LIVESTOCK ACTIVITY GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT

RESILIENCY THROUGH WEALTH AGRICULTURE AND NUTRITION (RWANU)

DECEMBER 2016
LIVESTOCK ACTIVITY GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT

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<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAHW</td>
<td>Community Animal Health Worker</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCPP</td>
<td>Contagious Caprine Pleuro Pneumonia</td>
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<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Chief of Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFAP</td>
<td>Development Food Assistance Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>DRR</td>
<td>Disaster Risk Reduction</td>
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<tr>
<td>FFP</td>
<td>Food for Peace</td>
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<tr>
<td>GOU</td>
<td>Government of Uganda</td>
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<tr>
<td>KRSU</td>
<td>Karamoja Resilience Support Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>M&amp;E</td>
<td>Monitoring and Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCA</td>
<td>Male Change Agent</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCG</td>
<td>Mother Care Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>MOU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPR</td>
<td>Peste des Petits Ruminants</td>
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<tr>
<td>RWANU</td>
<td>Resiliency through Wealth, Agriculture, and Nutrition in Karamoja</td>
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<tr>
<td>SO</td>
<td>Strategic Objective</td>
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<td>Ugandan Shilling</td>
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<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<td>Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene</td>
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<td>Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index</td>
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<tr>
<td>WHH</td>
<td>Welthungerhilfe</td>
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<td>WLG</td>
<td>Women’s Livestock Group</td>
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Resiliency through Wealth, Agriculture, and Nutrition in Karamoja (RWANU) project is a five-year, $50 million USAID Food for Peace (FFP) Development Food Assistance Program (DFAP) implemented by ACDI/VOCA and two partners: Concern Worldwide and Welthungerhilfe (WHH). Currently in its final year of implementation, the overall goal of the project is to reduce food insecurity among vulnerable people in Southern Karamoja. The program has two strategic objectives (SOs): 1) improved access to food for men and women, and 2) reduced malnutrition in pregnant and lactating women and children under five. Under SO1, RWANU distributes goats to women’s groups to promote access to milk and increase nutrition. RWANU also provides training in animal husbandry and various management practices to ensure that they can care for the goats.

RWANU project implementation is guided by a gender equity and female empowerment approach that is based on a gender analysis conducted at program start-up, as well as data collected during the 2013 Uganda Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) survey. In 2015, RWANU conducted a WEAI gender impact assessment in order to assess the impact of the RWANU gender approach across all activities and SOs. It analyzed the extent to which project activities contributed to joint decision-making regarding production, male and female access to productive resources, male and female control over use of income, women’s participation in community leadership, and male and female time burdens. One unexpected finding of the study was that the livestock activity showed promising results related to female empowerment beyond its nutrition objectives. To capture these results and related learning, ACDI/VOCA commissioned a follow-up gender impact assessment of the livestock activity to be carried out in November and December 2016.

The gender impact assessment sought to answer three key research questions and related topical questions:

1. What significant changes in women’s empowerment have taken place in participating households and communities as a result of the RWANU goat distribution program?
   a) Changes in decision making (sole or joint)
   b) Changes in time use
   c) Changes in control and ownership over assets, including livestock and accrued income
   d) Changes in household member roles and responsibilities
   e) Changes in the perceptions and actions of key male relatives, influential family members, and community members
   f) Changes in public leadership and self-confidence
   g) Changes in mobility

2. What significant changes in nutrition have taken place in participating households as a result of the RWANU goat distribution program?
   a) Changes in nutrition and diet diversity among family members of different genders and ages, particularly children under five years
   b) Changes in household milk consumption and use patterns
   c) Age at which milk is introduced to a child
   d) Whether the minimum acceptable diet of children ages six-23 months of women owning goats differs from that for children of women not in the livestock activity

3. What factors negatively or positively affected women’s ability to effectively participate in livestock-related activities, and how were these challenges addressed or opportunities
capitalized on, if at all?

a) What lessons did female participants learn during the program that enabled them to better take advantage of program activities?

b) What lessons did RWANU staff learn during the program that enabled female participants to better take advantage of program activities?

c) Do women have a business relationship with community animal health workers (CAHW)? If so, how satisfied are they with the service provided?

d) Have women purchased another goat or live animal since receiving a goat from RWANU? If so, why? If not, why not? If they anticipate doing so, where will they purchase it and how will they finance their purchase?

e) What opportunities and challenges do women face in marketing their livestock?

f) What promising practices emerged that could be replicated or expanded in future livestock distribution programs?

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**KEY FINDINGS**

**Women’s Empowerment**

1. The program was successful in changing norms around goat ownership and increasing women’s ability to own goats, regardless of their gender or social status. Program activities promoting women’s goat ownership, as well as equitable gender and social norms, increased women’s sole and joint decision-making in households. However, men still held primary responsibility for goat management and care, as well as their sale and purchase. As women’s status and value in the household improved, so did their marital and family relationships. A majority of men said they love their wives more, respect them more, treat them better, and feel more unified with them now that they are livestock owners. This change in behavior was confirmed by female participants.

2. Participation in program trainings, meetings, and groups increased women’s self-confidence, leadership skills, and ability to speak in public, including in mixed groups. RWANU activities built on the Government of Uganda’s (GoU) and international NGO’s female empowerment efforts to change women’s public engagement. Not long ago, women recalled not being able to speak in front of men at meetings or even call out to their husbands in front of other men.

**Nutrition**

3. A majority of women (61 percent) felt the program had improved their household nutrition. Because project participants were engaged in multiple nutrition-related activities, such as kitchen gardens, and received training on nutrition, only 39 percent directly attributed this change to goat ownership. Household members who that said that owning goats had not changed the way they ate reported that it was because their goats were not producing enough milk beyond what was needed to feed baby goats and young children. However, there were indications that program women were feeding their children more milk and milk products, such as butter and yogurt, than non-program women on a weekly basis.

4. Milk was largely said to be given to children starting at six months, mixed with tea or porridge, and given to the rest of the family cooked with greens or vegetables. Both women in and out of the program felt an acceptable minimum diet for their children included silverfish, milk, beans, porridge, meat, and eggs, covering at least four of the seven recommended food groups.
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

5. Goats were provided to only a small number of eligible women in a village with the intention of recipients passing offspring to a second generation of receivers. However, because of the limited distribution, there were increases in jealousy and other negative reactions, with psychological and financial costs to female participants when goats were stolen or abused. Neighbors also imposed fines if goats trespassed onto their property.

6. Goat ownership did not affect most women’s mobility, as their goats were cared for by household members and extended family, liberating them to move about as usual. However, for women without family assistance, goat ownership could restrict their movement and keep them from earning money or seeking food outside the home.

7. Goat disease, death, and miscarriage were the greatest challenges cited by women to their success in the program, followed by the cost of veterinary drugs.

8. A majority of women were pleased with the services of their community animal health workers, but almost a fourth were dissatisfied with the relationship because the CAHWs stopped coming to their village, didn’t respond promptly or visit regularly, and couldn’t heal their goats. Women recommended that the program train someone in their village or even the female participants themselves, and asked that current CAHWs receive more training.

9. Most women had not bought or sold any goats since starting the program. When women bought goats, it was primarily for breeding or as an investment for future household expenses. Goats were mainly sold to pay for school fees and materials, medical treatment, and food for the household; to start up a business; for breeding; to buy veterinary drugs for sick goats; and for cultivation-related expenses and investments.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Implementation Approaches to Continue and Reinforce

1. **Continue to enable women’s ownership of major livestock assets** like goats or cows to increase their standing in society and decision-making power within households and communities. Continue to manage negative gender-related reactions by signing memoranda of understanding (MOUs) with respected community elders and making the signing ceremonies public, as well as by involving men in all trainings and activities and targeting them in behavior change communication on gender equity.

2. **Maintain weekly livestock group meetings** and other mixed-sex meetings to provide women with both a safe place to practice speaking and leadership skills and an opportunity to interact with men on an equal basis.

3. **Keep the savings and credit group as a crucial component** of women’s successful participation, enabling them to pay for veterinary drugs and treatment, meet basic needs, and plan for the future. Individually, many women found it too difficult to raise money for veterinary drugs and herders, and to pay other goat-related fines and fees. Additional training and messaging on how to pay back loans may be needed to avoid defaults, which keep other women from benefiting from group savings.

4. **Continue to involve men and respected elders from the beginning**, and continue to use messages that promote women’s goat ownership as beneficial for the family and children. However, prepare to counter arguments by men to who seek to regain control over women’s livestock (for example, “if the goats were given to benefit children and that children were produced by both men and women, the goats should also be owned by men”).

*Implementation Approaches to Add or Change*

5. **Train women as community animal health workers** in order to increase the value of women in their
Livestock Activity Gender Assessment Report
December 2016

communities, provide them with additional income-generating opportunities, and increase the likelihood that goats will receive timely treatment. A tiered certification process would likely be needed, as well as additional literacy and coaching support.

6. **Use women’s livestock groups (WLGs) for norm-setting, but consider allowing women to manage their goats individually.** Group ownership and management is useful for women whose husbands or fathers would otherwise have no disincentive to procure the goats for themselves and acts as a check on bad behavior. However, it also decreases women’s sense of responsibility for their goats. Consider maintaining WLGs as professional associations for training, information, and problem solving, but allowing women to keep their goats individually.

7. **Consider alternate targeting strategies to mitigate negative community reaction**, including jealous actions against participants and their goats. Alternatives may include targeting all pregnant or lactating women in fewer villages or making participation contingent on performance in other program activities in nutrition, health, education, or WASH (water, sanitation, and hygiene). Targeting strategies may also involve working with communities or local leadership committees to select goat program participants, based on agreed-upon, publicly available criteria.

8. **Add training modules for women on buying and selling goats**, market pricing, bargaining, and examining goats for health and quality. Include men, but emphasize the need for women to have the capacity to buy and sell their goats on their own as needed.

9. **Strengthen women’s linkages to sellers and buyers in larger livestock markets** where their transactions will be more profitable than if they sell or buy in their village, where many feel more comfortable.

10. **Strengthen women’s linkages to certified veterinary drug providers** to ensure their access to high-quality drugs, either directly or through community animal health workers.

11. **Design women’s groups for maximum leadership and speaking practice.** Provide every member with a leadership and speaking role at every meeting, creating a safe environment for women to practice speaking, negotiation, and leadership skills. Toastmasters International is a good example of an organization that does this well.

12. **Conduct formative research regarding herding and labor practices and develop mitigation strategies** to ensure that livestock activities incorporate plans for equitable distribution of time and labor needs and do not increase the risk of parents removing children from school.

13. **Hold in-depth conversations with communities on how to ensure that children are not taken out of school for herding duties**, and tailor trainings and messaging accordingly. Solutions may include limiting herding duties to before and after school hours, assigning the responsibility to young adults that have completed their secondary education, or ensuring that participating households have enough adults willing to raise and herd the goats in lieu of keeping children out of school to help manage the livestock.

**Background**

The Resiliency through Wealth, Agriculture, and Nutrition in Karamoja (RWANU) project is a five-year, $50-million USAID Food for Peace (FFP) Development Food Assistance Program (DFAP) implemented by a consortium of three partners: ACDI/VOCA, Concern Worldwide, and Welthungerhilfe (WHH). ACDI/VOCA is responsible for overall program management and leads implementation of most activities under SO1 while WHH implements the technical training and input provision related to livestock. The partners work together to ensure gender integration across activities to promote gender equity and women’s empowerment, as well as natural resource management (NRM), disaster risk reduction (DRR), and conflict mitigation.
ABOUT THE LIVESTOCK ACTIVITY

The RWANU livestock component was aimed at increasing the availability of milk for children through restocking and better management of small ruminants. Livestock specialists and community extension agents formed women’s livestock groups (WLGs) with members drawn from mother care groups (MCGs) as well as from respected female community leaders. To select women for the WLGs, RWANU used census data to target villages with the greatest numbers of pregnant and lactating women. Out of these women, 10 were selected as beneficiaries, with the criterion that their child or children be under two years of age. The names were communicated to the sub-county chief, who ensured that women who had already received animals from other programs were replaced. The selected and approved members were informed and trained; they elected their own chairperson.

Each group of 10-15 women received an average of 33 female goats and a buck (or 2.5 goats per member on average). All stock were vaccinated before distribution, and women’s groups were linked to CAHWs for veterinary services. RWANU promoted practices such as separating the does from the bucks; castrating male kids not intended for breeding; improving the shelters of the female goats and kids; and planting ‘fodder banks’ near the manyatta1 for the dry season. RWANU also provided materials for fencing and night shelters for the animals. Women were trained in herd management, buying and marketing of goats, and planning and budgeting for recurrent costs like medical treatment. RWANU community field extension workers also trained them in group savings and credit.

A previous gender and youth audit conducted by the RWANU program in November 2016 found that 84 percent of program participants fell within the 18-34 years of age range. The selection criteria targeting pregnant and lactating women also incorporated younger women in these communities. This audit identified constraints that youth face which make it more challenging for them to engage in and benefit from program activities. For example, some of the youth are not aware of program activities or grant opportunities because they do not belong to registered groups, and it is therefore harder for them to receive information. Meanwhile, some youth are in hard-to-reach pastoral areas where information is even more difficult to access. The formation of WLGs addresses these identified constraints by forming in pastoral locations and by providing access to information.

ABOUT THE RWANU GENDER APPROACH

In support of its cross-cutting gender equity and women’s empowerment objectives, RWANU conducted a gender analysis as part of program start-up in 2013. In the communities where RWANU was being implemented, the gender analysis found that livestock ownership remained primarily a male activity, despite reductions due to raiding and insecurity, with men and boys responsible for nearly all aspects of livestock management. Men maintained complete autonomy over all livestock, even when the animal nominally belonged to the women—including sale, purchase, and use of the profits. The gender analysis also found that women were burdened by heavy agriculture workloads, along with responsibility for virtually all reproductive or domestic work and for ensuring that households have sufficient food to eat on a daily basis. The gender analysis found little evidence of men taking on household and caretaking tasks; social customs and peer pressure were important in maintaining traditional gender roles. The gender analysis showed a very clear delineation in male and female decision making: men’s sphere of

1A manyatta (among the Masai and some other African peoples) is a group of huts forming a unit within a common fence.
control extends to livestock, as well as financial and livelihood investment; their decision making is final in all areas, and in many places it remains autonomous, with little meaningful consultation with women.

In 2013, RWANU developed a gender strategy for implementation based upon the findings of the gender analysis and the 2013 Uganda WEAI survey, the approach of which focused on increasing men’s sharing of the agricultural workload, enhancing women’s access to credit, and building the capacities of producer organizations so that female members can benefit just as much as their male counterparts. Because livestock ownership and caretaking were considered solely a male domain, gender approaches for the livestock activity focused on engaging men’s support for women’s ownership of goats and participation in capacity-building activities for goat husbandry. Livestock activities were not designed to include a resource-intensive strategy to change gender relations and behaviors of men and women in target communities.

RWANU conducted a WEAI gender impact assessment in 2015 that was intended to build upon the 2013 gender analysis and assess the impact of the RWANU gender approach. The study assessed program impact across all activities and SOs, analyzing the extent to which RWANU’s activities contributed to joint decision-making over production, male and female access to productive resources, male and female control over use of income, women’s participation in community leadership, and male and female time burdens. One unexpected finding of the study was that the livestock activity showed promising results related to female empowerment beyond its nutrition objectives. To capture these results and related learning, ACDI/VOCA commissioned a follow-up gender impact assessment of the livestock activity to be carried out in November and December 2016.

**METHODOLOGY**

The gender assessment used both primary and secondary data sources through a desk review of key programmatic and research documents and through in-depth interviews and focus groups with program beneficiaries, community leaders, key household members, and women not chosen for the program. Key informant interviews were conducted with RWANU staff directly involved in goat distribution activities. Purposive sampling was used to identify individuals for interviews and focus groups who represented a diversity of experiences, based on either their demographic profile or outlying performance in the goat distribution program.

The data collection process was managed by an independent gender advisor who trained a data collection team consisting of four RWANU staff and three interpreters. Data collection took place in Pokot-speaking regions of Amudat and Nakapiripirit between November 16 and December 2, 2016. Key informant interviews with RWANU were conducted by the independent gender advisor. In total, the team carried out:

- 11 key informant interviews with RWANU staff
- 11 focus groups with participant women
- 12 focus groups with non-participant women
- 54 in-depth interviews with participant women
- 24 in-depth interviews with key household members
- 26 in-depth interviews with community leaders

Target villages were selected to reflect the distribution of program beneficiaries: 5.3 percent are found in Moroto, 5.5 percent in Amudat, 43.9 percent in Nakapiripirit, and 45.3 percent in Napak. Target villages also covered the 16 sub-counties in which program activities currently take place: the pastoralist
zones of Nadunget, Lorengedwat, Lolachat, Nabilatuk, Lokopo, Lopei, Lotome, Matany, and Ngoleriet; and the agro-pastoralist zones of Karita, Loregae, Kakomongole, Moruita, Namalu, Iriiri, and Lorengechora. Individual program women and women’s livestock groups were chosen for interviews and focus groups based on outlying performance in the program, including unusual success or difficulty in taking advantage of program activities. Key household members of targeted participants and community leaders were also interviewed to provide insights on the impact of the goat distribution program on women’s empowerment in participating household and communities. They were identified by field staff through conversation with female participants and village members. Additional details on the data collection timeline and regional distribution can be found in Annex II.

FINDINGS

CHANGES IN WOMEN’S EMPOWERMENT

TIME USE AND SHARED ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Government initiatives and NGO activities over the past decade have promoted shared household responsibilities, and men and women are said to now commonly work together on gardening, cultivating crops, constructing homes and fences, and in casual labor. In the Karamoja region of Uganda, the majority of household tasks, including childcare, is done by women, while men are the heads of the household and the primary decision makers. Due to these pre-existing family dynamics, Concern Worldwide developed a male change agent (MCA) strategy. MCAs, who serve as role models, implement positive change in their homes and pass along key messages to other men during social gatherings. They have proven to be pivotal in promoting positive gender attitudes and health and nutrition behaviors among men in Karamoja.

Participants and their household members noted that men will occasionally assist in taking children to the hospital, fetching water, burning charcoal, and collecting firewood, as well as cooking and caring for children when women are sick or have just given birth. However, women continue to be primarily responsible for household work and child care, including fetching water, collecting firewood, cooking for the family, cleaning the compound, searching for food, bathing children, and constructing and fixing houses.

For some, goat ownership added to their responsibilities during the day: “Since I received the goats, I am now busy at home; I am not only concentrating on charcoal burning that I used to do earlier on.” Goat management, if taken on by women who lack family support, may create an opportunity cost, decreasing time available for income-generating activities. But for many, the time-intensive activities of goat management, including herding, were done by other members of the family, including husbands and other male relatives.

Herding livestock is traditionally a task conducted by male family members, particularly elder males and sons. In some cases, members of the WLGs were assisted by school-aged sons who were tasked with herding, often supervised by their fathers or other male relatives. While women reported that they only allow their children to herd during holidays and after school, some participants did report that boys may be kept back from school to herd so other children could study or because the family didn’t have the money to pay for school fees: “My nephew is the one who herds my goats. He is seven years old and does not go to school. Other children are in school, but we have kept him at home to purposely herd;”
“It is my son who herds the goats. He is supposed to be at school but I don’t have money to take him to school.” Of note, several participants and community leaders mentioned that both boys and girls herd: “The daughters of the women are the ones who herd the goats with the help of their fathers. The daughters herd after coming from school; they attend morning lessons and in the afternoon they come back to herd.” This is also an indication of slowly changing norms around livestock care.

**Who Herds?**

Source: in-depth interviews

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Household Members</th>
<th>Female Participants</th>
<th>Community Leaders</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female participant</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband or male relative</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School-aged child</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>53%</td>
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Note: The percentages represent participant responses. As one participant could have more than one response to the question of who herds for the household, the total may be greater than 100 percent.

**Decision-making**

Just 20 percent of female participants interviewed and 13 percent of household members felt that there had been a change in women’s decision-making power due to the program. Most female participants (74 percent) claimed to either make decisions on their own or jointly with their husbands or fathers. For women in polygamous relationships, spending decisions were often made alone because their husbands didn’t consistently live with them: “I make decisions alone on what to spend the money on because my husband goes to stay with my co-wife for a long time without reaching us.” Many also noted that their spending decisions were tied to household needs: food, clothing, taking care of sick children, school fees, ingredients to brew beer, and veterinary drugs for the goats.

For those whose husbands or fathers made all the decisions, this was attributed to cultural norms dictating that the head of household had the final say on all matters, including assets owned by their wives or daughters: “My husband is still a decision-maker on the money to be spent, since he is the head of family and I am still following some cultural beliefs;” “The man still has more power to make decisions in a home…even if I make my own money I have to share it with the whole family.” When asked, some men felt their judgment was essential: “She cannot make her own decisions on how to spend the money she makes. She has to ask me first and we share it out; I permit her to go ahead. So I decide finally whether what she wants to buy is worth or important at that point.”
CONTROL AND OWNERSHIP OVER ASSETS

Because livestock are major assets, most women did not make decisions on their own about what to do with them, when to sell, or what to buy with the money made from the sale. This was a joint decision they made with their spouse. Many noted that joint ownership was an improvement on the way in which decisions about large assets were made previously, whereby men did not involve their spouses in decisions about livestock—even those animals bought by women: “Since my family and my husband saw me getting the goats from RWANU, we all now have control over livestock together, unlike early on when it was only a man, even if you buy using your own money.” While a majority of women and their household members controlled their livestock jointly, a fourth affirmed women’s sole ownership, claiming that in cases of divorce, the goats would go to the women: “My husband is the overall manager, but ownership belong to me such that in case of divorce, I will go with my goats because he was instructed about my ownership of goats.” Many women in polygamous relationships also noted sole livestock control due to their de facto position as head of household when their spouse is living with co-wives.

While communities were instructed on women’s legal ownership, and respected elders signed memoranda of understanding with the program and witnessed the distribution of goats, a significant minority of men and women continued to maintain that the goats given to female participants truly belonged to men, given the community’s history of sole male ownership. Their arguments against female ownership were instructive and can be used to tailor future responses and messaging:

- The goats are for the father, because the daughter is not traditionally married.
- If my wife migrates to her home, the goats remain with me because I’m the head of household.
- In case of any conflict, we will divide the goats she received because it’s through the baby that I gave her that she got the goats.
- Because the child is what made me qualify to receive the goat and we produced the child together with my husband, therefore I don’t decide on my own in case of selling this goat; I have
Resistance to female goat ownership is not unexpected; in fact, the level of agreement and support the program has attained is an impressive change in the fewer than four years of activities. It likely builds on other gender-transformative initiatives by the government and development organizations.

Female participants confirmed having much more sole control over the income that they make, which was corroborated by their family members. However, most participant responses indicated that women made only small amounts of money and that what they did earn was spent on basic household needs. For some, there was still an expectation that they give their money to their husbands when asked: “I have control over my own money; this is why I use it for supporting the household. If I give [it to] my husband, he may use it with friends and nothing reaches home. It’s still [mine] to decide how much to give him whenever he requests.” Some participants attributed increased control to the program and noted that their marital relationships had improved, as men were treating them with more respect and involving them in household decisions.

Women whose husbands controlled their finances indicated that if they hid or kept money from their husbands they could be beaten or cause a quarrel between them. Some felt that they were not capable of making household decisions: “I can’t think beyond my husband, or even be the same with him because there are things he can do that I can’t manage. For example, he can buy a cow or goat. He can go for any visit outside home for many days unlike me. He can own any livestock that I one time got money for buying.” And some felt that submission in control over finances was a sign of respect for their husbands. Participants’ spouses sometimes expressed a form of guardianship over their wives, believing they were not capable of making wise decisions: “She has control over the money she makes, but what I know, whenever she uses it or buys anything she has to inform me such that I make sure she spends the
When asked if and how the goat distribution program had changed the way women were treated by men and women in their families and communities, almost half of the participants interviewed saw positive changes in the way they were treated by their husbands. They indicated receiving more respect and love from them, fighting less, and being better treated. Respect was often tied to asset ownership. As one participant noted: “Respect has come to women, because earlier on the men used to abuse us as dogs, but now because of the goats we own, we are highly respected.” Community and household members concurred at an even higher rate, noting increased unity and happiness within the household due to women’s livestock ownership: “I know if she was not there or my wife, I would have not gotten this opportunity for our family to own goats, but I am now very happy with her. Initially we were not very joined to each other, but now we are very happy with each other and [I’m] especially grateful to her.”

However, only a fifth of women interviewed indicated that their husbands, male relatives, or other men in the community helped them with their goats. When they did, it was mostly in the form of herding, buying veterinary drugs, helping with monitoring and treatment, and searching for lost goats.
The primary change noted in female participants’ treatment by other women in the village was associated with the unequal social and material advantage gained by participants in the village and sudden change in power dynamics related to asset ownership. Goats were provided to a limited number of eligible women in a village based on the selection criteria described above and with the intention of recipients passing offspring to a second generation of receivers. Unfortunately, the limited distribution did have some negative repercussions among those who did not receive immediate distribution. Seventy percent of female interviewees noted that when other women saw that they had received goats, they became jealous, taunted them, and quarreled with them. While only 11 percent of female participants reported more serious problems, a greater number of extended household members (33 percent) indicated that community members stoned, beat, or killed program goats, and fined women when program goats entered into their homes, gardens, or fields. As one noted: “Other women were not happy when we received the goats. They did not want our goats in their compound and they would always beat the goats once they were in their compounds.” Although it is common practice for communities to impose fines when livestock stray and damage property, fines imposed for property destroyed or eaten by program goats were sometimes set quite high at 10,000 UGX and 20,000 UGX for cassava, 30,000 UGX for tomatoes, 30,000 UGX for maize. These are heavy prices to pay for goats that are worth between 60,000 UGX and 120,000 UGX—in some instances, half the price of the goat. One woman admitted to giving her only goat to a friend in another village so she would no longer have to pay fines when the goat trespassed.
In some villages, respondents noted a multiplication effect, whereby after seeing women acquire goats, other women in the village decided to buy and care for their own goats, and men without livestock decided to work harder and earn enough to buy their own goats. Female participants were also said to share milk and meat with others in the community, which helped mend strained relationships with non-beneficiaries: “Other women are also happy with the program since I share with the neighbors milk through giving to their children and sometimes when we prepare porridge they benefit from it.”

Community leaders were asked about their thoughts on changing gender roles in the community since the start of the RWANU program. A majority of them acknowledged the new realities brought by the goat distribution program, including the fact that women could now own goats, sell and buy goats (jointly with men), be leaders, and speak in groups. They also acknowledged that men were taking on additional roles in child care and household chores that used to be solely female responsibilities. However, 38 percent still believed that goat ownership was shared between men and women; only four percent believed that women could sell and buy goats on their own; and only 12 percent believed that women could take care of goats, reflecting the fact that animal care and sale/purchase remained primarily male spheres of responsibility.
PUBLIC LEADERSHIP AND SELF-CONFIDENCE

For a majority of women in the program, RWANU activities had a significant impact on their self-confidence, leadership, and ability to speak in public, all critical skills for participation in public and political life. Forty-three percent felt the program had increased their self-confidence and noted that this was due to program trainings and participation in meetings and groups. Self-confidence manifested itself in the following ways:

- Lack of fear
- Ability to express themselves
- Expressing their needs to their husbands
- Participating and raising concerns in public meetings with men
- Being able to eat with their husbands
- Being able to call out to their husbands when they are in a group of men
- Feeling capable of taking care of their families
- Believing they are equal to men

As one woman noted: “Before we got the goats we were not participating in meetings, and women were not having that courage to express themselves, but now I have confidence and I can even raise issues or any concerns I have and share with my husband freely unlike before.” For those women who felt they still lacked confidence, this was tied to being young, shy, or fearing public meetings.
A majority of female participants (51 percent) and community leaders (65 percent) also felt that the program had increased women’s leadership in the community, notably through the experience they gained leading in program groups: women livestock groups, savings groups, mother care groups. As one woman noted: “We have leadership roles since we are in groups like mother care groups, and we are in positions of mobilizer, chairperson of the group, secretary of the group...” Another mentioned the personal benefits of leading program groups: “The world is changing and there are many benefits of being in leadership. This is the reason I want to continue in leadership. Examples of benefits are survival skills through trainings, traveling to other places for workshops, [and receiving] allowances [and] t-shirts.” However, 61 percent of women who felt that they had newly become leaders through the program qualified their leadership as restricted to women’s groups only. One female participant noted: “In groups which are mixed both men and women, it is the men who mainly can lead better, because men’s opinions are more respected and other men undermine women’s opinions.” For those who felt they could not lead at all, reasons given were lack of confidence and lack of time to take on the duties associated with leadership.

Almost half (48 percent) of female participants interviewed felt that the program had improved their ability to speak in public, with a total of 69 percent saying that they currently speak freely and just 13 percent saying they still only felt comfortable speaking in women’s meetings. In the past, women recalled not being allowed to speak in meetings with men, but the program had not only given them opportunities to speak in safe environments, such as the women-only groups and trainings, but also the opportunity to practice speaking in front of men in mixed groups: “Since RWANU program was introduced in our village, there are many occasions where we are brought together with men to sit together in meetings, and this has increased our ability to speak in meetings unlike before when our views were not honored by men and they were not even okay with us appearing in meetings.” Key household and community members confirmed that RWANU and other government and NGO programs had increased women’s participation and ability to speak in meetings, although in some villages they noted that women still only join meetings when they’re invited and only speak last after men have exhausted their contributions. Yet the majority seemed to accept women’s changing roles in society,
also ascribing the changes to the trainings and meetings women have attended as part of the program: “In my community, women can speak and lead meetings with men because of the trainings they have got from the programs, since some are mobilizers, secretaries, chairpersons. It’s not like earlier on when the women used to fear to speak in meetings because they were at times shut down when they wanted to raise a point.”

**Mobility**

Early in the data collection process, we hypothesized that responsibility for goat management might affect women’s mobility, restricting them to the manyatta to keep watch on the animals if no one else was available to herd. Most respondents did not feel that the program had affected their mobility positively or negatively, as the goats were cared for by the household as a whole and extended family, liberating them to move about as usual. However, a couple of groups and women noted significant changes in their mobility brought about by the program. One group of female participants told us that participation in the savings group and women’s livestock group had positively decreased their need to migrate for casual labor: “These groups and support...have helped us reduce on our movement, especially we needed to move as far as Busia and Teso region to work for survival, but now we are able to forge a way forward through this savings group.” One family member described a similar experience: “I must say this goat has helped us settle. Initially, I would be roaming around up to Mbarara to look for survival, but now we are psychologically settled.” Another group noted that owning goats had negatively restricted their mobility and tied them to one place because of the need to milk the goats for the children. Some also stayed close to home out of fear that their goats would be stolen or become sick and not receive care.
CHANGES IN NUTRITION

NUTRITION AND DIET DIVERSITY

Almost all women in the goat distribution program are also in mother care groups. They have received training on child health and nutrition through their groups, through food distribution, at outreach services, and/or when interacting with health workers. In addition to the milk provided by RWANU goats, many women in the program also receive conditional food rations, which means that any changes attributed to the goat distribution program are likely bound up with other supportive nutritional activities—sole attribution should not be assumed.

While 61 percent of female participants interviewed said they eat differently now because of the program, only 39 percent attributed this change to goat ownership. Almost a third (31 percent) said there was not enough milk from the goats to cause a significant change in overall family nutrition and diet—most of the milk was given to young children only, which aligns with the livestock activity objectives focused on increasing child nutrition. Household nutrition changes were largely attributed to nutritional training; imitating the nutrition of people they respect; the food distribution program; income from casual labor and selling of produce, charcoal, or firewood; their kitchen gardens; loans from the savings group; and income from selling goats. At a rate of 38 percent, household members said that the goats had not made a significant difference in the way they eat.

Those who experienced an increase in diet diversity noted the following changes:

- They were able to feed their children milk to drink or mixed in tea or porridge.
- Surplus milk was exchanged for other food items, such as beans, sugar, and salt.
- The entire household was consuming milk because it was mixed in greens or in tea.
- The milk was turned into butter for household consumption.
- The milk was made to ‘go sour’ and turned into yogurt for household consumption.
- Access to milk reduced expenditure on vegetable oil, as milk was mixed with vegetables and greens instead of oil.
- Children no longer had to eat Blue Band (margarine).

For those whose goats died or did not produce enough milk for children or the household, women (approximately 18 percent of female respondents) indicated that they bought milk from the market or neighbors and relied on casual labor, charcoal burning, and selling firewood for income to feed their family.

In focus groups with women in and out of the program, we asked about daily and weekly child nutrition to find out if goat ownership made any difference in their nutritional choices. In children’s daily nutrition, few differences were seen, apart from the fact that twice the number of women in non-participating focus groups claimed to feed their children cereal daily. The primary daily food items for children were said to include vegetables and greens (leaves from bushes and trees, including ekorete, ekaleruk, esugugur, and akeo), porridge, cereals, posho (made from sorghum flour), milk, beans, and sunflower seeds. An equal number of program and non-program groups cited giving their children milk daily. More differences were seen in weekly nutrition, where three times as many focus groups with female participants claimed to give their children milk weekly, and program participants were the only ones to respond that they gave their children milk products such as butter or yogurt. However, almost twice as many focus groups with women outside of the program said they weekly gave their children...
tomatoes, silverfish, beans, vegetable oil, and cabbage compared to women in the program.

**HOUSEHOLD MILK CONSUMPTION AND USE PATTERNS**

As noted in the above section, there are indications that households participating in the goat distribution program more regularly provide their children with milk and milk products such as butter and yogurt. In conversations with women in the program, milk was used and provided to children and households in a number of ways. Many provided milk to children directly, in tea or porridge. If there was surplus milk, it was used instead of vegetable oil or spices for cooking greens and vegetables, or turned into yogurt for the rest of the family. Those households that had an abundance of milk sometimes made butter. Some decided to sell surplus milk for household income.

**AGE AT WHICH MILK IS INTRODUCED TO CHILDREN**

The RWANU program has promoted exclusive breastfeeding for at least 6 months to lower risks of child malnutrition and disease. The latest project report notes that 86 percent of mothers or caregivers exclusively feed their children on breast milk. That finding was corroborated in this assessment in focus groups with women in and out of the program, all of whom have been exposed to training in health and nutrition, and many of whom participate in mother care groups. The overwhelming majority of women in all focus groups said that they fed their children goat milk starting at the age of six months. A couple of women noted that they fed their children goat milk almost immediately since they had no breastmilk. Female participants interviewed individually said they fed their children goat milk at six months at a rate...
of 74 percent; key household members at a rate of 42 percent.

**Minimum Acceptable Diet of Children**

The RWANU program conducted anthropometric measures of children under two years of age in FY16 using weight-for-age measurements. During this period, results showed that the rates of underweight children had increased, pointing to continued poor feeding habits and low uptake of diverse foods, as well as the persistence of harmful social and cultural practices. Knowing that children are not, in reality, receiving an acceptable minimum diet, the assessment’s question to mothers about minimum child diet is primarily a reflection of message penetration and how well nutrition training information has been retained. Women in and out of the program had very similar responses with regard to their children’s minimum diets, although more women out of the program said a minimum diet should include eggs, potatoes, and greens, while women in the program were the only ones to include maize and butter/ghee in a minimum diet.
As defined by USAID, a minimum acceptable diet for breastfed children 6-23 months should include four or more of the following food groups:

- Grains, roots, and tubers
- Legumes and nuts
- Dairy products (milk, yogurt, cheese)
- Flesh foods (meat, fish, poultry, and liver/organ meats)
- Eggs
- Vitamin-A-rich fruits and vegetables
- Other fruits and vegetables

Most focus groups both in and out of the program were on message and effectively covered at least four of the seven recommended food groups when they reported that their children’s minimum diets should include silverfish, milk, beans, porridge, meat, and eggs.
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

PARTICIPANT CHALLENGES

During the program, activity areas were affected by an outbreak of livestock disease, including Contagious Caprine Pleuro Pneumonia (CCPP), Peste des Petits Ruminants (PPR), goat pox, and foot-and-mouth. Women acknowledged the impact of these diseases and related consequences, such as goat death and miscarriage, as the greatest challenge to their success in the program. As one woman described it: “These goats are even allergic to rain and mud. If you leave them in the rain, you will even have problems with them in the morning.” Participants also felt it was difficult to make enough money to buy veterinary drugs for their sick goats, especially during years with poor harvest. One participant and a key household member revealed having to sell important assets and household goods in order to buy veterinary drugs, saying respectively: “It is challenging getting money to buy drugs; sometimes I end up selling my other assets, for example chickens, to buy drugs for the goats,” and “the main challenge is buying drugs for the goats when they are sick; sometimes you have to sell household food in order to get money for bringing drugs to treat the goats.” Several noted the lack of nearby veterinary shops.

Among other challenges, women noted the following:

- Having to pay fines when their goats damage neighboring property
- Program goats being taken by thieves
- Goats being killed by wild animals, such as leopards and snakes
- Difficulty finding or paying a herder
- Difficulty maintaining savings groups (one member borrowing group money and never returning the loan)
- Theft of program equipment or tools
- Goats producing little milk
- Lack of time to take care of goats
- Scarcity of grass or water in the area
- Difficulty mating program goats
- Termites destroying the goat fodder
- Goats being beaten or stoned by others
- Group members not taking care of their goats

Another challenge participants experienced was the time and labor burden of herding. In many pastoral or livestock communities, herding is primarily a male role, and it is common for school-age boys and elderly men to be responsible for this task. Whereas some female participants relied on extended family members to help them with herding the goats, approximately 40 percent of female respondents reported that their children helped with herding the goats. Because this study did not focus in-depth on herding and labor practices, this finding requires additional research. This traditional distribution of labor, as well as the time burden it entails, is an important consideration for livestock programs. Formative research will enable projects to determine children’s participation in herding, including their ages, whether children are being kept out of school to herd, and whether children are herding alone or accompanying an adult. Programs should identify whether planned livestock activities increase the risk of parents removing children from school and develop mitigation strategies.
Challenges seemed to vary based on geographic area, whether the woman was in a polygamous or monogamous relationship, if the woman was the head of her household, if the woman lived close to relatives or had a supportive husband, and the number of other assets held by the household in addition to goats.

Staff Challenges

Issues around the sale of goats
Several staff members noted that selling livestock was rare due to cultural taboos—common practice was based on the belief that livestock were meant to be stocked and only sold during periods of difficulty or in emergencies. Some women also apparently misunderstood program instructions and believed they should not sell their goats at all; many were waiting for the program to end so they could sell without consequences. For those who had sold their goats, several staff noted that women had difficulty selling without their husbands, who they felt had a better knowledge of pricing and goat quality. Additionally, in households where men did not accept the idea of women’s livestock ownership, women’s goats were sometimes sold without their knowledge, for example, for the husband to pay the dowry required to marry a second or third wife.

Veterinary drugs are expensive and hard to acquire
The issue of drug cost and availability was echoed by most participants, who were sometimes forced to make difficult choices to acquire them, including prioritizing the purchase of veterinary drugs over food for the family in order to cure the goats. This was compounded by the fact that reputable drug stores were often located far from program villages and difficult to access. This difficulty, however, could be overcome if the village had an available and responsive CAHW.
Providing breeds adapted to difficult environments
Many participants and some staff members expressed concern that the breeds provided by the program were not suited to harsh environments and tended to become sick and die more easily and more often than local goats.

Goat management is time-intensive and women are still time-poor
Some women had trouble effectively caring for their goats due to time burdens or the lack of money required to adequately care for them. Several staff noted that women’s husbands were often reluctant to contribute either by herding or paying for veterinary drugs, as the program expected them to. In these cases, goats may have been passed on to other family members or sent to kraals (animal enclosures), or semi-mobile livestock camps, where the benefits of milk for children were lost. In other cases, men willingly took responsibility for the goats’ day-to-day care and expenses, as this aligned with their current or previous responsibilities. Many respondents noted a shift beyond the influence of the program to balance the workloads of men and women, and staff indicated that the program had been successful in appealing to husbands and male relatives to share household and other duties with women, for example, so they could attend program meetings and trainings.

Community Animal Health Workers
Program participants were interviewed about their experiences with community animal health workers (CAHWs), and most (72 percent) responded being happy with the services provided by their CAHW. Their satisfaction was tied to the fact that the CAHWs:

- Were close and accessible
- Were available immediately to attend to sick goats
- Were successful in healing the goats
- Regularly monitored the goats
- Knew their job well and were well trained
- Were trustworthy and committed
- Informally trained community members on treatment
- Operated on credit

One woman noted the importance of the bicycles given to CAHWs in being able to access veterinary drugs: “The CAHW is always available and reliable since the bicycle which he was given, he uses it to go to the market to buy medicine for our goats and he monitors them frequently.” It was also important for many that the CAHW be well trained and supervised: “Our CAHW is always being guided by veterinary officers employed by the goat distribution program and this is the reason I trust him compared to other people in our community who treat their own animals, yet they have not been trained or guided by any professional.”

Notably, almost a quarter (24 percent) of participants said they were dissatisfied with their experience with CAHWs, due to the fact that:

- They stopped coming to their village
- They didn’t respond promptly
- They didn’t monitor or visit regularly
- The goats died

Respondents described a few situations in which their CAHWs were unresponsive. Some CAHWs were not based in their village to start with and did not respond as promptly; some migrated; some stopped...
working when they stopped being paid; some were irresponsible or had too many other time commitments; and some simply stopped working with no explanation. When CAHWs were not available, women treated the goats themselves or had their husband or male relative treat them: “We do not have any CAHW around to support us to treat our goats here at home. What happens here is that even family, the husband treats the livestock and now even us women have learned. If our husbands are not there, we treat them by ourselves. We have a nearby vet shop where there is someone we can consult in case we need further veterinary services.”

To improve CAHW service, participants suggested that they be provided with good veterinary drugs or drug providers, that the CAHWs receive more training, and that someone in the village or even the female beneficiaries themselves be trained. On the issue of veterinary drug availability, several respondents noted that the veterinary drugs available to them were often counterfeit or degraded: “The program should bring for us good drugs. Most drugs that we buy in the market are not efficient. The drugs that were once brought by the program are the ones that saved our goats.”

**Buying Goats**

Most female participants interviewed (67 percent) had not bought additional goats since the program began, with more than half telling us that they did not have enough money. A total of 18 women interviewed said they had bought at least one goat, for the following reasons:

- Breeding
- To stock/restock their herd
- As an investment for future expenses, such as school fees, semi-permanent housing, ox plows, oxen, starting a business, food for the household, medical treatment, cultivation costs, and to have in case of emergencies
- To replace a dead goat
- To exchange with or buy a cow
- To get milk
- For dowry payments

Most purchases were made at local markets, although three were bought from neighbors in the women’s villages. Markets named included: Namalu, Karita, Lorengedwat, Kangole, Iriiri, Naturum, Obarata kere, Nabilatuk, Adipala, and Lemsui.

Women who bought goats were able to purchase them by:

- Selling harvest
- Selling sick or dead goats
- Through their husband’s contribution
- Selling local brew
- By doing casual labor
- Selling firewood
- Selling greens
- Through the savings group
- Selling milk

**Selling Goats**

Thirty-nine percent of female program participants interviewed had sold goats by the time we spoke to
them, which is a significant result in Karamoja. Households there do not commonly practice selling goats due to cultural norms and traditions that emphasize selling livestock only in times of urgent need. Furthermore, 61 percent agreed that they planned to sell their goats in the future. Women told us they did not sell their goats because they had not multiplied enough or had died, and program staff instructed them not to sell their goats until they had reproduced. A total of 21 women interviewed said they had sold at least one goat since the program began, for the following purposes:

- Pay school fees and materials
- Pay for medical treatment
- Buy food
- Run a small business
- Buy a female goat for multiplying
- Buy veterinary drugs for remaining goats
- Cultivation costs
- Buy land
- Buy a cow
- Buy an ox plow
- Buy more resilient local goats
- Construct semi-permanent housing
- Put more money in savings

Women wanting to sell their goats in the future anticipated using the money to pay for school fees and materials, medical treatment, and to buy food for the family.

None of the women told us they had a hard time selling their goats. Seven women sold the goats in their village or through a personal exchange and nine women had their spouse or male relative take the goat to the market. Three women accompanied their spouse or relative to sell the goat. Local market sales were made at the following locations: Lolachat, Karita, Naturum, Obarata kere, Nabilatuk, Nambole, Namalu, and Lemsui. Sale prices ranged from 50,000 UGX on the low end for a sale made at home, and 70,000–90,000 UGX in the middle ranges, to 100,000 UGX in Nakorete.

Only six women said they made the decision to sell their goat on their own; six women had made the decision jointly with their spouse; and four said their spouse had made the decision unilaterally. When asked about taking their goats to market, many still felt this was a male responsibility, saying that women were not able to physically manage the goats as men would, didn’t know what the market prices were, and didn’t know how to negotiate with buyers. As one woman told us: “My husband took it to the market. You know, women cannot or are not able. What if it runs into the bush, if it breaks the rope, the women cannot chase after it as the men can.”

**Promising Practices and Opportunities**

**Train women as community animal health workers**

Providing women with skills as CAHWs would continue to challenge restrictive gendered norms, placing women as equal and valuable partners with men in livestock management and treatment; it would also provide them with an additional income source, as well as increasing the likelihood of their goats receiving timely treatment. However, a number of challenges would need to be addressed, including women’s lack of literacy—if they cannot read, they may misidentify veterinary drugs, and they would not be able to write reports on their work for the program—and their lack of confidence. A few women approached for the position in the current program felt they could not do it; that it was a man’s job. The
job would require sometimes distant travel to procure veterinary drugs from reputable shops, but female mobility does not seem to be problematic—women regularly move outside their villages for casual labor, during periods of drought, and to visit family. A robust mentoring process would likely be required, as well as a tiered certification process that would allow them to begin some work without literacy skills and collaboration with remedial education programs in the region.

**Use WLGs for norm setting but consider allowing women to manage goats individually**
Group ownership and management of goats is useful for women whose husbands and fathers would otherwise have no disincentive to procure the goats for themselves or sell them. The group acts as a check on bad behavior. However, it has also been observed that group ownership can decrease the sense of responsibility women feel for their goats—for example, decreasing involvement in the construction and maintenance of common goods such as goat shelters or fodder banks. Future programs may choose to allow women to keep their goats individually while maintaining women livestock groups as professional associations in which women receive training and information and can report incidents and solve problems.

**Keep the savings and credit groups**
Although savings groups were not directly addressed in any of the interviews or focus groups, they were repeatedly mentioned as a crucial element in the program, enabling women to pay for veterinary drugs and treatment, meet basic needs, and plan for the future. Individually, most women would find it too difficult to raise money for veterinary drugs, herders, and to pay other goat-related fines and fees (for trespassing in gardens and homes, for example, which is a common occurrence). A number of incidents were raised in which women borrowed money from the group and did not return it, keeping other women from being able to access credit when needed. On one occasion, as the research team drove up to a village, a woman ran away into the fields thinking that they had come to confront her about loan repayment. While continued work is needed to create a culture of savings and investment, savings and credit mechanisms appear to be indispensable to women’s successful goat ownership and management.

**Maintain weekly livestock group meetings**
Weekly meetings provided regular opportunities for women to practice and become comfortable with the skills and processes necessary for public participation and leadership, including public speaking and decision making. These skills can also translate into an increased ability to negotiate and make decisions within the household, such as livestock management, budgeting, and other key household events.

**Continue to involve men and respected elders from the beginning**
Men were engaged in trainings and meetings alongside female participants from the start, a policy that allowed for a less threatening transition of traditional asset ownership from men-only to now include women. Messages promoting women’s goat ownership as beneficial for the family and children also helped address the men’s fears and increase appreciation for women as contributors to household prosperity. As traditional livestock holders, men are often engaged as partners with women in the care of their goats, taking on the time-intensive tasks of herding or providing funds for veterinary drugs. Although some household roles and responsibilities are increasingly being shared with men, women continue to experience time poverty and find it difficult to properly care for their livestock without either hiring someone to manage them or depending on family members and relatives to share the burden of care. Continuing to engage men as partners in women’s goat management from the start is both practically important and crucial to the transformation of restrictive and burdensome gender norms.
Increase attention to clean water access in addition to fodder activities
Access to water was said to be a much more significant barrier to successful goat management than access to fodder. Fodder activities encountered many difficulties: They were burned by wildfires, eaten by other animals, destroyed by termites, and during the dry season, were not watered because women prioritized their own gardens and crops. Water for production should be promoted through a range of watershed management opportunities, including rain water ponds, valley tanks, valley dams, and rock catchments, as well as through the construction of water pumps and irrigation systems, which would keep women from having to travel far for water during droughts or from having to keep the goats in kraals, where children no longer have access to the milk.

Other opportunities

- Historically, goat management was a woman’s role; this can be used in messaging to address opposition to changing cultural norms.
- Because not all eligible mothers were given goats and issues of jealousy are common, targeting could be based on women’s performance in other program activities, such as health, sanitation, kitchen gardens, or mother care.
- Targeting could also be done through the traditional restocking system, with more community involvement.
- Several staff suggested that women be provided with chickens, which are commonly owned by women and would not challenge gender norms. While this activity would increase access to nutritional foods such as eggs and meat, it would likely not increase the status of women in their households and communities, or protect them from abuse in the way livestock ownership has done for some.
- Women should be provided with business training to help them monetize goat ownership.
- Women and men should be provided with more sensitization sessions on female goat ownership; many have difficulty trusting that they are truly legal owners, which impacts their motivation to take on the responsibilities of legal ownership and management.
- Goat tagging should be revisited and possibly made less conspicuous to deter the theft and abuse of goats specifically tied to the program.
- CAHWS should continue to be provided with bicycles so they can access drug stores more quickly and provide timely treatment to sick goats.
- Livestock programming is well received in the region and caters to pastoralist populations’ deep love for and appreciation of livestock. Several staff felt that it was also more useful during droughts, when livestock could be sold for emergency funds.
- One livestock staff recommended that the program continue to build goat and cattle crushes even in kraals to protect against tick borne diseases.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Implementation Approaches to Continue and Reinforce

1. **Continue to enable women’s ownership of major livestock assets** like goats and cows to increase their standing in society and their decision-making power within households and communities. Continue to manage negative gender-related reactions by signing memoranda of understanding with respected community elders and making the signing ceremonies public, Men should also be involved in all trainings and activities and targeted in behavior-change communication on gender equity.

2. **Maintain weekly livestock group meetings** and other mixed-sex meetings to provide women
with both a safe place to practice speaking and leadership skills, as well as an opportunity to interact with men on an equal basis.

3. **Keep the savings and credit group as a crucial component** of women’s successful participation, enabling them to pay for veterinary drugs and treatment, meet basic needs, and plan for the future. Individually, many women find it too difficult to raise money to pay for veterinary drugs, herders, and other goat-related fines and fees. Additional training and messaging on how to pay back loans may be needed to avoid high default rates, which keep other women from benefiting from group savings.

4. **Continue to involve men and respected elders from the beginning**, and continue to use messaging that promotes women’s goat ownership as beneficial for the family and children; however, prepare to counter arguments from men attempting to regain control over women’s livestock, such as, “if the goats were given to benefit children and that children were produced by both men and women, the goats should also then be owned by men.”

**Implementation Approaches to Add or Change**

5. **Train women as community animal health workers** in order to increase the value of women in their communities, provide them with additional income generating opportunities and increase the likelihood that goats will receive timely treatment. A tiered certification process would likely be needed, as well as additional literacy and mentoring or coaching support.

6. **Use WLGs for norm setting, but allow women to manage their goats individually.** Group ownership and management is useful for women whose husbands or fathers would otherwise have no disincentive to procure the goats for themselves and acts as a check on bad behavior. However, it also decreases women’s sense of responsibility for their goats. Consider maintaining WLGs as professional associations for training, information, and problem solving, but allowing women to keep their goats individually.

7. **Consider alternate targeting strategies to mitigate negative community reaction**, including jealousy and jealous actions against participants. Alternatives may include targeting all pregnant or lactating women in fewer villages, or making participation contingent on performance in other program activities in nutrition, health, education, or WASH. Targeting strategies may also involve working with communities or local leadership committees to select goat program participants, based on agreed-upon, publicly available criteria.

8. **Add training modules for women on buying and selling goats**, market pricing, bargaining, and how to examine goats for health and quality. Include men but emphasize the need for women to have the capacity to buy and sell their goats on their own as needed.

9. **Strengthen women’s linkages to sellers and buyers in larger livestock markets**, where their transactions will be more profitable than if they sell or buy in their village, where many feel more comfortable.

10. **Strengthen women’s linkages to certified veterinary drug providers** to ensure their access to high-quality drugs, either directly or through community animal health workers.

11. **Design women’s groups for maximum leadership and speaking practice.** Provide every member with a leadership and speaking role at every meeting, creating a safe environment for women to practice speaking, negotiation, and leadership skills. Toastmasters International is a good example of an organization that does this well.

12. **Conduct formative research regarding herding and labor practices and develop mitigation strategies** to ensure that livestock activities incorporate plans for equitable distribution of time and labor needs and do not increase the risk of parents removing children from school.

13. **Hold in-depth conversations with communities on how to ensure children are not taken out of school for herding duties**, and tailor trainings and messaging accordingly. Solutions may include
limiting herding duties to before and after school hours, assigning the responsibility to young adults that have completed their secondary education, or ensuring that participating households have enough adults willing to raise and herd the goats in lieu of keeping children out of school to help manage the livestock.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


