is true. Women are part of the community, but they are weak people... Their minds hang down just like their breasts. But now things are changing with the help of outsiders. Nowadays women are free to speak as they wish. Things are getting worse.

This highlights the fact that change needs to be sensitively encouraged and include the support of men. It is unlikely that forcing change from 'outside' communities will benefit either the community or women themselves. In Borana Ethiopia for example, a number of development agencies operating there believe that they have persuaded some elders' meetings to admit women as members. But women tend to attend the meetings because they are expected or indeed required to, rather than *wanting* to. This should not suggest that women do not want to be consulted on specific issues that directly affect them, and have their interests taken into consideration – they do. However, many would prefer that this be done through other means, such as by establishing better linkages between male-dominated meetings and the women-dominated forums that already exist in the

¹⁹ A chief talking about the initiative described how it had been difficult for men to accept the success of the women. "The man is the head" he said. "The lady is the neck. A man cannot take, let's call it advice, from his neck". However on conceding the success of the women he admitted, "They've been successful, it's true" sighed the chief "...Maybe we can learn from our necks. Maybe just a little bit" (Wax 2005; www.umojawomen.org/index.htm)

Borana social system (as mentioned above) or could be developed to run parallel to them (Flintan 2010). As Muir (2007) concluded in a study of customary institutions - the *Gadaa* system is not gender equitable and perhaps never will be. As such rather than placing effort in trying to make the *Gadaa* more equitable, alternative places and spaces for women's voice and contribution should be identified.

Indeed, an assessment of the five aspects of empowerment (see Longwe 1990) amongst pastoral women in Uganda, found that the most difficult one for women to articulate and find good examples of seemed to be the one on participation. Most of the women felt that you needed to be a very strong and courageous woman to stand up and address meetings in mixed gatherings. Women did have something to contribute to leadership in the community, but whilst they showed a personal interest in all the other levels of empowerment, it was difficult for them to pin down any particular advantages to being "strong" in this way. Nevertheless, women have been actively involved in the different levels of the local councils, though the quality of this participation can be questioned (see below) (Oxfam GB Uganda 2004).

5.3 In government

Though women's visible role in decision-making processes at the community level may still be limited, women appear to have made some important steps forward in accessing positions in both local and national governments in the region.

In Ethiopia today, according to Hon. Nakiya Ankesa, there are 170 women parliamentarians. Hon. Nakiya is herself of pastoral background (from Dassenech in South Omo) however it is not clear how many more of the 170 are also from pastoral families. In Uganda, there are said to be 105 women in parliament, which is a critical mass, though men still dominate. One of the most significant achievements so far, is the fact that the First Lady Ms. Janet Museveni is currently Minister of State of Karamoja Affairs. In Uganda the Constitution of Uganda states that 1/3 of the membership of any established committees should constitute women. And in Kenya, a strategy is being developed and a workshop was held recently in Nairobi, attended by women parliamentarians in the region and chaired by Hon. Minister Esther Murugi (Minister of Gender, Kenya), to discuss 50/50 representation (IGAD 2010). Under the new Constitution, 1/3 of all committees should be composed of women, however this was recently overturned by Parliament as unachievable.

There have also been improvements in local government. For example in Somali region Ethiopia the participation of women in leadership positions in the government offices has increased. In Aysha district women hold about 25% of the positions. Among 12 line governmental bureaus three of them are held by women (Health; Women Affairs; and Labour and Social Affairs). At *kebele* level the Aysha town administrator is a woman. In Awbere district too, the participation of women in the council is 30% and a woman is a member of the executive council. Women head two of the 12 line governmental bureaus (Women's Affairs; and Capacity Building). These are significant improvements on the past (Tessema undated).

Positive action, such as reserving places for women in government can be a necessary but not a sufficient condition for their increased participation. Further it can result in token women being appointed who have little power and lack appropriate skills, and 'reserved seats' may be interpreted as a ceiling for the number of women in parliament (IFAD 2003; Oxaal 1997). In Kenya and Ethiopia in 2008 there were two and three female parliamentarians (respectively) who come from a pastoral background. In Tanzania there was one pastoral women parliamentarian and in Uganda none (though the local governance act means that one woman from each district should be nominated for the Parliament (Oxfam GB Uganda 2004)). The two countries with reservations for women (Tanzania and Uganda) had the least number of pastoralist women, as compared to Ethiopia and Kenya who had fewer women overall but more pastoralists. This would suggest that adopting party quotas rather than reservations is a preferable mechanism to encouraging pastoral women's representation (Andrew Ridgewell, consultant for Minority Rights Group personal communication in Flintan 2010).

Some organisations have supported women and trained them how to vote. For example during Ethiopia's 2005 federal and regional elections, SOS Sahel Ethiopia assisted British-based Electoral Reform International Services in providing Somali women (including pastoralists) who were leaders of women's groups, with pre-election awareness training. Using pictorial techniques the women were taught about their rights to vote, how to consider different candidates, the electoral process and how to vote. These women leaders were then expected to take the information back to their women's groups and share it with them. In all about 150 leaders of women's groups were trained.

5.4 Future scenarios and recommendations

The changes occurring in pastoral societies are contributing to shifts in decision-making processes and the role and place that women and men have in them, at all levels.

Though in the past men have usually listened to their wives' advice before they make a decision, they are unlikely to admit this in public. Today, women's role in household decision-making processes is more clear and defined, and it is suggested has in general increased. This is related to women having a larger and more independent income, which gives them room and power for negotiating access to resources and assets. Also improved access to education and exposure to alternative ways of living, participation in income generation groups that build solidarity and 'group power', an increase in female-headed households and an improved awareness of women's rights have all contributed to improving women's status and position in household decision-making.

However others argue that men still dominate decision-making processes. In particular this is the case in community or 'public' decision-making. Women can lack confidence to bring about change themselves. Also they may be unwilling to cause rifts in the relationships that they have with their male kin, as the majority still rely upon them for accessing clan resources, as well as the often effective protection that clans provide for women. In general, pastoral households work well as a partnership between man and

wife, and initiating unnecessary conflict will damage this partnership and thus the health and the strength of the household as a whole. Cooperation between husband and wife is the norm and it is when one or other sees the benefits of such cooperation reducing, that they may be willing to challenge it.

Increasingly women are taking a greater role in the public sphere through such as the marketing/commercialisation opportunities developing (as discussed in Section 4.0). Such opportunities will grow – markets for example, are good points of communal interaction. Despite this however, it has been suggested that women’s participation in public is still mainly oriented towards their traditional obligations in the domestic sphere i.e. income raised through marketing of goats is spent on food and childcare. Though many organisations try to increase women’s participation in public decision-making processes this tends to result in women attending meetings, but not taking an active part. Committees tend to be dominated by urban women who due to the nature of their education and employment may be rather distant from the day to day life and concerns of pastoral communities. Social and cultural barriers to women’s full participation tend to be complex and embedded, needing more to change than the quotas of an NGO and not least a long-term perspective.

Indeed it is suggested that “the challenge is to ensure that efforts to strengthen women’s groups result in lasting and viable local institutions representing the evolving interests of women and benefiting from an enabling local environment. Once grass-roots organizations representing women’s groups have sufficient solidarity, constituency and experience, their extra-community and even political influence can be encouraged through the formation of intergroup clusters and hierarchical structures” (IFAD 2003: 13). However often this requires sustained efforts beyond the usual lifespan of a typical development project, as well as engagement with other partners in support of new women’s movements, and a conducive policy for women’s organisation and self-expression: all difficult to achieve (Flintan 2008).

Where decision-making forums established for such as the management of natural resources, are tied too strongly to customary institutions they offer little space for improving women’s participation. Entrenched gender inequities that exist in the communities remain untouched. ‘Involving’ women has not meant their full participation, particularly at higher levels of decision-making or within the public domain. This means that interventions, activities and resulting impacts have reflected the priorities of men rather than women, and as such benefited men to a greater degree. Transferring power to the local level to access and manage resources could exclude women and their ‘informal’ or usufruct rights of access, whilst strengthening the access of those with more power in the community, namely men. As Getachew Mamo (2007) concludes: “*unless gender issues are taken into account, transferring power to the local level could potentially exclude women from their rights to control natural resources*”.

Alternatively, in new forums such as women’s income generation groups and cooperatives, women have been shown to be active and capable members and leaders. Men and women participate in such forums in different ways. As Kilavuku (2003)

suggests: “men are more verbose and more influential and proactively involved in performing the task while women encourage a high degree of participation in management process, share information and power, attempt to enhance the self-worth of those with whom they work and attempt to excite people about their work....Recognizing that there are individual differences and that groups and their activities vary widely, women generally do participate less in the presence of men than men do with men.” This has implications for how such groups behave and achieve and in many cases women’s ways of participating is more suitable for such forums. Even where only small improvements are seen in women’s participation, this can be considered a large step and have positive knock-on impacts. Indeed, increasingly women are challenging inequities that they face.

Women’s key role in conflict and peacemaking is likely to be ever more relevant as the probability of conflicts over such as reducing resources increases. However the nature of many conflicts has changed. Livestock raiding for example has changed from a cultural practice to a necessity for some in order to improve economic wellbeing and household food security and for others, a commercial activity. Women and those who want to support them will need assistance in understanding the root causes of these conflicts and identifying what role they can play in their resolution. Women have developed innovative ways to promote peacemaking in the region – this will need to continue.

Oxaal (1997) suggests that an important approach to supporting women’s empowerment is the promotion of participation of women in formal politics, alongside support to broad programmes of democratisation and good governance. This includes promoting women in government and national and local party politics as well as supporting women’s involvement in NGOs and women’s movements (ibid). There have been some positive achievements in pastoral women taking up positions within governments in the region both at national and local levels. If Oxaal is right, this is likely to have positive knock-on impacts on women’s empowerment in general. It has also been shown that training women in how to vote can also be an important element of their involvement in decision-making processes.

Increasing roles in decision-making are not only a result of empowerment of women but also contribute to them in a reinforcing process (Steglich and Bekele 2009). It is much more challenging for women to initiate social and political change than economic change (Flintan 2008). Social change requires time and sensitivity. It also requires the support of men in the society if it is to be sustainable. Forcing change from the ‘outside’ is unlikely to have a positive impact and may in fact cause more harm than good. Rather than insisting that customary male-dominated structures become ‘gender equitable’ it may be more effective to develop similar but more equitable or women’s structures in parallel with appropriate linking communication mechanisms between.

A starting point for external support/interventions can be identifying exactly where women do have some power, for example domains in the household, and build upon these. One NGO in Ethiopia for example, has been using the traditional coffee ceremony where women gather on a daily basis, as a forum for discussing sensitive issues such as violence.

Encouraging women to take up positions in local organisations and committees has proved beneficial in boosting their confidence and skills in such as public speaking. Often such positions allow women to travel and be exposed to people, places and situations beyond the confines of their settlement or household. This can further increase women's own self-esteem as well as increase the respect that others give to them. Some NGOs have established 'scholarship' or 'internship' schemes that provide funds for girls/women to study and build up their skills before working for a period of time for the NGO where further on-the-job training is provided and the opportunity for further employment a possibility (Flintan 2010).

The increase in the number of pastoral children going to school is having and will continue to have fundamental impacts on pastoral societies and women's role within them. Not only will it further shift relations of authority away from elders as educated youth/adults influence decision-making processes, but also keeping youth in school (and in particular boarding school) rather than in the community will limit their involvement in pastoral activities. This may have both negative and positive impacts including a reduction in their knowledge and appreciation of pastoral systems, but keeping them away from acts with high negative repercussions such as cattle raiding.

In Uganda, the government's Universal Primary Education (UPE) program has been tremendously successful in expanding access to primary education across the country, although this has been accompanied by a decline, overall, in the quality of education provided. In the western parts of the country, the change has been dramatic, creating a generational divide between literate younger women and teenagers, and largely illiterate mature and older women. The next step is an expansion of access to secondary education. Under the World Bank funded Universal Secondary Education project (Sh270 billion, roughly \$130 million), part of the money allocated to the free secondary education programme will be used to buy text books and build more classrooms (ibid).

Access to education is improving in Kenya and Ethiopia too. Though this provision may not always be appropriate for the needs of pastoralists, the number of children going to school has increased. Adult education is also being supported, and here more innovative and suitable programmes are being initiated such as REFLECT (Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques) (Flintan 2008) or functional business literacy (CARE Kenya).²⁰

²⁰ Most students are mothers who wanted to improve their standards of living through the education they receive and thus educate their children. The simple act of signing for a bank slip, something that we take for granted, was considered impossible before the literary classes. The women used to feel degraded as all they could do before was provide a thumb-print instead of a signature. Today many of the women attending the classes are able to walk into a bank and sign their own names onto a cheque; a feat that they never thought possible before. However, the literacy classes have been marred by various challenges. Paying the teacher's school fees and paying the rent has been difficult, but CARE supported with part of the cost to enable the low income persons to attend the classes after paying a small fee. By mid-December 2009, 5 women graduated from their business literacy classes at a major graduation and launching event held at Garissa and presided by the Minister of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands. There are plans to expand this program in the near future through other CARE Kenya Programs. The group members all agree that literacy will help them prosper more in their entrepreneurial endeavour.

As women become more vocal and confident to take part in meetings and decision-making processes, men can feel increasingly threatened as their domination is challenged. To try and avoid such a situation the support of men for women's 'empowerment' must be worked on from the very beginning. Ways to encourage this include: a) having open discussions about the social change occurring and why women feel that they want to see such change; b) encouraging men to talk to their relatives other than their wife, as this can perhaps prove to be a less threatening dialogue and one for which they might have more sympathy; and c) supporting discussions on how women's empowerment can benefit the household and community as a whole, rather than seeing it as a way of taking away men's power. This should be facilitated by someone that the male members of the community know and trust (Flintan 2010).

Some groups such as Al-Hamdu in Garissa claim that currently the classes are too expensive, but if the cost is reduced, they will definitely join the classes. Other approaches include setting up a kitty used to send children to a regular school (CARE Kenya 2010).

6.0 DROUGHT INTERVENTIONS AND GENDER

Due to the emergency nature of many drought interventions, commonly gender issues are not taken into account or addressed. Drought interventions have been criticised in the past for: a) communities feeling that consultations prior to the interventions had not been thorough enough; and b) that more attention needs to be paid to gender equity, involving women as active participants not just as beneficiaries (Morton et al 2003). Root causes of problems are not addressed. Interventions act with little social assessment (relying more on nutritional indicators) nor investigation and understanding of the socio-political contexts. As a result there is the danger that interventions will cause harm to existing positive gender relations and contribute to negative ones (Aregu and Belete 2007).

In addition, gender relations can be more dynamic and sensitive during times of drought so extra care is needed. Men and women may be exposed to different risks or may experience different degrees of vulnerability.²¹ Gender related differences in vulnerability are strongly influenced by degrees of asset ownership, access to resources and income; their respective risk preferences; cultural and social norms that influence household dynamics; as well as political economy issues within the community and at a national level (Ezemenari et al 2002; Enarson 2000). “For humanitarian assistance to effectively respond to the needs of all community members, it must be guided by an understanding of the impact on the vulnerabilities and capacities of men and women, boys and girls” (UN: 2005).

Women [and men] may be “powerless but they are not helpless” (SEAGA 2002: 6). Often portrayed as victims, aid agencies place an emphasis on women’s need for assistance. However, too often in the rush to provide such assistance, little or no account is taken of what they have already achieved for themselves, despite the fact that women have often developed flexible and creative coping mechanisms and strategies. Some forms of assistance can distort or disrupt these mechanisms they have already set up or are utilising (IASC Working Group 1999).

Increasingly humanitarian and development organisations are realising the need to take a longer-term livelihood approach to drought and emergency response. This offers greater opportunities to address gender issues in the communities with which they work. This Section explores the relationships between drought risk reduction interventions and gender in pastoral societies and assesses to what degree gender is taken into account within them.

6.1 Gender relations in times of drought

As suggested in Section 2.0 during times of severe drought households and communities adapt their activities, roles and responsibilities in order to survive. Difficult decisions need to be made concerning whether the family should split or not, and how remaining resources should be distributed. Both men and women have their role to play and will

²¹ Vulnerability refers to the intensity with which a shock is experienced, and the capacity to recover from a shock.

be effected by the decisions made by the other. Though women can be considered to be more vulnerable than men, they may more easily 'cope' with the situation and make the most of new economic and social opportunities. Women can be as capable as men in adapting to drought and in finding ways to ensure the survival of household members and assets such as livestock (see for example Ethiopia – Aregu and Belete 2007).

It is likely that women will have to walk further to find water and other requirements and there will be less food to go round: it is often women who will miss out a meal in order that the children are fed (FSS/Cordaid 2009). Community elders may intervene in household food distribution, requesting that some food is put aside for a later date or made available for distribution to more needy members of the community (Uganda – Stites et al 2007).

In severe crises women may move with the children and seek refuge with relatives or in urban areas and refugee camps: men may be recruited in armed forces, left behind to look after homes and livestock or be on protracted migrations when the women decide to leave. For example UNHCR states that 80% of those who recently fled Somalia were women and children (Young, 2011a). Such movement may not result in greater food security, whilst at the same time further threatening hopes of recovery as the crucial social ties required to resume herding are often irrevocably severed (Omolo 2010). In other cases, women, and in particular more vulnerable women, are sent back to *bomas*, *kraals* and settlements with children in order to have more likelihood of accessing food (Uganda – Stites et al 2007).

Polygamous households tend to be more severely affected by drought as their limited resources must be shared among a larger number of family members. This often leads to the temporary break-up of households with wives returning to their parent's homes. Over time relationships between wives can deteriorate as each tries to secure enough food and water for her children. It is not uncommon for children of polygamous households as well as those from monogamous ones to be temporarily adopted by relatives, friends or clan members who are in a better position (Kenya – Wawire 2003).

During drought, livestock will be in poorer condition and thus milk production will reduce. As described in Section 3.0 this can have negative impacts on household food security, income generation opportunities and on women's social status. When livestock are lost and in particular, when it is beyond a level where herd recovery is possible, men may turn to activities such as sale of milk, water and firewood that were traditionally associated with females, so pushing women away from these income generation opportunities (Save the Children UK, undated). In times of drought the need for cash is more important than in normal times in order to purchase food and increasingly such as water (due to privatisation processes described previously). Thus women may often find themselves in a desperate situation as options to secure cash are reduced.

However, usually women will work together to overcome such challenges. Self-help groups are common and often women will have saved money for times of crisis. Women spend much time in 'normal' times building up networks and mutually beneficial relations with neighbours and their contemporaries, which can be utilised in times of

need. Women also mobilise funds and resources for the more needy in communities. In northern Kenya for example pastoral women's groups coordinate public fund raisers (*harambee*) to accumulate money to support emergency needs of orphans, elderly and infirm. Group efforts to mitigate drought impacts have evolved over time; these have included provision of water and food for the neediest members, goat restocking and extending low-interest loans. Being a member of such a group provides a buffer to shocks and stresses. For example during the drought of 1999-2000 groups assisted each other by harvesting standing hay, managing milking herds, and supporting each other's children with milk. Revenue from milk sales was used to purchase grain and sugar for the neediest households. Others provided money to purchase water and loans with delayed payments until after the drought (Coppock et al 2006a).

Emergency situations can be positive for women in the long-term: exile of male members can provide opportunities for women to gain organisational and educational experience, which can be a useful resource in rehabilitation. Women often have to take up the position of household head. Men and women working side-by-side on emergency activities or on such as food-for-work, can have long-term positive impacts on social relations. "Indeed, international involvement in crisis and post-crisis situations can be an opportunity to promote positive social change" (IASC Working Group 1999: 5).

6.2 Drought interventions and their impacts

Interventions in pastoral areas to reduce risks to drought and to respond to drought vary according to the nature of the drought; the needs of communities affected and their own response mechanisms; the resources available; the relationship of the humanitarian/development organisation to the community (short- or long-term) and the capacities and priorities of the former; donor priorities, and the socio-political and economic context. Over recent years, DRR and responses to drought in the region have become more varied and targeted than in the past (Ethiopia – Aregu and Belete 2007). Increasingly they seek long-term benefits through linkages to livelihood strengthening, as well as addressing short-term basic needs.

6.2.1 Early warning systems and drought risk management at the local level

Governments in the region have made positive steps forward in establishing in-country early warning systems as part of disaster and preparedness policies. Often these are linked to regional networks such as FEWSNET and CEWARN. However, there are a number of challenges that question the effectiveness of these systems. These include poor organisation, and limited capacity and resources (FSS/Cordaid 2009); and untimely receipt of information and decision-making processes (Hailemariam 2009). This means that often those who should respond to the information provided are not able to do so appropriately and in a timely fashion. Additionally, often these systems are top-down and fail to adequately build on customary mechanisms of early warning and to incorporate indigenous knowledge, and in particular that of women.

Women are highly knowledgeable about traditional drought early warning indicators especially those related with livestock behavior. Not only do women have innate

knowledge of livestock due to their close management of them, but also their concern for family health and safety increases their need for relevant information (Turkana & Wajir Kenya – Mutua 2011). Unfortunately, the high illiteracy level among women poses a serious impediment to understanding much of the drought early warning information that is disseminated by organisations and agencies such as through the ALRMP monthly Early Warning Bulletin. This calls for a deliberate choice of a second alternative and appropriate channel for dissemination of early warning information especially to grass root communities for effective impact (Mutua 2011).

NGOs and local government are increasingly trying to bridge the gaps highlighted above in early warning systems and within drought cycle management practices – see for example the community-managed disaster risk reduction (CMDRR) in Cordaid/IIRR (2011). In Ethiopia it is suggested that a good number of women have been involved and represented in the local level early warning committees that have been developed. In Somali region, for example Oxfam GB has been working with communities to develop community-based early warning systems (CBEWS). Gender equality is said to be one of the successes of the CBEWS implementation. Women have played an important role within committees. In Abifolan, Somali Region 60% of the committee are women and their roles and responsibilities are the same as those of the male members. This has contributed to the empowerment of women in the community, many of whom were previously at the sidelines of any planned intervention that had a direct implication on their lives and livelihoods. The involvement of more women in the EW committees has also facilitated easy and direct communication of warning messages to female community members (Oxfam GB 2011; Hailemariam 2011). However it was not clear to what degree this involvement had added to their normal work burden – it is understood that their services to the committees and to the monitoring/evaluation of drought conditions are given without payment.

Oxfam GB has also been supporting the establishment of community-based drought risk management (CBDRM) in north-east Somali region. The intervention recognised the important roles of women in DRM and they are said to be fully represented in the local level CBDRM committees. This is said to reflect Oxfam GB's strong commitment in mainstreaming gender perspective in all its activities particularly DRR. However many of these committees are not functioning as they should be and are poorly linked to relevant government offices. Poor follow-up support and supervision after establishment appears to have contributed to this. A lack of local level drought management plans and contingency planning has also curtailed the activities of these committees. Therefore though women have been involved in the committees, their achievements have been limited. In addition there is poor linkage between the CBDRM committees and those of the CBEWS (Hailemariam 2011).

6.2.2 Food and water aid

Food and water aid is one of the most common responses to drought and other crises. The outputs are clearly tangible and this type of aid is relatively easy to deliver – at least to those communities with good transport routes. However, the results tend to be short-term and often can cause harm to communities in the longer-term by upsetting

local social structures and coping mechanisms: though food aid can assist communities to deal with the immediate effects of drought, it is not useful for maintaining or rebuilding assets nor is it particularly acceptable from a social or cultural perspective (Ethiopia – Demeke 2007). Food and water aid provision can also cause dependency.

Often emergency interventions lack sensitivity to gender issues due to their nature of quick response, however increasingly some agencies are recognising the need to understand gender relations prior to intervention if a more equitable distribution of food is to be achieved. A great influence on this was the work of Oxfam GB in the late 1980s – early 1990s on gender and food distribution. Margie Buchanan-Smith wrote an article called 'The Entitlement System', around 1993/4, which evaluated the food distribution methodology. "It was the first time that agencies started thinking seriously about women's control over food aid. For example how you accommodate polygamous households in registration, women named as recipients (rather than men), and women's role on relief committees" (Izzy Birch personal communication 2008). More recently, women have been given a greater opportunity to be involved in food aid distributions (on the assumption that by doing so household members are more likely to benefit), and given the opportunity to sit on relief committees (Flintan 2009).

Past interventions that focused solely on emergency food aid have sometimes been seen to strengthen the status of women but to the detriment of men. Food aid was, and still is, targeted at women who quickly become the sole 'provider' for the family as the household's livestock, under the control of men, perish (Kenya – Wawire 2003). In many cases men are threatened by such a drastic change, which can lead to conflicts within the household.

An alternative approach to food aid is cereal banking, a facility that can be used in 'normal' times as well as drought. Women in particular have been active in this activity – buying grain at a low price when plentiful and selling when the price is good. Save the Children/US support in Borana established a number of groups – some of these were originally mixed men/women however the men soon dropped out as they resented the groups being run by women (Behnke et al 2008).

Women are usually responsible for the watering of livestock left around the household and for domestic needs. During drought this burden increases. In response to this, water is often provided through water tankering or increase of water points. This can have immediate impacts on women's labour and health (and thus on that of the household too). Analysis of water tankering around Wajir Town in 2002 suggests that six months tankering to a particular site, at a cost of USD7,700 resulted in a saving in women's time fetching water of USD27,600, in addition to reduced animal mortality valued at USD12,300 (Oxfam 2002). Indeed, most water tankering interventions can be considered effective in the sense that they deliver the water.

However the impacts of that water in communities can be relatively limited and can have a negative impact in the long term. In Doldol Kenya, water tankering in 2009/10 allowed some people to remain in the villages although there were still some deaths

from hunger. The community got clean water for cooking food, which saved time, as people did not have to walk 20km to fetch water (from 6am to 3pm daily). The weak animals gained access to water, but the impact of this was minimal since most died anyway. The shortcomings of the intervention were that only those who lived near the roads could access the water: the terrain restricted travel to interior villages. The water could only be used for cooking and drinking. It was not enough for other chores such as washing clothes or bathing. Schools were targeted not the people, therefore the community estimated only about 10 percent of the population benefited. The tankering mainly had an impact on women (rated 30% impact) and school-going children (rated 80% impact). The male members felt it had no direct impact on them (ILRI 2010: 45)

The drilling of extra boreholes can also be a useful intervention. For example in Ngamata, Samburu the community felt it had the greatest impact in terms of reducing negative drought effects. Prior to the borehole being dug, women would go to the forest about 7km away twice a day to collect water. The water in the forest was dirty so had health risks. They were also at risk from attacks from forest animals. The borehole meant that women had more time to gather fodder for animals and after the drought to engage in kitchen gardens from which produce was sold. Consequently, community health and safety improved. It also brought new life to the community. Those who lost all their animals during the drought were able to develop alternative livelihoods by practicing farming. Neighbouring communities now come to buy clean borehole water. The community however expressed concern that these pipes ended up going to the most influential community members. Only the elite members of the community had the voice to dictate where these pipes would lead to and often it was to their homesteads (ILRI 2010: 47).

Additionally, such interventions often create long-term problems for rangeland management and hence productivity. This has a direct impact on pastoral systems threatening their sustainability. Water points tend to be established without due concern for traditional grazing and watering systems, and the reasons for such systems. As a result the establishment of water points often upset, even destroy, such systems so in effect increasing the vulnerabilities of pastoral communities in the long-term rather than reducing them. A study of the impacts of the establishment of *birkas* (cemented water storage tanks) in Somali region Ethiopia (together with ongoing provision of water by tanker in drier periods) concluded that these water interventions have played a significant role in the destruction of what were very productive traditional grazing systems and their replacement by ranch-like systems of individual enclosures highly dependent on NGO and government support (Flintan et al 2011). In addition many women lost out from the process as on establishment of the private enclosures, and in particular where this process was uncontrolled, they were not provided with land (see Section 3.0).

6.2.3 Cash and food for work

In Ethiopia communities (and in particular vulnerable and destitute households including those headed by women) are given opportunities to take part in the Productive Safety

Net Program. Food and cash is given for public works including soil and water conservation, bush clearing and maintenance of rural roads. The effectiveness of the programme has been questioned (FSS/Cordaid 2009; Sabates-Wheeler et al 2011). The government intends to 'graduate' PSNP participants out of the programme through linkages with 'Household Extension Packages' that facilitate diversification into various agricultural and non-agricultural activities, to generate complementary income for farming families. It has been shown that female-headed households are 20 percent less likely to be included in Public Works but only 6.5 percent more likely to receive Direct Support. Women in general have a low participation in public work activities and related decision-making processes, and are less likely to benefit than men (Sabates-Wheeler et al 2011).

In the arid and semi arid lands of Northern Kenya Oxfam targets women through cash transfers and cash-for-work programmes. Planning is carried out with women to ensure that distribution is carried out in a manner that is convenient for them. Poor female-headed households are often given priority. The cash plays an important part in ensuring that communities maintain hope, pride and control over their lives in times of crisis. Some women have managed to turn the cash-for-work activities into small income generating activities, despite the very limited opportunities. However, there have been problems within polygamous households where care was not taken to ensure that money was distributed in a way that avoided causing conflict between wives (Young 2011a; Young 2011b).

6.2.4 Movement of livestock and people

Movement of livestock is the most common community-led strategy for coping with drought (IIRR 2010). Male members of the community, often elders, decide upon the movement of livestock and in particular large-scale movements. In severe cases the whole household will move with the livestock to find grazing and/or water. Often the women will need to rebuild the hut when they have reached their destination. The women will also be expected to carry most of the household goods. As one woman Afar woman laments:

We women are like cars. We carry all our household goods and even our home with us. We even carry our babies. Our men do not even carry their sleeping mats. What they do is wake up and go where there is khat (Interview from Hassoba PA, Amibara district in Aregu and Belete 2007).

Commonly however, women and children stay at home taking care of the remaining livestock often with unclear and weak decision-making power (Mandera, Kenya – Serna 2011). Movement of livestock away from the household means that women will not have access to them or their products. Either way women will be affected by the decisions made.

Some organisations such as OAU/IBAR have facilitated agreements for movement including across international boundaries as a strategic step to overcoming drought and preventing conflict between neighbouring groups. Mostly this movement is decided upon

consultation with and negotiations between male members of the community (Morton et al 2003). However, as mentioned the impacts of such movement also affect women and thus greater effort should be made to include them.

In times of severe crisis households may move to camps serviced by humanitarian organisations. Women and children may move in the first instance leaving male kin behind, trying to maintain the livestock herd. Without their male kin, women can be particularly vulnerable to violence, exploitation and abuse, both in transit and once in the camps. In Ethiopia Oxfam has supported IRC in carrying out a gender assessment in Hilaweyn refugee camp. The report highlighted the need for camp management (establishment of governance mechanisms) and mechanisms for equal participation of women and men refugees in the camp coordination meetings and cluster or sector meetings (WASH, GBV and protection), as well as work to influence service providers about what to include in non-food item kits in order to meet the practical needs of women, and that these are culturally appropriate (Young 2011).

6.2.5 Supplementary feeding of livestock

Supplementary feeding not only keeps animals alive but also improves the productivity of the animals, and means that they return to producing milk more quickly. Where women depend upon milk for their household needs, this can improve short-term food security as well as contribute to the preservation of the herd. Women can be more meaningful beneficiaries having smaller herds and less access to labour to take livestock to far off pastures etc. The intervention can also have immediate positive impacts by saving women's time and labour otherwise used to collect fodder from such as forests (Ethiopia – Demeke 2007).

However, often such interventions are poorly targeted. For example, an impact assessment of emergency feed supplements in Borana supported in 2006 and 2008 concluded that there was a disproportionate amount of support provided to better-off households and males, rather than the poorer groups in communities including women. This was influenced by the fact that local government chose beneficiaries by whether they had paid tax on cattle (or not) (Bekele 2008).

Alternatively, in Olobelbel, Kajiado Kenya, the hay intervention carried out in 2009 did have a positive impact because it was targeted to a women's group, allowing them to reduce their costs and save time and effort gathering fodder. Approximately 60% of women in the village benefited. Hay received was used to feed dairy goats, which continued to be milked and the milk sold. The income from the goats was used, among other things, to educate girls. The first young goat born was given to a neighbour. This scheme brought the community together, especially the women (ILRI 2010).

6.2.6 Slaughter destocking

Destocking by slaughtering animals in the early stages of drought not only reduces the pressure on resources for remaining animals, but can provide income when badly needed. Sale of animals on the open market is disadvantageous at this time as the

market is saturated and animals are of poor health. Usually destocking decisions are made in consultation with local leaders, elders and other male representatives in the community. Women are rarely consulted and in particular if traders are involved (i.e. commercial destocking) even though women play a central role in livestock management (Catley 2007; Morton et al 2003).

In general communities support slaughter destocking as an intervention and in particular where the meat is distributed locally. In Merti, Isiolo in 2009 about 200 people had their livestock slaughtered. Meat was only given to those members that sold their livestock or had already lost theirs. Many of these then shared it with others. The women especially thought it was a good intervention as it boosted the economy of the town, which benefited small businesses, including the selling of *miraa*. This is also true for Olobelibel, Kajiado where 500 steers were bought from the community. In Lokiriama Turkana, the meat was distributed to the most vulnerable (ILRI 2010: 49). However as observed from the 2011 drought²² if done too early, while livestock markets are still functioning it may undermine livestock markets and thus access to other commodities too.

In 2006 in Dire *Woreda* CARE Ethiopia carried out slaughter destocking of emaciated animals. Not only did this create (albeit temporary) markets for livestock in remote areas and transfer cash to pastoralists, the destocking provided employment for 205 people (78 women and 127 men). These people were employed to slaughter livestock, prepare the meat and act as guards. Hides and skins were provided to a local cooperative and dried meat was distributed – though dried meat is not normally consumed by the Boran, on the occasion of the drought it accounted for up to a quarter of household food consumption (Demeke 2007). A gender assessment of drought interventions in Borana during the time concluded that of all the interventions this particular one was the most successful in mainstreaming gender, as it involved women and men and allowed them to earn an income at a critical time. One of the key positives was that women were identified and supported as livestock owners and managers (Aregu and Belete 2007).

As well as allowing pastoral households to liquidate some of their assets (livestock), if managed properly other benefits can arise including improving the nutritional status of poor households, and supporting the trading activities of women's groups. Micro-credit can be provided to women's groups in order to purchase stock. NGOs can then purchase the stock from the groups for redistribution to needy households and organisations and/or the meat produced (Morton et al 2003).

6.2.7 Restocking

Restocking often goes hand-in-hand with destocking of livestock, in order to rebuild herds once the crisis has past. Again it is rare for women to participate in 'community' decisions about this. Provision of livestock to men only supports local gender inequities in livestock distribution and access. Where women do have rights to and ownership of

²² Personal communication, Rob Allport, FAO Kenya.

livestock, targeting only men in restocking programmes can upset these rights as well as lose the opportunity of supporting women too. It may also risk household food insecurity as women's ownership of livestock has been shown to improve household food security (Uganda – Essenu and Ossiya undated).

Some NGOs have made efforts to include women in restocking interventions and/or to specifically target them. For example SC/UK specified that 4 men and 2 women should make up restocking committees in their work in Fik, Ethiopia. Female-headed households were targeted for restocking as well as male. A comparison of the success of stocking both female and male-headed households showed that female-heads were as capable as men of looking after the stock (Acacia Consultants Ltd. 2005).

In Kenya too, restocking in Wajir and Mandera Districts of Kenya 2002-2003 established restocking committees with the criteria that 50% should be women. Though women did not play a highly active role in the committees as they were busy with other activities, they were ready to voice their opinions when they had a chance. Most of the beneficiaries were women (74%) either as female heads or as part of a male-headed household. Selection criteria such as presence of herding labour were included. Much time was committed to selecting the 'right' people who still had the will and motivation to keep livestock and/or return to a pastoral lifestyle. Despite the loss of a number of young animals, the restocking program proved to be a success. Once beneficiaries had received animals the community were more able and willing to provide further support (extra livestock, veterinary drugs or food/milk) through the traditional resource-sharing mechanisms. Restocking significantly contributed to a reduction of dependence on other sources of food and income: beneficiaries were able to return to a pastoral way of life,²³ and more quickly. It was concluded that incorporating community self-support systems and involvement is key to the sustainability of restocking programmes (Arasio 2004).

Restocking programmes should also ensure that labour is available and the provision of livestock will not further strain the household/individuals. In Uganda, restocking programmes following loss of livestock due to raiding and other insecurities in Teso, actually increased the burden of household members. An influential factor in this is that young children are no longer available for such tasks being in school under the new UPE policy (see Section 5.0) (Esenu 2005).

It is also advantageous in the long-term to develop restocking programmes in a manner that introduces and/or conserves business principles and local markets as much as possible. In Somali region, Ethiopia, Oxfam GB entered into contracts with women's groups they had established there, to provide sheep and goats (over 5,500 in 2007/8) for restocking households that had lost their livestock due to drought. In 2010 a further 1,200 shoats and 50 donkeys were supplied for restocking (Oxfam GB Ethiopia 2011). As described in Section 3.0 support for such cooperatives not only contributes to women's practical needs but also their strategic ones.

²³ Women were keener to return to a pastoral way of life than men (Arasio 2004).

6.2.8 Livelihood focused activities

Across the region, there is an increasing recognition of the need for a livelihood focus within drought response interventions (Kenya – Longley and Wekesa 2007; Ethiopia – Catley 2007). As a result there has been a shift in DRR activities to include a greater emphasis on long-term livelihood focussed activities as well as the provision of humanitarian aid in response to drought (Catley 2007). This is combined with the increased emphasis on building on traditional drought management practices through CMDRR (as mentioned above).

Some of the more livelihood-focused activities have been described above such as those that involve conserving livestock. A related intervention is support for community-animal health workers (CAHWs). In the past training and support for CAHWs was aimed at men (Arasio 2004). Illiteracy has often been given as a reason for not including women: guidelines and suggestions for training illiterate as well as literate CAHWs can be found in Catley et al (2002). In recent years this has changed with the realisation of women's role in livestock management and the benefits of women's further input. In addition women CAHWs have been found to be an entry point to contact women from pastoralist and agro-pastoralist communities as well as to approach conflict issues and CBNRM (Grahn and Leyland 2005). In Somali region Ethiopia, nearly all CAHWs trained by Oxfam GB are women. It is said that this has resulted in an improved quality of service and more effectiveness of the service based on women's ability to utilise inputs with minimum wastage Hailemariam 2011). However in other places cultural constraints may still restrict women's involvement as has been found in Mandera, Kenya.

Other interventions include support for income generation and credit/savings schemes – described in Section 4.0; rangeland management including establishment of enclosures, clearing of bush, replanting of pastures (grass and trees) such as in Borana, Ethiopia; the introduction of irrigated agriculture along River Mille, Afar Ethiopia; and the building of a road in Karamoja, which addressed concerns about raiding in the area as well as improved access to such as markets (Cordaid & IIRR 2011). However in many of these cases the labour required has depended upon women. In addition some of these interventions may in fact encourage sedentarisation (such as introduction of irrigated agriculture) and a long-term challenging and weakening of pastoral systems.

6.3 Supporting structures and mechanisms

It has been increasingly recognised that it is important to include gender issues within DRR interventions for more effective and sustainable results. As a result there has been the development of a number of guiding documents, principles and frameworks for mainstreaming gender issues. In addition a number of networks have been established to help facilitate this approach.

For example the The Hyogo Framework for Action (UNISDR 2005) calls for a gender perspective to be integrated into all disaster risk management plans, policies and decision-making processes. The Sphere Handbook refers in many different sections to gender and age sensitivity in relation to food security. The IASC Gender Handbook for

food security and livelihoods guidelines also emphasises the need for a gender sensitive approach, and the IASC working group on gender attempts to mainstream gender in emergency response and DRR. They have produced many guidelines on the subject: see <http://gencap.oneresponse.info>. FAO has similar recommendations in the Rome Declaration on Food Security (FAO 1996) in which signatories commit to gender equality in participation in ensuring food security. And the UNCCD has an action plan for implementing gender in the Convention (UNCCD undated).

In addition many of the international NGOs involved in DRR have gender equity policies and strategies for gender mainstreaming. For example, Oxfam's humanitarian programming is conducted in accordance with Oxfam's guidelines on "Minimum Standards on Gender Equality and Women's Rights in Emergencies" and supported by gender focal persons that both critically examine its programming and shape its humanitarian interventions. Oxfam tries to ensure that women's needs are adequately addressed in all its programmes, that women actively participate in decision making, project design and implementation, and that activities reduce women's overall vulnerability to disasters (Young 2011). And the LEGS (Livestock Emergency Guidelines) (2009) specifically highlight gender as an issue that should be addressed throughout interventions.

6.4 Future scenarios and recommendations

Drought interventions in the past have been criticised for their lack of gender sensitivity. In recent years, improvements have been made and not least due to an increasing emphasis on supporting livelihood-based interventions as well as or instead of short-term humanitarian relief responses. Such interventions have had more success in building on indigenous systems of early warning and drought response, and increasingly involving women in these. However though there are some exceptions, many NGOs and government organisations still ignore or struggle to understand the local context and address gender issues within drought interventions – this is having an ongoing negative impact on the sustainability of the interventions as well as on gender relations in communities. As drought increases under predicted climate change and rangelands become more fragmented it will be ever more important that gender is mainstreamed into all drought interventions if women, and indeed communities as a whole, are to benefit.

An in-depth contextual analysis including gender, and gender-sensitive evidence-based data has been highlighted as an important starting point for humanitarian interventions. When agencies fail to use sex-aggregated data collection, and/or gender and generational analyses and/or take into account other divisions in societies their interventions can be misguided, fail to identify/target the most needy in the societies and/or put vulnerable groups at risk. A study assessing to what degree leading humanitarian-focused agencies collected such data found that few did so. Nor did they analyse the data in context, use the findings to influence programming, or carry out proper monitoring and evaluation to determine the effect on programming. Collecting and using quality sex-aggregated data allows for a more rigorous analysis and diagnosis; identifying who needs what, when and why. It is then important to also use the data

together with gender and generational analyses to track the response through monitoring and evaluation to ensure that intended assistance is delivered and that it is delivered to the right people (Mazurana et al 2011).

Common gaps and problems in drought interventions include women not being consulted or participating in decision-making processes related to planning or implementation of DRR. The emphasis on community-based interventions has improved this and many organisations insist on a certain number of women being included. However inclusion in meetings does not necessarily mean participation. Women may be limited and distracted by time constraints, as well as a low literacy level that prevents them from understanding written information disseminated by NGOs and agencies. Mechanisms for improving women's participation and for example, alternative and more appropriate channels for dissemination of women should be identified.

Food and water aid can upset local coping mechanisms and other social systems – it can also aggravate gender relations as it highlights the inability of household heads to provide for the household. Also food and water aid can cause dependency. Alternative approaches to food aid where communities are encouraged to 'bank' food for future use are beneficial – women as household food providers can lead such initiatives. Water and agriculture interventions should be handled with particular care and appropriate planning to avoid upsetting or destroying local rangeland management and use systems. Actions such as the capping of boreholes established to take a community and livestock through a drought, can help restore such management practices after the crisis is over, though it may be difficult to get community commitment to this (Morton et al 2002).

Women may have special needs in times of crises and these should form the basis of more gender-equitable interventions. Many drought interventions target women by including them in meetings, activities and tasks that require their labour. Often this is unpaid unless part of cash/food for work programmes. It is unclear what impact this has on women and under what pressures they place themselves agreeing to such tasks. It may be that their involvement is having negative impacts on their health and that of the household as other tasks are compromised due to time limitations. As such there may be a trade-off to consider between ensuring women's participation and increasing women's workload. An assessment of drought interventions on women's labour and the implications of this should be carried out.

Pastoral households and communities depend upon collective decision-making processes and are highly interconnected. The decisions and actions of one part of the household and community will impact on others. For example restocking of livestock amongst men will have repercussions for women (and vice versa). This interconnectedness is not always recognised and accounted for in drought response decision-making processes and as a result negative (as well as positive) impacts can occur. This highlights the importance of including both pastoral men and women in decision-making processes, and strengthening the disaster preparedness and response capacity of the entire community not just one part of it.

Interventions that can benefit communities in various ways and at various levels such as destocking and restocking have a better chance of benefiting women as well as men. By spending relief funds locally interventions such as destocking help to secure pastoral livelihoods for the future. Indeed, here women have proved to be as capable of involvement in such activities as men and where the interventions have been linked to women's income generation or marketing groups, benefits have been multiplied. Indeed, interventions that pay attention to their potential impact on 'normal' livelihood and social systems and seek to support them as well as addressing short-term needs, have a better chance of long-term sustainable results.

Evidence suggests that women are no more likely to lose animals to drought, disease or theft than do men but, given women's limited access to livestock-related inputs and services it is likely that in many cases they do lose more. An increase in women trained as community animal health workers would go some way to preventing this. Women's tolerance for risk may also be different from men's, either because they are said to be more risk averse (Rubin et al. 2010) or because they would have a more difficult time rebuilding assets because of the specific constraints they face. Preliminary results from an ongoing pilot project on index-based livestock insurance in northern Kenya found that women were more likely than men to purchase insurance for their animals (Kristjanson et al 2010). As such, women require particular support to hold onto assets and especially where gender inequitable customary practices limit this.

Understanding risk preferences and ability to cope with shocks is likely to become more important in the face of increasing climate variability. Turner (1999) found that repeated droughts in Niger strengthened women's control over livestock because they were able to invoke a cultural norm that made men responsible for household food security, with the result that men had to sell their livestock before women's. This led to a change in regional herd composition and an increase in women's relative control. However, another study found that many women in the Sahel felt that they would lose traditional access to resources if competition for rangeland and other livestock resources increased due to increasing climatic vagaries (IFAD 2005 in Kristjanson et al 2010).

As suggested earlier in this report, though reports and documents state that women's 'empowerment' has improved through many interventions, this is without a clear indication of what 'empowerment' actually means and what degrees have been achieved. Clear indicators are not provided and thus the level of this empowerment can be questioned. The meaning of 'empowerment' should be clarified, including what it means to pastoral women. Indicators should then be developed and used to better quantify/qualify the achievements of DRR interventions.

Finally, it is apparent that many DRR interventions focus on more sedentarised pastoralist communities (more accessible and easier to provide services for). Those still leading a more mobile lifestyle (in order to make best use of available resources) are often left out of decision-making and planning processes, and from the benefits of DRR interventions. Often the needs of these mobile groups are only addressed once in a critical state and arriving on the doorstep of IDP camps. More effort needs to be placed

in identifying and supporting the special needs of these mobile communities, both men and women: they form the backbone of pastoral society and without them the full potential of rangeland productivity and other benefits will not be realised.

7.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DRR ACTORS

Current trends of change in pastoral areas are set to continue. Investments, and infrastructure development are increasing; and many pastoral communities are taking up more sedentarised and/or diversified ways of living. For many women this can mean increased responsibilities and workloads but greater opportunities for raising incomes, increasing food security and wellbeing. For others, including those who have less power and security to assets, it can mean increased poverty and food insecurity. The benefits of these processes will only be realised for the majority, if women have more secure access to land and other resources/assets. Security can be obtained through strengthening women's rights within community institutions and/or potentially through more gender-equitable development and implementation of formal/government mechanisms.

Recommendation 1: Security of access to assets, resources and land for pastoralists and in particular pastoralist women, need to be advocated for and supported. Women who lead more mobile lifestyles as part of pastoral systems are likely to have different needs than those who do not, and therefore require special attention.

Recommendation 2: It should be recognised that socio-political change can generate challenges as well as benefits for different groups within communities. Only those affected can decide if the changes experienced are worth the possible costs involved. Women in particular will need to consider the impacts of more income generation opportunities on their workload and the long-term implications of this. Different interventions and support is required for different groups of women reflecting new divides in pastoral communities due to the changes taking place. Community planning and more poverty-focused approaches (including for livestock and market development) can go a long way to helping women and men make the right decisions about future change.

Pastoralism has been shown to be the most productive livelihood strategy for most dryland areas. Pastoralism relies upon a strong collective social system where complementarities in roles of men and women are an important feature. Development actors need to recognise that interventions that impact on one part of the system will affect others – positively and/or negatively. As such interventions need to be designed so that positive impacts on all parts of the system and its whole are optimised, and negative ones reduced.

Recommendation 3: Interventions in pastoral areas (including DRR) need to be designed and implemented in a manner that recognises the interconnectedness of drylands livelihood systems. Positive impacts across the system should be aimed for, and negative ones mitigated or reduced.

Many conflicts exist between addressing short-term needs of communities (men and women) and supporting sustainable long-term development and security. This is particularly the case in pastoral areas where short-term solutions to such as food and water insecurity can negatively impact on the long-term health and productivity of rangelands and pastoral systems.

Recommendation 4: Planning and implementation in the rangelands needs to be done at a temporal and spatial scale that will support the long-term sustainability of pastoral systems. Short-fix solutions need to be embedded and integrated within this through better planning, design and more thoughtful implementation that limit the impact of interventions on long-term health of pastoral systems. They should support processes aimed at longer-term more sustainable change. Community-based drought management and risk reduction planning and activities can help in addressing this.

Privatisation, individualisation and commercialisation are all having an impact on pastoral systems and pastoral men and women. Though some of these impacts can be viewed as positive, many negative ones are also arising including a weakening of customary institutions and social support systems, new types of conflicts, and more individualistic attitudes that conflict with and damage collective decision-making systems. Men and women experience these changes differently due to their different priorities, needs, skills/capacities, assets/capitals and ways of adapting to change. Those needing to lead a more mobile form of pastoralism will have different requirements to those that are more sedentarised. Supporting the former is likely to be more challenging, yet often more rewarding in terms of productive use of rangeland/dryland environments. Interventions that aim to support them need to take this into account. Mobile processing machinery and collection points might be more appropriate for example than fixed ones.

Recommendation 5: The changes occurring in pastoral systems and communities need to be fully understood together with their driving forces. These should then influence and feed into decision-making processes in and for pastoral areas including in relation to rangeland management, livelihood development and diversification, and conflict resolution.

Recommendation 6: New and innovative solutions, structures, mechanisms may need to be designed to deal with the new forces of change – these should be developed with the pastoral men and women they are intended to support. Different structures and mechanisms may be required for men and women to reflect their different needs, priorities, and form of pastoralism that they practice. Particular attention should be paid to the requirements of more mobile communities who have been neglected in the past. The premise of this support should be that it is mobile and flexible.

Recommendation 7: Care needs to be taken that benefits are not created for one particular group in the community at the expense of another. This includes ensuring that improvements in livestock production etc. support women's concerns for the security of household members – strategies to do this may be different to those supporting privatisation and commercialisation. The divisions within 'women' as a group also need to be taken into account including within polygamous households.

Recommendation 8: Ways to mitigate negative impacts of these processes need to be identified. This can include re-instilling communal mutually-supporting values that may have been destroyed by more individualistic attitudes. Working in groups and cooperatives can be one way of encouraging this – women may be better placed to do this. There is a need

for long-term capacity building and support connected to such group/cooperative development.

The changes occurring in pastoral societies are contributing to shifts in decision-making processes and the role and place that women and men have in them, at all levels. As women increasingly take a role in the public sphere opportunities for a greater role in decision-making processes will increase further. Inclusion in meetings does not necessarily mean that women actively participate or benefit. Social and cultural barriers to women's full participation tend to be complex and embedded, needing more to change than the quotas of an NGO or government, and rather a long-term perspective. Transferring power to the local level to access and manage resources can exclude women and their informal or usufruct rights of access, whilst strengthening the access of those with more power in the community, namely men.

Recommendation 9: Ways to positively support women in decision-making processes need to be identified. The establishment of new decision-making forums is likely to provide greater opportunities for women's participation than trying to make customary ones more gender-equitable. Understanding what mechanisms women already utilise for influencing decision-making processes and capitalising from them is a must for identifying appropriate mechanisms and forums for increasing their influence. Women's empowerment at the local level can be encouraged and complemented by women's participation in more formal politics as part of programmes of democratisation and good governance.

Change will be more sustainable if generated from within individuals, households and communities rather than being imposed from outside. DRR actors can play an important role in this change by fully understanding the different needs and priorities of men and women, and developing opportunities with communities, which will address these. However it is up to individuals and communities to make change happen, and women in particular may be happy to see smaller, seemingly insignificant transformation over a longer period of time, rather than a dramatic change that can upset gender relations to their detriment.

Understanding gender is vital to the development of appropriate interventions in pastoral areas that are more likely to 'do no harm' to current positive gender relations, and have more chance of initiating further positive change. This includes understanding the processes of change that are already underway in pastoral areas and why they are occurring. Households are a site of both collaboration and contestation (McPeak et al 2012) – including within different groups of women. Arrangements and dynamics between wives in polygamous households can be particularly challenging to comprehend. Understanding these will contribute to identifying how best the positive elements of 'change' can be supported and/or negative impacts mitigated – at all levels.

Recommendation 10: An in-depth gender and contextual analysis including gender-sensitive evidence-based data has been highlighted as an important starting point for humanitarian interventions. This can be collected through rapid assessments. However more in-depth participatory methods are likely to provide fuller and more useful data. Once collected the

data needs to be fully analysed and form the basis of further monitoring of change.
Recommendation 11: The meaning of 'empowerment' needs to be clarified and agreed upon – it can mean different things to different people. Indicators for empowerment should be identified and used within gender-sensitive evidence-based data collection and further monitoring/evaluation of interventions including DRR.

Although there are some exceptions, many NGOs and government organisations still ignore or struggle to understand and address gender issues within emergency including drought interventions – this is having an ongoing negative impact on the sustainability of the interventions as well as on gender relations in communities. As drought increases under predicted climate change and rangelands become more fragmented it will be ever more important that gender is mainstreamed into all drought interventions if women, and indeed communities as a whole, are to benefit. Organisations that have made clear strategies to mainstream gender (such as Oxfam) have shown significant success in designing and supporting interventions that have greater opportunities of supporting women as well as men, and to address gender inequities.

Recommendation 12: Organisations working on DRR in the drylands need to improve the mainstreaming of gender throughout the organisations as well as in programmes, interventions and activities. This should be an ongoing process with clear roles and responsibilities defined. More innovative schemes such as 'gender mentoring'²⁴ can generate increased levels of support and interest.

Recommendation 13: Clear and sound rationales for focusing on gender, how and why should be developed by projects/interventions before design or at the very least prior to commencement of activities. This should be understood and developed by all involved.

Recommendation 14: The impacts of DRR activities on women's labour and the short- and long-term implications of this should be studied and assessed.

NGOs are in a position to advocate for less powerful groups whether they are pastoralists as a whole, women or those facing drought. NGOs can access the powerful and/or assist in bringing the less powerful to the negotiating table whilst supporting them to access resources and rights. However, often NGOs prefer not to get involved in activities that may compromise their working relationships with government and donors, and as such will avoid the more sensitive issues such as pastoral and women's rights. However, if fairer and more equitable development is to occur and to which many NGOs espouse, then these issues must be tackled.

²⁴ Oxfam GB has developed innovative approaches for supporting the mainstreaming of gender including a 'gender mentoring' pilot programme in pastoral areas of Kenya. Here gender mentors provide ongoing support to gender focal persons in projects, and support them in building up the capacities and skills of staff to address gender issues, better understand them and how to resolve challenges and problems, and to develop an action learning process for ongoing interaction and identification of lessons learnt (for a report of the mentoring programme see George 2011).

Government bodies offer opportunities for promoting women's inclusion and rights. Government-led women's associations, for example, often exist (at least on paper) and are probably the most legitimate means for women to exercise agency in local development. They also have the potential to act as an umbrella for all women's interest groups, including those based around economic, health and environment issues. Women's associations also have the advantage of providing social and political institutional legitimacy through local government structures, thereby providing a potentially easier and more effective entry point for NGOs and CSOs working to strengthen women's engagement with customary institutions and government. The private sector too can play a role in promoting equity. However, much needs to be done to build their capacity to effectively engage with and represent pastoral women, their needs and priorities.

Recommendation 15: NGOs, government and the private sector (where appropriate) need to work together to advocate for the rights of women and in particular pastoral women who can face a double marginalisation – as pastoralists and as women. Ways to sensitively do this will need to be identified. Working together will provide greater strength and legitimacy to actions taken.

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