WOMEN’S ENGAGEMENT IN PASTORAL VALUE CHAINS IN NORTHERN KENYA

UNDERSTANDING GENDER IN LIVESTOCK VALUE CHAINS

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Contents
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY ........................................................................................................ 2

CHAPTER 1: .................................. UNDERSTANDING GENDER IN HORN OF AFRICA PASTORAL
LIVESTOCK VALUE CHAINS: CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY .................................. 7

1.1: The Context ................................................................................................................... 7
1.2: Pastoral Production in Northern Kenya ........................................................................ 10
1.3: Gender Characteristics of Pastoral Livestock Value Chains .................................... 11
1.4: Study Objectives ......................................................................................................... 18
1.5: Methodology ................................................................................................................. 18

CHAPTER 2: .................................. THE LIVESTOCK VALUE CHAIN AND WOMEN’S POTENTIAL TO
PARTICIPATE ...................................................................................................................... 22

2.1: Selecting Appropriate Value Chains for Women’s Participation ................................. 22
2.2: Actors in the Livestock Value Chain ............................................................................ 26
2.3: Key Actors and Interventions in the Livestock Sector in Marsabit County ................... 30

CHAPTER 3: .................................. CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN WITHIN THE
LIVESTOCK VALUE CHAIN ................................................................................................. 33

3.1: Women’s Roles in the Milk and Meat Value Chains ................................................... 33
3.2: Constraints and Opportunities for Producers ............................................................... 35
3.3: Constraints Specific to Women ..................................................................................... 38
3.4: Opportunities for Women in the Livestock Value Chains ........................................... 43

CHAPTER 4: .................................. RECOMMENDATIONS AND SCOPE FOR DEVELOPMENT
INTERVENTIONS .................................................................................................................. 51

4.1: Project Level Recommendations .................................................................................. 51
4.2: Policy Level Recommendations ................................................................................... 53
4.3: Recommendations for Further Research .................................................................... 54

ANNEX 1: FGD Guide - Women’s engagement in pastoral value chains - Marsabit ............. 56
ANNEX 2: KII Interview Sheet - Women’s engagement in pastoral value chains ................... 59
REFERENCES ......................................................................................................................... 61
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
The ASAL regions of Kenya have comparative and competitive strengths in livestock. The livestock sector contributes about 10% of the entire GDP, about 42% of the agricultural GDP and 50% of the country’s agricultural sector employment. Over 60% of these livestock are found in the ASALs which form about 80% of the country’s land area and employ 90% of the local population. More than 6 million Kenyan pastoralists and agro-pastoralists rely on livestock as a source of income with the sector employing half of Kenya’s agricultural workforce, generating $3.9 billion in sales, and representing 12% of the nation’s Gross Domestic Product.

The majority of the sizeable proportion of the rural labour force (over 51%) engaged in small-scale agriculture are women. A decline in agriculture therefore has far-reaching implications in terms of employment and income inequality as well as food security for women and entire households.

The contribution of livestock to the economies of ASALS has the potential to become quite significant due to increased urban consumption, market integration and export orientation benefitting the majority of women who are heavily involved and dependent on this important value chain.

Pastoral women play a vital role in livestock production, particularly as concerns the responsibility of women for the household food supply. In many cases, however, this role is overlooked by development planners and government officials. Women have been called the ‘hidden hands’ of pastoral production and the importance of this role needs to be recognised.

Recognizing women’s predominance in livestock production, this study sought to develop a better understanding of constraints and opportunities shaping women’s prospects for moving up the pastoral livestock value chains. This study maps the placement and roles of women and men in the value chains of this key sector. It identifies constraints and opportunities influencing the value chains in general and women’s roles in particular. The analysis combines a vertical perspective (focusing on sectoral dynamics and commercial actors) with a horizontal perspective (focusing on institutions and structures in the pastoral environment context). The study involved field research in Marsabit Central, Maikona and Laisamis districts of Marsabit County. The key findings of the study were as follows.

Women are generally concentrated at the lower levels of the livestock value chains, where they undertake care for smaller, young and sick stock around homesteads, are responsible for milking and minimal milk processing (e.g. production of ghee and yoghurt), and are also responsible for milk marketing at the household level. 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 is crucial.
Men, on the other hand, link households with the market to obtain input supply and sell the live animals, in addition to their substantial engagement in production activities such as herding and watering of large livestock such as cattle and camels. Most of the men’s activities also involve longer periods away from the homesteads in satellite camps in search of pasture or travels to distant locations in search of markets.

Women on the other hand only usually access markets in their localities or sell most livestock and livestock products at the farm-gate as this offers them the flexibility to stay around the homesteads and continue performing household chores and conforms to the social and cultural norms, which do not allow women to freely interact with men in markets. This however results in women receiving very low prices for their produce as they are prone to exploitation by middlemen and itinerant traders who are mostly men.

Men also serve as the actors in the upper levels of the value chains, including middlemen or village-level traders, bulk wholesalers, butchers, retailers, or even exporters. This division of labor is largely a reflection of social and cultural norms, which do not encourage women to interact with men, travel by themselves, or own land or key productive assets. 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 the livestock – such decisions are likely to be made by both husband and wife with the husband usually having the final say. These factors severely curtail women’s access to resources and services, including credit, training, extension, inputs, and trading and marketing networks.

The biggest challenge that women face is that of lack of asset ownership. In the pastoral societies, the social and cultural norms dictate that women do not own livestock as all ownership rights are held by the man. Because of this among other reasons, women cannot have collateral to apply for credit or have opportunities to participate in livestock markets, receive livestock-related training, access services etc. because selection for these opportunities is often based on asset ownership which women lack.

Moreover, there are few or no women service providers in extension, credit, input supply, or marketing. Despite the key roles women play in milk handling and processing, there is little or no training on quality control, including hygiene, sanitation, and value addition. Because men and women perform different functions, the difference in their compensation is not comparable. The activities that women perform such as small stock herding, milking, milk processing are usually considered part of household chores; thus, their work usually goes uncompensated.

In the case of milk however, women usually have full control of the milk value chain including marketing because milk is considered a woman’s responsibility. The commercialization of milk and the proceeds from these sales remain in the hands, and under the management, of women. Since there is a strong market value for milk and/or dairy products, enhancing the women’s roles
in dairying and refocusing their labour on improving both production and marketing has the potential to significantly reward and have more women beneficially engaged in this value chain.

A new and positive dimension that has emerged in terms of ownership and control of productive assets by women is that involving small stock. By engaging in formal and informal village savings and loans and self-help groups, women have slowly begun to purchase and sell (through loans acquired from the savings schemes) small stock and set-up marketing groups within the county. As long as the livestock have been acquired through these loans, the ownership and management of these livestock is viewed by the spouses as a “business” rather than a woman owned asset and women are allowed to acquire, manage and sell these with very minimal interference from men. Through this process, several women have been able to gain independence and approval to own and control livestock assets and proceeds from their sales therefore enhancing the engagement of women in this value chain. This process has also enabled more women to participate more actively in the livestock markets since when several women come together and bulk their livestock, they are able to transport them to terminal markets where they accrue higher value. From such proceeds, women have established individual businesses and diversified their income sources.

This dimension is however getting more traction in the urban and peri-urban areas rather than in the rural settings where the majority of the poor women live. It is there instructive that expanding the involvement of women in informal/formal savings and self-help groups in rural areas and introducing similar livestock ownership and marketing ideas through these groups will be critical in deepening the asset ownership of women and boosting their engagement in the livestock value chain.

The two pathways above (i.e. the milk sector and the deepening women asset ownership through self-help groups) thus have the greatest potential for contributing to the economic empowerment of women through increasing incomes under their control. This is so because they offer the least barriers to engaging more women actively in the livestock value chain as they circumvent the social and cultural norms that preclude women from owning livestock assets and managing income from livestock.

Ensuring that women maintain an enhanced presence in the livestock value chain will require the development and application of instruments designed to (a) deepen women’s ownership of assets, (including special programmes for female-headed households) (b) strengthen women’s voice in household decision-making over expenditure and assets, and (c) develop the capacity of rural producer organisations to represent women’s interests in the market. Soft investments could include women’s literacy programmes, entrepreneurship training to enable competitiveness, and redesigning rural producer organisations to ensure they are inclusive of women, including poor women, and market-orientated. A variety of value-adding strategies, ranging from enabling women to become livestock production specialists to assisting with milk processing should be developed.
Hard investments are equally vital. These include ensuring that physical infrastructure, such as processing and storage facilities, means of livestock or milk transportation, information and communication technologies (ICTs), and the facilities at retail and wholesale markets meet women’s needs and provide limited barriers to women’s participation or provide women more flexibility and control while ensuring sustainable incomes.

In developing livestock value chains that work for women, it is vital for women producers to (i) remain in charge and have some ownership and (ii) be provided with women-to-women service delivery. These conditions can be achieved by (a) providing training on quality control in milk handling, including hygiene and sanitation, (b) mobilizing women associations that not only make credit accessible but also enable women to be asset owners; (c) developing a pool of women para-professionals at the village level, who would work in critical areas such as input supply, extension, credit, and trade/market linkages; (d) facilitating women’s access to credit by developing MFI linkages; (e) facilitating women’s access to other markets outside the county.

In support of women’s movement up in the livestock value chains, this study offers the following recommendations:

**Strengthening the organizational capacity of women’s groups.** Strengthen existing women group savings associations and marketing groups with a focus on injecting livestock ownership and trade –oriented investment ideas. Where absent, expansion should be considered in order to establish these types of groups in more locations. Success will come through trading livestock which belong to women and establishment of market linkages through facilitation.

**Build capacity, including developing entrepreneurial skills and leadership.** Undertake capacity building for the production and marketing groups through training on financial management, revolving credit schemes and group dynamics, Put them in touch with microfinance institutions, and help them share ideas and experiences with people in other parts of Kenya (e.g. milk marketing cooperatives in Kajiado). Building women’s capacity and linking them to markets lets them turn their family responsibilities into businesses.

**Reduce distance to markets** (both physical and mental). Facilitate the establishment of women managed marketing groups plus establishment/construction and co-management (with women) of sale yards in close proximity to the communities.

At the policy level, the following policy interventions are recommended:

**Develop value chain action plans that would enhance women’s participation.** Develop value chain action plans for key livestock products, including live animal, beef and milk. These plans should be developed in consultation with all stakeholders, such as women producers, other key value chain actors, the private sector, relevant ministries and agencies, NGOs, and donors. A marketing strategy for each product to access key regional (including international) markets should also be developed
Support mobilization of women’s producer groups Female producer groups should be mobilized and if possible aggregated at the district level into larger cooperatives, which would enable producers to reach economy of scale to attract regional buyers. Experiences indicate that by encouraging women to stay in charge of the livestock value chain process, there could be opportunities for the cooperatives to market their products much more easily to other parts of the country.

Improve rural outreach by developing a pool of women para-professionals. Support should be provided for creating a pool of women para-professionals at the producer or district level by training women/girls high school graduates. In addition to providing extension services, these para-professionals could develop entry points for service delivery, such as by (i) mobilizing group formation and accounting support for savings and credit and/or (ii) developing linkages with MFIs and markets.

Improve rural road infrastructure to enable access by women service providers. Poor public infrastructure, particularly for rural connectivity, is one of the major constraints on the ability of women service providers to deliver services, including extension workers and village-level traders or sales agents, to reach women producers. The poor infrastructure also significantly curtails women’s ability to get milk to key markets.

Provide value chain innovation grants for women. A grant facility could be set up to specifically support women’s producer groups, female service providers in a cooperative, or women-managed processing companies, in innovation and entrepreneurship to promote the value chains of key livestock value chain products. This incentive could finance women’s producer groups in accessing value addition tools and infrastructure, women-to-women exchanges through exposure visits, women’s participation in regional or international exhibitions, or marketing extension. Support should include training on extension and/or entrepreneurship and helping provide market linkages.
CHAPTER 1: UNDERSTANDING GENDER IN HORN OF AFRICA
PASTORAL LIVESTOCK VALUE CHAINS: CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY

1.1: The Context

The Horn of Africa, comprising of Eritrea, Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda and Kenya (the IGAD countries), occupies an area of 5.2 million km$^2$, 80% of which is arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) and sub-humid lands supporting the livelihoods of mainly pastoralists and agro-pastoralists (Zeremariam, 2008).

The livestock sector contributes about 3.3% of the total GDP in Kenya, 20% of the total GDP in Ethiopia and 20% of the agricultural GDP in Sudan (Aklilu et al. 2002). However, in 2008 the Government of Kenya (Government of Kenya, 2008) revised the contribution of livestock to about 10% of the entire GDP, about 42% of the agricultural GDP and 50% of the country’s agricultural sector employment. Over 60% of these livestock are found in the ASALs which form about 80% of the country’s land area and where they employ 90% of the local population. The country had the following numbers of livestock in the 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census (Government of Kenya, 2010):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Camels</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Goats</th>
<th>Donkeys</th>
<th>Pigs</th>
<th>Indigenous Chicken</th>
<th>Commercial Chicken</th>
<th>Bee hives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17,467,774</td>
<td>2,971,111</td>
<td>17,129,606</td>
<td>27,740,153</td>
<td>1,832,519</td>
<td>334,689</td>
<td>25,756,487</td>
<td>6,071,042</td>
<td>1,842,496</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In eastern Africa, pastoralism is the main production and livelihood system in the arid and semi-arid areas where it contributes significantly to employment opportunities, food security, livestock trade, leather industry, slaughterhouses, butcheries, transport and tourism and plays important social and cultural roles (Odhiambo, 2006).

Livestock plays multiple roles in most smallholder households. (Sansoucy, 1994, Dalibard, 1995, International Livestock Research Institute, 2006). These include food and household nutrition; regular cash income, income diversification and employment; financing and insurance; draught power; manure for soil conditioning, cooking, feed for other animals and in some cases material for housing; weed control and conversion of marginal and waste products (crop residues and common property resources) into high value products; materials and fibres in form of hides, skins, wool and feathers; and socio-cultural roles.

Davies (2007) listed the values of Kenyan pastoralism as livestock sales, milk sales, hides and skins, subsistence, transport, employment, social capital, inputs to tourism, inputs to agriculture, linkages with other sectors of the economy, taxes and levies, inputs to dry-land NTFPs (Non-Timber Forest Products including honey, gum, charcoal), ecosystem services such as carbon
sequestration and aversion of desertification, socio-cultural values and animal genetic resources conservation. Aklilu et al. (2002) put the contribution of Kenya pastoral areas to the supply of the country’s beef as 72% with 46% being internal and 26% cross-border.

Pastoralists traditionally are known to keep livestock for provision of food, as form of wealth and heritage but changing lifestyle and growing financial pressure and food insecurity during drought has made them to sell their livestock. However, poor access to market is a problem for many livestock producers in Kenya (Lightfoot et al., 2005). Pastoralists in northern Kenya are constrained by unreliable marketing outlets that could provide the full benefits of their livestock resources. In addition, they experience high livestock mortality during droughts and household sales rate among the pastoralists is 12% while mortality is 53% in drought seasons (McPeak, 2001).

In Sub-Saharan Africa, women undertake 60% of all marketing, and at least half of all tasks related to food storage and raising livestock.1 Research spanning four decades in the agriculture sector indicates that when women have access to similar resources and inputs as men, they tend to achieve equal or higher yields.2 A study of women’s labor force participation across 61 countries found a positive correlation with economic growth between 1980 and 1990.3 Therefore, promoting gender equity4 offers the opportunity to drive economic growth. Additionally, consistent research confirms that when women’s incomes increase, there are visible improvements in the health, education and general welfare of their families. Together these two trends indicate that a focus on gender in microenterprise and other economic development programs offers the potential to pull millions of people out of poverty.

Pastoral women play a vital role in livestock production, particularly as concerns the responsibility of women for the household food supply. In many cases, however, this role is overlooked by development planners and government officials. Women have been called the 'hidden hands' of pastoral production and the importance of this role needs to be recognised. Historically, livestock services in pastoral areas have been male orientated, as men have been both the agents and the targets. This reflects the assumption that since men have formal control over herding decisions and the disposal of livestock, women play a subordinate role in livestock production. This presumption ignores the allocated roles that pastoral women play, the indigenous technical knowledge they have accumulated to carry out these tasks, and the informal influence that they exercise over their husbands and sons in making livestock management decisions.

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2 Ibid. ICRW.
While women’s role in livestock-related activities is no longer a matter of debate as seen above, the fact remains that men still dominate farming and livestock-related markets in rural areas across Africa. Gender inequality continuously hinders women’s participation along the entire livestock value chain. This can be primarily attributed to multiple constraints (e.g. access to capital, cultural values and norms, limited skills, decision power and mobility, etc.) faced by women in accessing, managing and controlling livestock assets and production (Mupawaenda et al. 2009; Njuki and Sanginga, 2013; Jeckoniah et al. 2013). Additionally, the limited participation of rural women in livestock value chain activities results from a fundamental misunderstanding of gender relationships but also the socio-economic and cultural roles of livestock at the household and community levels (Laven et al. 2009; Coles and Mitchell, 2011).

Gender equality is one of the most important themes of the National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands (2012). Through this strategy, the Government of Kenya commits to fostering measurable improvements in pastoral women’s economic opportunities and access to and control over productive assets and income via the following pillars:

- Develop and support income-generating activities that strengthen women’s socio-economic position.
- Increase the number of women in leadership, law enforcement and public service, and deploy more women to address issues that affect women.
- Mainstream interventions which address the specific situation of women and of poor or vulnerable groups within all policies and programmes.

While there may exist various initiatives for improving livestock contribution to household incomes, livestock policies may not be fully effective without accounting for the gender dimensions (gender-aware approach) and integrating gender equality goals (gender-centered approach) in the policy design process (Njuki and Miller, 2013.) Promoting inclusive and equitable growth of the livestock sector is critical to create and sustain livelihoods in rural communities.

Mainstreaming women in livestock production requires a systemic understanding of the organization of production, based on local geography, institutions, gender norms, and other local factors. Any forms of economic organization introduced to increase the gender balance in the livestock value-chain must be cognizant of, and resonate with, centuries-old structures of economic organization and gender roles. At the same time, gender mainstreaming interventions must challenge some of the existing social and economic institutions to pursue progressive economic and social change.

This report was commissioned by CARE to analyse women’s participation in the pastoral livestock value chain in northern Kenya. It also sought to establish barriers and opportunities for

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5 Blake and Hanson (2005), cited in Byravan (2008).
their engagement in that value chain. This assessment was achieved using a gender-sensitive value chain analysis. The goal was to help identify ways that will potentially increase women’s participation in the livestock value chains that would result into women’s economic empowerment and increased household food security.

1.2: Pastoral Production in Northern Kenya

Northern Kenya is largely a pastoral production system. Pastoralists in these locations keep a variety of livestock mainly goats, sheep, cattle, camel, chicken and donkeys. The livestock reared represent their wealth while most of their cash needs are derived from the sale of the livestock and livestock products. Pastoralists use rangeland resources including vegetation, water, and minerals, whose availability is highly variable both in space and time.

The communities in this are nomadic in nature moving across the landscape in search of pasture for their livestock but usually have a fixed homestead where they come back to. Where urban centers occur, permanent settlements are common. This region suffers from insecurity (inter-tribal animosity) and most locations have poor access to the county’s main markets of Marsabit (and therefore higher staple food prices) and to government services (health centres and schools). Livestock provide the main source of food and cash income for roughly 80% of the population of this primarily pastoral livelihood zone. The remaining twenty per cent of people are heavily dependent upon a combination of self-employment activities (trade, firewood, charcoal, etc.) and relief food.

Mobile pastoral production systems are characterized by several strategies that allow the systems to maintain its function (i.e. provide livelihood to the pastoral household through income and animal products), despite the uneven forage distribution and uncertainty of rainfall. The principal strategy is to match forage requirements of the different household herd livestock species with the forage on offer in the different grazing units. This is done during the course of a year through an extended grazing itinerary. Heterogeneity and mobility are thus the two paramount characteristics of pastoral systems with the latter being employed to explore the former (see also Krätli et al. 2013 for a more detailed description of the system’s mechanisms). There are however increasing limitations to herd mobility, and therefore the ability to produce under high climate variability.

The animals belonging to one household are usually kept in two different herds, the so called satellite herd, which comprises the majority of animals, and the so called home-based herd, that consists of lactating animals and their calves to provide milk to the household either for consumption or sale. The satellite herd spends most of the year in far-away grazing areas in order to make use of the heterogeneous pasture vegetation. The household does not usually have access to this herd other than during ceremonies when the satellite herds come home. At this time, animals can be swapped between the satellite and the home-based herd, for instance, when lactation ceases or the condition of the animals deteriorates. The milk produced in the satellite
herd is hence usually not available to the main household but provides for the herders moving with the herds and for raising the young stock.

The contribution of livestock products to household food needs decreases with wealth. Poorer households rely heavily on food assistance, supplementing the remainder of their food needs from market purchases and their livestock. Better-off and middle households get the all of their needs from their animals and from the market. Market access is very poor. Distances between commercial centres and villages are vast and the road network is in poor condition. In addition to the long distances there is a lack of reliable transportation. Insecurity is a problem in this zone due to its proximity to the border areas and hostile neighbouring tribes. This not only affects access to markets but also to grazing areas, water sources, and wild foods.

1.3: Gender Characteristics of Pastoral Livestock Value Chains

Live Animals
Cattle, sheep, goats, and poultry, in small scale farming, are mainly managed by women who provide most of the labor for their day to day management (Kitalyi 1998; Sinn, Ketzis, and Chen 1999; Kergria et. al., 2010). About 70 percent of the world’s rural poor are women, and livestock represent one of the most important assets and sources of income for them (DFID 2000). Women too are more likely to be considered owners of small livestock compared to larger livestock, and to have a say in the disposal and sale of these and their products, and in the use of income accrued from these sales. Women, however, suffer more constraints than men: They have limited decision-making powers and access to land, capital, information and marketing opportunities, which can affect livestock production and the benefits gained from it. Also, in spite of their role in livestock production, women’s control has traditionally declined when productivity has increased, particularly when products are marketed through organized groups such as cooperatives, whose membership is predominantly men (Kergria et. al. 2010).

For most pastoral women, access to livestock is by virtue of their relationships to men (husbands, fathers and sons) who control them (Brockington 2001). In general we found that husbands and wives usually still discuss the sale of livestock prior to animals being marketed though men might make the final decision. Further women can also have a fair amount of control particularly over small livestock and in some pastoralist groups where women have traditionally played a key trading role, they can be central to livestock sale and marketing. Taking livestock to market can be risky. The costs include weakening of livestock on the journey; mortality on the journey; cost of maintaining transport for camels (higher than other livestock); labour demands of livestock marketing; costs of subsistence in the marketplace; lack of fodder or water for stock in the marketplace; failure or delay in finding purchasers; and difficulty of returning unsold stock to the point of origin. Because of these among other challenges, we found that males are more likely to be involved in marketing than women.
**Milk and Milk Products**

When talking about pastoralism or looking at how to support it, the focus tends to be on livestock. Often livestock products are an afterthought if considered at all. Hodgson (1999) for example, said that a significant failure of development schemes in Maasailand was due to the fact that they ignored milk products. In most pastoral societies milk, particularly once it has been taken from the cow, is totally under the jurisdiction of women and they have absolute rights over distribution. Even if the men milk the livestock, as amongst the Gabra, they will pass the containers to their wives: when it enters the hut, management becomes the responsibility of the wife. “This means she is able to make decisions about how much milk will be consumed fresh, how much will be conserved as ghee (dehydrated butter) or fermented milk, and how much will be shared with other households” (McPeak 2006). This study found this to be the case in Marsabit also, where women further also made decisions on how much milk is sold.

However the presence of a husband sometimes decreases milk sales. While a woman has the right to sell milk (and keep proceeds) it is the husband who decides which animals stay near to the town where she can sell the milk. He may keep the livestock away from the town or household to maximise herd productivity and to let calves, rather than people, use the milk (Brockington 2001; Nduma et al 2000). 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 (Blench 2001).

For poorer pastoralists the trading of milk means that milk supplies, which would be inadequate for subsistence, can be exchanged for grain sufficient for nutritional needs. However it is not always true that sale of milk is a sign of impoverishment: where men control the major sources of income, trading provides women the opportunity to control their own money (Brockington 2001). Indeed, Nduma et al (2000) suggest that it tends to be the better off households that sell more milk. As such, the amount of milk sold need not be linked to household wealth or number of cattle, but more to age, status, extent of cultivation, consumption and intra-household separation of rights over animals and milk, transhumance patterns as well as cultural factors (Buhl & Homewood 2000; Nduma et al 2000).

The migratory nature of pastoralism makes it difficult to access a regular market. However as pastoralists become more sedentarised 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). With continued urbanisation the demand for milk will continue and most certainly increase. Women are becoming more organised in their selling too. In Karare Marsabit for instance, we found that some families set up contracts guaranteeing a regular supply of milk for their clients in Marsabit town and collect payments at the end of the month. Further in some of the more settled villages (*ollas*), the women sometimes sell milk and yoghurt to passing cars during the long rainy season. Other women organise themselves into a cooperative to sell milk.
Similarly our assessment found that women in Karare which is the highest milk producing area of Marsabit organized themselves in numerous informal women groups (each group with an average of 5 members). These groups collect milk from the interior and use existing transport linkages to get the milk to the market by assigning trucks drivers to take the milk to Marsabit town on a daily basis. On the return trip the truck drivers return with the empty containers, cash raised and/or grocery orders placed by the women. The group members typically contribute a similar quantity of milk for collective marketing (3 or 5 litres each). The proceeds for any particular day are given to one member and this pattern repeated for the rest of the members over the subsequent days. Milk is highly perishable, and yoghurt goes sour after several days. If there are no buyers (i.e. usually during wet season when there is surplus production and truckers cannot buy anymore) then women return home with the milk and have no choice but to give unsold stocks to their families before they spoil (IIRR 2004). Butter and ghee tends to be made only when there is a surplus of milk from household requirements. This is more often during the wet season when more pasture and thus milk is available.

Control of Income
It cannot be assumed that if women are involved in income generation activities, then they are able to control income raised: sometimes men take control. As Brockington (2001: 310-11) notes, even though Maasai women have control over milk, the control over the income may be "continually negotiated and contested." In addition, any new patterns of trade and change are to some extent dependent on the autonomy and interdependence between men and women. Indeed, once again in relation to milk, some Gabra husbands in Borana-Ethiopia were noted to be attempting to stop their wives marketing the milk, by moving further away from the towns. The findings of McPeak (2006) suggest that this is because the husbands are not comfortable with their wives gaining control over income. Further men sometime felt uncomfortable with their wives being alone in the town fearing that they might develop relationships with other men.

If the woman is able to keep her earnings, (typically minimal amount), it may be the only means by which she can obtain cash that she has control over. Indeed, it is said that men are more likely to respect women if they are raising monies that form a significant part of the household income (ABRDP 1999). In our assessment we found that in most households in Marsabit, women generally got to keep the earnings from milk sales. Further, women were also fully in control of income and profits accrued from any livestock sales of any animals that they had acquired through loans from savings and loans or other self-help groups (these are typically young stock purchased purely for marketing purposes and are fattened for a maximum of about six months before being sold off). This was not the case though if the livestock were from the homestead’s herd, even if this was livestock that she came with when she got married.

It is noted however that even if women can control their income this might not always be to their advantage. In East Africa it has 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 the woman has only won the ‘freedom to be poor’ (Robertson 1995 cited in Brockington 2001). As
Brockington (ibid) concludes 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. Further within pastoral societies there is much pressure to share all one’s possessions including income. As Davies (2005: 36) describes for the Afar in Ethiopia, “The strength of the sharing culture in Afar also ensures that surplus income is seldom accumulated by the individual”. Obviously this has its advantages and disadvantages.

**Commercialisation**

Commercialisation tends to open up opportunities for different groups of people. However those who have power previously tend to be in a better position to exploit the situation and to turn it to their greater advantage. A number of complexly interrelated factors influence whether commercialisation will benefit or harm women’s (and indeed men’s) socio-economic status and access to assets. These vary spatially, over time, socio-economic development stage and at different stages of a woman’s life. But once women have invested money or energy into an initiative they are loath to abandon it, hoping they will receive some return in the future (Watson 2005).

Commercialisation within pastoral societies can have particularly wide-ranging impacts as for many it is a relatively new concept and many still rely on informal methods of exchange such as bartering, trading and providing gifts (Robinson 1999). Encouraging continued commercialisation, the expansion of markets and subsequent commodification is likely to have an impact on these practises and probably result in the reduction of such informal methods. Services that were once given free are now being charged for, and the traditional benefit sharing methods that have been important in helping communities get through crises such as drought, are losing their importance. For example, even though women are now engaged in selling traditional medicines and herbs mostly in urban centres, such services were traditionally offered free among the members of the Maasai community, but are now emerging as a source of income for women (Bee et al 2002).

Our assessment within pastoral settings in Marsabit indicated that commercialisation and access to money from income generation activities has been positively embraced as communities and women in particular seek economic empowerment. Women have become interested in the financial benefits of commercialisation as well as social aspects such as meeting and working with others, social interaction and a chance to exchange information. On the flipside though, commercialization has in cases led to a rise in incidences where both men and women, and particularly women, getting involved in the selling of products that have a negative social impact such as miraa (leaves of *Catha Edulis* that are chewed to produce a mild ‘high’) in Marsabit and Northern Kenya in general.

We noted that where women are the main processors of livestock products e.g.milk/butter, the processing technology tends to be rudimentary, returns on labour are relatively low, and the work is often conducted in or near the family residence.
Markets
A primary constraint to increasing income generation activities and commercialisation is the lack of ability to access markets. This is particularly true for pastoralist areas, which are often isolated, with poor infrastructure and are far from commercial centres. Roads are poor quality and can damage goods in transport. It can be difficult for pastoralists to access livestock sourcing locations due to insecurity (both clan based and normal banditry). Despite this poor access, many pastoralists have no option but to rely on local markets.

Our assessment revealed that women are especially disadvantaged in terms of access to markets due to cultural norms where men do not want/forbid their women to travel by themselves to distant markets (due to insecurity, and fear of possible incidences of rape) and interact with men who are not family members (fear of infidelity or negative indoctrination). Furthermore, household chores restrict women’s mobility since they are unable to stay away from the homestead for extended periods of time. Other factors that played a role were a lack of access to transport or money to pay for it.

Women may lack access to information about suitable markets, how to access them and how to negotiate prices and favourable terms of sale. Further there is little coordination and/or collaboration to access markets further afield in order to organise linkages with traders in the cities, and/or sharing transport. The majority of pastoral women who are largely low-income in particular tend to hold weak market positions and they can be vulnerable to gender exploitation because they lack economic and social power.

Savings and Credit
Micro-finance institutions (MFIs) consist of agents and organisations that engage in relatively small financial transactions using specialised, character-based methodologies to serve low-income households, micro-enterprises, small scale farmers, and others that lack access to the banking system. They may be informal, semi-formal (that is, legally registered but not under central bank regulation), or formal financial intermediaries (Gamba 2005). For pastoralists such savings and credit institutions can have two major benefits. They stabilise income and consumption, not only minimising sale of livestock during drought when prices are low but also allowing pastoralists to have regular income and consumption patterns. Further they enable people to diversify income sources and reduce vulnerability to future shocks.

Indeed, lack of credit is said to be a constraint to potential diversification and start-up of income generation activities (Gamba 2005; Smith et al 2001). While such micro-enterprises typically foster little productive employment growth, they do alleviate the severe unemployment that threatens the survival of the rural poor, whilst providing increasingly needed cash. However without land to use as collateral, women in particular have trouble obtaining credit even though they need it to start businesses to have any income at all. Women are rarely considered
creditworthy not only because they do not have collateral but also because often they cannot read and write, and are not used to frequenting governmental or official institutions without their husband’s consent and being accompanied (Bravo-Baumann 2000).

However even pastoral men face problems: they too may lack land and in most cases livestock is not accepted as collateral. Formal financial institutions perceive the risks associated with lending to rural households living in dryland areas to be too high and in general there is a lack of appropriate instruments for managing risk (Gamba 2005). Giving credit to pastoral communities is difficult because of the risk of drought – many people need cash at the same time, so credit institutions are in danger of bankruptcy (IIRR 2004). And some studies have shown that people who have received credit with little guidance use it for food consumption and then find themselves having to sell livestock in order to pay off their debt, leaving them worse off than they were originally (Vilie 2002).

Financial services are hampered by poor physical and communication infrastructure amongst other things. Financial institutions are likely to have weak institutional capacity due to poor governance and operating systems, and low skills of managers and staff (Gamba 2005). The transhumance of pastoralists means it can be difficult to access banks (if they exist in the area) and make regular payments. Plus Islamic rules forbid the charging of interest (a service charge is made instead). Further borrowing any substantial amount takes so much time that many pastoralists (particularly women) are discouraged (IIRR 2004).

Many NGOs have supported savings and credit schemes, and increasingly in pastoralist communities. In the past these have started as very small loans and in a comparatively informal manner. NGOs can address the constraints through specialised techniques but frequently suffer from lack of sustainability because of their welfare orientation, small scale, low absorptive capacity, and lack of exposure to best practices of micro and SME finance. For any intervention to work, the local situation has to be well analysed to ensure that those who borrow the money are able to control its expenditure and be responsible for and are capable to ensure its repayment (Bravo-Baumann 2000). Often NGOs in particular place less emphasis on repayment than a private scheme might do, accepting a higher risk of loss. Though this might benefit some borrowers, it can also damage relations in the long term by not instilling good business sense or encouraging responsibility.

Our assessment of the savings and credit system in Marsabit revealed that informal savings and lending mechanisms are the most pervasive systems in the region (women based merry-go-rounds, COSALO village savings and loans groups), which are based on common bonds and knowledge about the borrower. Typically these groups lend their women members cash to purchase small stock, fatten and dispose at latter time with profit. Most women interviewed also indicated that they use these loans to open up small businesses like village kiosks. Some of these schemes have in more recent years had their saving increase quite substantially with members not knowing the new direction to invest this cash. There is need to connect these groups to
formal financial institutions, first so that their funds can be secure (currently money is kept among members in boxes in the villages) and secondly to build a history of collateral to enable future borrowing from the banks.

Groups & Cooperatives

Collective action is well known as a positive community-development force. Group formation can build social capital and enhance income generation and access to resources (Coppock et al 2006). However in general among pastoralists there tends to be less of a history of collective behaviour than in more sedentarised groups.

Groups tend to form through ideas and assistance from GOs or NGOs, though later on others may form having observed the success of existing groups. Groups may form with a common goal such as to engage in hide processing or marketing. Though recruitment may not be restricted initially, it is likely that after time this will need to take place: then a more careful screening process may occur. Entry fees are common. Groups can be self-governed with reference to a constitution and by-laws. 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 (ibid). Usually a committee is set up, and group officers assigned as chairperson, secretary and treasurer. Once profit has been accrued, together with regular contributions, the pooled funds could be used to yield loans for more and larger spin-off activities (ibid). Further such groups can prove a useful ‘testing ground’ for introducing new ideas such as financial concepts before going through what can be a lengthy process of cooperative formation and overcoming the other challenges of cooperative establishment.

However it can be difficult for informal groups particularly in pastoral areas to access the same resources available to cooperatives. Therefore most groups once established tend to move towards formalisation and becoming a cooperative. Cooperatives are guided by recognised country or region wide frameworks or regulations, though local adaptation can be achieved through establishing local by-laws. They tend to be linked to and under the responsibility of local government offices such as a cooperative desk. Cooperatives then have the opportunity to access loans from financial institutions, have more leverage to acquire funding from the government and work with private industry e.g. processors etc..

From the foregoing, we can conclude that there exists a significant gender gap in livestock ownership, production and commercialisation. The gap is maintained by constraints such as culture and women’s weak property and contractual rights to land, water and livestock.
1.4: Study Objectives

This study sought to understand how pastoralist women are engaging in livestock value chains and markets in northern Kenya with the aim of identifying mechanisms to better engage large sectors of these communities (especially women and youth who have difficulty engaging) in profitable pastoral livelihood activities. The research focused on identifying barriers and opportunities for their engagement, with the objective of identifying pathways for improved food and livelihood security and long-term resilience of pastoralist communities in this region through livestock.

The research is intended to provide CARE with a single-country case study illuminating learning that will be critical for scaling up interventions for pastoralist communities in Kenya.

The study sought to (i) understand the constraints and opportunities affecting women’s capacity to take significant control over the value chains of key livestock and livestock products in Northern Kenya and (ii) provide CARE and Policy with practical recommendations to strengthen gender mainstreaming strategy. The study’s unique contribution is to develop and apply an integrated approach to understanding gender in pastoral livestock value chains. Some of the key questions addressed in the study include:

- Which activities do women and men perform, and thus which roles/positions do women and men have in the specific value chains analysed? Why do women have these particular roles/positions as opposed to those held by men?
- How can the value-added activities fulfilled by women increase? How can women upgrade to new activities with higher value-added? What opportunities do men and women have to access markets and undertake higher-value activities? What are the specific opportunities for women to do so? At what point(s) in the value chains do women have the potential to gain financially and/or assume more responsibilities in making decisions related to production and/or marketing?
- What constraints prevent women and men from accessing markets at the local, national, regional, and, if appropriate, international levels? What constrains their ability to move up to higher value-added activities in the value chains under study? Which specific constraints apply to women? Are there policy constraints on women’s roles in these value chains, in addition to cultural and social constraints?
- How can women producers, increase their household income and food security? How could women improve their position in the value chain? Within the value chains analyzed, what key steps and potential interventions could improve women’s position?

1.5: Methodology

The field assessment was conducted in 3 districts (Marsabit Central, Laisamis and Maikona) of what is now the larger Marsabit County, Kenya. The population of the county is estimated to be
291,166 persons\(^6\). Within these three sampled sub-districts, a total of 10 administrative sampling locations were selected for the assessment based on pastoral, agro-pastoral, and urban/peri-urban livelihood zones. The sampling frame listing the locations where focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs) were undertaken is shown in Table 1. The study focused on analysing and capturing issues that represent the largest portion of women in the county (poor rural pastoral women) thus ensuring the study outcomes were both pro-poor i.e. having ability to engage the very poor in promising value chains and secondly, had a potential for scale i.e. able to engage large numbers of women in Northern Kenya.

From the 2009 National Population and Housing Census, the county’s projected population was 316,206 people in 2012. This is comprised of 164,105 males and 152,101 females. The projections are based on annual growth rate of 2.75 percent.

Marsabit with a surface area of 70,961 sq km. remains one of the poorest counties in the nation, characterized by unsatisfactory education and health indicators, limited infrastructure and with a substantial portion of the population categorized as either food-poor or chronically hungry. Marsabit is sparsely populated county with an average population density of 4 persons per square kilometre and is predominantly inhabited by the pastoral communities of the Rendille, Gabra and Borana. According to the Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey, 83.2% of the population live under the poverty line. The population is concentrated in the higher and slightly less arid areas around Marsabit town and Moyale. The population are predominantly semi and fully mobile pastoralists with some agro-pastoralists on the mountain around Marsabit town, Hurri Hills and hilly areas around Moyale.

Figure 1: Surveyed Locations in Marsabit County

\(^6\) Government of Kenya 2009 census
Table 1: FGDs and KIIs undertaken during the assessment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Livelihood Zone</th>
<th># FGDs</th>
<th># KIIs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marsabit Central</td>
<td>Nagayo</td>
<td>7,973</td>
<td>Peri-urban</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hula Hula</td>
<td>2,880</td>
<td>Agro-Pastoral</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maikona</td>
<td>Hurri Hills</td>
<td>4,008</td>
<td>Agro-Pastoral</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maikona</td>
<td>7,253</td>
<td>Pastoral/peri urban</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bubisa</td>
<td>4,811</td>
<td>Pastoral</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Turbi</td>
<td>4,321</td>
<td>Pastoral</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laisamis</td>
<td>Korr</td>
<td>13,012</td>
<td>Pastoral/peri urban</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ngurunit</td>
<td>8,293</td>
<td>Pastoral</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laisamis</td>
<td>6,423</td>
<td>Pastoral/peri urban</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Logologo</td>
<td>5,144</td>
<td>Pastoral</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>64,118</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The qualitative analysis was conducted using qualitative methods i.e., women’s and mixed-male-female focus group discussions (FGDs) and KIIs in Marsabit Central, Laisamis and Maikona districts. Women’s focus groups involved female producers, women’s producer groups or associations, and other groups of women including savings and credit groups. Traders, government and line ministries at the county level and NGO representatives (including CARE) were also interviewed. Overall, the sample of actors was fairly representative:

To understand the constraints on women’s participation and capture of higher value-added in value chains and identify their opportunities, the analysis combines a vertical perspective (focusing on sectoral dynamics and commercial actors) with a horizontal perspective (focusing on institutions and structures within the pastoral context). In this way, the study integrates findings related to women’s improved positions in value chains with those pertaining more broadly to gender and economic development to provide insights into vertical constraints on women in value chains (particularly on women’s access to markets and various services) and horizontal constraints (such as gender dynamics in the household and community and the institutional context in a pastoral setting, including norms, rules, and values) (Mayoux and Mackie 2009).

For the vertical dimension of the analysis, the study obtained information and data on a range of issues, largely through literature review and interviews and included information such as local demand, market access enabling factors such as policy, access to land and infrastructure, support services (such as marketing support, telecommunications, transport,) and training.
For the horizontal dimension of the analysis, interviews with representatives of government and ministries, associations, groups, NGOs, helped capture the institutional context for the value chains. Talking with both women’s and men’s producers was also a priority.

The qualitative analysis mapped value chains and developed constraints trees to identify the main steps in livestock production and distribution, the key actors along the respective value chains, and their relationships. The gender perspective applied throughout the mapping helped to identify the relative positions and roles of women and men along the value chains. Aside from the commercial actors in each value chain—any input suppliers, service providers, producers, traders, buyers, and retailers—the institutional actors who play a role in the value chain were mapped. Value chain mapping focused on the vertical dimensions described earlier to determine the key challenges facing women producers as well as the challenges and opportunities of particular relevance for women producers. The mapping also took the horizontal dimensions into account to understand the institutional context and constraints for each value chain.
CHAPTER 2: THE LIVESTOCK VALUE CHAIN AND WOMEN’S POTENTIAL TO PARTICIPATE

2.1: Selecting Appropriate Value Chains for Women’s Participation

As already mentioned, pastoralism is the main means of livelihood in Kenya’s Northern region, while livestock trade consists of indigenous livestock of local and cross-border origin. Over 70% of Kenya’s livestock are found in the Arid and Semi-arid Lands (ASALs) largely in the Northern parts of the country where they employ 90% of the local population. Kenya’s total cattle stocks increased from about 14 million heads in 1990 to 18 million heads in 2010, with significant variability between years due to reoccurring drought and disease outbreak. Although official trade volumes are low, Kenya is generally considered an exporter of live cattle, with Uganda and Mauritius serving as its main export partners.

Domestic beef consumption more than doubled over the past two decades, with beef accounting for about 73 percent of the total meat consumed by Kenyans. Sources indicate that Kenya meets its high national demand for beef by importing large volumes of cattle through informal, cross-border trade. Cattle marketing in Kenya is largely ad hoc and trade is poorly regulated. Additionally, producers remain highly unorganized, often leading to their exploitation by traders and middlemen.

The resident communities within the study area of Northern Kenya are predominantly pastoralist and to minor extent agro-pastoralist communities who rely heavily on livestock production for their livelihoods. These communities and ASAL regions have suffered a long history of political and economic marginalization and are currently rated among the poorest and most food insecure in the county. The rising levels of poverty in these areas stems from a number of mutually reinforcing factors. These include population growth, contraction of rangelands, drastic reductions in per capita livestock holdings, environmental degradation, insecurity, flooding, disease epidemics and general despondency. In recent years, the increasing frequency and severity of droughts have caused widespread losses of livestock leading to increased poverty, acute food insecurity and ultimately, destitution.

Despite the significant contribution pastoralist’s and agro-pastoralist’s livestock make to the national economy, pastoralist producers have failed to secure remuneration commensurate with their contribution. This has arisen largely from shortcomings in the livestock marketing system. At the best of times, producers receive less than 50% of the price offered for livestock in terminal markets. This arises from issues related to market structure, such as traders’ high profit margins due to rent seeking behaviour and information asymmetry along the value chain. During droughts, forced liquidation of livestock at depressed prices decimates herds which can cause livestock markets to become unstable and face collapse. The combination of high grain prices and depressed livestock prices weakens the purchasing power of pastoralists and exposes them to severe food insecurity. Women, children and the elderly are worst affected by this. The
liquidation of herds and loss of breeding stock through sale or death undermines the ability of pastoral families to rebuild their herds after a drought forcing them into destitution.

Decades of political and economic marginalization in most of the arid areas have constrained many aspects of women’s lives. Socio-cultural norms and religious attitudes limit their involvement in the household, community, and economy. Aggressive quotas for women’s representation in parliament in Kenya’s new constitution have so far not directly translated to either increased decision making for women in pastoral regions or improved living standards for ordinary citizens. Despite many interventions to address gender inequality, Kenya remains among the lowest-ranking nations in the UN Human Development Index and the Gender Development Index and 83.2% of the population in Marsabit county live under the poverty line.

Within pastoral settings, women’s roles in livestock production is critical to their well-being, given the lack of other income-generating opportunities that are geographically suitable (that is, within or near the village). Rural women have few or no incentives to increase their productivity, however, because (a) their agricultural labor is typically unremunerated; and (b) household responsibilities affect their time management. Moreover, socio-cultural norms discourage women from (i) interactions with persons outside the family; (ii) work outside the home without a permission from a male family member (i.e., father, brother, or husband); and (iii) travel outside the village. Although there are regional variations depending on the degree of traditionalism in the communities, these norms have substantial impacts on women’s asset ownership, mobility and rural access, and access to services. In particular, they can severely limit women’s access to inputs, extension services, and markets, as those who are service providers in these areas tend to be male.

The Key livestock-related value chains in Northern Kenya that women could possibly get involved in include:

- Cattle and Camel meat.
- Shoats meat.
- Cow milk
- Camel milk
- Fodder.
- Hides and skins
- Poultry

In assessing the key appropriate value chains for women’s participation, the authors considered each value chain in terms of several distinct factors including: market opportunities, potential for scale, constraints and pro-poor potential. More critical however was to find value chains that whose engagement approach would stay as close as possible to traditional women’s roles and family responsibilities and activities that are careful enough to respect firmly rooted traditions, such that these face minimal resistance from men and women.
Market opportunities vary dramatically among the above value chains. Those with growing market opportunities and in which northern Kenyan producers are or could be competitive can generate greater income gains and opportunities for expanded participation relative to value chains with stagnant or shrinking markets. In terms of potential for scale, there exists significant difference in the size of the value chains in northern Kenya; some engage hundreds while others engage tens or hundreds of thousands of people. Value chains that do or could encompass large numbers of households will offer the opportunity to achieve greater impact at typically a lower cost per household. With regard to constraints: the challenges that impede households from accessing market opportunities vary in their number and significance. In northern Kenya, the harsh climate and lack of infrastructure create insurmountable barriers to the development of certain value chains. Those sectors with fewer or more easily resolved constraints offer greater scope for engagement. Finally in terms of pro-poor potential, many factors influence the ability of the very poor to engage in promising value chains, including labour-intensity, low barriers to entry, acceptable risk, regular cash flows and accessibility for women. The focus on supporting the very poor makes the pro-poor potential of each value chain a critical consideration.

Camel and cattle meat is in strong demand and has reasonable potential for scale given the size of the sector. However, very poor households may not own a significant number of these assets and therefore can only benefit indirectly through growth elsewhere in these value chains (e.g. herding, trading). Moreover, the minimum TLUs necessary to withstand drought are sufficiently high that no restocking or asset transfer program could affordably return ex-pastoralists into camel and cattle ownership. The sector also faces several constraints including insecurity and poor transport infrastructure. This value chain however still has relatively good potential to directly create significant benefits for majority of the population because this region holds the largest population of cattle and camels in the country. For women however, because cattle and camels always almost spend most of their time in satellite camps, this presents a challenge in accessing the animals.

In comparison, shoat meat is also in strong demand and households are more willing to sell shooks than larger livestock. In contrast to camels and cattle, very poor households often own shoats (though the very poorest households may not). The shoat sector therefore has more potential than larger livestock, though is still limited in its ability to benefit the very poor directly without commercialization. Women can particularly benefit from the shoat sector because they are largely responsible for taking care of these small stocks on one hand while they can also claim ownership under certain circumstances. Interventions that would improve the functioning of the camel, cattle and shoat meat value chains including supporting a realignment of the marketing system through auctions, interior markets and market hubs hold great promise for improving the livelihoods of both men and women.

Cow milk is currently the fastest-growing agricultural sector in Kenya and powdered milk is currently consumed through much of the north, indicating a potential market for local production. However, harsh conditions contribute to the virtual absence of dairy cattle in
northern Kenya, and poor transport infrastructure poses challenges to milk preservation: cow milk (more so than camel milk) spoils quickly when unrefrigerated. With supply concentrated in various pockets in the region (e.g. Karare), the cow and camel milk value chain has the potential to benefit large numbers of women and engage the very poor in northern Kenya since milk handling activity is an activity fully controlled by women.

With rising incidence of settlement and growth in peri-urban settlements in the north, the demand for fodder for sedentary herds is growing quickly. The key constraint currently facing the expansion of the sector is a lack of large pockets of irrigable land (where water is available) that can be used for fodder production in northern Kenya. This limits the potential to engage large numbers of the very poor. Where they exist, growing fodder represents a new potential cash crop. For women, there may exist opportunities in drying fodder, which could potentially extend fodder markets beyond areas where irrigated farming is possible e.g. the wet highland areas of Mount Marsabit and Hurri Hills. Support for this value chain include facilitating improved access to services – extension, inputs, finance – by existing and potential fodder producers. This value chain however has very limited scope in northern Kenya due to poor potential for scale attributed to the ASAL nature of the environment there.

The hides and skins sector represents a potential opportunity, though little is available on its market prospects or the price competitiveness of hides from northern Kenya vis-à-vis producers elsewhere. The size and quality of hides from the north is quite low. This is not only due to the difficult terrain animals must traverse, but also to the antiquated drying techniques used. As with the other livestock value chains, the very poor will not benefit from selling the hide itself, but could engage in primary processing (e.g. drying) and trade. Women can contribute to this by engaging in services that upgrade the quality of hide management and drying technologies. This might include curing practices such as wet salt curing, effective flaying and branding, avoiding skin diseases and providing access to animal health services. This value chain also has very limited scope in northern Kenya due to poor potential for scale.

The poultry sector is very poorly developed in northern Kenya. Apart from a few urban or peri urban households, most pastoral societies traditionally still consider chicken as “birds” and hardly engage in any rearing of poultry. There are very few households that keep chicken or sell eggs and the mobile nature of pastoral households further makes this a difficult enterprise undertake. Even within the peri-urban settings, the price competitiveness compared to commercial producers elsewhere in Kenya is very poor. This value chain therefore also has very limited scope and poor potential for scale.

From the foregoing therefore, it would seem that shooat meat (live animals), and cattle milk demonstrate the greatest potential for women’s development.
Summary: Toward a More Nuanced Understanding of Gender in Pastoral Livestock Value Chains
How and to what extent might women participate in Kenya’s expanding local markets for beef and other livestock products? This chapter has briefly reviewed Kenya’s increasing opportunities for livestock and livestock products. With the increase in Per capita meat consumption in Kenya, livestock markets have experienced both increasing demand and rapid change. Demand and prices for cattle, sheep and goat meat show an increasing trend due to urbanization and increased income in the cities and increased demand from the Gulf countries. Women’s participation in such markets is an important way to improve the welfare of women and their families. However, it is also important that women are able to make decisions about which animals and products are sold and what is done with the proceeds of sales. Otherwise, participation alone may not benefit women. We have also identified key constraints for women’s participation in the livestock sector. Social and cultural norms have a substantial impact on women’s (i) livestock and land ownership, (ii) mobility and rural access, and (iii) access to services. These three broad constraints constrain women from moving beyond production, basic processing, and extremely limited marketing of livestock commodities. The next chapter presents a more detailed and nuanced assessment of key constraints and opportunities for women to move up in the livestock and livestock products value chains.

2.2: Actors in the Livestock Value Chain

**Input suppliers.** These are typically small-scale retailers or village-level veterinary drug shops (popularly known agrovets) that supply drugs, often with advice, to livestock keepers. The most common ailments and diseases handled by Community Based Animal Health workers (CBAHWs) who mostly also double as the owners on these agrovets were gastrointestinal parasites in all stock types, trypanosomiasis and tick-borne diseases in cattle, and coughing in small stock. Inputs are generally purchased by cash. Men usually buy inputs, given the general absence of women who own these agrovets with whom rural women producers can interact. Ethno-veterinary practices are usually undertaken by some community members including women. To a large extent, the traditional system of government veterinary professionals and their accompanying paraprofessionals exist on a reduced scale owing to decline in government funding. The CBAHWs who provide the localised services consisting mainly of clinical services also provide drugs to livestock at this local level.

**Livestock Keepers.** Consist of Pastoral livestock keeping households who keep cattle, camels, goats, sheep, and in very limited cases chicken (apart from urban or peri urban settings, most pastoral societies consider chicken as “birds” and attach very little value to them). Mobile pastoral production systems are characterized by several strategies that allow the systems to maintain its function (i.e. provide livelihood to the pastoral household through income and animal products), despite the uneven forage distribution and uncertainty of rainfall. The principal strategy is to match forage requirements of the different livestock species with the forage on
offer in the different grazing units. This is done during the course of a year through an extended grazing itinerary. 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 when she marries (so that her clan does not suffer a complete loss of livestock in the event of a severe drought).

Milk from camels, cattle, goats and sheep for household use was ranked as the most important utilization of livestock. In Marsabit, use of camels for transport is also dominant, whilst for cattle, milk for sale and blood for household use is also critical. For goats, live animals sale is the most important use and milk and meat for sale comes second. Sheep on the other hand principally provide meat and fat for households.

**Middlemen and village-level traders.** There four groups of traders that are found within the livestock marketing chain in Marsabit. The itinerant traders who source livestock from the pastoral producer at village level and drive them to the primary markets. Middlemen are mainly found in both primary and secondary markets they negotiate prices between the itinerant traders and middle level traders at secondary markets. The middle level traders purchase livestock at the primary markets drive them to secondary or terminal markets. Traders coming from out of the district in to Marsabit are common in the secondary market at Marsabit and Moyale where they purchase livestock from middle level local traders for transportation to Nairobi. These traders buy animals individually and transport by truck either as an individual if they can fill the truck or could team up in groups to transport to secondary or terminal markets.

The livestock marketing structure follows a four-tier system. The main actors of the 1st tier are local farmers and rural traders who transact at farm level with very minimal volume, 1–2 animals per transaction irrespective of species involved. Some traders may specialise in either small or large animals. Those small traders from different corners bring their livestock to the local market (2nd tier). Traders purchase a few large animals or a fairly large number of small animals for selling to the secondary markets. In the secondary market (3rd tier), both smaller and larger traders operate and traders and butchers from terminal markets come to buy animals. In the terminal market (4th tier), big traders and butchers transact larger number of mainly slaughter type animals. From the terminal markets and slaughterhouses and slabs, meat reaches consumers through different channels. Animals sold to secondary markets are usually bought by traders selling to terminal markets or for local consumption.

Once the animals reach the terminal market, they are bought by a number of buyers comprising slaughterhouses, butchers, retailers and by-product handlers (offal and skins). In Nairobi, Dagoretti and Dandora are the main markets where the animals are sold, and are directly slaughtered and sold to various butcheries in the city.

**Butcheries.** The butchers in Nairobi/Marsabit buy their meat from traders at the slaughter houses or buy live animals and take them to the slaughter house. Due to the absence of any refrigeration
in roadside and small scaled butcheries the butchers prefer to buy in relative small quantities which can be sold during one day without keeping meat overnight. The meat is bought early in the morning, brought to the shop by small motorbikes with metal boxes and cut in parts to be displayed. The consumer chooses the part of the meat he wants to buy that is then packed for them. Figure 2 and 3 illustrates the milk and meat value chains.

For live animals, the key actors consist of input suppliers, pastoralists, middlemen and village-level traders, wholesalers/larger traders, butchers and exporters. The value chain of the milk and milk products in Marsabit pastoralists involves six distinct value adding activities from the production of the milk through reaching to the final consumer in the market. These activities include input supply; production; gathering (bulking); processing; transportation; and retail trading. These interactions are illustrated in figures 2 and 3 below.

Figure 2: Milk and Beef Subsector Maps Respectively
Figure 3: Gendered Combined Livestock Value Chain

Small holder livestock keepers
♂ Men own the land, undertake herding, & marketing,
♀ Women engage in tending small stock, watering, milking, selling of milk and tending of animals left on family homesteads and as daily labor; limited access and control of proceeds from livestock sales, dominate membership in self-help groups

♂ Men control livestock proceeds
♀ Opportunity to promote greater gender balance in input supply.

Men dominate wholesale trade due to mobility

Small itinerant traders

Pastoralist Households

Support Services
Financial Services, e.g. Village Savings
Govt Extension

Export Markets
Exporters

Exporting

Wholesaling

Retailing

Rural Markets

Urban Markets (high value)

Consumption

Men
Women

Opportunity

Small, rural agrovets

Input suppliers

Production

Marsabit Town

Restaurants/Hotels

Nairobi

Traders on Marsabit Market

Large Traders
Figure 3 highlight the constraints that specifically limit women from moving up to other roles in the livestock value chains. The constraints vary with respect to the different positions in the value chains, as discussed below.

- **Producer (small scale) to middleman and village trader:** *(Both Moderate and significant barrier. Moderate barrier for milk value chain)*: Despite cultural and societal barriers to upgrading from producer to middleman/trader, several women work as village-level milk traders and sales agents in Karare, where they buy milk directly from other women. This is so because society is relatively more open to women performing such roles within the milk sector. Women however lack the capacity to bulk milk in significant amounts

  - **Significant barrier for meat value chain:** cultural and societal barriers make it hard for women to upgrade from producer to middleman/traders when selling livestock -whether small or large.

- **Middleman/trader to wholesaler/processor:** *Significant barrier.* Although a number of women take their animals and milk to markets, they are by and large involved as producers rather than traders.

- **Wholesaler/processor to retailer/exporter:** *Significant barrier.* Generally, women and men alike find it difficult to transition to a role in exporting. Socio-cultural norms mean that women face significant additional barriers in this area.

### 2.3: Key Actors and Interventions in the Livestock Sector in Marsabit County

Livestock production remains the most important livelihood activity in the study areas, despite the decline in numbers relying on it as a primary source of income. Typical livestock interventions are mostly one-off ‘humanitarian’ interventions that take place during a drought to reduce a community’s vulnerability to drought. Longer Term Livestock interventions that build resilience also exist. Specific livestock interventions found in the county include:

- **Water and Sanitation (WASH) -** Water emerges as the priority need for almost all pastoral communities. Although it does not represent the most significant humanitarian response cost, WASH interventions are the most frequent, widespread and regular. The activities here include: *Borehole development and Maintenance, Emergency water trucking, distribution of water storage tanks, maintenance and construction of shallow wells and pan construction / de-silting and watershed management* interventions.

- **Slaughter de-stocking** – this is a common response when livestock body conditions are rapidly deteriorating. Animals, already in poor condition, are bought by agencies (including the Government) for a fixed price. The animals are then slaughtered and any resultant fresh meat distributed among needy families.

- **Commercial de-stocking** – This differs from slaughter de-stocking in that the animals are sold to private sector buyers, ideally in good or reasonable condition before the drought affects animal quality and hence price.

- **Animal health** – The main activities in this category include vaccination, control of parasites, provision of drugs and associated trainings.
- **Animal feeding** – Supply of hay, supplements and some pasture related activities
- **Peace building/ herd mobility** – These include activities that reduce/ prevent conflict that will, primarily, avoid loss of life but will also hugely benefit livestock survival by improving herd mobility.
- **Comprehensive coverage of animal health services**
- **Developing livestock markets**
- **Livestock insurance scheme**

The table below lists some of the key stakeholders involved in Livestock interventions in the county

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the NGO/CBO/FBO</th>
<th>Livestock Intervention</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marsabit County Government (including Ministries of Agriculture Livestock and Fisheries Development, Ministry of Water etc.)</td>
<td>Sector wide Livestock interventions including: farmer extension services, construction of livestock markets, capacity building, vaccinations, borehole development and maintenance, emergency water trucking, construction of shallow wells and pan construction / de-silting etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Agricultural Sector Development Support Programme (ASDSP)</td>
<td>Sector wide Livestock interventions with focus on Shoats and Camel Milk Value chains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Drought Management Authority (NDMA)</td>
<td>Early Warning, community based disaster risk reduction (CMDRR) programming, and emergency WASH activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DLMC (district livestock marketing council)</td>
<td>Constructing and repair of sale yards, livestock marketing related activities, co-management of livestock markets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Nairobi and FAO</td>
<td>Pasture and Water Early-warning system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Sector wide Livestock interventions e.g. Health, Water, Holistic Natural Resource Management, Livestock Market co-management (through SNV), Pastoral Field Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGAL-IR and REGAL-AG</td>
<td>Livestock value chain, (marketing and capacity building)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidai Africa Ltd</td>
<td>Super Service Centers with an established network of franchise outlets for the provision of animal products and services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordaid</td>
<td>WASH and CMDRR programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastoralist Initiative and support Programme (PISP)</td>
<td>Sector wide Livestock interventions (determined by available donor resources) largely in Health, Water and Livestock Marketing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastoralist Community Initiative and Development Assistance (PACIDA)</td>
<td>Sector wide Livestock interventions (determined by available donor resources) largely in Health, Water and Livestock Marketing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNV</td>
<td>Support for Livestock marketing development and co-management of livestock markets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewaso Nyiro North Dev Authority (ENNDA) and ADB-ASAL.</td>
<td>Support for Water sector and Livestock extension and capacity building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI)</td>
<td>Research in Forage and breed improvement among others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JICA</td>
<td>WASH- construction of water pans/dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food for the Hungry Kenya (FKH)</td>
<td>Livestock markets and vaccination programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI) and CARE-Kenya</td>
<td>Livestock Insurance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 3: CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN WITHIN THE LIVESTOCK VALUE CHAIN

Pastoral women participate in the livestock value chains by providing (usually unpaid) domestic labor in the production process (herding, watering, fodder production, treating, milking, milk sales etc). Women are however not usually engaged in herding of large livestock in satellite camps and marketing of live animals at marketplaces (except on rare occasions when they sell small-stock) as marketing and trading exposes women to non-homestead environments while herding of large livestock is restricted to men.

Men play a key role in linking the household to the market. This role includes purchasing inputs, selling live animals to middlemen or village-level traders, or traveling to the local market to sell the animals themselves. Women on the other hand play a vital role in selling of milk and milk products, usually at farm-gate or to nearby traders.

3.1: Women's Roles in the Milk and Meat Value Chains

Women play a vital role in livestock production in pastoral areas of Northern Kenya. Women’s current roles and responsibilities include milking of cattle and shoats, milk processing, and care of young stock. They also share tasks with men including for instance camel management, cattle dung removal, and livestock medication. Fencing of grazing reserves and fodder storage are also mostly conducted jointly by both men and women. Women may take over all traditional men’s roles in case of labour shortage except slaughtering. Men’s responsibilities as herd managers include moving, feeding and watering the herds, castration, vaccination and slaughter, building enclosures, marketing and digging wells. Senior men are responsible for planning and decision making with regard to livestock, while junior men and boys perform most of the physical labour and herding.

Girls are actively involved in herding and in their mothers’ livestock work. Widows take over the role of their late husbands in case their sons are not able to carry out the activities; hence, the workload of young widows is particularly high.

Treatment of livestock: women are often the first to identify sick animals. They spot parasites and note changes in milk productivity or the dung, indicating that the animal is sick. Women are often involved in preparing traditional remedies and treating sick livestock, although in many cases societies modern medicine is bought and administered by the men.

Women are closely involved in caring for young and sick livestock as well as for animals kept near the homestead. Their involvement in activities related to birthing and caring for the newly born animals is fundamental to the pastoral economy.
Milking and milk distribution: women traditionally milk all the animals and are usually responsible for the distribution of the milk between family members. Where milk is processed before consumption, it is usually a task assigned to women and girls. Importantly, in small-scale production, women are also generally responsible for selling milk and they also control the income generated by this activity.

As “milk managers” they are responsible for milking, processing milk products and marketing of dairy products. While such pastoral food products as butter, yoghurt, ghee and cheese are usually prepared and distributed by women, in some cases however milking may be restricted to certain kinds of stock e.g. small stock while men may do the milking for camels.

Small stock: women are responsible for the small stock (goats, sheep, and sometimes chickens), including herding and watering them. Young stock (the young of all stock types) that is commonly kept in or near the pastoral homestead is also usually in the care of the women and children.
3.2: Constraints and Opportunities for Producers

*Subsistence Orientation of Pastoral/Agro-Pastoral Production*

The pastoral livestock production system in almost all Northern arid regions of the country is geared towards subsistence implying that most animals produced hardly meet market requirements. Pastoralists are subsistence producers and the biggest challenge is to find ways to integrate the pastoral production system into needs of the markets. In most of the livestock markets, the communities will only sell livestock to address an immediate need at the household level and therefore first take animals to the market that are seen as surplus requirement for the household requirements. This implies that such animals are not deliberately geared towards market requirements and are either too old, weak or even sick. Livestock, particularly small stock are sold so that the vendor may pay school, hospital fees etc.

Of the livestock offered for sale in Marsabit, sheep and goats are the most important species, with a significant number also being consumed within the county. There is also a noticeable gender imbalance in the livestock offered for sale with fewer female livestock sold reflecting pastoralists’ preference to retain females of breeding and milking age and to sell males when there is a need.

*Poor infrastructure*

The key infrastructure that significantly influences livestock sales is transport infrastructure. Roads in this Northern part of the country are generally poor and the region has largely been cut out from the economy of the rest of the country due to poor access (this is however bound to change slightly with the ongoing construction and completion of the main artery all weather road from Isiolo to Moyale). Poor roads have the impact of increasing costs when transporting livestock to the terminal markets. Stock destined for distant terminal markets of Isiolo, Marsabit and Nairobi take up to three days on the road due to poor road conditions. In addition, poor road infrastructure also impedes the control of livestock diseases.

Furthermore, livestock marketing is severely curtailed because big buyers don’t want venture into the interior because of poor roads and insecurity. In the absence of livestock markets, pastoralists wanting to sell livestock are obliged to trek long distances during which their animals lose condition, and may become sick and even die, or be stolen.

*High transport costs*

According to Little (2000), transport costs can account for as much as 70% of market transaction costs. High, and constantly increasing transport costs significantly affect livestock market performance and efficiency. Livestock transporters often avoid using poor roads due to the high costs of vehicle maintenance. Where transport is available, it is often too expensive for traders to utilize. Indeed, as alluded to earlier, out of district traders tend to avoid many livestock markets in the district, especially those in the interior, due, in part, to the poor road infrastructure and the high costs associated with transporting stock to Nairobi and other markets.
Ultimately, trucking livestock is not a common activity. In attempts to keep transaction costs low, trekking is still a preferred mode of transport, especially to secondary and primary markets. Unfortunately, due to the considerable distance and security risks, this mode is inappropriate for moving livestock.

Insecurity
Insecurity was mentioned to significantly impede livestock production and marketing. Insecurity from neighbouring communities and banditry activities have restricted business activities within the county. Livestock traders move most of their livestock to safe grazing areas far away from settlements both in search of pasture and to avoid possible banditry attacks and theft of their stocks. Livestock rustling have also pushed most of the pastoral livestock keepers away from possible markets thus diminishing their opportunities to participate in livestock marketing.

Market brokers and trader cartels
Trader cartels and market brokers were mentioned as a significant feature of livestock marketing in Marsabit. Brokers pay low prices to producers and resell to major traders at higher prices while pocketing the margins. We were also informed that these same brokers sometime collude with the cartels to block individual producers from selling directly in the primary market in Marsabit town.

Lack of capital and credit
A lack of cash and/or access to credit is a major impediment to livestock and produce marketing. This tends to restrict the number and type of livestock that itinerant and small-scale middle-level operators can trade at any given time. This situation is compounded by the fact that most of the pastoral areas in general lack a good number of financial institutions while the formal banks or micro-finance institutions that are represented in the district often do not have confidence in livestock producers and traders. In turn, this constrained capital base lowers the bargaining power of the pastoralists.

Low and variable producer prices
Problems of low and variable producer prices for livestock rank among the most widespread and serious concerns of pastoralists in the region. In good rainfall years, prices are both high and stable, while in drought years they are low and volatile (Barrett 2001). Low and variable producer prices are suggested to prevail due to several factors, namely: limited throughput capacity of livestock markets; poor transport infrastructure; insecurity; lack of commercial orientation of pastoralist; oversupply in dry seasons, and; poor quality of livestock and poor livestock disease control.

Limited throughput capacity has been identified as a principal contributor to volatile prices (Fafchamps and Gavian 1996, 1997; Bailey et al. 1999). This problem can be due to a lack of sellers, a lack of buyers or a combination of the two. Where the density of buyers and sellers is great, theory suggests that daily trading volumes and prices would be relatively stable, compared
to other markets where the density is low (Barrett and Luseno 2004). Newly established markets continually face extraordinary price volatility due to low throughput capacity, which, in turn, is suggested to dampen market participation rates (Barrett and Luseno 2004).

According to Barrett (2001), poor infrastructure, and insecurity, increases the costs and risks of livestock trading, particularly in remote areas. In turn, this reduces the number of buyers venturing into the interior and the frequency of their visits. When buyers do venture into the interior, they extract a significant risk premium from pastoral suppliers (Barrett 2001). Prices can be forced even lower if pastoralists are unaware of the cost of livestock in both secondary and primary markets (Mwangi 2005).

Livestock price volatility is also highly correlated with the seasons; livestock prices are low during dry season, when supply is high and higher in the rainy seasons when supply is low. Moreover, market demand and supply depends in part on pastoralists’ seasonal liquidity demands associated with the periodic payments of school fees, seasonal increases in grain prices and pastoralist demand for grains as milk supplies decline and on seasonality in terminal market demand (Barrett et al. 2003).

**Low production and productivity**

The timing of rainfall determines the seasons in most Northern Kenya. There are usually two rainy seasons: long rains from March to May and short rains from October to November. The outcome of the rainy seasons determines livelihood activities in these locations. The rain is essential in controlling the condition of the rangelands and therefore overall livestock condition and migration patterns of pastoral households. With changing global climatic patterns, the frequency of droughts has increased and has significantly affected livestock production in these ASALs of Northern Kenya. Other factors contributing to low livestock production and productivity include poor husbandry practices employed, conflicts and insecurity that have disrupted livelihood activities, sometime leading to loss of livestock, and even displacement of households and loss of livelihood assets. Any livestock market-share is relatively ‘thin’ (with small volumes traded) and prone to large seasonal variability in supply.
3.3: Constraints Specific to Women.

Overall pastoralists in the region have been socially, economically and politically marginalized and is just beginning to get development investment flowing into the region through the enactment of the new county government structure. Women pastoralists are however marginalized further because of their limited decision-making role and the scarce attention they receive within the development framework. This state is increasingly compounded by the following factors:

**Lack of secure access to productive assets**

Given the social and cultural norms limiting women’s ownership and interaction with men, the central constraint on women’s capacity to move up the livestock value chain is the lack of secure access to productive assets particularly livestock and control over the commercialisation process of the same. This is compounded by lack of skills and knowledge to optimise market opportunities.

Societal factors dictate that women should not own property such as livestock or land, although they can inherit livestock as widows and as children of livestock owners. Despite national inheritance laws giving daughters and widows the right to claim inheritance, many factors discourage such claims, and women and men generally have little awareness of women’s property rights. Women’s access to livestock assets therefore involves right of use, but not ownership. Social norms dictate that it is a man’s responsibility to provide for a woman, and many women believe that men have a greater need for productive assets than women do. Finally, women and men often share deeply-rooted cultural beliefs that assets such as livestock are inappropriate for women to own.

Men therefore tend to have greater control over the production and marketing processes and decisions about which stock to sell and where. The lack of services affects quality at each stage in the chain because women have no access to extension services, knowledge, and know-how to improve the quality of the livestock section of the value chain they are involved in.

**Mobility and rural access**

Rural women’s mobility outside the home or village is extremely restricted by security concerns. Poor roads and the lack of transport services affect the entire population’s mobility in general, but women are particularly affected by the need to adhere to strict standards for socially acceptable behaviour in these pastoral societies. Women may be prohibited from traveling outside the village, required to have an escort, and are unable to interact (including proximity seating) with men outside the family. Limitations on traveling longer distances preclude rural women from easily accessing other villages and key markets in urban areas, especially when walking is their only consistent means of transportation.
These patterns of travel and transport constrain women’s participation in economic activities, making it challenging for women to access markets and financial services outside their immediate neighbourhoods and communities. This in turn has significant repercussions on women’s entrepreneurship and success in business. By limiting where women are permitted to go to sell their produce, restrictions on mobility also influence the terms of sale for their products. In a few instances, women have gained greater mobility through introduction of other modes of transport such as “boda boda”, the motorcycles used throughout Kenya to get people deep into villages. There is also some acceptance of the strength-in-numbers approach, and women travelling in groups may be an effective means of circumventing mobility problems.

**Access to Services**
Access to credit from financial institutions often depends on the ability to demonstrate ownership of traditional forms of collateral property such as land, livestock and housing. Women, who generally lack title to land and other property, thus have less opportunity to access financial services. However, social mobilization of producers either individually or through aid agencies is enabling large numbers of women in the pastoral settings to register with associations that provide some sort of support/security that can allow them to borrow a limited number of funds from financial institutions.

More broadly, restrictions on mobility and interaction with men limit women’s access to additional services or resources, including inputs, extension services, marketing, education, and information (Mayoux and Mackie 2009). The lack of such access limits women to low-yield in production work and can render labor markets unresponsive or slow to respond to demands for skilled women workers (Barrientos 2001). This implies less security which is likely to compound the inter-generational transmission of poverty, particularly for girls and women.

**Limited market participation**
Women interactions are limited throughout the livestock value chain. The positions of input suppliers, middlemen/traders, and processors are predominantly occupied by men, with whom few women can easily interact. As a result, women have little or no extension or market information, unless it is provided through male family members. Secondly, because women have to stay around the homestead, they have no or limited access to key markets and largely sell their produce at the farm-gate where prices are generally quite low. This altogether frustrates women participation in the markets (see Box 1 for an example of some challenges facing attempts to form organized group of women milk producers into a marketing group).

Other constraints that directly affect women’s further involvement in the value chain include:

**Increasing Sedentarization**
This is an increasing phenomenon affecting all sectors of pastoral society. Negative impacts on women and girls include increased domestic and income generating burdens, especially when men need to stay away from the household to graze livestock at distant communal sites or to seek
alternative employment because of policies restricting land access, ecological degradation or conflict. Settled pastoralists are often unable to keep their livestock close by, and sometimes lose their animals completely. For women, this translates into loss of livestock products available for household consumption or that can be taken to the market resulting in the need to find alternative incomes for their livelihoods. Nevertheless, the pastoral women also appreciate the benefits of sedentarization, which can include increased access to health care and education, and new market opportunities near urban centres.

**Conflicts**
Conflicts result in the division of traditional pastoral lands, restricting access to the lands and increasing domestic burdens on women when men go to fight – not to mention the increased physical threats that conflict brings to pastoral women and girls. Conflicts limit the entire communities’ participation in the value chain with women most affected.

**Drought and Climate change**
Harsh climatic conditions are not new to pastoralists, whose way of life is recognized as one of the most sustainable in terms of conserving the environment. Even though increasing degradation in many traditional pastoral lands, compounded by encroachment, has many negative impacts on entire pastoral households, the impact has been particularly serious for women and children, including: - more time is spent grazing animals, searching for water and gathering fuelwood and other fuels further and further from home, which is also less safe. More frequent moving of homesteads for instance takes more time and reduces regular access to education and health services; access to pasture, water and markets, increases domestic burdens when men are forced to look for alternative employment and result in reduced capacity to focus on productive assets and livestock in general. These frequent movements also significantly affect women collective action groups such as self-help/savings groups by breaking the bonds among women as families move in different directions in search of pasture by for instance restricting the continuity in contributions among members.

**Limited access to education, training and extension services**
Extension advice on factors such as milk handling etc. is lacking, and in particular advice for tasks undertaken by women such to quality control: proper sanitation, and packaging. Furthermore little extension that focuses on improving production is offered.

**Lack of appropriate financing services.**
In addition to the small number of loan facilities available to pastoral communities in general, the loans provided by many MFIs often require collateral. Men usually hold ownership rights to productive assets, leaving pastoral women with very limited or no access to agricultural financial products without support from male family members.
Box 1 - Case study of Mount Marsabit Dairy Group – Karare

The Mount Marsabit Dairy project in Karare formally began in 2000 (the original members indicate that actual activities began during the 1997 El Nino when the region had excess milk). A group of 3 women including the current chairlady began ferrying milk to Marsabit town on a daily basis to sell in the market there. Eventually, the three women started to buy milk from other women marketers in Karare, bulked it and transported it by matatu (local public mini-buses) to Marsabit. Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI) noticed their activities and offered to build these women a milk processing depot in Karare. More women joined group though they capped the membership at 17 women. KARI also offered training to them on hygienic milk handling.

The project was funded by the European Union and first run by the Food for the Hungry International (FHI). KARI then took over sponsorship of the dairy project and focused on improving the hygienic practices of the women who operated the milk depot and processing unit (this was the third of such kind of initiative by KARI in Marsabit – after similar projects in Ngorunit and Moyale). The women group members indicated that the first activity by KARI was to provide them with hygienic milking containers and teaching them how to use those instead of the traditional milking gourds, something that helped them eliminate the smoked flavor problem they had in their milk. KARI then taught them how to preserve the milk and preserve longevity so that it will be preferred and have ready market in Marsabit. Milk processing involved heating milk to eighty degrees Celsius using heated water followed by a slow cooling process.

The depot started operation in June 2002. When the facility began, local producers brought the fresh milk to the depot themselves. The milk was then processed and packaged, and subsequently taken to Marsabit by matatu (local public mini-buses). One of the group members had a private home in Marsabit town, which served as an outlet for dairy sales. When the operations began, packages of mala (fermented milk) and a strawberry-flavored yoghurt variety sold for 25 Kshs. Each. Yoghurt sales were more lucrative than those involving fresh milk. The group did not have a bank account and saved any money they made at home. By June 2003, the income earned by the group was about 200,000 Kshs. The women worked at the milk depot in rotation, with two members being in charge each day. The women generally made mala (yoghurt), fresh milk without fat, chocolate milk, and ghee.

The group operated successfully for a few years and then things took a turn for the worse for the operations of the dairy group. A problem arose when a competing processor based in Marsabit town (who was incidentally also a member of this group) started a smear campaign in Marsabit that the Cooperatives milk was being adulterated with life threatening chemicals. In a single day the entire group’s orders were cancelled and they had to close operations as they were facing bankruptcy. They had to pay suppliers for milk they had not sold as they were left which milk which was not purchased and which they had to dispose of. Infighting began among the group members and things have not been the same since.

The milk processing depot is presently not operational and has been so for a number of years now. Incidentally the women group is still “operating” albeit under different mode The group collects milks from local women members in the morning and heat it “directly” in large sufurias (aluminium cooking pots) as a value addition process and transport in 10-20 litre containers to Marsabit town where it is sold in the afternoons. This processing is not done at the facility. The group and women in the area in general use existing transport linkages to get the milk to the market by assigning trucks drivers to take the milk to Marsabit town on a daily basis. On the return trip the truck drivers return with the empty containers, cash raised and/or grocery orders placed by the women is also brought back. They sell between 80-100 litres during the wet season and 10-20 litres during the wet season. They buy the milk at Kshs 50 per litre and sell at Kshs 80 per litre in Marsabit. Some of the milk never gets sold during the wet season due excess supply. The members are compensated according to the amount of milk they contributed to the “common pot” less transport costs and the cost of the agent who sells the milk for them in Marsabit.

Currently, the group members indicated that they find little to no value in selling their milk through the group or participating in the group activities as they feel the agent they have contracted to sell for them their milk in Marsabit mismanages the sales and they do not get the full amount of proceeds from their sales (they indicated that they have changed the agent multiple times). Due to this, individual members also run parallel efforts where they send their own milk to the market in Marsabit through the trucks that pass through here. Most members indicated that the only reason they are still involved with the group is because of some 200 Kshs they have been keeping per member per month as a group (they so far slightly over Kshs 90,000 banked) and the fact that they still recognize that the women group is the only entry point through which potential donors can channel assistance and they still want to benefit from any potential future donor assistance. The group is presently weak, mismanaged, demotivated largely due to poor leadership (they have never elected any new officials since inception) whilst most of their members are uneducated

Some of the key issues we observed include:

- Due to the fact that they have collect and boil milk in the mornings, they can only transport and sell in afternoon and are therefore at a disadvantage as they cannot cover/take advantage of the peak morning demand in the town
- Due to the above, the group faces stiff competition from fresh milk supplying groups in the morning (we found the deputy chairlady going round by the roadside policing members not to sell their milk to trucks and itinerant traders)
- There also exist so many informal women groups (typically memberships of 5 people) who collect milk at farm-gate prices deep in the interior where it is cheaper and can sell at deeply discounted prices in comparison the prices of the Mount Marsabit Dairy group (i.e. 50 Kshs/litre vs 80kshs per litre)
- Finally we observed that there was a sense of mistrust among members of the group on one hand whilst work activities involved in processing the milk were not properly apportioned with most members not even appearing to provide fuel wood or support the process on the other.

In conclusion it seems that even though the group continue on the positive path of adding value to raw milk which they sell through minimal processing, they have been unable to pick themselves up from the problems that beset them several years ago and they require a fresh beginning and support. Vested interests in form of competition offered by the member who had a processing facility in Marsabit town played a much more important role over group interest and led to the collapse of the processing facility. The lesson emerging here is that in such assistance programmes, it is not only important to focus on the larger issues of capital, infrastructure and capacity support but it is critical to identify and fully understand underlying community dynamics and potential issues that could work against the project and focus on working with the community members to address any potential future pitfalls.
Picture 3: The Mt. Marsabit Dairy Women Dairy Processing Unit
3.4: Opportunities for Women in the Livestock Value Chains.

The women in the communities that we studied expressed great desire to improve their income-generating potential for bettering their lives and coping with unexpected environmental and economic shocks. Whether they want to send their children to school or make up for lost income when men migrate, women pastoralists are increasingly keen to make the most of available resources in generating alternative and additional income from livestock-related or other activities. Economic empowerment can help build women’s self-confidence, experience, networks and access to social capital, thereby supporting their empowerment in a broader sense.

In enabling women producers to move up the value chains of the key livestock and livestock products, the women-to-women service delivery model needs to be developed from producer to wholesalers/processors/exporters levels.

At the producer level, it is critical to facilitate women-to-women service delivery at every stage in the value chain. For example, a pool of women para-professionals (e.g. women community animal health workers) could provide services such as input supply, extension advice, credit, or market linkages. The social mobilization of producer associations for women would broaden access to services by reducing transaction costs. Investments in women-owned and -operated businesses and collective action groups at the village level would enhance productivity and quality of livestock products through women-to-women learning.

Control over livestock resources

Control over livestock resources is central to economic empowerment, as well as being important for nutrition and sociocultural reasons. Many of the income-generating activities in which pastoral women engage are based on livestock, whether they involve trading livestock or marketing livestock products and handicrafts. Nori (2004) and others have documented the many activities for which women are responsible. Access to productive assets, such as livestock and land will be critical to enhance engagement of women in the livestock value chain. Even though socio-cultural norms entail that ownership of assets is entrusted to men, our assessment revealed that various avenues are opening up for women ownership of livestock.

Through collective action groups, women are combating both patriarchal customs and the effects of climate change, to improve their own lives and ensure better futures for their communities. During our FGDs across the three districts surveyed, we were informed that women are free to command full ownership of any livestock that they purchase through the loans that they acquire from the CARE initiated village savings and loans programme (COSALO) or any other informal “merry go rounds” informal group savings. They are thus free to own and tend these livestock in combination with the household herds and also sell these animals (usually small stock such as goats and sheep) and have full control of the cash accruing from these sales. Our interviews revealed that various women members of the savings and loans typically borrow loans buy two to three animals and fatten them for a period ranging from three to six months and then dispose
them when prices are better, enabling them to pay back the loan while utilizing the profits accrued to take care of household needs e.g. purchase iron roofing sheets, pay school fees etc.

**Women community extension workers**

Because rural access in remote rural villages is poor and there are a limited number and availability of women extension workers, there is need to develop of women para-professionals in these villages by supporting village-based women livestock production trainers in producer groups who would facilitate women producers’ access to extension services. The development of female extension workers would facilitate women’s access to extension services, skills, and knowledge, thereby improving overall production and marketing of live animals and livestock products such as milk because such women would be socio-culturally acceptable and more accessible if they live within the village. Skills that women could learn and apply at the household level include veterinary care, breed improvement, fattening and value addition, milk processing and marketing.

**Milk handling and quality control**

As rural pastoral women dominate the milk handling and processing, information on quality control and markets is critical to their work and is likely to interest them. Skills training could include pasteurizing, handling, storage and marketing. It would be critical to connect the women suppliers to processors to see if they can offer these groups equipment and infrastructure such as cooling facilities which the women can pay for on use basis.

**Access to credit**

In focus group interviews, women farmers were especially interested in accessing formal credit, but the limited supply and social barriers (including barriers to interaction and mobility) make access a challenge. Given that poor access to credit by women is directly linked to lack of collateral, innovative ways that will increase financial inclusion of women producers need to be explored and encouraged. Producer groups allow women to create the collateral they need to access credit. There is need to encourage women’s access to finance as well as create products and services targeted to women’s productive and value-adding activities in the livestock value chain. Efforts to provide loans for women to improve their value-adding and other activities at the processor level must be designed to accommodate women’s level of business experience. Gender focused MFIs such as Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT) in Marsabit town could provide agricultural loans to women that support milk marketing activities (which are directly under women’s control), or channel funds though women’s savings and loans (see example Box 2) or self-help groups. This is credit that women could use for purchase of small stock for fattening and subsequent selling for profit. Through the increased presence of female focused services that are tailored to local pastoral context, women would increase their access to key financial services, which in turn would help them improve their productivity.
Mobilization of women producer and income generation associations

Many women self-help groups and women’s producer and income generation groups often go hand-in-hand with savings and credit schemes. In Marsabit, several women self-help associations are being formed through donor-funded projects. 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 (Esenu and Ossiya undated).

Women’s producer groups are the key entry point for women-to-women service delivery of: (i) extension services, including livestock production and milk handling, by women extension workers; (ii) credit (provided by MFIs); and (iii) inputs and market linkages (through women village-level traders or agents). Women’s producer groups, with some financing, could also undertake or invest in collective activities, such as setting up a live animal and milk collection points (for bulk marketing). Such a center would provide an accessible area for women producers (women are never allowed to travel far away from their homesteads) to organize marketing activities and value addition (milk processing) and also facilitate women-to-women learning in quality control.

Women’s producer groups and associations could also undertake or invest in collective activities, such as setting up a collection point for milk and directly contacting women intermediaries to purchase them, or developing a women-owned and -managed milk processing center at the village or cooperative level to process fresh milk. Capacity building in running a small business and how to exploit livestock value chains for sustainable economic profit should accompany the establishment of these associations. Over time women come to be appreciated and can use these small-scale activities to negotiate space for developing a degree of financial independence from men who were initially resistant but who benefit from the income from initial successful transactions. At the wholesaler/processor level, some women can also emerge as middlemen, village traders, and processors in the milk value chain.

Increase market access through women middlemen, village traders, and input suppliers

The roles of middlemen, traders, and input suppliers are usually connected. For example, the linkages formed by middlemen and traders allow them to act as input suppliers and distributors as well. Although very few women occupy the role of middleman/trader for live animals, many participants in the study area stated that there was an opportunity for greater representation of women in this role. This role can enhance women’s ability to market live animals without being taken advantage of by male middle-men.
Development of women-owned milk processing centres

In urban and peri-urban centres such as Marsabit and Karare, women are highly involved in milk sales. Investment in milk processing at this level could make a significant impact on women’s positions within the value chain. Such investments would require business training for women in operating and managing such centres.
**Box 2 COSALO – Community Savings and Loans**

CARE Kenya is implementing the Community Savings and Loans (COSALO) project – funded by FSD – that is mobilising savings groups in Marsabit district. COSALO is targeting 22,000 members and supports each group for 18 months (1.5 cycles).

COSALO II is a follow on project of COSALO I which was implemented from 2008 to 2011 and was very successful. The COSALO II project ran from April 2011 - July 2013. The main aim of the project is to develop savings group models up to the stage where scale up to formal financial institutions engagement is viable.

The Group Savings and Loan (GS&L) methodology, is a community managed micro finance (CMMF) scheme whose approach is to increase the economic resilience of micro entrepreneurs. Its basic principle is that members of a self-selected group form an association and save money by contributing regularly to a fund, governed by the group itself. Members save at a rate matching their capacity, thus lowering the threshold of entry for the poor.

The core of the model is investment of the savings into a loan fund from which members can borrow, repaying with a service charge. Members take out loans in amounts closely aligned to their actual needs and opportunities. Such lending allows members to earn substantial interest on their savings. The cycle of savings and lending is time bound and at the end of an agreed period, maybe up to a year, the accumulated savings and service charge earnings are shared out amongst the members in proportion to the amount that each saved throughout the cycle, plus interest earned.

The approach promotes saving first and credit/loans second. GS&L also functions as a business incubator by linking, informing, sharing information and linking the more cautious or inexperienced participants with peers within the group who are experienced micro-entrepreneurs operating in the same environment, with the same constraints. The program targets both potential and existing micro entrepreneurs. These are the poorer sections of the economically active populations in rural areas, who cannot access credit easily from commercial banks and the conventional micro financial Institutions.

At present the Saving Groups rarely lend: CARE reported that people in the area, particularly women, have few ideas or opportunities for business development as a result of their remote location and distance from markets, and hence there is little demand for loans. Among Muslim group members, there was said to be some reluctance to borrow due to the requirement to pay interest on loans; paying interest is discouraged in Islamic teachings.

The savings groups could become a platform that supports financial graduation. CARE currently does not provide any other activities to SG members, though it is planning to do so as the groups mature. CARE’s more mature Groups Savings and Loans (GS&L) groups in Mandera have proved successful, and have enabled Somali women in particular to engage in diverse businesses, including khat sale and clothes businesses.
Summary: Building on Livestock Value Chain Strengths

The approach taken in this study has made it possible to identify the key constraints preventing Northern Kenya pastoralist women from moving up in the livestock value chains and identify corresponding recommendations.

Live animals and Fresh milk are livestock value chain products with the greatest strength to move women up the value chain. At the national (and even export level), live animals seem particularly promising, because pastoral areas on Northern Kenya are already the country’s largest source of beef animals and continue to be the key supplier of beef animals to the rest of the country; a situation made even promising by the ongoing rehabilitation of the Isiolo-Marsabit-Moyale road in Kenya’s northern region. Sale of fresh milk and processed milk also have potential to expand, but the short shelf-life of milk mostly limits sale to within the major urban areas of Marsabit, Isiolo, Embu, Meru, Nanyuki and the neighbouring counties of Isiolo and Samburu. Women have begun to have ownership on a small basis of small stock such and goats and sheep purchased through loans that they acquire from savings and self-help groups, while they also have full control on milk and associated dairy products. Men serve as the links to markets and other services and occupy most positions further along the value chains.

The key constraints in the fresh milk value chain are (i) the lack of proper milk handling techniques and quality control, particularly sanitation (ii) lack of organization among producers (iii) lack of cold chain facilities throughout the value chain and (iv) the limited access to market afforded by poor roads and transport. Women producers sell only about 20% percent of their milk produce, as they have only infrequent access to markets through itinerant middlemen and village-level traders. Women producers prefer to sell fresh milk because of the quick returns (even though they receive low prices from middlemen) and most rural producers regard milk production and sale not as a key business but as a way to get additional income from surplus milk.

In the live animal value chain, the key constraints are (i) the lack of secure access to livestock assets (ii) lack of women actors in the marketing channels (iii) lack of capital among women producers to participate in live animal trading.

Ensuring that women maintain a presence in the livestock value chain will require the development and application of instruments designed to (a) deepen women’s ownership of assets, (including special programmes for female-headed households) (b) strengthen women’s voice in household decision-making over expenditure and assets, and (c) develop the capacity of rural producer organisations to represent women’s interests in the market. Soft investments could include women’s literacy programmes, entrepreneurship training to enable competitiveness, and redesigning rural producer organisations to ensure they are inclusive of women, including poor women, and are market-orientated. A variety of value-adding strategies, ranging from enabling women to become livestock production specialists to assisting with milk processing should be developed.
Hard investments are equally vital. These include ensuring that physical infrastructure, such as processing and storage facilities, means of livestock or milk transportation, information and communication technologies (ICTs), and the facilities at retail and wholesale markets meet women’s needs.

The opportunities for women to move up in the value chains of these two key commodities are to (i) give women access to extension services (especially advice on milk handling and marketing), inputs, credit, and markets and (ii) form women’s producer and savings and loans groups or associations to facilitate access to credit and women-to-women service delivery. These groups would foster the establishment of women-managed and -operated processing centres at the village or cooperative level to process fresh milk meet higher quality standards. They will also foster the emergence of women traders and middle-level traders.
Box 3. Livestock market empowers women in Northern Kenya

In 2006, SIDEP (the Samburu Integrated Development Programme), a Kenyan NGO supported by Cordaid, analysed the situation of women’s groups in Samburu district. It found that the groups lacked skills in business, management and literacy. SIDEP started work with 30 of the groups – 900 individuals in all. It trained them on financial management, revolving credit schemes and group dynamics, put them in touch with microfinance institutions, and helped them share ideas and experience with people in other parts of Kenya. But the women’s situation did not improve much. The main reason was that women were trading their livestock within their villages. There were few buyers, and prices were low.

If the women could not travel to a market, the answer was to bring the market to the women. SIDEP discussed this idea with the local authorities, the ministries of livestock and social services, and male and female traders. These partners selected a site in Lolkuniani, laid out paddocks to hold the animals, and fenced them with thorn fences. The market opened in 2007.

The benefits have been enormous – not only for the women, but also for the men, for the local community and the region as a whole. The bustle has attracted traders from outside the area. Nearly all the women’s groups trade at the Lolkuniani market. More buyers means more sales, higher prices and better incomes. Many of the women have diversified into other types of products, enabling to cope better with drought and other emergencies. The community decided to establish an association to manage the market. This charges a small fee for every animal sold. SIDEP has been building the capacity of this association to collect this revenue (which it shares 50:50 with the local authority), and manage the profits. In 2009, the association sponsored 300 young people from the community to go to secondary school and college.

Women started to take on leadership roles in the community. They have become members of committees responsible for district development, roads, water, and so on. This is possible because of a change in the attitude of their husbands, who are now much more ready to accept that women may do business. Some husbands have even started contributing to their wives’ businesses, for example by taking care of the animals while they are away at the market. Livestock has become an important source of income for many households, rather than being used mainly for subsistence. Before, only 10% of households earned money from livestock; now 70% do so. The Lolkuniani market contributes to local economic development. It attracts people, businesses and services, and is developing into an economic hub. The revenue-sharing model appears to be unique in Kenya, and may be a good basis for partnerships between the public and private sectors.

Analysing the change

The pastoralist women in Samburu already took care of the livestock, but their contribution to the livestock chain was not recognized. Change began when SIDEP trained women groups and built their skills (agency). The women gained the confidence to get loans and become visible in the chain. But without access to a market no big change could be expected. Because the women were not allowed to travel, the market was brought to them. That allowed them to start trading (activities). They became involved in decision-making on different levels (governance). Eventually men started to appreciate the women’s contribution to family income, and were willing to take over some traditional women’s tasks (structure). The market attracted other buyers and services. The quality of animals improved and prices for cattle increased.

Source: KIT, Agri-ProFocus and IIRR. 2012. Challenging chains to change: Gender equity in agricultural value chain development. KIT Publishers, Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam
CHAPTER 4:  RECOMMENDATIONS AND SCOPE FOR DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS

Women play a key role in production, processing and marketing in the livestock value chains in pastoral areas of Northern Kenya. The key constraints for women producers in moving up in these value chains are the social and cultural norms that do not allow women to own productive assets, interact with men, travel by themselves, or own land. It therefore is critical that rural pastoral women producers take advantage of developing trends that enable them to start owning some livestock (with no resistance from men and particularly through women producer/marketing or savings and loans groups) and start to actively engage in the livestock value chain for economic empowerment. This path will lead female smallholder pastoralists to increase their incomes sustainably through efficient participation in lucrative markets for live animals. Further, milk processing and marketing in which women are solely responsible also offers another significant opportunity for women to benefit. Women need to remain in charge of these productive parts in the value chain because it also facilitates their participation in higher value chain steps as middlemen/village-level traders or sales agents, and possibly processors, retailers, or exporters.

PROMOTING OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN PRODUCERS
The following recommendations support women’s improved positions in key pastoral livestock value chains:

4.1: Project Level Recommendations

a)  Deepening Gendered Livestock Ownership and Marketing
Pastoral women need increased access to their ‘traditional’ products, namely milk on one hand and “non-traditional” livestock ownership on the other. In livestock ownership, the key areas for support may include: Building on women’s institutions such as collective action groups that enable them acquire livestock. This should be combined with capacity building activities geared towards enhancing women’s livestock asset ownership and marketing through the groups. Interventions should build on or link with pastoral women's local social institutions wherever possible, even if they are informal. For livestock marketing, the key areas for support may include: helping women to understand the markets (particularly where the stock go to and the marketing and pricing systems elsewhere in the country ); increasing transport links and the accessibility of markets; providing business skills and literacy/numeracy training; and increasing the availability of credit/capital.

b)  Enhancing availability of credit and marketing facilities to women
Here appropriate, credit and marketing facilities should be provided to enable women to become involved in marketing livestock and/or livestock products.
c) Providing gendered production extension services and increasing the number of women Community-Based Animal Health Workers

Women can be targeted in production and animal health extension messages by government and community-based extension agents. These messages should be based on women's areas of traditional expertise and knowledge, in particular with regard to small stock and young stock which they usually have the primary care of. To increase the number of women Community-Based Animal Health Workers (CAHWs), men and women need to be encouraged to select women to be trained. Additionally, the training needs to be appropriate for women. Women CAHWs act as informal extension agents, passing information and techniques on to women as they work.

d) Providing appropriate training

It is important that training opportunities are designed with women's needs and workloads in mind. This may have implications for the timing and location, and also the content which should be based on women's roles and knowledge. Similarly, women should also be encouraged to train as government agents in livestock service delivery. Informal channels, such as discussions at the well or short gatherings at a time convenient to the women's workload may be more appropriate than residential training courses; women extension agents may be more acceptable to the women (and their husbands) than male agents; language should be taken into account (many pastoral women do not speak the national language or language used by government staff); visual rather than written aids may be most appropriate for illiterate pastoral women; and the implications for women's workload should be carefully considered when introducing new techniques or technology.

The following interventions could be implemented in the short and medium term:

(i) **Strengthening the organizational capacity of women’s groups.** Strengthen existing women group savings associations and marketing groups with a focus on injecting livestock ownership and trade–oriented investment ideas. Where absent, expansion should be considered in order to establish these types of groups. Success will come through trading livestock which belong to women and establishment of market linkages through facilitation.

(ii) **Build capacity, including developing entrepreneurial skills and leadership.** Undertake capacity building for the production and marketing groups through training in financial management, revolving credit schemes and group dynamics, Put them in touch with microfinance institutions, and help them share ideas and experiences with people in other parts of Kenya (e.g. milk marketing cooperatives in Kajiado). Building women’s capacity and linking them to markets lets them turn their family responsibilities into businesses.

(iii) **Reduce distance to markets.** (both physical and mental) which could be achieved by facilitating establishment women managed marketing groups and or construction and management of sale yards within the communities.
These activities should adopt an approach that stays as close as possible to traditional roles and adequately preserve firmly rooted traditions such that there will be minimal resistance from both men and women. Support from men is a critical success factor. Without this approach, no initiative can succeed in such a pastoral setting, however grand the idea is.

4.2: Policy Level Recommendations

The following interventions could be implemented over the long term:

a) Develop value chain action plans that would enhance women’s participation.

The county government and development actors should develop value chain action plans for key pastoral products including live animal, beef and milk and milk products. These plans should be developed in consultation with all stakeholders, such as women producers, other key value chain actors, private sector, relevant ministries and agencies, NGOs, and donors. Honest brokers would be required in developing and implementing the plans, such as NGOs active in the value chains. These brokers should also monitor the impact on household dynamics as well as the increase in household income. In supporting the action plans, the county government should also develop a marketing strategy for each product to access key regional and international markets where possible. The strategy would help identify quality standards and certification requirements, which need to be addressed by extension packages.

b) Improve rural outreach by developing a pool of women para-professionals.

The county government and NGOs should support creating a pool of women para-professionals at the producer level by training girls, women high school graduates as well as building on existing capacities of women already working in the value chains. In addition to providing extension services, these para-professionals could serve as entry points for service delivery, such as through (i) facilitating group formation and accounting support for savings and credit and/or (ii) developing linkages with MFIs and markets. Following good practices identified in livelihood development projects elsewhere, these para-professionals could be contracted by NGOs or eventually work for producer groups and associations for a fee per business case the way CARE implemented the agent model under their COSALO programme. These efforts will lead to women being more involved in the delivery of livestock services in pastoral areas.

c) Improve rural road infrastructure to enable access by women service providers.

Poor public infrastructure, particularly for rural connectivity, is one of the major constraints on the ability of women to actively participate in markets, including enabling village-level traders or sales agents, to reach women producers. The ongoing rehabilitation of the 507km Isiolo-Marsabit-Moyale road in Kenya's northern region will improve access along the main artery but rural access roads still need upgrading. The inability to women to get their milk to the key urban market of Marsabit especially during the wet season when there is excess milk production but impassable feeder roads is a result of bad feeder roads. With no processing facilities in the vicinity of the villages, this results in massive wastages as milk is let to go to waste/feeding calves ad-libitum with women particularly bearing the brunt of these losses in terms of income losses.
d) **Provide value chain innovation grants for women.**
A grant facility could be set up to specifically support women’s producer groups, female service providers in a cooperative, or women managed processing groups in innovation and entrepreneurship to promote the livestock value chain. This incentive could finance women’s producer groups in accessing value addition tools and infrastructure, women-to-women exchanges through exposure visits, women’s participation in regional or international exhibitions, or marketing extension. The county government could manage the grant facility in collaboration with other NGOs as a gender mainstreaming effort.

e) **Use information technology (IT) to enhance women’s involvement in value chains.**
Trade associations, NGOs, County Government, and other key stakeholders are encouraged to integrate women more directly into market systems. The service delivery model could be built around the use of IT, such as a mobile accessible interactive extension or market information system, which is accessible by women producers, service providers, and buyers (wholesalers, processors, and exporters).

### 4.3: Recommendations for Further Research

Research should be carried out to increase understanding of women's contribution to livestock production and the roles that they could play in service delivery, both as recipients and actors. Furthermore it is critical to understand the presence of a market for the produce that women could engage in and evaluate women’s opportunities in the value-chain according to rural based vs urban/peri-urban based women. The analysis should focus on the local, as well as the national and regional opportunities (South Sudan and EAC member countries) for livestock products (dairy and meat) and the current trends and dynamics within these markets. Questions for inquiry would for example include:

- What is the current and potential demand and how will the domestic market for dairy and meat develop itself in the coming days?
- What is the potential and dynamics for regional exports, and for what product(s)?
- What is the supply and demand relationship in terms of price elasticity?
- How many households in Northern Kenya could indirectly benefit from this market potential?
- What are the other determinants (think e.g. of quality) of the demand for livestock products?
- What are some of the sanitary issues affecting cross-border trade in livestock and livestock products?
- Are there seasonality effects and how could women based marketing activities benefit from this?
- Who are the main competitors?
- What is the potential demand for the different kinds of livestock products?
After demand has been identified, the next step in the analysis is to identify production areas and opportunities within the Northern Kenya, the analysis which could focus on questions such as:

- What are the production volumes? (for example: how much of the milk is realistically available to be taken to the markets?). Such information would be critical to inform large processors such as KCC or Brookside on the viability of investing in this marketshed. Processors such as these offer great opportunities to producers by supplying infrastructure such as cooling tanks/chillers in village milk collection centres.
- What are opportunities for growth in particular areas?
- What are the bottlenecks? (for example: What are the logistics circumstances per sub-county of Marsabit?)

Issues such as what the impact (both negative and positive) of enhanced participation of women in the livestock value-chain on households and social fabric need also to be investigated.
ANNEX 1:  FGD Guide - Women’s engagement in pastoral value chains - Marsabit

Welcome and thank participants for their time.
You have been asked to come and talk with us today as part of an assessment being carried out by CARE in [this area] to understand the issues that can improve women’s opportunities in the livestock sector as a way to improve your livelihoods.

1. Overview of Household Economy
   1. What is the marital status of main types of households in this area (male-headed monogamous household; male-headed polygamous household; male-headed single household; female-headed household (FHH))
      Note the approximate number of households in each category in the village
   2. What types of livestock most households keep and what is average number per HH for goats, sheep, cattle and camels?
   3. How are decisions made regarding the enterprise mix (men, women, other person, joint decision)?
   4. Which groups and organizations do women and men household members belong to?
   5. What opportunities do women access through these organizations?
   6. What other livelihood activities do women and men undertake?
   7. Estimate the percentage contribution of farm and non-farm activities to household cash • income (note the contribution of different farm enterprises independently).
   8. What barriers, if any, do female-headed households face that hinder them from keeping market-oriented livestock?

2. Gender analysis of individual livestock enterprises
   Interview group: separate groups of women and men rearing the livestock in question.

Questions
Ask the following questions for each type of household3 (fill in a separate form for each livestock type – Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Chicken):

Production analysis
   1. For each individual activity associated with livestock production, note the proportion of the activity performed by women, men and other (children, hired labour, reciprocal exchange labour or festive work group). Take 10 stones and ask for a volunteer to allocate the total of 10 stones between the different groups. Give other people a chance to adjust the distribution until all are in agreement. Ten stones for men and none for women means the task is entirely performed by men; five stones each means the task is shared equally; whereas eight stones for women means they do most of the task and men help occasionally.
   2. What other inputs are used with each activity?
   3. Who has responsibility for day-to-day management of the enterprise?
   4. How do these activities impact women and girls?
   5. Of the above, what activities do women find difficult to undertake
   6. How do they cope?
3. **Input supply analysis**

1. Which breed of livestock do women and men prefer and why?
2. From where do farmers acquire the following: young stock, drugs, other purchased inputs and credit? What is the percentage contribution of each source?
3. What veterinary services do women and men use
4. Where do women and men acquire their knowledge and skills on livestock production and marketing
5. What training have women and men received?

4. **Review of Production/Marketing Initiatives, Technologies and Practices in Community**

*Membership in marketing groups, group marketing, who makes decisions in the household on livestock and livestock ownership*

1. What livestock related initiatives, technologies or practices have been introduced or adapted for assisting with different farming or household activities during the last 10-15 years? (Record answers across the top of the matrix overleaf). For each initiative/technology or practice that has been introduced, ask the following questions:
2. When was it introduced or adapted?
3. By whom and why?
4. How was it introduced or adapted?
5. Who made the decision to adopt the technology or practice (men, women, other, joint decision)?
6. Who uses the initiative/technology and who controls its’ use (men, women, adults, youth)?
7. Who benefits from the new initiative/technology (men, women, adults and youth)? Is anyone disadvantaged?
8. What has been the impact of these changes on livestock production/marketing (for example, the total milk production, the use of milk chilling cans, change in marketing behaviour etc..)?
9. What has been the impact of adopting the new initiative/technology on intra-household division of labour?
10. What has been the impact of these changes on the livelihoods, food security and well-being in the community?
11. Estimate the number of households in the community using the initiative/technology or practice at present.
12. Discuss why other households in the community do not use the initiative/technology or practice.
13. Have any livestock related initiatives/technologies or practices been introduced but failed?
14. What other viable opportunities exist in this area that can help women now and in the future?
5. Marketing analysis

1. What Livestock or livestock products are taken to the markets here (e.g. live goats, sheep, cows, milk, meat, eggs, chicken)
2. Estimate the percentage of the above livestock or livestock products consumed at home and sold
3. Which type of market outlet do women and men use to sell the livestock?
4. How frequently do they visit different types of markets?
5. On average, how much do they take to sell per visit?
6. On average, how much do they sell annually?
7. How do they transport the live animals/animal products to market?
8. Who do they sell to (private trader/buyer, cooperative, direct retail to consumers, other)?
9. What influences how much they sell and the frequency of their visits to the market?
10. Who controls the income from marketing?
11. How are the proceeds from marketing used?
ANNEX 2: KII Interview Sheet - Women’s engagement in pastoral value chains

Interview group: key informants including community leaders, religious leaders, and representatives of local organizations. Ensure a balance of women and men.

Briefing to Interviewee
- Welcome and thank interviewee for their time.
- CARE is undertaking a study to understand Women’s engagement in pastoral value chains within this county. This information will help CARE to identify gender based interventions that can assist communities engage more profitably in livestock value chains and improve community livelihoods

Basic Interviewee Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details of Interview</th>
<th>Date and time held:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location:</td>
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<tr>
<td>1a – Sub-Location name</td>
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<td>1b – village name</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Key Informant Details</th>
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<tr>
<td>Name:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Description of interviewee (e.g. Women group leader, chief, village elder, Govt officer,)</td>
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1. What are the challenges facing women in livestock value-chain in this area (with respect to livestock ownership, productivity and access and benefits to markets)

2. Please explain the characteristics of most female headed households/women in this area that makes them find it difficult to actively participate in profitable livestock enterprises.

3. Which livestock, livestock products have the greatest potential for contributing to the economic empowerment of women through increasing incomes under their control? (income from sale of livestock and livestock products, who manages income and amount of income managed by women)

4. What types of livestock and livestock product markets accessed by women provide limited barriers to women’s participation or provide women more flexibility and control while ensuring sustainable incomes? (Men and women’s market preferences / availability, markets where livestock and livestock products are sold and who in the household sells)
5. **What kind of membership groups have the potential to increase women’s benefits from livestock** including decision making with respect to livestock and livestock product ownership, market access and control over income? (*Membership in marketing groups, group marketing, group saving, who makes decisions in the household on livestock and livestock ownership*)

6. **How does women’s economic empowerment, market participation and income control influence household food and nutrition security** (Market participation, income control by women, Household dietary diversity, household food adequacy, coping strategies during food shortage)

7. **What opportunities exist for women in livestock value-chain in this area and what future exists for girls in this sector** (with respect to livestock ownership, productivity and access and benefits to markets)

8. **From your perspective what 2-changes or interventions would best enable more women in in this community engage and benefit more from the livestock-value chain now and in future.** Please give the three most important things that need to happen and explain how these would make a significant difference.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority change / Intervention</th>
<th>Why and how this would build success/profits</th>
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9. **What “NEW” things/projects/initiatives have been implemented here are affecting women and men’s involvement from livestock activities and how?**
REFERENCES


20. KIT, Agri-ProFocus and IIRR. 2012. Challenging chains to change: Gender equity in agricultural value chain development. KIT Publishers, Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam


