

Working Paper 184

**Livelihoods and Chronic Conflict:
An Annotated Bibliography**

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The Livelihoods and Chronic Conflict Working Paper Series

This Working Paper forms part of a series that reviews the range of ways in which livelihoods approaches are currently used by operational agencies and researchers working in situations of chronic conflict and political instability (SCCPI). The aim of the series is to document current practice so that useful lessons can be learned and applied to ensure for more effective policies, needs assessment, and aid programming to support livelihoods during protracted conflict. Many of these lessons from each of the individual papers are summarised in a synthesis paper. The series also includes an annotated bibliography and a paper outlining the conceptual issues relating to the applications of livelihoods approaches to SCCPI.

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Contents

Acknowledgements	iv
Introduction	v
1 Frameworks for Analysis and Key Concepts	1
2 Impact of Conflict on Livelihood Strategies and Resources	9
3 Forced Migration, Displacement and Livelihoods	31
4 Policy and Institutional Approaches to Protect and Support Livelihoods in Times of Conflict	40
5 Programme Interventions to Protect and Support Livelihoods in Times of Conflict	62

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Introduction

Over the past two decades the concept of livelihoods has become an organising principle for developmental programming for a wide range of institutions. The focus of this annotated bibliography is the application of livelihoods concepts and approaches by operational agencies and researchers working in situations of chronic conflict and political instability.

This bibliography has been compiled on the basis of the following definition of livelihoods:

Livelihoods comprise the ways in which people access and mobilise resources that enable them to pursue goals necessary for their survival and longer-term well-being, and thereby reduce the vulnerability created and exacerbated by conflict (Young et al. 2002).

This definition includes the wide range of livelihood strategies that people apply, the resources upon which these strategies depend, and the specific livelihood goals that people pursue, including survival. Because the context is situations of conflict, this definition focuses on vulnerability created and exacerbated by conflict, rather than the concept of sustainability that is emphasised in the 'Sustainable Livelihood' approaches common in development settings.

The bibliography is divided into five sections. Part 1 includes relevant theoretical or conceptual material, largely drawn from a more developmental perspective, particularly where this has laid the foundations of specific livelihood approaches. Part 2 focuses on the impact of conflict on the livelihood resource-base and livelihood strategies, while Part 3 covers the impact of forced migration and displacement on livelihoods. Part 4 focuses on institutional and agency approaches to protecting and supporting livelihoods in times of conflict, including policy issues. Examples of programmatic strategies and interventions to support livelihoods during and post-conflict are provided in Part 5. Where citations relate to more than one section of the bibliography, they are listed in full under the primary section to which they relate, and cross-referenced under the other relevant sections.

The bibliography aims to provide key examples under each of the above categories. For example, there is a large literature on the impact of emergencies and forced migration on nutritional and health status. Examples of this have only been included where these changes are considered in relation to livelihoods and the impact of conflict on livelihoods, or the impact of livelihood interventions on improving health or nutritional status in conflict situations. In most instances the authors' summaries are used, followed by notes compiled by the authors of this Working Paper.

It is hoped that the bibliography will help to inform further research and development of effective operational approaches to protecting, promoting, and supporting livelihoods in situations of conflict.

Helen Young

1 Frameworks for Analysis and Key Concepts

Carswell, G. (2000) *Livelihood Diversification in Southern Ethiopia*, Working Paper 117. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

Outlines the history of livelihood diversification to show how specific key events can either trigger or inhibit diversification activities. The single most important diversification activity at the described research sites is trading, which is most commonly carried out by women. With one exception it is found that the proportion of total income from non-farm activities is larger for poorer wealth groups in all sites, suggesting that diversification activities are particularly important for poorer groups. With many women involved in diversification activities, and most diversifiers keeping control over the income that they earn, the high rates of diversification and importance of the contribution to cash incomes clearly has implications for gender relations within the household. The paper outlines some key determinants of diversification that operate at different scales. These include: caste, household size, structure, and gender of household head, together with wealth group, ownership and access to assets and transport, markets and services. In addition access to credit is important and the paper examines a key institution, *equb* that enables access to credit. The paper concludes with some policy implications of the research particularly around credit and institutions. It suggests that there is a need for 'credit for livelihoods'. Credit that the user can spend in any way she or he wishes needs to be made available. Linkages between the formal sector and existing credit and savings systems are critical here, and for policies to support successful livelihood diversification by the poorest, institutional arrangements that mediate access to credit must be taken into account.

Notes: This discussion of livelihood diversification adds insight into better understanding the impacts of shocks that are typically associated with conflict on a household's livelihood and that from there can aid in identifying appropriate and effective livelihood interventions.

Chambers, R. and Conway, G. (1992) *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century*, IDS Discussion Paper 296. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

The purpose is to provoke discussion by exploring and elaborating the concept of sustainable livelihoods. It is based normatively on the ideas of capability, equity, and sustainability, each of which is both end and means. In the 21st century livelihoods will be needed by perhaps two or three times the present human population. A livelihood comprises people, their capabilities and their means of living, including food, income and assets. Tangible assets are resources and stores, and intangible assets are claims and access. A livelihood is environmentally sustainable when it maintains or enhances the local and global assets on which livelihoods depend, and has net beneficial effects on other livelihoods. A livelihood is socially sustainable if it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, and provide for future generations. For policy and practice, new concepts and analysis are needed. Future generations will vastly outnumber us but are not represented in our decision-making. Current and conventional analysis both undervalues future livelihoods and is pessimistic. Ways can be sought to multiply livelihoods by increasing resource-use intensity and the diversity and complexity of small-scale farming livelihood systems, and by small-scale economic synergy. Net sustainable livelihood effects and intensity are concepts that deserve to be tested. They entail weighing factors that include environmental and social sustainability, and net effects through competition and externalities. The objective of sustainable

livelihoods for all provides a focus for anticipating the 21st century, and points to priorities for policy and research. For policy, implications include personal environmental balance sheets for the better-off, and for the poorer, policies and actions to enhance capabilities, improve equity, and increase social sustainability. For research, key questions are better understanding of (a) conditions for low human fertility, (b) intensity, complexity and diversity in small-scale farming systems, (c) the livelihood-intensity of local economies, and (d) factors influencing migration. Practical development and testing of concepts and methods are indicated. For the reader, there is a challenge to examine the context from the perspective of a person alive in a hundred years' time, and then to do better than the authors have done.

Collinson, S. with Bhatia, M., Evans, M., Fanthorpe, R., Goodhand, J. and Jackson, S. (2002) *Politically informed humanitarian programming: using a political economy approach*, Humanitarian Practice Network Paper 41. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Describes a recent Overseas Development Institute (ODI) project based on case studies in four countries (Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Senegal and Sierra Leone) exploring how political economy analysis – including an examination of local livelihoods – could contribute to improved humanitarian programming in situations of conflict and political instability. The paper provides appropriate analytical tools that humanitarian agencies can use to help them understand the often complex and difficult environments in which they work. A political economy approach takes context analysis beyond a ‘snap-shot’ approach to assessing the status and needs of particular groups or communities. It incorporates a wide historical and geographical perspective, seeking to explain why the relative power and vulnerability of different groups changes over time, and how the fortunes and activities of one group in society can affect others. It therefore encourages an understanding that is dynamic (by focusing on change), broad (by connecting changes in one place or group to those in another), longitudinal (by incorporating a historical perspective), and explanatory (by asking why certain people are affected by conflict and crisis in the ways that they are). If, by using this approach, agencies assess, anticipate and monitor vulnerable people's assistance and protection needs more effectively, it follows that they will be better equipped to plan and refine appropriate responses.

Davies, S. and Hossain, N. (1997) *Livelihood Adaptation, Public Action and Civil Society: A Review of the Literature*, Working Paper 57. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

Explores the political dimensions of sustainable livelihoods, drawing on livelihood adaptation literature in India and sub-Saharan Africa. The focus is on adaptation to short-term shocks and the negative consequences of longer-term change in livelihood strategies. Relationships of social exclusion, in particular gendered relationships with the state, formal and informal civil society, are crucial in determining the effects of interventions into livelihood systems for different stakeholders. The very different configurations of public action, civil society and community involvement in reinforcing livelihood activities are compared, to see whether there are useful lessons to be transferred between the regions. The complexity of these relationships and the importance of societal differences between the two regions indicate that no single model offers an optimum relationship between the state and civil society in livelihood adaptation. However, many policy initiatives are advocated for sub-Saharan Africa as a result of their success in India, without considering differences in formal and informal institutional arrangements. Attention needs to be

paid to these underlying institutional arrangements, and to the outcomes of public or social action on livelihood activities for different stakeholders.

Ellis, F. (2000) *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Both livelihoods and diversity have become popular topics in development studies. The livelihood concept offers a more complete picture of the complexities of making a living in rural areas of low-income countries than terms formerly considered adequate such as subsistence, incomes, and employment. Diversity recognises that people manage by doing many different things rather than just one or a few things.

This book sets out the rural livelihoods approach within the larger context of past and current themes in rural development. It adopts diversity as its principal theme, and explores the implications of diverse rural livelihoods for ideas about poverty, agriculture, environment, gender, and macroeconomic policy. It also considers appropriate methods for gaining a quick and effective knowledge about the livelihoods of the rural poor for project and policy purposes.

With rare exceptions, the livelihoods framework has hitherto been available only in a fragmentary way in journal articles, working papers, and unpublished reports. This is the first book to attempt to locate the framework fully with respect to the dominant preoccupations of rural development theory and practice. Its presentation is complemented by boxes, tables, figures, and chapter summaries to highlight the central points, making it particularly suitable for both students of development studies and people working in the field.

Francis, E. (2000) *Making a Living: Changing Livelihoods in Rural Africa*. London: Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics.

What impact do Africa's economic problems have on the livelihoods of rural people? How are people responding to major changes in the political economy of rural Africa? How do the different strategies employed by the rural poor change in different parts of Africa? The author explores the histories and livelihood strategies underlying the African peoples' diverse responses to disappearing job prospects, falling agricultural output, and collapsing infrastructure. To give a broad comparative study of rural livelihoods she uses case studies that range from commercial farming regions in Kenya to much poorer areas in Eastern and Southern Africa where rural livelihoods have long been dominated by labour migration and where multiple livelihoods are increasingly common. The book also gives a detailed exploration of people's lives and livelihoods in two localities in Kenya and South Africa.

Notes: There is increasing awareness of the need to understand the impacts of chronic conflict as part of longer-term processes of change that affect livelihood strategies. Though not directly concerned with conflict situations, this book shows that to help improve the outcomes of livelihood strategies, governments and agencies need to understand the diverse histories of livelihoods, and of how large-scale social and economic changes are played out at the local level. These include the ways in which localities were incorporated into colonial economies, the effects of post-colonial state policies, the operation of markets and the activities of international capital.

Geran, J. (2000) *Social Capital and Coping with Crisis: A Theoretical Framework Linking Social Networks and Sustainable Livelihoods*. Madison, Wisconsin, USA: University of Wisconsin–Madison.

The new ‘sustainable livelihoods’ approach to rural poverty alleviation provides a useful framework for analysing the resilience of rural livelihoods by incorporating social resources along with the material and physical resources of traditional studies. The author develops a theoretical framework linking social capital theory to an analysis of the resilience of rural livelihoods to external shocks using the sustainable livelihoods approach so that empirical studies can inform both practical and theoretical debates about rural poverty alleviation. In developing such a framework for use in empirical studies, the author summarises the literature on the three major sustainable livelihood strategies emphasising the importance of social capital to each and how each may contribute to a household’s ability to cope with shocks. Social capital is defined in such a way that it can be incorporated into a household-level livelihood analysis. The author argues for an expanded micro-level measure of social capital that moves beyond the current focus on group membership to include broader social networks. The framework has been designed specifically for an empirical study on the effects of the Thai economic crisis and concurrent drought on rural livelihoods in northern Thailand, but it should also be useful for more general studies of livelihood adaptation in response to economic change.

de Haan, A. (1999) ‘Livelihoods and Poverty: the Role of Migration – A Critical Review of the Migration Literature’, *Journal of Development Studies* 36: 1–47.

This review of the literature concludes that development studies have paid insufficient attention to labour migration, and makes a plea for the integration of analyses of migration within those of agricultural and rural development. It emphasises that population mobility is much more common than is often assumed, and that this has been so throughout human history. In fact, available material suggests that it is as likely that population mobility has decreased as that it has increased. A review of empirical studies shows that it may not be possible to generalise about the characteristics of migrants, or about the effects of migration on broader development, inequality or poverty. The author concludes that, given the importance of migration for the rural livelihoods of many people, policies should be supportive of population mobility, and possibilities should be explored to enhance the positive effects of migration.

Notes: This article includes a large discussion around the use of migration and remittances as a means of households coping with risk and supporting their livelihood structures. It also has a discussion of the relationship of seasonality to these migratory patterns and briefly examines the effects of migration on gender roles, social structures and institutions.

Hoon, P., Singh, N. and Wanmali, S. (1997) ‘Sustainable Livelihoods: Concepts, Principles and Approaches to Indicator Development’. <http://www.undp.org/sl/Documents/documents.htm> (30 October 2002)

A major task for governments, civil society organisations and international development agencies is assessing the impact and performance of their policies, programmes and projects. Attempts at measuring the effectiveness and efficiency of policy prescriptions have been aided by the development of specific indicators that strive to capture a particular circumstance, situation or condition (i.e., gross domestic product). The authors examine the sustainable livelihoods (SL) concept, its respective components and some of its theoretical underpinnings. This is augmented

with suggested examples of conceptual frameworks, which could guide the development of SL indicators. Subsequently, the paper looks at the lessons learned from indicator development in the areas of poverty reduction, sustainable development and participatory development, and their links to the exercise. Based on this analysis, a number of scenarios are suggested as means to measure SL in the context of country-level programmes and projects.

Notes: Provides a useful overview and analytical framework for the SL approach. It also outlines characteristics of vulnerable livelihoods in order to create indicators for sustainable livelihoods. The incorporation of vulnerability analysis into this framework is likely to be of relevance to an analysis of livelihoods in conflict situations.

Hussein, K. and Nelson, J. (1998) *Sustainable Livelihoods and Livelihood Diversification*, Working Paper 69. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

Constitutes a preliminary output of a research programme on sustainable livelihoods carried out by the Institute of Development Studies and the Poverty Research Unit at the University of Sussex, in collaboration with the International Institute for Environment and Development. This programme aims to explore the alternative routes to sustainable livelihoods pursued by rural people in contrasting agro-ecological settings in four countries: Bangladesh, Mali, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe. In relation to this aim, the overall focus is to understand how institutional arrangements determine rural people's entitlements, provide the setting within which they construct their livelihoods, and determine who gains and loses in the struggle to maintain livelihoods. It is proposed that rural people construct their livelihoods via three main strategies: agricultural intensification; livelihood diversification; and migration. The authors then explore the second of these strategies using evidence from Asia and Africa.

Notes: The paper looks at underlying reasons for livelihoods diversification, as well as what supports and constrains this process. The literature suggests that diversification of livelihood is a normative strategy in rural areas of developing countries. Given the wide variety of reasons for livelihood diversification, this process among the poor is not necessarily a proxy for their vulnerability, in part due to the context specific nature of the diversification process.

Johnson, C.A. (1997) *Rules, Norms and the Pursuit of Sustainable Livelihoods*, Working Paper 52. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

The central aim is to review the current understanding of how institutional arrangements can either encourage or discourage the pursuit of sustainable livelihoods. It explores the relationship between resources and capital, examining the nature of property rights and regimes, looking at the ways in which social exclusion affects the pursuit of sustainable livelihoods, and critiquing the Common Pool Resource (CPR) theory. It concludes that socially shared rules can encourage sustainable livelihoods provided the rate at which individuals extract benefits from the resource base remains relatively low, and distribution of benefits remains wide. However, when such rules reinforce more narrow distributional patterns, livelihoods can be profoundly unsustainable, irrespective of the physical state of the resource base.

Notes: Elucidates the links between the sustainable livelihoods model and a resource management model. Environmental and social resources as well as social, natural, human, and economic capital are discussed. Capital, in this context, is related to resources in as much as capital describes an as yet undetermined

potential that may be used for a variety of purposes, which results in the transformation of that potential into a resource. The author describes ways in which control over resources relates to power relationships. He then introduces four typologies of property regimes; open-access resources and private; state; and common property regimes. In the latter category, no one actually controls the resource independent from others. Instead, individuals have levels of influence over this resource. These relations of influence are mediated by social institutions that are differentiated from organisations. Conflict, in this case, relates to situations where formal rules encourage individuals to act in ways that contradict their expectations and preferences. Given that armed conflict can influence the social relationships and institutions within a community, this analysis of dynamics underlying resource management might be useful in designing programmes that have a robust understanding of utilisation patterns and potential future impacts of resource depletion.

Longley, C. and Maxwell, D. (2003) *Livelihoods, Chronic Conflict and Humanitarian Response: A Synthesis of Current Practice*, Working Paper 182. London: Overseas Development Institute (forthcoming).

Offers a synthesis of findings from ten Working Papers commissioned by the Overseas Development Institute for the 'Livelihoods and Chronic Conflict' publication series. The synthesis addresses three sets of questions relating to: how livelihoods analysis been applied to situations of chronic conflict and political instability; how livelihood assessment tools been adapted for conflict situations; and what approaches to livelihoods programming have been developed by agencies working in chronic conflict. Whilst these questions concern very practical issues, they inevitably relate to more conceptual issues – in particular the link between relief and development (the admittedly outdated 'continuum concept') – as well as humanitarian concerns relating to the necessity of providing livelihood support in principled ways that do not exacerbate existing tensions relating to the conflict or that may inadvertently promote political instability or have other unintended negative impacts. The synthesis paper provides an overview of both the practical and conceptual issues arising from the Working Papers, and argues that 'principled' livelihoods support in situations of chronic conflict is not only desirable but it is essential. However, the analytical tools and institutional requirements necessary to allow agencies to develop and implement appropriate livelihoods approaches effectively have yet to emerge.

McDowell, C. and de Haan, A. (1997) *Migration and Sustainable Livelihoods: A Critical Review of the Literature*, Working Paper 65. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

Focuses on the links between migration and sustainable livelihoods, looking in particular at the institutional factors that connect them. Argues that much of the development literature makes the false assumption that sedentary patterns in society are the norm, instead making the case that migration is often the rule, rather than the exception. Concludes that migration should be seen as just one of the livelihood strategies open to households, that it is often combined with other strategies, and that it is frequently a two way process in which migrants maintain close links with their areas of origin over a much longer period than is frequently assumed. Pointing out the range of different types of migration, ranging from voluntary to forced, the paper highlights the complex institutional factors involved in determining who is able to migrate, and who benefits most from it.

Notes: Migration as a livelihood strategy is discussed. Also includes a discussion of the effect of migration on social structures and their subsequent effect on livelihoods.

Schafer, J. (2002) *Supporting Livelihoods in Situations of Chronic Conflict and Political Instability: Overview of Conceptual Issues*, Working Paper 183. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Provides an overview of the use of the livelihoods concept with respect to relief work in areas of chronic conflict and political instability, including the evolution of this concept over time and the theoretical, institutional, organisational, and operational difficulties encountered in its use.

The author uses the term ‘chronic conflict and political instability’ in place of ‘complex political emergency’ to highlight the increasingly protracted nature of conflict and to set the context to contrast relief and development aid, both of which are unable to fully mitigate the negative impacts that arise from conflict. The methodologies for short-term relief intervention that have been used through the years are of questionable robustness when used in periods and places of conflict, although relief is increasingly becoming the point of engagement in other countries in the face of declining political engagement. Development aid on the other hand is generally implemented in areas without conflict, in part due to the conditionality imposed on the receipt of the aid and the various issues regarding national sovereignty and legitimate authority that are raised during conflict. The author then poses the livelihoods approach as one that is able to be applied effectively in conflict situations.

The author reviews the approaches of different agencies and their guiding principles towards action in conflict. Further, the author examines several types of problems that hinder effective response; including theoretical problems such as how agencies relate to the humanitarian principle of neutrality, criteria for involvement and the lack of information on the local and national environment; structural problems in terms of difficulties with inter-institutional coordination and the vagaries of donor funding cycles; organisational problems within agencies themselves in terms of erratic strategy development and the difficulties of translating policy into action, as well as the lack of fluid information flow within the organisation; ending with such operational constraints as security and access.

The author continues to describe the evolution of the livelihoods perspective, outlining a livelihoods approach and the livelihood framework to be used as a tool for analysis. While there are different models that describe livelihoods, they all suggest that livelihoods analysis needs to be carried out across a variety of levels, between different groups of people, and must be done over time in order to capture the trends of livelihood progress. This livelihoods framework is then described in detail in the context of chronic political instability, delineating the implications that conflict has for this type of analytical framework, including such topics as the role of political and war economies, social capital, and sustainability issues. The author points out that livelihoods analysis is generally only carried to the national level, but that livelihoods analysis should also consider wider international influences. The relationship between a livelihoods approach and rights is explored.

Scoones, I. (1998) *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis*, Working Paper 72. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

The concept of ‘sustainable livelihoods’ is increasingly important in the development debate. The author outlines a framework for analysing sustainable livelihoods, defined here in relation to five key indicators. The framework shows how, in different contexts, sustainable livelihoods are achieved through access to a range of livelihood resources (natural, economic, human, and social capitals) that are combined in the pursuit of different livelihood strategies (agricultural

intensification or extensification, livelihood diversification, and migration). Central to the framework is the analysis of the range of formal and informal organisational and institutional factors that influence sustainable livelihood outcomes. In conclusion, the paper briefly considers some of the practical, methodological and operational implications of a sustainable livelihoods approach.

Notes: Often cited as one of the early influential publications on sustainable livelihoods for development.

Turton, C. (2001) ‘Livelihoods Monitoring and Evaluation: Improving the Impacts and Relevance of Development Interventions’ (first draft). <http://www.livelihoods.org/post/Docs/tur-ME01.rtf> (30 April 2002)

Outlines the key principles and definitions underlying livelihood monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and considerations in the development of systems to do so. It is based on six case studies that were commissioned by the UK Department for International Development’s Sustainable Livelihoods Support Office. Some of the methodological issues raised by the paper include the use of a wide range of topics for data gathering, including the development of links between institutions and policy making; and the examination of factors that change or do not change in the system. It also addresses the issue of sustainability. The paper examines the tools of M&E, namely methods for data gathering (both qualitative and quantitative), data sources, and indicators. The conventional approach to M&E is contrasted with the Sustainable Livelihoods approach to M&E, and the additional value that a livelihoods approach brings to monitoring and evaluation is discussed. The paper concludes with a summary of best practice and the identification of future challenges. While the paper does not address livelihoods M&E in conflict, it does perhaps provide a base from which these issues may be considered, particularly since this topic has not been widely developed in the literature.

Cross references

Part 4: CARE (1999) *Programme Guidelines for Chronically Vulnerable Areas*. Nairobi, Kenya: CARE.

Part 4: Young, H., Jaspars, S., Brown, R., Frieze, J. and Khogali, H. (2001) *Food Security Assessments in Emergencies: A Livelihoods Approach*, Humanitarian Practice Network Paper 36. London: Overseas Development Institute.

2 Impact of Conflict on Livelihood Strategies and Resources

Ahmed, I. (2000) ‘Remittances and Their Economic Impact in Post-war Somaliland’, *Disasters* 24: 380–389.

Examines the role of remittances provided by a large global diaspora of migrant workers and refugees in post-war Somaliland, with the aim of better understanding this important source of income and livelihood. This article is derived from a study that was part of a project on complex political emergencies undertaken in 1997–2000 by the Consortium for Political Emergencies.

The average size of annual remittance flows received by households is estimated to be US\$4,170. With an average of 120,000 recipient households in Somaliland, the overall annual value is US\$500 million. These are heavily concentrated in urban areas, with less than 5% of rural households receiving money transfers from abroad. The paper then looks at sources of remittances and the money transfer systems used.

The economic impact of remittances on the recovery and regeneration of the economy is considered. The impact is considered on two levels, the household and then the overall economy. It is concluded that at the household level remittances provide a secure livelihood for thousands of families, and that their effect on the economy has been to contribute to the rapid growth of a vibrant private sector. Most recipients use remittances for immediate consumption, though the uses are many and varied. In rural areas remittances provide security against crop failure, illness, sudden price falls, and loss of income or assets. The author notes that remittances have also increased income inequality as migrant workers come from better-off families who can afford the high investment costs of sending a family member abroad.

Aldoori, W., Armijo-Hussein, N., Fawzi, W. and Herrera, M.G. (1994) ‘Child Nutrition and Armed Conflicts in Iraq’, *Journal of Tropical Pediatrics* 40: 32–36.

Examines the impact that conflict can have on malnutrition. The object of this cross-sectional study was to assess the nutritional status of children aged 0 to five years, who were attending maternal and child health clinics in Basrah city, six months after the cessation of the Gulf War.

The study population consisted of 723 children, the majority of whom were between 0 and 36 months old, attending maternal and child health clinics (MCHC) in Basrah city for routine immunisations. Each MCHC was visited on a separate day and all children attending on that day were included in the study.

A proportion (8%) of the study population were wasted, most of them in the 12–24 month age category. 24% of the children were stunted. Stunting and low weight-for-age were significantly higher among children of low socio-economic households. Comparison of these data with an earlier nutritional survey in the area showed that the nutritional status of children in Basrah city has deteriorated as a result of successive armed conflicts. There is need to monitor the health and nutritional status of children, and to take appropriate action in order to protect them.

Amowitz, L., Reis, C., Lyons, K., Vann, B., Mansaray, B., Akinsulure-Smith, A., Taylor, L. and Iacopino, V. (2002) 'Prevalence of War-Related Sexual Violence and Other Human Rights Abuses Among Internally Displaced Persons in Sierra Leone', *Journal of the American Medical Association* 287: 513–519.

The context of this paper is Sierra Leone's decade-long conflict, which has cost tens of thousands of lives, and during which all parties to the conflict have committed abuses. The objective of the study was to assess the prevalence and impact of war-related sexual violence and other human rights abuses among internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Sierra Leone. A cross-sectional, randomised survey was undertaken, conducted over a four week period in 2001, using structured interviews and questionnaires, of internally displaced Sierra Leone women who were living in three IDP camps and one town. A total of 991 women provided information on 9166 household members. The mean age of the respondents was 34 years (range 14–80 years). The majority of the women sampled were poorly educated (mean 1.9 years of formal education); 814 were Muslim (82%), and 622 were married (63%). Accounts of war-related sexual assault and other human rights abuses were recorded.

Overall, 13% (1157) of household members reported incidents of war-related human rights abuses in the last ten years, including abductions, beatings, killings, sexual assaults and other abuses. 94% of 991 respondents, and 396 (8%) of 5001 female household members reported war-related sexual assaults. The life-time prevalence of non-war-related sexual assault committed by family members, friends, or civilians among these respondents was also 9%, which increased to 17% with the addition of war-related sexual assaults (excluding 1% of participants who reported both war-related and non-war-related sexual assault). 87% of women believed that there should be legal protection for women's human rights. More than 60% of respondents believed a man has a right to beat his wife if she disobeys, and that it is a wife's duty/obligation to have sex with her husband even if she does not want to. The paper concludes that sexual violence committed by combatants in Sierra Leone was widespread and was perpetrated in the context of a high level of human rights abuses against the civilian population.

Notes: This paper illustrates the prevalence and types of violence that can affect a household's livelihoods.

Brentlinger, P., Hernan, M., Hernandez-Diaz, S., Azaroff, L. and McCall, M. (1999) 'Childhood Malnutrition and Post-war Reconstruction in Rural El Salvador: A Community-based Survey', *Journal of the American Medical Association* 281: 184–190.

The 1992 peace settlement that ended the civil war in El Salvador included land redistribution and other provisions designed to improve the socio-economic status of ex-combatants and vulnerable civilians. The objective of the study was to describe associations between post-war social and economic assistance programmes, especially land reform, and current child health status as reflected by nutrition in a population of resettled rural refugees. A population-based cross-sectional survey of child nutritional status and principal elements of the reconstruction process was carried out in a single rural municipality in northern El Salvador. The prevalence of stunting (low height for age) in children under five years was measured among a representative sample of 761 children under five years, living in 27 villages.

The prevalence of stunting was 32.4%. Stunting was significantly more prevalent among children whose families cultivated less land. Most of the children (84.7%) lived in families cultivating two hectares or less of redistributed land. Stunting was also more prevalent among children whose

households lacked piped water versus those who had piped water since before the cease-fire. The paper concludes that malnutrition, particularly stunting, persisted at high levels and was strongly associated with delay in full cultivation of redistributed land and in provision of water.

Notes: The results of this analysis illustrate that interventions aimed at supporting livelihoods, such as land redistribution, and projects promoting public goods, such as the provision of water, can have a large impact on prevention of childhood stunting.

Clarke, P. (2000) ‘Food Security and War in Afghanistan’, *Development* 43: 113–119.

Explores the nature of war and famine by looking at the link between food insecurity and war in Afghanistan over the last 20 years. The author examines the effects of war on food security: food production, the transport and marketing of food and the ability of people to afford the food which appears in the market. He shows how conflict has damaged all three of these elements of food security, but also suggests that a complete understanding of food insecurity in Afghanistan requires us to look beyond the war, and consider wider issues of poverty and economic change.

Notes: By exploring the direct links between food security and conflict, this article holds insights for livelihood interventions that have the potential to improve food security in both a conflict and post-conflict setting.

Cockburn, C. (1999) ‘Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence Background Paper’, *Proceedings of the World Bank Conference on Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*. Washington DC: World Bank.

Starts by looking at key concepts inherent to any type of gender analysis, and then how these concepts relate to conflict and violence. The author explores the role of gender, often used synonymously with women in this paper, in conflict, post-conflict, and peace.

The paper highlights four specific areas that the World Bank and other international actors can use in a gendered analysis in order to be more responsive to local people. (i) During political violence and armed conflict, the role and experience of women should be identified and gender-sensitised. (ii) In times of peace, organisations should consider the varied experiences of both genders in family, community and national structures and how these relate to economic activities and opportunities, civil society and political structures. These experiences should be identified and evaluated through a gender lens. (iii) At all times, it is essential to explore and make visible how gender power relations play out in media, popular symbolism and consequently impact on behaviours. (iv) International organisations should have staff from both genders, support women organisations in war-torn countries and aim to work with organisations that are sensitive to gender relations.

Cohen, M. and Pinstrup-Andersen, P. (1999) ‘Food Security and Conflict’, *Social Research* 66: 375–416.

After laying out the scenario of the large number of armed conflicts in various countries of the world, this paper relates conflict in these countries to the problem of food shortages. It explains this link by suggesting that food is often deliberately used as a weapon aimed at causing hunger and eventually famine deaths. This deliberate damage to food security can be incurred either through the

destruction of available food supplies or livelihood capacities. The destruction of livelihood capacities has a long-term effect on the economic opportunities available to people in the future, making them even more vulnerable to further shocks than they were prior to conflict. Because markets, roads, assets and both formal and informal institutions are impaired, people that survive the conflict find it extremely difficult to repair their communities and livelihood systems. The authors make an effort to estimate the costs of conflict on societies and on food security.

Hunger and resource scarcity can also lead to conflict. The authors illustrate examples of where hunger has led to riots and regime changes, and the pathways by which resource scarcity, and religious, ethnic and ideological difference can interact and also lead to conflict.

The international community is often involved in these localised conflicts through its humanitarian responses. The authors discuss the role of international players in conflict, paying particular attention to the potential to mitigate, or at least cease to exacerbate, the conflicts and their impact on food security.

Drumm, R., Pittman, S. and Perry, S. (2001) ‘Women and War: Emotional Needs of Ethnic Albanians in Refugee Camps’, *Affilia* 16: 467–487.

This qualitative study identified the emotional needs of female Kosovar refugees in southern Albania in May 1999, about one month after their flight from Kosovo. Common themes that emerged from the interviews included dealing with trauma, anxiety, and boredom and maintaining the hope that they would return home. On the basis of the findings, along with feminist theories as guiding concepts, the authors offer recommendations for the prevention of further trauma and treatment options for women in refugee camps.

Notes: Discusses the emotional trauma that may preclude pursuit of former or current livelihood modalities. The paper is only an initial enquiry, but its gender perspective is useful. Some of the recommendations include increased information flows in and out of camp regarding family members, developing in-camp capacity, and providing planned activities.

Gammange, S. and Fernandez, J. (2000) *Conflict, Displacement and Reintegration: Household Survey Evidence from El Salvador*, Working Paper 25. Washington DC: International Center for Research on Women.

Presents findings from research on the economic consequences of conflict, refugee flight and displacement on households in El Salvador. The research uses existing survey instruments to identify individuals and households who have been displaced by war, and examines the consequences in terms of their predisposition to poverty and their transition from poverty over time. The findings underscore the need for multilateral, bilateral, and national development strategies to be targeted to provide support to those populations disproportionately affected by war and in particular to support the economic reactivation of the former conflict zones in El Salvador. Moreover, efforts should be made to compensate for the lack of human capital investment in the former conflict zones and to target investment activities towards the rebuilding of social capital.

The research partitions the displaced population into the ‘concentrated’ and ‘dispersed’ displaced following earlier work by Segundo Montes. Concentrated displaced refers to those individuals and households that have fled armed conflict seeking refuge in encampments either inside El Salvador or beyond its national boundaries. Dispersed displaced describes those who have fled the conflict and sought refuge wherever they were able to do so and largely without receiving aid or support through

state and international agencies. The concentrated displaced were found to be disproportionately poorer than the dispersed displaced and disproportionately more likely to be poor and extremely poor in 1988.

By 1992, however, this disproportionate poverty only affected urban populations while poverty rates remained high for all households in rural areas and particularly those in former conflict zones. Female-headed households and residents of former conflict zones, independent of whether they formed part of the concentrated or dispersed displaced, were also found to be consistently poorer and more likely to remain poor over time. This may argue for a set of programmes that explicitly target the former conflict zones and female-maintained households, providing education, vocational training, health care, small credits and capital loans. These strategies should, however, be part of national programmes to reactivate the rural sector and stimulate economic activity in the former conflict zones in the post-war era. In this fashion the majority of the war-affected population may be reached and reactivation strategies may benefit other rural residents whose poverty is equally acute.

Notes: Highlights some of the difficulties faced in identifying refugees and IDPs for aid. It was found that the ‘concentrated displaced’ were more easily identifiable and received aid in situ from national and international programmes. On the other hand, ‘dispersed displaced’ needed to self identify and usually sought aid from churches and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

Garfield, R. (2000) ‘Studies on Young Child Malnutrition in Iraq: Problems and Insights, 1990–99’, *Nutrition Reviews* 58: 269–277.

Many reports on Iraq proclaimed a rise in rates of death and disease since the Gulf War of January/February 1991. Several of the studies on nutritional status are not readily accessible, and few have been compared to identify secular trends. Here, 27 studies examining nutrition among Iraqi children in the 1990s are reviewed. Only five studies were found to be of comparable methodological quality. These are analysed to identify major trends in child nutrition between August 1991 and June 1999. The limitations of existing studies and recommendations for future work are discussed.

Hendrickson, D. and Armon, J. (1998) ‘The Changing Nature of Conflict and Famine Vulnerability: The Case of Livestock Raiding in Turkana District, Kenya’, *Disasters* 22: 185–199.

Explores the role of conflict, in the form of livestock raiding, in the famines increasingly experienced by the pastoral societies in Turkana, northern Kenya. Examines how the traditionally livelihood-enhancing function of livestock raiding has taken on a more predatory form that undermines livelihood security. Starting with the statement that it is now widely recognised that violent conflict plays a decisive role in the creation of conditions leading to famine in Africa today, the paper looks at how this works in reality among the Turkana tribe. Livestock raiding increasingly occurs on a very large scale and is sponsored by actors with criminal motives outside the pastoral sector. With mobility already constrained by generalised insecurity, the impact on livelihoods is devastating.

The authors consider the context of famine. The Turkana’s principle asset is livestock and while drought and famine are constant hazards they have developed a highly flexible social system and other livelihood strategies that enable them to cope. In particular, complex social security networks are the key to protection against destitution and famine recovery. However, the extent and duration

of famines are increasing due to the undermining of traditional livelihood coping strategies. While considerable anecdotal evidence about raiding exists in food security literature, its key contribution to recent famines has not been closely examined; the focus has been on the consequences of famine rather than the causes, and for this reason the complex socio-political processes that have an impact on livelihoods have been poorly understood. The result has been inappropriate responses to the problem.

Turkana livelihood strategies are adaptive to radical changes in environmental conditions; herders switch between ranges of normal livelihood activities when conditions are good and a set of coping strategies to which they resort during time of stress. To view raiding as a one-off shock fails to account for the important indirect impact it has on livelihoods through the permanent state of insecurity and the knock-on effects generated, in terms of limiting the option of coping strategies to which the Turkana normally resort.

The paper goes on to look at some implications for relief and development policy, particularly the inadequacy of famine relief, which focuses on saving lives but neglects the fact that the livelihoods have been undermined. The challenge is to address the broader political insecurity problems that require a geo-political approach. While recognising this is beyond the scope of most relief agencies the paper goes on to look at a possible role in conflict-resolution approaches. The authors conclude that a much better understanding of the link between conflict, how this has changed over time and its impact on herders' livelihoods is needed to appreciate why famine is increasing and to be able to respond more appropriately.

Hussain, A. and Herens, M. (1997) 'Child Nutrition and Food Security during Armed Conflicts', *Food, Nutrition and Agriculture* 19: 1–9.

As a result of armed conflicts in the past decade, an estimated two million children have been killed, three times as many have been seriously injured or permanently disabled, and countless others have witnessed or taken part in violent acts. Even greater numbers have died from malnutrition and disease during such crisis. The destruction of food crops, water supplies, health services, families and communities takes a heavy toll on children. In 1995 alone, 30 major armed conflicts raged within different states around the world.

Concerned by the miserable plight and suffering of children during armed conflicts, the United Nations General Assembly, at its 48th session in December 1993, requested that a comprehensive study be undertaken on the impact of armed conflict on children. The study was to include recommendations for the amelioration of this grave situation. The Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO) contributed to the effort by assessing the impact of armed conflicts on the nutritional status of children. The FAO study took account of such broad causes of malnutrition such as inadequate household food security resulting from disruption of agriculture and food distribution systems and lack of access to food; poor health care and environmental sanitation; disruption of families and their caring practices; and socio-economic and nutritional vulnerability. Coping strategies employed by the households were also examined. The breakdown of the family unit was given particular attention, since this predicament most seriously impedes the provision of food, nutrition, health services and care to children. The FAO analysis was based on discussions with United Nations organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), a review of the existing literatures and field experiences in several African countries.

Notes: Concludes that while nutritional and mortality data are collected and useful in the short term, a more holistic picture that includes coping strategies and caring practices needs to be generated. This information should be gathered throughout different phases of the emergency as conditions at one point in time are

insufficient to describe the situation overall. It is argued that the household is the primary unit that ensures the ‘survival and nutritional welfare of children during armed conflicts’ and as such programmes to protect, promote, and restore the nutritional status of children should be designed to maintain the integrity of households and to make them economically and socially viable. Furthermore, the author advocates a developmental approach to relief interventions in order to lay the foundation for future viability through supporting local capacity. While programmatic implementation according to these principles is helpful, ultimately the assurance of child health and welfare depends on the resolution of the conflict.

Keen, D. (1991) ‘A Disaster for Whom? Local Interests and International Donors during Famine among the Dinka of Sudan’, *Disasters* 15: 58–73.

The 1985–8 famine amongst the Dinka is described and shown to have been rooted in the long-term exploitation of southern Sudan by northern Sudanese and international interests. This process of exploitation served, and continues to serve, important functions for particular groups. Some of the ways in which the 1985–8 famine was functional – for the central government, the army, and merchants – are outlined and the implications for relief programmes considered. It is argued that international donors had considerable room for manoeuvre which they could have used to adopt more effective policies. They only did so after the worst of the mortality was over.

Notes: This is one of the earliest papers outlining the functions of famine, and the impact of exploitative processes on economic life. It describes how raiding and intimidation (often in combination with scorched-earth army tactics) disrupted markets and livelihoods, and left communities without the cattle and grain stores on which they had traditionally depended.

Kibreab, G. (1997) ‘Environmental Causes and Impact of Refugee Movements: A Critique of the Current Debate’, *Disasters* 21: 20–38.

The relationships between insecurity, environmental change and population displacement are discussed. It is argued that environmental change and concomitant population displacement are the *consequences* of war and insecurity rather than triggers for it – as postulated in so much of the recent literature. Additionally, the state of knowledge concerning the impact of refugees on the environment of host countries is critically reviewed. The aim here is not to document the negative or positive impacts as such, but rather to de-mythologise some aspects of the state of knowledge which through repetition have become accepted as scientific truth.

Notes: Addresses the political implications of defining people as environmental refugees together with the implications of several widely held beliefs regarding causality for appropriate programmatic response. The author reviews the environmental causes of refugee movements, the environmental impact of refugees, and the consequences of the impact of soil erosion on gender and age-based family divisions of labour. It is asserted that insecurity leads to constrained patterns of movement in the pursuit of livelihood strategies, thereby leading to over-exploitation of some resources. Further, at the current time in developing countries, environmental protection and refugee protection are generally perceived as incompatible goals. For the most part, the impact of refugee movement and settlement is not considered in the planning stages of refugee response, but there is no evidence that refugees are more likely to exploit resources than local communities. In situations where livelihoods are intimately tied to access to environmental resources, this proposed perspective has greater implications for the method of humanitarian interventions that support livelihoods and the lenses through which analyses are made.

Kinfu, A. (1999) ‘Child Undernutrition in War-torn Society: The Ethiopian Experience’, *Journal of Biosocial Science* 31: 403–418.

Using data from a cross-sectional nutrition survey conducted in rural Ethiopia between March and April 1992, roughly a year after the end of one of the longest civil wars in modern human history, this study attempts to document the magnitude and correlates of childhood undernutrition in Ethiopia. Findings from the study reveal that, at the time of the survey, 59% of children in the country were exposed to long-term or chronic undernutrition (stunted); about 4% were suffering from acute problems (wasted); and about the same proportion were both stunted and wasted. Less than a third of the country’s children had normal growth. The logistic-binomial regression results demonstrated the existence of significant clustering of risks of undernutrition within areas of residence and notable differentials by age of child, duration of breast-feeding, age at introduction of supplementary foods and number of under-five siblings. Significant variations were also noted by age of household head, per capita land holding, religious affiliation and prevalence of endemic diseases in an area.

Notes: Looks at the impacts of prolonged conflict on nutrition and some of the indicators determining those most at risk. This insight into those vulnerable to malnutrition, although location and context-specific, has implications for those implementing livelihood interventions that are aimed indirectly at improving nutritional status.

Kiros, G. and Hogan, D. (2001) ‘War, Famine and Excess Child Mortality in Africa: The Role of Parental Education’, *International Journal of Epidemiology* 30: 447–455.

Civilian-targeted warfare and famine constitute two of the greatest public health challenges of our time. Both have devastated many countries in Africa. Social services, and in particular, health services, have been destroyed. Dictatorial and military governments have used the withholding of food as a political weapon to exacerbate human suffering. Under such circumstances, war and famine are expected to have catastrophic impacts on child survival. This study examines the role of parental education in reducing excess child mortality in Africa by considering Tigray-Ethiopia that was severely affected by famine and civil war during 1973–91. The study uses data from the 1994 Housing and Population Census of Ethiopia and on communities’ vulnerability to food crises. Child mortality levels and trends by various subgroups are estimated using indirect methods of mortality estimation techniques. A Poisson regression model is used to examine the relationship between the number of children dead and parental education.

Although child mortality is excessively high (about 200 deaths per 1,000 births), the results show enormous variations in child mortality by parental education. Child mortality is highest among children born to illiterate mothers and illiterate fathers. These results also show that the role of parental education in reducing child mortality is great during famine periods. In the communities devastated by war, however, its impact was significant only when the father has above primary education. Findings suggest that both mother’s and father’s education are significantly and negatively associated with child mortality, although this effect diminishes over time if the crisis is severe and prolonged. The policy implications of this study include, obviously, reducing armed conflict, addressing food security in a timely manner, and expansion of educational opportunities.

Notes: There are a variety of pathways through which parental education may be linked to child mortality as a proxy indicator signifying positive knowledge, attitudes and practices; community valuation of children and women’s empowerment; access to resources and resilience of coping strategies. The findings of this

article suggest that parental education may be an indicator worth including in livelihoods analysis, though its utility in a conflict setting is not yet fully supported.

Knight, L. (2001) *Emergencies and Ageing: A Position Paper*. London: HelpAge International.

Older poor people are at high levels of risk in the world's increasing number of conflicts and natural disasters, but are not as yet systematically identified and catered for as a vulnerable group. HelpAge International believes that their rights, needs and capabilities must be recognised in all emergency and disaster-preparedness programmes. HelpAge International works to ensure their full and equal access to mainstream relief services and to longer-term help with rebuilding their lives and livelihoods and those of their families and communities.

Notes: Outlines some of the key factors affecting older people in disasters and humanitarian crisis and emphasises that the appropriate response is not necessarily the provision of different services but rather the assurance of access to available services that give some consideration to the special needs of older people. After an emergency, older people are likely to be affected by limitations in mobility resulting in social as well as physical isolation, but there is often inadequate programming to meet these needs. Other needs that are not often met through programming include inappropriate health or nutritional services, lack of support for psychological and social impacts particular to older people, exclusion from livelihood support programmes, low prioritisation in programme resource allocation, as well as a lack of awareness regarding gender issues among older people.

The author also considers the role that older people have to play in the post-emergency phase, examining the links between relief and development and highlighting some of the benefits that older people can bring to a community in times of crisis or recovery.

Langworthy, M. and Finan, T. (1991) 'Food Security in Mozambique: War, Markets, and Policy Reform', *Proceedings of the Famine Mitigation Conference, Tucson, Arizona, 23 May 1991*.

Since the 1980s Mozambique has been assailed by terrorist warfare or 'banditry', the victims of which are rural people, whose villages have been burned, populations disfigured or massacred, and their crops plundered or destroyed. The war has totally altered the nature of agriculture, has distorted the marketing system, and has resulted in major population movements toward the more secure areas of the country. The authors undertook rapid rural appraisals on production and marketing systems in Nampula, Zambesia, and Cabo Delgado provinces in northern Mozambique. Surplus in these northern regions could more than compensate poor production in the south, however, lack of services to farmers, combined with a failure of policy to provide appropriate incentives through the rural marketing system has had a devastating impact on food security. Marketing channels and systems are described. A food-rationing programme operates in the cities of Maputo and Beira, run by the Ministry of Commerce. In rural areas, a disaster relief programme provides material assistance to people affected by droughts, and now by RENAMO (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana) activities. A continued reliance on food aid is thus to be expected.

Notes: Shows how war can trigger a shift in coping strategies among rural people, from insurance strategies to crisis strategies. It also points out the under-utilisation of the resource base as a consequence of war.

Lautze, S., Stites, E., Nojumi, N. and Najimi, F. (2002) ‘Qaht-e-pool “A Cash Famine” Food Insecurity in Afghanistan 1999–2002’. http://www.famine.tufts.edu/pdf/cash_famine.pdf (28 October 2002)

Examines the current risks and vulnerabilities in Afghanistan as they threaten food security. Climatic, political and economic factors are considered, as well as the responses by the Afghan communities to cope with these threats. The study focuses on three geographical areas (Kabul/Nangahar, Helmand/Qandahar and Heart/Ghor/Farah).

Documents the coping strategies being adopted by households and communities to cope with the risks and vulnerabilities and notes that asset depletion strategies have been practised for an extended period of time and have been important in securing household food security. Some coping mechanisms such as migration have been temporarily suspended in anticipation of economic and political improvements and this has increased vulnerability. The new stresses of drought and recent change in government come at a time when resilience of the population is already at full stretch.

Water availability is decreasing in both rural and urban areas, which is a problem for human consumption in terms of health and hygiene, and has profound economic consequences for agriculture and fisheries. Household coping strategies are documented. Political risks and vulnerabilities are examined, and the paper notes that the legacy of the Taliban and two decades of conflict has left the majority of people in the study with limited means to deal with food insecurity. The targeted destruction of livelihood systems by the Taliban has rendered whole populations assetless and forced the break-up of households. However, for others, the Taliban provided some stability in Afghanistan’s violent history and for them physical security has deteriorated. Ethnic and religious groups had adapted their own coping strategies over time to deal with their own risks and vulnerabilities as well as to exploit political opportunity, and these have been vital for ensuring food security. Migration has been an important strategy for rural and urban populations and remittances have played an important role in the economic survival of communities. The drought and new administration have brought new forms of economic risk and related vulnerabilities to food insecurity. The drought has forced increased reliance on the market for food, fuel and income. Reduced trade as a result of border closures has depressed prices and this has had a negative impact for those households engaged in distress sales of assets. Generally this period of political transition has been accompanied by deepening economic crisis for many Afghans, particularly those in debt (which due to the years of coping strategies means a high proportion of the populations in the study areas).

The researchers found far greater and more widespread food insecurity than anticipated. A framework for food security analysis is proposed which takes into consideration the importance of access to water. The constraints and challenges for a national food security system are then discussed; the current lack of any such system is recognised to be a result of long-term political instability which has resulted in limited donor investment, lack of authorities’ capacity or political will to ensure coordination and a humanitarian community traditionally wary of dealing with the Afghan authority. It is proposed that food security interventions are best done through a combined economic and political strategy that includes stimulating the economy, targeted food aid to the most vulnerable, and political interventions with neighbouring countries to ease border restrictions for the flow of goods and people. Concludes with a series of recommendations to the United States Agency for International Development (who commissioned the study) in relation to supporting Afghanistan’s food security needs.

Lindtjørn, B. (1990) 'Famine in Southern Ethiopia 1985–6: Population Structure, Nutritional State, and Incidence of Death Among Children', *British Medical Journal* 301: 1123–1127.

Assesses the effects of drought on mortality in children. The author undertook a prospective epidemiological study as part of nutritional monitoring during famine relief work among 24-hour food distribution sites in Aero and Borana provinces in southern Ethiopia. Patients attending the sites included a monthly average of 14,173 children under five in 1985, and 5,334 children under five in 1986. Altogether 148,966 child months (105,872 for 1985 and 43,094 for 1986) were available for analysis. The families of all children were supplied with food each month. Basic medical care was also provided. Mortality in children under five was measured.

A 40% increase in crude mortality was observed among children living in traditional and stable societies. The severe consequences were observed mainly among children living in relief shelters, where a threefold to fourfold increase in crude mortality was recorded among children. Increased childhood mortality was also associated with high prevalence of malnutrition, living in the most arid areas, and the dry season. A long period of food aid was needed to normalise the nutritional state, especially for children living in relief shelters.

The most severe consequences of the widespread famine that occurred in the Arero and Borana provinces of southern Ethiopia during 1985/6 were seen among children living in relief shelters. Early food intervention may decrease the scale of migration and thus also reduce the severe consequences of famine.

Notes: Because this paper documents the higher risk of mortality due to migration, it can be used in support of interventions that support livelihood systems of people so that they do not migrate.

Longley, C., Kamara, V.K. and Fanthorpe, R. (2003) *Impacts of war on rural livelihoods in Kambia District, Sierra Leone*, Working Paper 186. London: Overseas Development Institute (forthcoming).

Describes events associated with the war in Sierra Leone and the effects on Kambia District, northwestern Sierra Leone. The livelihood strategies of the rural population of the District are described, both before and after the war. The paper focuses on the ways in which livelihood strategies adapted to the situation, allowing people to cope with the changing security and political situations over a period of six years of instability (1995–2001). It describes rebel activities and the structures established to allow the Revolutionary United Front to control the District from December 1998 to May 2000. Efforts for peace and reconciliation are described, including those initiated at grassroots level and those introduced by government and non-governmental organisations. The authors emphasise the resilience of the local population in the face of considerable violence and insecurity/instability over a five-year period. Efforts for 'reconstruction', 'rehabilitation', 'resettlement' and 'reconciliation' are explored, and the appropriateness of these terms is questioned, given the historical and pre-war contexts relating to livelihood strategies, poverty and development.

Macrae, J. and Zwi, A.B. (1992) 'Food as an Instrument of War in Contemporary African Famines: A Review of the Evidence', *Disasters* 16: 299–321.

Famine is conventionally portrayed as a natural disaster expressed in terms of food scarcity and culminating in starvation. This view has attracted criticism in recent years as the political, legal and social dimensions of famine have become more clearly understood. This paper draws upon these criticisms to understand the particular conditions of famine creation in conflict situations. Following an examination of six contemporary African famines, it is suggested that the use of food as a weapon of war by omission, commission and provision has contributed to the creation of famine in recent decades. Despite the optimism for peace engendered by the demise of the Cold War, the momentum for conflict would seem to be sustained by internal factors, including economic and environmental decline, political instability and ethnic rivalry. Within these conflicts, the strategic importance of food is likely to remain central. This study highlights the need to link concerns with food security and public health to those of development, human rights and international relations.

Notes: Clearly explains how the use of food as a weapon of war has contributed to famine in recent decades. The author points out that food production and consumption lie at the heart of social and political identity; 'food far from being politically neutral, is the very symbol of the right to life and to livelihood'. The categories of omission, commission and provision provide a useful framework for analysing the impact of war on food security.

Macrae, J. and Zwi, A. with Duffield, W.M. and Slim, H. (eds.) (1994) *War and Hunger: Rethinking International Responses to Complex Emergencies*. London: Zed Books in association with Save the Children Fund (UK).

The contributors to this book have sought to analyse the nature of contemporary conflicts and humanitarian crises, and to re-evaluate responses of the international community to them. Situations of conflict, including Bosnia, Somalia, Angola and Rwanda are shown to involve not just civilian deaths as a result of acts of war, but also widespread hunger and even famine. In these contexts UN United Nations (UN) agencies and international non-governmental organisations have had to confront numerous difficulties and their own limitations.

The various authors explore different ways in which warfare creates hunger. The cases of Angola, Sudan, Tigray, Eritrea, Mozambique and Somalia illuminate the nature of complex emergencies in situations of war. Other chapters focus on the reforms of the UN's machinery to reassess the role of relief in time of war, and ask how the international community should respond to the new circumstances of post-Cold War interventions.

This book is centrally relevant to the context in which livelihoods are affected by war and conflict, and to the difficult issues of policy, institutional reform and the international response to conflict related emergencies.

Mbago, M. (1994) 'Some Correlates of Child Mortality in the Refugee Populated Regions in Tanzania', *Journal of Biosocial Science* 26: 451–467.

Data from the 1988 Tanzania census were used to examine child mortality in three regions populated with Burundi refugees. Logistic and least-squares analyses show that for both Tanzanian nationals and refugees low levels of maternal education were associated with high child mortality

levels. Children born to mothers who are housewives are associated with lower levels of mortality than those born to employed mothers, though the results were not statistically significant for the refugees. Maternal demographic status, computed from age and parity, has a strong effect on child survival. Unexpectedly, child mortality was lower where the water source was a well outside the village. Tanzanian mothers who are at highest risk of childbearing are roughly 6.4 times more likely to have a child death than those at lowest risk; the corresponding figure for the refugees is 36.8. This emphasises the need to intensify family planning programmes in these regions.

Notes: Considers some of the health implications of refugee status. The specific focus here is on child mortality and its associated social and environmental determinants for refugees in comparison with the host community.

McGinn, T. (2000) ‘Reproductive Health of War-affected Populations: What do we know?’ *International Family Planning Perspectives* 26: 174–180.

By and large, the main concern of relief work centres on the provision of adequate necessities of life, namely food, water, shelter, and health care. It is apparent however that reproductive health services that are rarely made available outside of the scope of antenatal and delivery care, is also needed. Development of this type of intervention that supports wider reproductive health issues is constrained by the inadequate research and practice-base in this sector.

The author proposes a framework of comparison for pre and post-conflict health status. Data from published and unpublished sources drawn primarily from the 1990s are considered in examining the impact of migration on the reproductive health of a refugee population. The author considers the topics of fertility and family planning, safe motherhood, sexually transmitted diseases, and sexual and gender-based violence. Review of the data does not reveal a common fertility pattern among refugees. Short-term fertility patterns may be influenced by conflict, but long-term patterns appear to depend much more on social and demographic factors both in conflict and pre-conflict times. Demand for family planning services appears to be influenced by prior knowledge, though that does not lessen the essential nature of family planning and emergency contraception services. So long as educational and contraceptive materials are provided and are of high quality, their use can aid refugees in attaining their own reproductive health goals. With respect to safe motherhood, it is generally assumed that refugee status exacerbates the risks and outcomes of pregnancy, though this assertion may not be fully supported by the existing literature. Sexually transmitted diseases may be a more pressing issue for refugees relative to the pre-conflict period through increased risk associated with ‘displacement, military activity, economic disruption, psychological stresses and increased migration’. At the same time, these factors influence non-refugee populations, suggesting that the increased vulnerability in exposure to sexually transmitted diseases may also negatively impact non-refugee populations during periods of conflict. Sexual and gender-based violence, difficult to study in general, is made more difficult in a conflict situation. The data reviewed support the fact that rape and domestic violence, the two types of violence focused on in this study, are highly prevalent in periods of conflict.

Reproductive health interventions can have a strong impact on livelihood systems in the future, particularly in the midst of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. This article includes conflict and migration as part of their contextual analysis, helping to determine the most effective way of providing reproductive health services.

Messer, E., Cohen, M. and D'Costa, J. (1998) *Food from Peace: Breaking the Links Between Conflict and Hunger*, Food, Agriculture and the Environment Discussion Paper 24. Washington DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.

Argues that armed conflicts (armed struggles involving more than 1,000 deaths) or 'food wars' constitute a significant cause of deteriorating food security in developing countries, as warring parties lay siege to cities, destroy food supplies, devastate productive capacities, and demolish social structures in order to subjugate their opponents. Food wars are shown to be a salient factor in the famines of the 1980s and 1990s.

The authors explore in detail the multiple connections between food insecurity and armed conflict by reviewing the extent of 'food wars', estimating agricultural and other costs of conflict. Policy lessons are extracted from case studies of Rwanda and Eritrea that suggest ways to reduce linkages between conflict and food insecurity through more careful aid programmes before, during, and after conflicts. The authors call for including conflict prevention in food security and development efforts, and for new linkages between food security and development on the one hand, and emergency relief on the other.

The paper includes a section on the impact of war on livelihoods and suggests that steps in post-war reconstruction should involve identifying, using and enhancing local livelihood capacities in ways that reduce the potential for conflict.

Messer, E., Cohen, M. and Marchione, T. (2001) *Conflict: A Cause and Effect of Hunger, Environmental Change and Security*, Project Report 7. Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Ensuring food security, especially in Africa, depends on breaking cycles of hunger and conflict. Whether one believes that environmental scarcities (including food insecurity) can cause conflict, or that conflict is primarily caused by political factors, it is indisputable that access to food is always disrupted by conflict. Much has been written about the linkages between environmental scarcities, hunger, and conflict. This article highlights certain gaps in the information about the steps that lead from hunger to conflict, and then suggests policies and actions to break these connections.

Ogden, K. (2000) 'Coping Strategies Developed as a Result of Social Structure and Conflict: Kosovo in the 1990s', *Disasters* 24: 117–132.

The end of 1989 brought with it political and economic decisions which resulted in Kosovo being stripped of its autonomy and the Albanian population being expelled from their jobs. These facts combined with ethnic tensions created a decade of conflict and oppression affecting hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians. Thousands of Kosovars moved overseas to seek work to support families at home, altering the Kosovar way of life irredeemably. The loss of income had serious repercussions on food security throughout the 1990s; possibilities of purchasing food were diminished, controls on goods in 1998 reduced availability of foodstuffs, conflict affected accessibility to markets and shops and consequently food intake and nutritional status were compromised. The most vulnerable were those who had no family members overseas. Mass displacement of population due to ethnic cleansing during the war of Spring 1999, further jeopardised food security status. Destruction at this time rendered large parts of Kosovo useless and resulted in a shift in the determinant of vulnerability in the post-war period: destruction of houses,

land, livestock and agricultural products together with loss of family members, became a far more pertinent indicator of food insecurity. The strong and clear links between conflict, socio-economic issues and food security are highlighted and discussed in this paper.

Notes: The author discusses the impact of forced migration on the livelihoods and food security of those who remained. Also outlines how the primary determinants of vulnerability shifted between the pre and post-war periods.

Pain, A. (2002) *Understanding and Monitoring Livelihoods under Conditions of Chronic Conflict: Lessons from Afghanistan*, Working Paper 187. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Argues that there is little direct evidence for consistent livelihood understanding and analysis having informed humanitarian practice in Afghanistan in the past. The need for this is now greater than ever. The dynamics of the chronic conflict in Afghanistan have been poorly understood, not least in terms of the effects on livelihoods. Aid practice has been driven by simplified stories about the country reinforced through short-term humanitarian based programming that has emphasised delivery and paid little attention to learning. The result has been a monotonous landscape of interventions. Three case studies – on opium production, an economic blockade in Hazarajat, and carpet production in Northern Afghanistan – illustrate the complexity of livelihoods and the dynamics of power relations and the relevance of this understanding to programming. Key lessons drawn from these studies include: the recognition of embedded knowledge of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that have worked long-term in specific locations and the need to build learning explicitly into their programming; the poor understanding of the resilience of livelihoods; the need to recognise the legitimacy of illicit activities; the dynamic nature of conflict and power relations and the poor conceptualisation of vulnerability within the livelihoods framework.

The emerging reconstruction agenda in Afghanistan post 11 September gives greater emphasis to livelihood concerns, at least at the policy level, but this is not well translated into programming. The Afghan Research and Evaluation Unit, established in 2000, envisages a role in developing a livelihood monitoring system that will have to balance national-level policy needs with developing field-based practices, working through interested partner NGOs. This field-based monitoring, probably to be based on a cohort monitoring system, will have to balance the requirement of flexibility and learning to inform field programming with the need to generate quantitative comparative data for policy-level work. An asset-based monitoring system could be used as an indicator of the extent to which households are able to succeed in the particular contexts in which they are situated and potentially contribute towards a national-level poverty monitoring system.

Posen, B. (1996) ‘Military Responses to Refugee Disasters’, *International Security* 21: 72–111.

Briefly reviews the political and military causes of refugee flows. These are genocide, ethnic cleansing, harsh occupation or a repressive indigenous regime, the dangerous environment created by warfare, and the deterioration of local economies that is often caused by warfare. The alternative military remedies to these causes are developed, and their general strengths and weaknesses are outlined. These remedies are aerial bombing, large safe zones, circumscribed safe havens, peace enforcement, and general war against the state or group deemed to be the principal cause of trouble. This article details the military interventions put into place to handle refugee flows. It also outlines the military causes of refugee flows, giving some insight to the likely impacts on people’s livelihoods.

Reeler, A. and Mhetura, J. (2000) ‘The Psychosocial Effects of Organised Violence and Torture: A Pilot Study Comparing Survivors and their Neighbours in Zimbabwe’, *Journal of Social Development in Africa* 15: 137–168.

Studies of survivors of organised violence and torture are uncommon in the African setting. Studies of the psychosocial effects of organised violence and torture are even less common. A Zimbabwean study comparing survivors of organised violence and torture with their neighbours was carried out in one previously war-affected area of Zimbabwe. The findings indicated that survivors were more economically and socially deprived than their neighbours in many key areas, especially those of employment, income, food security and housing. In addition, survivors showed indications of lower self-esteem and belief that they could change their situation.

Seen in the context of increasing real poverty in Zimbabwe, the findings suggest that survivors of organised violence and torture represent a disabled group that may require targeted assistance by the State in order to overcome the social adversity they experience. The findings also indicate the need to assess more carefully the psychosocial and medical consequences of organised violence and torture, especially in a region where epidemic levels of violence have been experienced in recent decades.

Notes: The authors discuss the post-conflict implications of violence in terms of social and economic effects on survivors. In turn, these directly and indirectly affect the ability of people to maintain and sustain their livelihoods.

Richards, P. and Ruivenkamp, G. (1997) *Seeds and Survival: Crop Genetic Resources in War and Reconstruction in Africa*. Rome, Italy: International Plant Genetic Resources Institute.

This publication considers the impact of war, civil strife, and low-intensity conflict (LIC) on plant genetic resource management, where crop plant genetic resources (PGR) are still partly (or mainly) conserved in situ by small-scale agriculturalists. The following sets of issues are covered: war and LIC and erosion of PGR; relief, rehabilitation and management of PGR; policy and practical options to effectively link the fields of relief, rehabilitation, and PGR management.

The impact of war and LIC on the management of PGR is traced through linked case studies of rice genetic resources in the eco-region of the upper West African coastal zone from Senegal to Liberia. This zone has been affected by three major conflicts: the war of independence in Guinea-Bissau (1962–75), the civil war in Liberia (1989–96), and the insurgency of the Revolutionary United Front in Sierra Leone (1991–7). LIC has had a doubly disruptive effect on the management of PGR in the West African rice zone. It has damaged formal-sector (state-run) PGR management facilities, and equally importantly, has brought about major changes in the patterns of social cooperation through which local seed systems are managed. The impact on the flows and distribution of crop genetic diversity is likely to be considerable but as yet is unquantified.

In seeking to understand war damage to seed systems it is stressed that PGR management involves both social and technical work. Change in the interaction of social and technical factors must be taken into account when seeking to rehabilitate seed systems in the aftermath of war. Although seed sometimes survives conflict, there may be major shifts in patterns of labour mobilisation or in the commercial relations of agricultural production. These changes in agrarian social relations are liable to profoundly affect the working of seed systems. Rehabilitation solely directed towards the restoration of the status quo may be misplaced effort. The authors consider some of the ways in which seed issues might be effectively addressed in relief and rehabilitation activities.

Rumboldt, M., Rumboldt, Z. and Pesenti, S. (1994) ‘The Impact of War upon the Pupils Growth in Southern Croatia’, *Child: Care, Health and Development* 20: 189–196.

In order to assess the influence of war calamities on pupils’ growth rate, a comparison was made of the height, weight, and relative weight of children from Split at the time of their entering two major elementary schools (age about 6.5 years) and some ten months later, during two pre-war years (1990/1 and 1991/2). A notable increase in body weight, ranging from 12.24 to 14.50%, but not in height was observed in 1990/1, and a significant acceleration in the longitudinal growth, but not in weight gain was noted in 1991/2. These unexpected findings lead to a conclusion that war atrocities may affect a child’s growth rate differently, depending on the amount and quality of the food consumed, on the level of energy expenditure, and possibly on the variable impact of emotional stress.

Notes: Insights into how different conflict situations impact nutritional status (e.g. variations in weight and height gain) are helpful when determining appropriate interventions. Findings such as these are relevant when considering livelihood interventions that are aimed indirectly at improving nutritional status.

Seddon, D. and Hussein, K. (2002) *The Consequences of Conflict: Livelihoods and Development in Nepal*, Working Paper 185. London: Overseas Development Institute.

The authors of this Working Paper consider the effects of the current conflict on rural livelihoods and development interventions in Nepal. A historical perspective reveals that a failure of development and of governance created the pre-conditions – poverty, inequality, social discrimination and lack of social justice and democracy – for widespread discontent, and ultimately for the Maoist insurgency. Not only has the government been ineffective in providing for the needs of the poor, it is generally seen and experienced as corrupt, repressive and as working against, not for, the interests of ordinary people. International and national development agencies have also failed to strengthen the capacity and commitment of state structures or to change practices at local level to any marked degree.

During the first four years (1996–2000) of the Maoist insurgency, the government attempted to deal with it as a matter for the police, and foreign development agencies were relatively little affected by the conflict. In the last few years, however, particularly since 2001, the success of the Maoists in extending the areas under their influence has increased concern, but failed to galvanise the government into effective action – to control the insurgency, to achieve a political solution, or to address the underlying problems that led the Maoists to launch a People’s War in the first place. The conflict has intensified and spread to affect most parts of the country and have a direct impact on the lives and livelihoods of perhaps a million of Nepal’s 24 million inhabitants.

The main grassroots effects of the conflict have been: a rural exodus on the part of those most fearful of the Maoists (local elites, local government officials, activists in other political parties and others) from the remoter areas; a significant reduction in travel and the transport of goods as a result of the lack of security; a disruption of many economic activities, with possible implications for food security in some areas; the destruction of local infrastructure (particularly that which is identified with government intervention and control); and the growth of a climate of fear and insecurity, in which the Maoists are probably feared for human rights abuses less than the security forces. Support for the Maoists remains significant, particularly among the poor and socially disadvantaged, but their demands for contributions to the cause from the local population and their own human rights abuses have had negative repercussions in this regard.

Development agencies, whether foreign or national, have been increasingly obliged to develop their own responses to conflict. Case studies provided by CARE-Nepal and ActionAid Nepal provide detailed evidence both with respect to the effects of the conflict on rural livelihoods and on the operations of these, and other, agencies. Some activities have proved unacceptable to the Maoists, others to the security forces; curfews and restrictions on mobility make many development tasks difficult to maintain. Most programmes and projects have been forced to change their approach and method, or specific activities.

Finally, practical guidance is proposed for agency responses in complex conflict contexts, encompassing principles, assessment methodologies and situational analyses, intervention approaches, livelihood protection, and conflict resolution.

Shears, P. and Lusty, T. (1987) ‘Communicable Disease Epidemiology Following Migration: Studies from the African Famine’, *International Migration Review* 21: 783–795.

Few epidemiological studies have been undertaken of morbidity and mortality due to communicable disease in migration. This article reviews data from refugee displacement areas in northeast Africa. Risk factors that increase morbidity and mortality include breakdown of health services, movement to new ecological zones, malnutrition, and crowding and poor sanitation in relief camps. Highest mortalities are recorded in children under five, the principal causes being measles, gastro-enteritis, chest infections and malaria. The greatest morbidity and mortality occurs after arrival in relief camps, and could be reduced by epidemiologically based, selective health programmes. This article stresses the importance of regional-level coordination between relief agencies and the need for an effective disease surveillance system.

Notes: An older article that details some of the relationships between health risks and migration. These risk factors and the outcome of these relationships have a strong impact on individual livelihood systems.

Smaijik, A., Zec, S., Telebak, B. and Filipovic-Hadziomeragic, A. (1995) ‘Changes in Nutrition among Residents and Refugees in Sarajevo during the War’, *European Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 49: S17–S22.

The objective of this study was to assess how food shortage has been reflected in changes in nutritional status and dietary intake of residents and refugee populations in wartime Sarajevo. Longitudinal observations were carried out on residents (who stayed in their homes) and refugees (living in collective centres). Three out of the four municipal areas of Sarajevo were covered in the sample and households and collective centres in close proximity to the homes of field workers were selected. The same households were visited in October 1992–March 1993 and November 1993–January 1994. In the first round 362 households (172 residents and 192 refugees) were visited and in the second round 324 households (146 residents and 178 refugees) were revisited. Nutritional information was gathered through anthropometric measurements, medical examination and questionnaires, which included a seven-day dietary recall.

Nutritional status was assessed by calculating body mass index (BMI) (weight to height ratios) in adults and weight for age percentiles in children (two to 18 years). Undernutrition in adults was defined as BMI < 18.5 and in children as weight for age < 25th percentile. Results from the first round of data collection showed a higher level of undernutrition among refugees (15%) than among residents (5.3%). The second round revealed higher levels of undernutrition among residents (8.1%)

than refugees (7%). Daily energy intake in the first round met only half recommended dietary allowances for the former Yugoslavia, i.e. 2700 kcal per day. Refugees were found to consume slightly higher quantities of energy (1500 kcal per day) compared to residents (1272 kcal). In the second round, energy intake had increased both among refugees (1832 kcal) and residents (1630 kcal).

During the war the population of Sarajevo were forced to eat a monotonous diet deficient in both quantity and quality. Nevertheless, the nutritional status of the resident and refugee populations was maintained. Dietary intake was found to be low but this may have been partly due to under-reporting. The accuracy of data obtained through dietary intake surveys in emergency situations may be questionable.

Notes: One of several articles published in this journal supplement that provides information on nutrition before, during, and after the war when normal livelihood patterns were disrupted.

Sperling, L. (ed.) (1997) *War and Crop Diversity, Agricultural Research and Extension Network Paper 75. London: Overseas Development Institute.*

For there to be productive and stable agricultural livelihoods, there must be crop diversity, on-farm. Growing a number of crops and different varieties of each crop helps farmers to fine-tune their cropping systems to local ecological conditions, to enhance the food security of their households, and to exploit a range of crop-related products or benefits (e.g. forage or medicine production and enhanced soil fertility). In order to protect and enhance crop diversity in areas affected by war, it is necessary at least to understand the differential nature of the stresses to agricultural systems and crop diversity; useful aid and development interventions can only derive from more-targeted knowledge.

The four papers presented in this volume focus on one potential stress to crop diversity, namely war and its accompanying civil strife. Case studies are presented for Nicaragua (by Falguni Guhuray and Bianca Ruiz), Cambodia (unattributed), Rwanda (by Louise Sperling) and Sierra Leone (by Catherine Longley). Taking a farmer-centred perspective, the case studies examine the effects of war on crop diversity through the same set of guiding questions: What were the biological, social, and political factors that shaped crop diversity prior to the war? ; Which defining characteristics of the war itself seem to have influenced the way in which crop diversity evolved and was managed? ; How do pre and post-war crop production systems compare? ; and What key lessons can we draw from these studies, for both development practitioners working at the grassroots level and policy-makers involved in shaping research, development and relief interventions in agriculture? By presenting comparative cases, this paper aims to stimulate analytical thinking about the links between war and changes in cropping systems.

Swiss, S., Jennings, P., Aryee, G., Brown, G., Jappah-Samukai, R., Kamara, M., Schaack, R. and Turay-Kanneh, R. (1998) ‘Violence Against Women During the Liberian Civil Conflict’, *Journal of the American Medical Association* 279: 625–629.

Civilians were often the casualties of fighting during the recent Liberian civil conflict, and Liberian health care workers played a crucial role in documenting violence against women by soldiers and fighters during the war. The objective of this paper is to document women’s experience of violence, including rape and sexual coercion, from a soldier or fighter during five years of the Liberian

civil war 1989–94. Data were collected in 1994 through interviews and surveys among a random sample of 205 women and girls between the ages of 15 and 70 years (88% participation rate). The sample was drawn from high schools, markets, displaced persons camps, and urban communities in Monrovia, Liberia.

100 of 205 participants (49%) reported experiencing at least one act of physical or sexual violence by a soldier or fighter. Survey participants reported being beaten, tied up, or detained in a room under armed guard (17%); strip-searched one or more times (32%); and raped, subjected to attempted rape, or sexually coerced (15%). Women who were accused of belonging to a particular ethnic group or fighting faction, or who were forced to cook for a soldier or fighter were at increased risk for physical and sexual violence. Of the 106 women and girls accused of belonging to an ethnic group or faction, 65 (61%) reported that they were beaten, locked up, strip-searched, or subjected to attempted rape, compared with 27 (27%) of the 99 women who were not accused. Women and girls who were forced to cook for a soldier or fighter were more likely to report experiencing rape, attempted rape, or sexual coercion than those who were not forced to cook (55% versus 10%). Young women (those under 25) were more likely than women over 25 to report experiencing attempted rape and sexual coercion (18% versus 4%).

This collaborative research allowed Liberian women to document wartime violence against women in their own communities and to develop a unique programme to address violence against women in Liberia.

Notes: Sexual and gender-based violence is difficult to quantify for a variety of reasons. During the period of conflict, there are aspects of the environment that make females more vulnerable to sexual assault and violence, such as long distances that need to be travelled in order to procure foodstuffs and water. Women, whether crossing borders or in captured villages, were at times subjected to forced labour in terms of food preparation for soldiers. Often, in doing so, such women were exposed to assault. This article provides insights into the type of violence affecting livelihood structures in Liberia and suggestions for mitigating its expression.

Toole, M., Galson, S. and Brady, W. (1993) ‘Are War and Public Health Compatible?’ *Lancet* 341: 1193–1196.

A public health assessment during March 1993, in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the areas of Serbia and Montenegro hosting Bosnian refugees, revealed extensive disruption to basic health services, displacement of more than one million Bosnians, severe food shortages in Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia, and widespread destruction of public water and sanitation systems. War-related violence remains the most important public health risk; civilians on all sides of the conflict have been intentional targets of physical and sexual violence. The impact of the war on the health status of the population has been difficult to document; however, in the central Bosnian province of Zenica, perinatal and child mortality rates have increased twofold since 1991. The crude death rate in one Muslim enclave between April 1992 and March 1993 was four times the pre-war rate. Prevalence rates of severe malnutrition among both adults and children in central Bosnia have been increasing since November 1992. Major epidemics of communicable diseases have not been reported; however, the risk may increase during the summer of 1993 when the effects of disrupted water and sanitation systems are more likely to promote enteric disease transmission. Economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro may lead to declining health care standards in those republics if basic medical supplies cannot effectively be exempted.

Turshen, M. and Twagiramariya, C. (1998) *What Women Do in Wartime – Gender and Conflict in Africa*. London: Zed Books.

This book describes the experience of women during civil wars. It draws its testimonies from women in Chad, Liberia, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, South Africa and Sudan. The book outlines the political environment of these conflicts and then looks at the role of women in response to the war, both as combatant and as victims. It also looks at mobilisation of women groups in the aftermath of these conflicts and the role they take in shaping recovery and reconstruction efforts.

Vespa, J. and Watson, F. (1995) ‘Who is Nutritionally Vulnerable in Bosnia-Herzegovina?’ *British Medical Journal* 311: 652–654.

The objective of this study was to monitor nutritional status and food security in order to identify nutritionally vulnerable groups. Members of five different household groups (urban and rural residents, displaced people in collective centres and private accommodation, elderly people living without younger family) and all residents of two old people’s homes were prospectively followed. Households were selected from 20 local communities and nine collective centres. Monitoring was carried out in three besieged areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Zenica), and 1739 individuals were sampled. Data were collected every month from December 1993 to May 1994. Information on household food security was collected through structured questionnaires. All subjects were weighed and their heights measured. Weight for age Z scores were calculated for children; body mass index was calculated for adults and elderly people.

Elderly people in Bosnia-Herzegovina were found to be at greater risk of undernutrition than other age groups. Undernutrition may be precipitated in elderly people by sickness, cold, stress, and problems related to food preparation. The health and welfare of elderly people during the emergency in Bosnia-Herzegovina require special attention, and integrated age-care programmes are needed.

Notes: One of the first articles to document the increased nutritional vulnerability of older people as a result of political, social and economic upheaval in countries that have an aging population. A range of response options is considered.

Young, H., Aklilu, Y., Were, G., Catley, A., Leyland, T., Borrel, A., Roberts, A. R., Webb, P., Holland, D., Johnecheck, W. and Jacobsen, K. (2002) *Nutrition and Livelihoods in Situations of Conflict and other Crises*. Medford, Massachusetts, USA: Feinstein International Famine Center, Tufts University.

Livelihood approaches are being applied in complex emergencies to complement more traditional humanitarian interventions. In protecting lives and human dignity agencies seek to address not only the immediate life-threatening nature of complex emergencies, but also to protect and support people’s livelihoods, in part because the resilience of livelihoods is a major determinant of nutrition in the longer-term.

In the context of complex emergencies, an analysis of livelihoods that incorporates nutritional concerns requires an understanding of vulnerability and risk. This includes an analysis of the role of war and conflict in undermining livelihoods, particularly where this is an objective of conflict itself, and further how livelihood erosion affects the causes of malnutrition.

This paper describes three types of livelihood interventions aimed at supporting and protecting pastoralist systems of production. This generates a preliminary set of essential principles underlying a livelihoods approach in emergency contexts. These relate to: assessment and analyses; prioritising and combining response strategies; and combining appropriate technical skills, including public nutrition, together with local knowledge in implementing programmes. The paper concludes with an agenda for learning and applied research with particular emphasis on nutrition livelihoods linkages.

Cross references

- Part 3: Barakat, H. (1973) 'The Palestinian Refugees: An Uprooted Community Seeking Repatriation', *International Migration Review* 7: 147–161.
- Part 3: Black, R. and Sessay, M. (1997) 'Forced Migration, Land-Use Change and Political Economy in the Forest Region of Guinea', *African Affairs* 96: 587–605.
- Part 4: CARE (1999) *Programme Guidelines for Chronically Vulnerable Areas*. Nairobi, Kenya: CARE.
- Part 3: Carbonnier, G. (1998) *Conflict, Postwar Rebuilding and the Economy – A Critical Review of the Literature*. Geneva: War-Torn Societies Project/United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Part 4: El-Bushra, J., El-Karib, A. and Hadjipateras, A. (2002) *Gender-Sensitive Programme Design and Planning in Conflict-Affected Situations*. London: Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development.
- Part 3: Hamid, G.M. (1992) 'Livelihood Patterns of Displaced Households in Greater Khartoum', *Disasters* 16: 230–239.
- Part 3: Haug, R. (2002) 'Forced Migration, Processes of Return and Livelihood Construction among Pastoralists in Northern Sudan', *Disasters* 26: 70–84.
- Part 3: Jacobsen, K. (2002) 'Livelihoods in Conflict: The Pursuit of Livelihoods by Refugees and the Impact on the Human Security of Host Communities'. <http://www.cdr.dk/migdevwall/papers/LivelihoodsinConflict.doc>
- Part 3: Kibreab, G. (1994) 'The Myth of Dependency among Camp Refugees in Somalia 1979–1989', *Journal of Refugee Studies* 6: 322–349.
- Part 3: Whitaker, B. (1999) *Changing Opportunities: Refugees and Host Communities in Western Tanzania, New Issues in Refugee Research*, Working Paper 11. Geneva: Centre for Documentation and Research – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

3 Forced Migration, Displacement and Livelihoods

Barakat, H. (1973) 'The Palestinian Refugees: An Uprooted Community Seeking Repatriation', *International Migration Review* 7: 147–161.

Looks at the reasons behind the historical movement of Palestinians from the present-day Israel, the living conditions of the refugees after their exodus, the complications involved in repatriation and the outlook for Palestinians in the future. The basis of this article stems mainly from two representative surveys of both camp and non-camp refugees in the city of Amman. In addition, the author used United Nations documents and Arabic and Israeli sources for information.

In 1948 and 1967 as Palestinians fled to the neighbouring Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Gaza, they entered countries with already stretched natural resources relative to their populations. As refugees they left behind their homeland and their livelihoods, and since then have found it nearly impossible to economically improve their conditions. The author claims that for the Palestinian people, the sociological impact of being separated from their communities, even more so than economic disruption, was perhaps the largest problem for the people. The survey team looked at home and land ownership, the length of time the family lived in the community and the presence of relatives in the community as indicators to demonstrate the connection of both camp and non-camp refugees to their original homeland. Using these indicators, results showed that many of the Palestinian refugees had strong connections to their home communities and the author suggests that this has played a large role in determining why the refugees have not re-settled in neighbouring Arab states. In fact, those that have become economically established lead the Palestinian Resistance Movement.

The survey also explored the reasons behind Palestinians fleeing the present-day Israel. Fear of airplane attacks, massacres, etc., psychological pressures and threats of Israeli occupation, destruction of villages and homes, eviction, economic pressures, following the behaviour of the group, and the retreat of the Jordanian and Iraqi armies, were identified as the direct causes for leaving. The author also identifies the surprise of the war and then the quick defeat of the Arab side as an indirect cause for departure. Additionally, the lack of political organisations outside of the family structure, values connected with honour and family, and the feeling of doubt and mutual distrust of local and national political leaders were also identified as indirect causes for departure, particularly for the camp refugees.

Black, R. (1994) 'Livelihoods Under Stress: A Case Study of Refugee Vulnerability in Greece', *Journal of Refugee Studies* 7: 360–377.

Examines the factors affecting livelihood choices and vulnerability in relation to, not only the intrinsic characteristics of households, but also to the socio-political environment that surrounds households. The paper draws on data from a sample of refugee households and individuals living in Athens in 1992. Aspects of Greek policies, such as not allowing refugees either the right to work or to permanent settlement, coupled with the relatively underdeveloped social welfare state places refugees in relatively 'vulnerable' positions beyond the obvious 'vulnerability' associated with their need for social, economic and political protection.

Because United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has limited financial resources for refugees in Greece, the distribution of these resources must be targeted to the most vulnerable households. Vulnerability is defined using two criteria: firstly, the length of stay in Greece, with those who have a shorter stay being deemed more vulnerable; and secondly, the size of

the household. In general the author finds that both of these criteria are justified as adequate indicators of vulnerability, but finds fault in solely relying on such a limited array of conditions in determining vulnerability. The data from the survey also suggest that assistance allocated according to these two criteria does not necessarily reach those most in need. The paper identifies the ability of households to sustain their livelihoods, with attention to the present economic, social and political conditions, as an alternative measure to distinguishing vulnerable households. This would be consistent with other relative measures of poverty and consequently not force vulnerability to be narrowly defined as an absolute concept. Additionally, the paper argues that if the argument behind targeting limited resources is to remove or reduce vulnerability rather than to assist the most vulnerable, then attention needs to focus on the underlying causes of vulnerability – contextual elements of refugee vulnerability – instead of the characteristics of particular households.

Notes: While this paper is not describing a complex emergency, it does provide a model in which the policy environment promotes or mitigates refugee vulnerability.

Black, R. and Sessay, M. (1997) ‘Forced Migration, Land-use Change and Political Economy in the Forest Region of Guinea’, *African Affairs* 96: 587–605.

This paper explores the impact of migration of 500,000 refugees fleeing from conflict in Liberia into Yomou prefecture in the forest region of Guinea on the host population and the environment. In addition to the short-term negative consequences of an increased population on limited resources, the article examines the longer-term consequences of the demand for agricultural land as food aid rations decline and refugees try to achieve some sense of self-sufficiency. Similar to the short-term negative consequences of using wood for fuel and construction on forest resources, the demand for agricultural land is often associated with declining forest resources, as it assumed that forest will be cleared to be converted into arable land.

From field work conducted in August–December 1995 in three locations in Yomou prefecture, each with similar numbers of refugees but varying degrees of available land and other natural resources, the authors conclude that population density is less related to land-use patterns than to the political and economic policies that manage their use. They also note that production of food towards attaining self-sufficiency may in actuality pit the development of refugees’ livelihoods against the degradation of forest resources. Depending on the long-term impact of converting forest land into arable land, the impact of refugees attaining self-sufficiency may also eventually harm the livelihoods of the local residents, as land that was being left fallow may now not be available for the host population to farm for years to come. It is still not clear to what extent this part of Guinea has not experienced this ebb and flow of people in the past, and to what extent the land and forests have been able to recover during the lull period.

Notes: The authors attempt to elucidate the mechanisms whereby refugees were able to regain or adopt livelihood systems in relation to land-tenure issues and changes in land use.

von Buchwald, U. (1993) *The Refugee Dependency Syndrome: Origins and Consequences*. Geneva: League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

Abstract from War-Torn Societies Project Summary: Examines the circumstances giving rise to the refugee dependency syndrome, its manifestation in different phases of humanitarian assistance programmes and psycho-social implications into the long-term. The author looks at the proliferation of emergency aid situations, elements conducive to dependency, and the influence of trauma on coping mechanisms, particularly in the case of children. He thus argues for more comprehensive

research, greater consultations with refugees, the introduction of self-reliance components to humanitarian programmes, and counselling and training as part of the approach toward the prevention and mitigation of this condition.

Callamard, A. (1994) ‘Refugees and Local Hosts: A Study of the Trading Interactions between Mozambican Refugees and Malawian Villagers’, *Journal of Refugee Studies* 7: 23.

Based on empirical data collected in the district of Mwanza, Malawi, this paper explores one particular dimension of the local impact of a refugee camp, namely the development of trading interactions between the refugees and hosts, and seeks to identify the structural, policy and individual-based variables that determined the nature and extent of inter-community trade. It especially shows that a priori negative structural and policy factors, including the shortcomings of the refugees’ food basket, diversion of food relief, and a local economy dominated by the subsistence sector, gave rise to a flourishing trading system. Refugee and host trade accelerated the social stratification process within the camp while resulting in increased commoditisation of exchanges at the local level. Refugee men with the longest duration of stay in Malawi, local women, and villagers with access to wet land are shown to be the primary actors and beneficiaries of the development of the trading system. The potential victims of trading activities were refugee children and refugee women, but no such ‘losers’ were identified among the villagers.

Cernea, M. (1997) ‘The Risks and Reconstruction Model for Resettling Displaced Populations’, *World Development* 25: 1569–1587.

Involuntary population displacements and resettlement entailed by development programmes have reached a magnitude and frequency that give these phenomena worldwide relevance and require policy-guided solutions. The author extracts the general trends and common characteristics revealed by a vast body of empirical data, to construct a theoretical model of displacement and reconstruction. The model captures the socioeconomic content of two segments of the process: forced displacement and reestablishment. It identifies the key risks and impoverishment processes in displacement as: (a) landlessness; (b) joblessness; (c) homelessness; (d) marginalisation; (e) food insecurity; (f) loss of access to common property resources; (g) increased morbidity; and (h) community disarticulation. Conversely, the model suggests that reconstructing and improving the livelihood of those displaced require risk-reversals through explicit strategies backed up by adequate financing. Flawed approaches to reconstruction and the intrinsic limitations of cost-benefit analysis are discussed. The author explains how the proposed model can be used by practitioners and researchers as a tool for diagnosing, prediction, problem-resolution and research guidance.

Chambers, R. (1986) ‘Hidden Losers? The Impact of Rural Refugees and Refugee Programmes on Poorer Hosts’, *International Migration Review* 20: 245–263.

Refugee relief organisations and refugee studies have refugees as their first concern and focus. The adverse impacts of refugees on their hosts are relatively neglected. When impacts are considered, they are seen in terms of host country governments, economies and services rather than people or different groups among host populations. In rural refugee-affected areas, the better-off and more visible hosts usually gain from the presence of refugees and from refugee programmes. In contrast,

the poorer among the hosts can be hidden losers. This is more so now than in the past, especially where land is scarce and labour relatively abundant. The poorer hosts can lose from competition for food, work, wages, services and common property resources. Vulnerable hosts also lack refugees' option of sending their weaker dependents to camps and settlements. Development programmes in refugee-affected areas and refugee studies will do a disservice if they neglect adverse effects of refugees on vulnerable hosts. These effects further strengthen the case for development to benefit the whole population in refugee-affected areas.

Notes: Discusses the impact of refugees on the livelihoods of the host communities, differentiating between those in the host community that benefit from the presence of the refugees and those that do not. Its implication for organisations that are pursuing livelihood interventions for refugees is that it is essential to look at the potential 'spill over effects' of these programmes on the host communities, paying particular attention to their effects on the poor.

Connor, K. (1989) 'Factors in the Residential Choices of Self-settled Afghan Refugees in Peshawar, Pakistan', *International Migration Review* 23: 904–932.

Previous research indicated that settlement behaviours of refugees and rural-to-urban migrants in Third World contexts are influenced by:

- Geographic origins
- Ethnicity
- Education level
- Employment background
- Political involvement
- Dates of departure from the homeland
- Reasons for leaving

This research evaluates the influence of these factors on the residential choices of Afghan refugees self-settled in Peshawar, Pakistan. The data indicated that ethnographic ties, political involvement and lack of political activity most affected and motivated residential associations and disassociations. Other variables were related to ethnicity, origins and status and, thus, did not directly influence residential choices.

Notes: Explores how the location to which refugees migrate influences their ability and decisions about self-sufficiency and building livelihoods in their new location.

Dick, S. (2002) *Liberians in Ghana: Living Without Humanitarian Assistance*, Working Paper 57, New Issues in Refugee Research. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Focuses on refuting the idea that by living on aid, refugees become dependent upon these resources and consequently lose the initiative and motivation to develop livelihoods and become self-sufficient. The author uses the Liberian refugees that were living in Ghana from 1997 to 2000, to illustrate that refugees are very adept at adapting to their new lifestyles, and often are able to find and create opportunities within their host communities. The data collected for this study gives valuable insight into how refugees are able to live without humanitarian assistance, and also why many refugees prefer to stay in their new 'homes' despite the fact that the international community is encouraging them to repatriate. The author provides some situation-specific insights into reasons why Liberian refugees might choose to remain refugees rather than repatriate that may be applicable in the wider context. One of the reasons given is the difficulty of securing a livelihood and resuming daily life when they return.

Ellis, S. and Barakat, S. (1996) 'From Relief to Development: The Long-term Effects of Temporary Accommodation of Refugees and Displaced Persons in the Republic of Croatia', *Disasters* 20: 111–124.

The increasing scale of international intervention in conflict is generating new pressures on the humanitarian community. Increased expenditure on emergency relief, static levels of overseas development aid – and the subsequent lack of funds for development are dictating that agencies design relief projects that positively effect developmental reconstruction.

The authors examine the provision of shelter for refugees and displaced persons in the Republic of Croatia and identify ways in which it has encouraged and discouraged suitable reconstruction. They argue that to promote lasting reconstruction, programmes must focus on saving livelihoods as well as lives, thus minimising the long-term psychological and physical impacts of aid on refugees, displaced persons, and host communities.

Notes: Discusses the form of appropriate intervention in order to promote recovery and reconstruction among refugees and internally displaced. The authors argue that a livelihoods lens is required for programme design.

Green, R. (2000) 'Food security in refuge and return: some aspects of entitlements, markets and modalities', in Cernea, M.M. (ed.) *Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees*. Washington DC: World Bank.

In this chapter the author focuses on issues surrounding food security for refugees and displaced persons from both natural disasters (calamities) and man-made catastrophes. Survival is the first priority for refugees, but soon after survival is guaranteed, refugees begin to focus on re-building their livelihoods. The author discusses the importance of early warning systems in understanding the impact of the catastrophe or calamity, the delivery of food and other resources needed for survival during or just following the event, and finally access to productive assets in aiding recovery and fostering food security. Participation, governance and treating refugees as people are also explored in relation to a refugee or displaced person's ability to obtain a sense of livelihood security.

The author also goes into some detail on the importance of working with ex-combatants in order to help them obtain livelihoods. The chapter ends with a discussion of the role of the displaced on the host communities and lists areas of guidance to help avoid or mitigate any potential problems that may arise with refugee flows and settlements.

Hamid, G.M. (1992) 'Livelihood Patterns of Displaced Households in Greater Khartoum', *Disasters* 16: 230–239.

Members of impoverished households in Greater Khartoum, who have been displaced from their homelands by famine and civil war, gain a livelihood by utilising a wide variety of subsistence activities and sources. These include 'moonlighting', income diversification and pooling, exchange relations, scavenging, relief supplies from aid agencies and remittances from relatives working in other areas. These findings challenge the widely held view of the displaced as dependent and parasitic on the wider urban community. Several public policies that have a detrimental effect on the livelihood of the displaced are identified.

Notes: Explores the various avenues through which displaced persons were able to secure a livelihood at a time when individuals in the host community themselves were struggling to secure their own livelihoods. The paper is based on a pilot survey carried out in settlements in Greater Khartoum in January and February 1990. It involved 50 households in addition to discussions with community leaders and relief workers.

The primary livelihood typology was unskilled day labour that was highly variable in frequency. Diversification of income streams was frequently observed. Some households were self-employed with informal business enterprises. In some cases, the female of the household was the sole income generator through domestic labour in affluent areas, or through sale of food and beverages in the settlements and at transportation points. Beer brewing was another income-generation activity that contributed in part to the nutritional status of adults. Remittances from outside Greater Khartoum played a very minor role as very few households had access to this income. Commodity rationing cards (CRCs) that allowed procurement of some foodstuffs at subsidised prices were obtained by 44% of the surveyed population. Those without CRCs had to procure these commodities primarily through the black market. Water resources were distributed freely by relief agencies, but could also be purchased from a vendor, or from an adjacent settlement for a lower cost. Those who were not able to access adequate water frequently decreased their usage levels. Given the low level of employment opportunities for children, there was benefit in sending children to school where they would often receive a free breakfast as well as school supplies. A change in consumption patterns was observed, where foods that were novel to the diet were often less expensive than familiar foods procured from outside of the city. There was an additional benefit from these new foods in terms of convenience. Of note in this situation were the strong reciprocal resource-sharing relationships that formed. The author concludes that repatriation is not an appropriate response to this type of situation until the underlying causes for displacement are addressed.

Haug, R. (2002) 'Forced Migration, Processes of Return and Livelihood Construction among Pastoralists in Northern Sudan', *Disasters* 26: 70–84.

The Hawaweer, a nomadic, pastoralist group in the northern Sudan, were seriously affected by the drought in the Sahel during the mid-1980s. Their experience illustrates the connection between internally displaced people, normal mobility, forced migration, the dilemmas and opportunities of return, and how new livelihoods can be successfully constructed based on traditional rights, strong local institutions and external resources. Some displaced Hawaweer got the chance to return to their homeland as new livelihood opportunities were established; others did not get this opportunity nor would they have returned if they had been given the chance. In both situations, the processes of displacement and return had an impact on Hawaweers' sense of belonging and identity.

Notes: The author does not assume that the facilitation of return is the appropriate action in all circumstances, rather aims to describe the community perception of forced movement within the context of seasonal migration patterns, reasons for return or lack thereof, and the relationship that this endpoint had with belonging and identity. Key factors that facilitated return are discussed. The paper is based on field work using qualitative methodologies that included individual and group interviews, key informant interviews, participatory observations and natural resource mapping as well as a questionnaire on reason (or lack) for return.

The context of normal seasonal migration complicated the distinction between returnees and those who had remained. Survival within the community was associated with viable social networks, access to remittances and ownership of livestock, though the benefit of livestock ownership declined over time, given the sharply falling market value of animals. Finally, the facilitation of return was associated with access to land and water through traditional land rights that gave rise to new livelihood opportunities.

Jacobsen, K. (2002) 'Livelihoods in Conflict: The Pursuit of Livelihoods by Refugees and the Impact on the Human Security of Host Communities'. <http://www.cdr.dk/migdevwall/papers/LivelihoodsinConflict.doc>

Examines three broad topics of the methods and pathways through which refugees pursue livelihood goals, the effect of the practice of refugee livelihoods on human security in terms of economic, civil and political security of the host area, as well as ways in which the form and scope of international aid can support the positive impact of refugees in their host areas. The author presents the view of refugees not as 'passive victims' but as dynamic and responsive actors that are able to pursue livelihoods through a multitude of pathways. Given the increasing trend of framing aid in terms of developmental relief and the reliance of the international community on relief organisations as the point of engagement with conflict-affected societies, it is argued that consideration of the role of refugee livelihoods in terms of human security is of increasing importance. The author ultimately argues that refugees can be viewed as a resource, rather than a burden, on the host community, although the realisation of this potential depends on both the form of international aid, and the level of receptivity of the host-area government. The paper draws on the growing literature that examines the impacts of different modalities of intervention, case materials from primary source data, together with conference proceedings from a conference on 'Promoting Human Security in the Democratic Republic of Congo' held at Tufts University, USA in March 2002.

The paper begins with a conceptual consideration of the influence of conflict on livelihoods, particularly the novel forms of vulnerability that are generated in situations of conflict and the exacerbation of some types of vulnerability. It examines refugee goals, resources, and strategies for practising their livelihood. The discussion widens to an examination of refugee-hosting areas that are often in the midst of inter-communal conflict supported by the regime or external actors, with attention given to the influence of settlement policy and practice on refugee vulnerability. Three types of livelihood resources are described; land and common property resources, trans-national resources including cash and information that are passed through networks and international aid resources, in particular those with a focus on income-generating or microfinance programmes. The paper concludes with lessons learned about the ways in which international aid can influence refugee livelihoods, and the author makes several recommendations highlighting points that need to be considered in the design of livelihood support programmes. Also underscores several needs including the need to consider the host community in policy and programming by international aid organisations, the need for awareness that illicit activities of varying levels of security risk can form part of the livelihood strategy, and the programmatic implications that stem from this together with the need to incorporate or encourage a more accepting host community policy on asylum and settlement that will allow the pursuit of livelihoods by refugees both within and outside the camp setting.

Kibreab, G. (1994) 'The Myth of Dependency Among Camp Refugees in Somalia 1979–89', *Journal of Refugee Studies* 6: 322–349.

Firstly examines the factors that led to the institutionalisation of the refugee camps in Somalia that were initially established en route to durable solutions. Secondly, challenges the stereotypes that contributed to wrong perceptions among the aid agencies with particular regard to the alleged prevalence of the so-called 'dependency syndrome' among the camp refugees between 1979 and 1989. The findings show not only the dearth of evidence for such a phenomenon, but that within the given constraints and limited opportunities, the refugees were found to be imaginative, resourceful and industrious. In spite of the unfavourable conditions, the refugees succeeded in maintaining their independence and cultural identity.

Muggah, H. (2000) ‘Conflict-induced Displacement and Involuntary Resettlement in Colombia: Putting Cernea’s IRLR Model to the Test’, *Disasters* 24: 198-216.

Tests Cernea’s (1997) impoverishment risks and livelihood reconstruction (IRLR) model in cases of conflict-induced displacement (CID). In applying the model to a situation involving internal conflict, the article illustrates the particular problems encountered by internally displaced people (IDPs) and policymakers charged to respond to them. The author searches for local interpretations of CID and resettlement through a comparative profile of two IDP settlements in Colombia; one urban, the other rural. The author concludes that the IRLR model, when contextualised, provides a useful tool to identify and categorise risks of impoverishment and resettlement priorities. At the same time, however, the article demonstrates that the model insufficiently captures the root causes or causality of CID.

Notes: Presents the IRLR model and provides support for its use as well as outlining some shortcomings in its use.

UNHCR (2000) *UNHCR Policy on Older Refugees: Older Refugees a Resource for the Community*. Geneva: Health and Community Development Section, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Describe the background and content of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees’s (UNHCR) Policy on Older Refugees. The policy was endorsed at the 17th Meeting of UNHCR’s Standing Committee (29 February–2 March 2000). The policy does not apply a rigid definition of an older person, recognising that factors such as life expectancy and cultural norms differ from region to region and therefore should be taken into account. The intent of UNHCR’s policy is twofold; firstly: to ensure that the unique needs of older refugees are acknowledged and reflected in UNHCR protection and programming initiatives and secondly, to ensure that older refugees are recognised as active and contributing members of their communities. The author points out that ‘older refugees are valuable resources for guidance and advice, and transmitters of culture, skills and crafts that are important in preserving the traditions of the dispossessed and displaced’. Includes a series of short case-examples of the active contributions of older people to their communities.

Whitaker, B. (1999) *Changing Opportunities: Refugees and Host Communities in Western Tanzania, New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper 11*. Geneva, Switzerland: Centre for Documentation and Research, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Reports research that examines the costs and benefits to the host community associated with the presence of refugees. The project is a case study of the impact of the refugee influx of 1993–8 into western Tanzania from Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo on the host community of Tanzania.

The author contends that refugee aid and development theories from the 1980s have supported the consideration of local development issues in relation to refugee relief programmes. Actual strategic linkage has not occurred for the most part, however, due to a lack of country-level support both within the country of interest and among the donor nations, poor coordination between relief and development actors, and the changing scale of the refugee issue. This coordination has also been hampered by the assumption by some that refugees are necessarily a burden on their host country.

Considers changing livelihood opportunities for both host and refugee communities both at the time of the study and retrospectively over the preceding years in order to generate a more robust understanding of this dynamic. The author concludes that in this case the impact of refugees on their host community is not uniform in part due to variation within the host community with respect to their ability to capture this benefit. Overall, those with more resources in the community were better able to capitalise on the opportunity presented by the refugee population.

Zetter, R. (1996) ‘Refugee Survival and NGO Project Assistance: Mozambican Refugees in Malawi’, *Community Development Journal* 31: 214–229.

Retrospectively examines the impact of developmentally oriented non-governmental organisation projects on Mozambican refugee survival in Malawi. Five limitations are elaborated: unresponsiveness to local economic conditions and skills; inadequate methods of recruitment; production, business plans and marketing constraints and lack of sustainability; limited participation and the imposition of management ideologies; gender inequalities and inadequate gender-related policies. The analysis of these shortcomings offers guidance to the mobilisation of development projects in future large-scale refugee situations.

Notes: Discusses limitations of the developmental relief programmes on refugee survival. These aspects limited programme success in terms of the re-establishment of livelihoods, and carries implications for programmes designed to do so.

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- Part 4: Doyle, K. (1998) *Microfinance in the Wake of Conflict: Challenges and Opportunities*. Washington DC: United States Agency for International Development.
- Part 1: de Haan, A. (1999) ‘Livelihoods and Poverty: the Role of Migration – A Critical Review of the Migration Literature’, *Journal of Development Studies* 36: 1–47.
- Part 4: Hines, D. and Balleto, R. (2002) *Assessment of Needs of Internally Displaced Persons in Colombia*, Working Paper 189. London: Overseas Development Institute.
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4 Policy and Institutional Approaches to Protect and Support Livelihoods in Times of Conflict

Boudreau, T. and Coutts, P. (2002) *Food Economy in Situations of Chronic Political Instability*, Working Paper 188. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Describes the food economy approach and, based on case studies from Zimbabwe and Kenya, illustrates how this approach links livelihood information to an analysis of the effects of political, economic and social change. Food economy analysis is an analytical framework designed to help decision-makers understand the effects of different shocks on household livelihood options. While the original food economy work of the early 1990s aimed simply to understand how people made ends meet, more recent work in situations of chronic conflict and political instability has developed more sophisticated analyses of the household effects of macro-political and economic changes. The paper shows how food economy analysis is particularly helpful in determining appropriate responses and targeting of both relief and development interventions. In Zimbabwe, food economy analysis has been used to establish an urban baseline to monitor the effects of macro-economic shocks on households' access to food, cash income and basic services in relation to the current political crisis. Food economy assessments carried out in the northern pastoral areas of Kenya have built up livelihood pictures to understand the inter-related causes of particular drought outcomes. The case studies show that not only is it possible to conduct livelihoods assessments in situations of chronic conflict and political instability but it is also essential in designing appropriate interventions and in determining who most needs external assistance. Because the food economy framework logically organises and structures different types and levels of information, it provides a powerful impetus for coordinated information gathering and analysis, helping to build consensus around findings and conclusions, leading to faster and more accurate decision-making.

Bush, J. (1995) 'The Role of Food Aid in Drought and Recovery: Oxfam's North Turkana (Kenya) Drought Relief Programme, 1992–94', *Disasters* 19: 247–259.

Regional droughts carry the seeds of catastrophe: the immediate risk is famine; the long-term risk is destitution. Preventing both situations is an appropriate, if not essential, goal for relief agencies. In the past, responses to hunger in the Turkana District (northwest Kenya) have taken the form of traditional feeding programmes. A better understanding of the boom/bust cycles in pastoralist systems has, however, produced new relief strategies. A central tenet of these strategies is the acceptance that relief aid should assume two roles: humanitarian to overcome food deficits, and economic to overcome 'income' deficits. Arguments in favour of a broader role for food aid are tested with a case study of a drought relief programme in north Turkana 1992–4. Field studies confirmed that when food aid is integrated as an asset into household resources, it can strengthen economic recovery. Ultimately, the extent to which relief operations are able to protect both people's lives and their livelihoods is the key to more sustainable development in drought-prone areas.

Busza, J. and Lush, L. (1999) 'Planning Reproductive Health in Conflict: A Conceptual Framework', *Social Science and Medicine* 49: 155–171.

A conceptual framework for planning reproductive health services for refugees is presented for use by those involved in planning field activities. Secondary sources of data are recommended to

describe pre-existing patterns and trends in reproductive health status and likely determinants of any change in status, for populations subsequently affected by conflict. The interaction between these patterns and the conflict itself is then analysed, taking into account the shift in health status and service availability as the conflict progresses through various recognised phases. The potential impact of conflict is thus hypothesised in order to make initial plans for incorporating reproductive health services into standard relief packages. Two case studies are presented: Rwanda demonstrates the use of the framework in a relatively short but dramatic conflict, for which there was also substantial prior evidence on reproductive health status; Cambodia is used, in contrast, to demonstrate the use of the framework in a much more complex conflict that has occurred over the last 20 years.

Notes: The presented conceptual framework includes an analysis of conflict in its modelling interventions for reproductive health. This analysis of conflict may be useful for incorporation into a livelihoods framework, and also for guiding livelihood interventions that impact reproductive health.

Carbonnier, G. (1998) *Conflict, Postwar Rebuilding and the Economy – A Critical Review of the Literature*. Geneva: War-Torn Societies Project/United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Highlights the implications of war and post-conflict rebuilding for a wide range of economic policies, and then identifies and assesses major debates and controversies among scholars in this area. The main recommendations emerging from the literature are discussed, with particular attention devoted to potential contradictions between economic reform, external assistance, and peace-building agendas. Reviewing research on recent post-war experiences further reveals that there is no blueprint for rebuilding war-torn economies. The specific circumstances of each country must be carefully analysed and the rationale behind every conflict properly understood if appropriate rebuilding strategies are to be worked out. The author concludes that some of the most fundamental aspects of post-conflict rebuilding have been overlooked, mainly because they do not fit into the prevailing paradigm. Some of the basic assumptions underlying traditional economic theory (e.g. rational economic behaviour of individuals) are starkly contrasted by the reality of war-torn societies. The author argues that political stability cannot be relegated to a lower priority, but should actually prevail over economic efficiency when designing post-conflict policies, because reconstruction activities are nullified if war starts anew. By the same token, efforts to restore the necessary confidence among investors and consumers to restart economic activity cannot succeed without a minimum level of stability and predictability.

CARE (1999) *Programme Guidelines for Chronically Vulnerable Areas*. Nairobi, Kenya: CARE.

These guidelines start from the premise that it is as important to understand livelihood systems in emergencies as it is in a longer-term development context, and even more so when attempting to protect people's assets in the face of impending disaster or assisting in the recovery of people's assets and livelihoods in the aftermath of disaster. This approach recognises the differences in the basic causes of vulnerability, the difficult operating environment of chronically vulnerable areas (CVAs) and the chronic recurrence of emergencies in many areas in which CARE works in eastern Africa. In order to ensure that these are taken into consideration CARE developed a set of principles and guidelines for programming in chronically vulnerable areas.

The guidelines start by listing the characteristics of chronically vulnerable areas. They then detail the main lessons learned from a programme review of work in CVAs: this includes the conceptual

framework itself, operational activities and interventions, cooperation and partnership, and finally advocacy. The guidelines review the specific programming challenges of working in CVAs, including decisions about entry into CVAs, details about programme design in CVAs, specifics about targeting, monitoring and evaluation, early warning (i.e. monitoring the general context to know when crises are likely to recur), mitigation and emergency preparedness, and finally transition and exit strategies. Concludes with a look at the advocacy issues associated with programming in CVAs. It is suggested that donors should be convinced to adopt a programming approach that supports rehabilitation and mitigation as separate programme categories; that donors should be lobbied to prevent further marginalisation of CVAs; that advocacy may be needed to have early warning information taken seriously; and finally suggests advocacy is needed on behalf of partner organisations so that safety nets do not collapse when external agencies exit. In the appendices a series of case studies are presented together with a tool box for interventions.

CARE (2001) *Benefit–harms Handbook*. Nairobi, Kenya: CARE.

CARE’s benefit–harms approach has stemmed from work in eastern and central Africa, particularly in its Sudan projects. The approach has developed from three conceptual frameworks; from basic human-rights concepts, from the ‘Do no harm’ approach of Mary Anderson and from CARE’s own model of the livelihoods approach, Household Livelihood Security.

The Benefit–harms handbook and accompanying facilitation manual explain that the benefit-harms approach seeks to provide the tools with which relief and development organisations can hold themselves responsible for the overall impact of their programmes. The purpose of this is to ensure that positive impact on human lives and livelihoods is maximised and that negative and harmful impacts are minimised. Impact is examined in terms of human rights and organised into three categories (as they are in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). The categories are; political rights, security rights, and economic, social and cultural rights. Under political rights the approach recognises that agencies work in terms of re-allocating resources, that decision-making power is profoundly political, and suggests tools to assist agencies to consider and then strengthen the positive political impact of their work. For security rights the approach is particularly geared to situations in complex emergencies where the introduction of relief goods can have profound effects on people’s physical security. Economic, social and cultural rights include all those essential to livelihood security. It is proposed that the benefit–harms approach used in conjunction with other livelihood approaches and strategies can help agencies to better address the overall impact of their projects.

Considers why unintended impacts may occur and suggests three types of tools (profile tools, impact tools and decision tools) to identify these. It is structured to offer one profile, impact and decision tool for each of the three categories of rights. Finally, methodologies for using the tools are proposed in terms of which to use when, and how use of the tools can best fit into the project cycle. Each tool purpose, use and methodology is detailed in the appendices.

Catley, A. and Blakeway, S. (1997) ‘Donkeys and the Provision of Livestock to Returnees: Lessons from Eritrea’. <http://www.atnesa.org/donkeys/donkeys-catley-returnees-ER.pdf> (26 October 2002)

Outlines the provision of livestock to returnees as part of a large-scale, integrated resettlement project in Eritrea. Before procurement of livestock, returnees were interviewed to understand their preferences for different livestock types. Based on the results of the interviews, the number of donkeys provided by the project was increased by up to 7.3 times the number in the original project

plan. Both female and male-headed households opted to receive donkeys. The authors discuss the role of donkeys in ‘restocking’ projects and advocates participation of beneficiaries in the identification of appropriate livestock inputs.

Notes: Illustrates a case example of a livestock intervention that aims to restore a sustainable livelihood system for Eritrean refugees. Demonstrates the importance of input from participants in planning livelihood interventions and the use of monitoring and evaluation in assessing the impact of livelihood interventions.

Date-Bah, E. (1999) *A Framework for ILO Policy and Action in the Conflict-Affected Context*. Geneva: International Labour Office (ILO).

This proposed policy framework seeks to provide conceptual clarity and direction to facilitate the ILO’s response in conflict-affected contexts. It recognises that skills training and employment promotion which fall within ILO’s mandate are vital elements in the processes required to rebuild and support livelihoods in conflict and post-conflict situations.

ILO’s historical role is examined together with its comparative advantage in post-conflict reconstruction, its present response to conflict situations, lessons learned and constraints encountered. The document then goes on to consider what constitutes an effective ILO response both in terms of areas and approaches. Areas identified include: social and labour policy formulation; local and national institutional capacity building; training; promotion of micro-enterprises and productive self-employment; and employment-intensive public works. The author recognises that approaches when working in conflict-affected situations require flexibility and a departure from the ILO’s usual mode of operation. Necessary approaches identified include: participatory assessment of the context and conflict-affected groups; promoting regular dialogue with all relevant actors to ensure ownership and sustainability; working with associations of conflict-affected groups together with governments; enlarging activities for ex-combatants to also include and benefit other conflict-affected groups; and adopting an integrated and long-term approach.

The potential roles of ILO’s constituents and how to empower them are considered, as are collaboration with other UN agencies, donors and NGOs, concluding that partnerships need to reach beyond the ILO’s traditional partners. The author goes on to examine the operational and financial implications of the policy framework being proposed. It concludes that the ILO has an important role to play in conflict and post-conflict contexts and that it should monitor labour-related root causes and impact of conflicts. The key roles that the ILO should play are summarised as: providing technical assistance and guidance to labour-related institutions; promoting training and employment activities to reintegrate different conflict-affected groups; elaborating relevant labour and social policies to promote employment; disseminating labour-related information about conflict and post-conflict contexts and the processes of reintegration; reconstruction and peace building; monitoring labour-related early warning signs; playing a role in conflict prevention; and monitoring member states’ implementation of pertinent international labour standards.

DFID (1999) *Conflict Reduction and Humanitarian Assistance*. London: Department for International Development.

Outlines Department for International Development’s (DFID) conflict reduction and humanitarian assistance policy. The purpose of DFID’s conflict resolution policy is ‘to build the political and social means to enable the equitable representation of different interest groups, promotion of all human rights, and resolution of disputes and grievances without recourse to violence’. The purpose

of DFID humanitarian assistance policy is to: save lives and relieve suffering; hasten recovery, and protect and rebuild livelihoods and communities; reduce risks and vulnerability to future crises'. The paper lists a range of targeted conflict reduction strategies, and DFID's 'Principles for a New Humanitarianism'.

Notes: Humanitarian assistance supported by DFID combines both saving lives, and protecting and rebuilding livelihoods.

Doyle, K. (1998) *Microfinance in the Wake of Conflict: Challenges and Opportunities*. Washington DC: United States Agency for International Development.

Documents the surprisingly few preconditions considered essential to initiate a micro-enterprise development programme. These include a reasonable amount of security or stability of access; the re-emergence of some market activity; and a certain assurance that, when refugees or internally displaced persons are the focus, they will remain in place long enough for programmes to make and recover loans (18 months is the common benchmark). In addition to these criteria are a set of preferable conditions that greatly facilitate implementation but that programmes have done without in the short term. Among these are a functioning banking system, the absence of hyperinflation, a certain population density (desired for both scale and security reasons), social capital, a skilled workforce, and a favourable policy environment.

Discusses the need to find quick solutions (and the longer-term institutional problems) the most appropriate groups of candidates for loans need to rebuild trust between recipients, staff, security issues, and the role of advocacy in a situation without centralised authorities.

El-Bushra, J., El-Karib, A. and Hadjipateras, A. (2002) *Gender-sensitive Programme Design and Planning in Conflict-Affected Situations*. London: Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development.

Describes a research project undertaken by Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development (ACORD) that aims to contribute to the reduction of poverty and suffering through enhancing gender-awareness in the design and management of development projects in contexts directly or indirectly affected by conflict. The research uses oral testimony and social exclusion analysis as methodologies to explore the reciprocal interrelationships between gender and conflict. The research was carried out in five countries: Angola, Mali, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda, with complimentary desk studies in Eritrea and Rwanda. The project ran from April 2000 to December 2001.

The case studies, describing the experiences of ordinary citizens in armed conflict, revealed human suffering, loss of livelihoods, erosion of social relations and loss of faith in the future. The research demonstrated that ordinary people are knowledgeable about the factors – local, national and international – giving rise to conflict and make considerable and pro-active adaptations to their livelihoods. The case studies lend weight to a cyclical view of violence and armed conflict and support the view that local conflict dynamics operate in parallel with, and sometimes independently of, those at national level.

Questions whether gender relations change as a result of conflict and concludes that in all case studies it did. There were limited increases in women's decision-making power and political

participation; consistently women took on increased economic responsibilities. Also asks if gender identity influences or contributes to conflict and concludes that further analysis is required to answer this complex question.

The research has implications for gender policy and the support of livelihoods. The negative impacts of conflict are felt by all, but people's ability to recover from the shocks of war is determined, in part, by their position in evolving power structures: in this sense women are more likely than men to have to struggle to survive.

Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance Project (2000) *Potential Uses of Food Aid to Support HIV/AIDS Mitigation Activities in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington DC: Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance, Academy for Educational Development (Draft).

The HIV/AIDS pandemic exerts a great influence on many of the sub-Saharan countries. The use of Title II food aid is being explored for feasibility as a means to address the social and economic impact of HIV/AIDS by the United States Agency for International Development. This paper synthesises information from two sources: a report entitled, 'An Exploration of Stakeholder Views Regarding the Potential Roles of Food Aid to Support AIDS Mitigation Activities in East Africa' by Vivica A. Kraak, David L. Pelletier, Edward A. Frongillo Jr., and Serena Rajabuni, November 1999; and a literature review exploring the household and community-level effects of HIV/AIDS together with the coping mechanisms used in response to mitigate these effects. The purpose of the paper was to identify when and if food aid can be used to mitigate the social and economic impact of HIV/AIDS at household and community levels.

According to the authors, HIV/AIDS impacts food security and nutritional status primarily through impacting the labour force, both in terms of individuals who are not able to carry out their work and caregivers who are drawn away from the pursuit of their own livelihood strategies, together with the asset base that often needs to be used to pay for medical care. Secondary effects of the asset depletion are exerted on the labour force of the next generation through diminished educational opportunities, either through inability to pay for educational fees, interruption of intergenerational knowledge transfer, or through depleted food resources in the household. The study suggests that food aid might be used to mitigate some of these negative effects by offsetting labour shortages and thus loss in income by preserving the asset base, though this approach needs to take into account several contextual factors that are outlined in the paper. This approach would require a rigorous assessment and design, the development of food-security standards, the establishment of food-delivery mechanisms, sensitivity to social stigmatisation, multi-sectoral work, the development of collaborations and partnerships with other groups, increased access to information, in addition to further operations research to inform programming.

Frankenberger, T., Drinkwater, M. and Maxwell, D. (2000) 'Operationalising Household Livelihood Security: A Holistic Approach for Addressing Poverty and Vulnerability'. http://www.fao.org/docrep/003/x9371e/x9371e12.htm#P0_0 (26 October 2002)

CARE officially adopted household livelihood security (HLS) as a programming framework in 1994. Over the past five years, CARE has been working to institutionalise the approach in its programming worldwide. This has been neither a smooth nor an easy process. Significant progress

has been made in improving concepts, strengthening their application and understanding their implications on programme design and evaluation.

This paper describes how HLS has been put into operation in CARE. Drawing on lessons learned from a number of countries, it shows how livelihood concepts and tools have been taken into account in strategic planning, diagnosis, design, implementation, monitoring, reformulation and evaluation. Household livelihood security continues to be the cornerstone framework that CARE uses to carry out its programming efforts. It allows CARE to take a more holistic view of the world to inform its programming decisions, enabling the organisation to better understand the root causes of poverty. In addition, it helps to clearly identify opportunities and leverage points for positive change. Application of the livelihood framework should not be considered a linear process but rather a flexible, dynamic and iterative process over time.

Taking a holistic view does not always mean that one must undertake multiple interventions. Application of the HLS framework can be done using various entry points. Over the past several years, CARE has identified several analytical lenses that have been incorporated into an HLS holistic analysis to understand better the root causes of poverty. These analytical lenses include basic needs, a human-rights perspective, civil participation and action, gender and the policy environment. These various lenses are significantly influencing the future directions of CARE programming.

The HLS framework is helping CARE make strategic choices about where to concentrate its limited resources and how to leverage its comparative advantages to achieve the most positive and lasting change. It is through these efforts that CARE will contribute to the global effort to end poverty.

Gaigals, C. and Leonhardt, M. (2001) *Conflict-Sensitive Approaches to Development: A Review of Practice*, Report Number 1898702071. London: Saferworld, International Alert and International Development Research Centre.

In recognition of the growing understanding in recent years of the links between conflict, peace and external assistance, this report aims to provide a critical overview of the conflict prevention approaches being used by donors, academic institutions, NGOs and other agencies charged with the delivery of effective aid and development programmes in conflict-prone and conflict-affected areas. It highlights the range of different approaches and explores their strengths and limitations.

The first section provides a background to the impetus for the development of conflict prevention and peace-building policies. Section two outlines the rationale for the development of Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment tools and related methodologies and provides a comparative survey of agency frameworks. Section three provides an analysis of various peace and conflict impact assessment methodologies and frameworks, while the final section draws conclusions and makes recommendations for the future development and support of conflict-sensitive development practices and related approaches to conflict prevention, mitigation, and peace-building.

Harinarayan, A. (1999) *Linking Livestock and Pastoral Nutrition*. Medford, Massachusetts, USA: Feinstein International Famine Center, Tufts University.

Elucidates the direct and indirect links between pastoralist livelihoods and several determinants of nutritional status within the community, namely food security, caring practices and health. Additionally, the impact of community-based animal health services on animal health are examined in relation to ways in which animal health contributed to household food production and consumption patterns, and barriers to full capture of animal health programme benefits.

The methodology included a review of relevant literature and field work utilising qualitative methods carried out in two villages in southern Sudan during the hunger gap of June and July 1998. These qualitative methods included focus groups, semi-structured interviews, key informant interviews, market visits and observation. The two villages were comparable in terms of size, primary livelihood, and access to primary health care services, with the exception of access to veterinary services. One village had access to veterinary services for the previous three years, while in the other village these same services were only just being established.

Overall the community-based animal health programme appears to have contributed to increased herd size, but this improvement was moderated by cattle mortality due to the drought. Livestock assets are thought to contribute to increased access to livestock-based foodstuffs and to providing a currency for obtaining other assets. In this case, during a period of severe shortage in market grain supply, meat consumption and slaughter rates increased markedly. Prevailing market trends of the time meant that it was often more profitable to slaughter the animals than trade them. Increased meat consumption occurred even though this is not supported as a social norm.

The paths through which livestock contribute to nutritional status are moderated by gender roles and decision-making in small and large stock animals. Women are responsible for the preparation and distribution of food in the household. While women are restricted to making decisions about disposal of small stock assets, they are still able in some cases to exert influences on the males to sell or slaughter animals and thus contribute to the household resources. Finally, intra-household distribution patterns influence nutritional status, though these patterns were not fully elucidated.

Harrell-Bond, B. (1986) *Imposing Aid: Emergency Assistance to Refugees*. New York: Oxford University Press.

This book is an independent study of emergency assistance to Ugandan refugees in Sudan in the early 1980s, exploring the roles of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, non-governmental organisations, political representatives, the media, and researchers. It provides an interesting comparison to the perceptions and dynamics of intervention between the 1980s and the present day.

The aim of the work was ‘to describe the actual living situation of the refugees, the impact of various assistance groups, their interconnections, and their impact on each other’. The first half of the book focuses on the underlying assumptions behind the methodology of intervention to support the refugees, while the second half examines the impacts of service provision in such sectors as protection, food, and education. The focus is primarily on economic rather than social and psychological impacts. The work is based on case studies, documentation from a variety of sources and field work that took place for a period of six months in both 1982 and 1983. A random sample survey of assisted refugees (2,017 households) and unassisted refugees (3,814 households) was carried out by the author.

Great variation between and within the assisted and unassisted refugees in terms of ethnicity, religious affiliation, family size and structure were interpreted to suggest that the assumption that all refugees have a similar ability to mobilise resources from relief agencies may be false. Coping strategies and levels of mobility of the refugees were also described. Of note, vulnerability in this context was not defined according to the standard categories of women, orphans and the elderly, but in terms of those who could not achieve 'self-sufficiency' through the agricultural programme provided.

One section of the book is related to an examination of refugee livelihoods in this context. The author asserts that the way to address this question is to widen the focus to the relationships between the refugees and their hosts. In this section and others, the author illuminates the underpinning assumptions that informed programming decisions, and discusses the relative validity of these assumptions as well as the relative success of these intervention methodologies.

HelpAge International (2000) *Older People in Disasters and Humanitarian Crisis: Guidelines for Best Practice*. London: HelpAge International.

These guidelines for best practice are based on wide-ranging new research from Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas and many years' global disaster experience. They aim to help relief agencies meet the special needs of older people in emergencies.

While older people are commonly accepted as being a vulnerable or potentially vulnerable group, at present very little is done to meet their particular needs, or to recognise their unique capacities and contributions. Humanitarian interventions often ignore older people's special needs, using systems that discriminate against them and, on occasion, undermine their capacity to support themselves.

The guidelines give examples of key approaches and actions that could help the humanitarian community reduce the vulnerability associated with ageing. They also suggest ways to enhance the capacities and contribution of older people in emergencies.

These guidelines also explore the wider issues relating to older people in humanitarian crises. These range from globally agreed principles of social and civil practice and global demographic changes, to the physical impact of the aging process, common images and assumptions held about older people, the key problems they face, and the gender dimensions of their needs.

Notes: While it is often assumed that older people are economically inactive, this is not the case. To this end, there is a short section that explores the promotion of income-support and livelihood projects for older people during the rehabilitation phase.

Hines, D. and Balleto, R. (2002) *Assessment of Needs of Internally Displaced Persons in Colombia*, Working Paper 189. London: Overseas Development Institute.

The needs assessment approach described here illustrates how World Food Programme (WFP) Colombia is building upon standard analytical WFP Vulnerability Analysis and Mapping (VAM) framework to develop a country-specific methodology. The assessment methodology is work in progress and discusses a number of methodological aspects as they relate to meeting food and livelihood needs in situations of displacement, including: data collection issues for the consideration of food needs during the critical phases of displacement; the added value of including livelihood

information in the VAM analysis; and how the methodology could be standardised to allow WFP and its partners to better understand and respond to the needs of IDPs in different phases of displacement.

Initial findings have allowed WFP to better understand when food assistance is required, i.e. during the crucial period after the first three months of displacement. This period has been largely forgotten and many activities were not designed to reach those most in need during this time. As a result, in the next phase of WFP's operation more attention will be given to this crucial period and to balancing direct feeding requirements through soup kitchens with livelihood support through education, restarting agriculture production, and resettlement when feasible.

Incorporating a livelihoods approach in the WFP Colombia assessment methodology provides a strong basis for developing targeting criteria in a standardised way that avoids manipulation. Given the nature of IDP operations (i.e. the back and forth situation of displacement, return, repeated displacements) and because needs change over time with the phase of displacement, IDP numbers and needs are not constant over the life of an operation. An impartial reference for developing and applying targeting criteria is therefore key.

Humphrey, L. (1999) *Food-for-work in Ethiopia: Challenging the Scope of Project Evaluations*, Working Paper 81. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

Evaluations of the numerous food-for-work (FFW) projects in operation across Ethiopia are designed to assess their effectiveness, and are often defined by the objectives stated in the terms of reference. The author asserts that the quality and usefulness of evaluations is greatly enhanced when the qualitative impacts of a project on the beneficiaries are included in the assessment, since they often have a direct influence on such conventional donor concerns as targeting and the mode of payment. An evaluation framework is proposed which covers the design and delivery, outputs and impacts of a project, and this structure is then adopted for a review of FFW evaluation documents. The analysis reveals the heavy emphasis on design and delivery mechanisms in the literature, and suggests the scope of evaluation exercises might be broadened to capture both the intended and unforeseen socio-economic impacts of a project.

Notes: Given that monitoring and evaluation practices are essential components in the iterative improvement of programme quality, the author undertakes a review of evaluations of FFW projects. The paper begins with a brief summary of FFW projects in Ethiopia during the last ten years and groups information covered in these evaluations into three main categories. The 'design and delivery' category includes the topics of geographical coverage, targeting, payment and participatory planning. The 'output' category covers on topics on choice of works, quality of works, and sustainability of the infrastructure created by the project in terms of maintenance. Finally the 'impact on beneficiaries' category includes valuation by benefit of the asset created, disincentive and incentive effects of the project, use of payment in terms of monetisation, impact on food security, the degree of redistribution of the payment, time allocation patterns, and other social impacts. The author notes that the emphasis in the current evaluations on design and delivery tend to obscure consideration of the impact of programming on beneficiaries. It is argued that consideration of these impacts is necessary in order to inform organisational understanding and implementation of programmes that more-suitably meet people's needs and avert the accumulation of negative externalities as well as to guide wider policy-making.

Hussein, K., with contributions from the agencies studied (2002) *Livelihood Approaches Compared: A Multi-Agency Review of Current Practice*. London: Department for International Development and Overseas Development Institute.

Commissioned by Department for International Development's (DFID) Sustainable Livelihoods Support Office, this publication offers an update of the paper by Carney et al. (1999), exploring the use of sustainable livelihoods approaches (SLA) in a broad range of organisations and highlighting issues emerging from experience in new areas. More than 15 organisations currently applying livelihood approaches to varying degrees are considered; some of these have formally adopted a livelihoods approach as part of their development policy and approach, whilst others have been exploring SLA in more informal ways to see how such a methodology might inform their analytical frameworks and programming.

The report provides a summary by agency of their use of livelihoods approaches. Each summary addresses the following core topics: essential background on the organisation, its mandate, strategy and approach to development; a summary of the origins and key elements of the sustainable livelihoods-related approach used; examples of recent applications of SLA noting the stages of the project or programming cycle at which they are used; a summary of significant lessons learned to date and challenges faced in implementing and operationalising SLA. Further sources on relevant topics are provided for each organisation along with key contact persons. This is followed by a section on development-oriented research that follows a simpler format, focusing on general lessons from a number of current research programmes on concepts and methods pertinent to SLA and linking up with policy. The paper includes three detailed comparative tables, which summarise the authors' perspectives on key similarities and differences between the uses of SLA across the core set of organisations presented. Finally, a range of annexes provides a variety of SL analytical frameworks being used.

Jaspars, S. and Shoham, J. (1999) 'Targeting the Vulnerable: A Review of the Necessity and Feasibility of Targeting Vulnerable Households', *Disasters* 23: 359–372.

Examines the justifications and practical experiences of targeting vulnerable groups within a geographically defined area for emergency relief, particularly emergency food aid. The authors recognise that relief is increasingly being provided in complex emergencies where the needs remain for protracted periods of time. For various reasons, but mostly in reality due to diminishing resources, targeting relief is common practice.

The authors argue that in conflict-related emergencies livelihoods cannot be structurally secure and that the conflict is often aimed at destroying certain groups of people's livelihoods. Therefore the 'anti-welfarist' argument widely adopted in the West's approach to supporting people in developing countries in emergencies may have little relevance to complex emergency scenarios. Conflict-affected populations do not necessarily develop coping strategies which can be considered successful over time in that they contribute to wellbeing and rebuilding of former livelihoods.

Concentrating assistance on the worst affected requires an analysis of vulnerability, but this is not straightforward. Vulnerability is different from poverty and the poorest cannot be assumed to be the most vulnerable. Vulnerability implies insecurity in the face of particular risks, and the types of risks people face depend on the livelihoods of the affected people and the alternative strategies that they have. War strategies are often aimed at particular social, ethnic or political groups and it may

be they, not the poorest, who are most vulnerable. The authors conclude that targeting criteria generally used in complex emergencies are not based on analysis of vulnerability, but on assumptions derived from stable contexts and an inability to incorporate the political dimensions of crisis in nutrition or food-security assessments.

They then review community-based targeting using case studies from Kenya, southern Sudan and Tanzania, detailing a number of reasons why this type of targeting can fail. They look at situations where community-based targeting may work, and conclude that in most emergency contexts targeting vulnerable households is either inappropriate or not feasible.

Jaspars, S. and Shoham, J. (2002) *A Critical Review of Approaches to Assessing and Monitoring Livelihoods in Situations of Chronic Conflict and Political Instability*, Working Paper 191. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Reviews emergency livelihoods assessment approaches in situations of chronic conflict and political instability (SCCPI), using an adapted livelihoods framework and an analysis of what happens to livelihoods in chronic conflict and political instability. It also examines how a livelihoods analysis can add to the identification of appropriate interventions to address protracted risks to livelihoods. The overall aim is to contribute to better understanding of the problems faced by populations in chronic conflict and political instability, and to find ways of protecting livelihoods to more effectively save lives and reduce future vulnerability.

Most emergency livelihood assessment approaches focus in particular on food security as an outcome, and assess livelihood strategies at the household or community level. Few include an analysis of political vulnerability or the processes at the macro-level which lead to this. Getting information on involvement in the war economy is difficult. Methods commonly used in conflict or political analysis can be incorporated in livelihoods assessments to include this dimension.

There are several challenges in conducting livelihoods assessments in SCCPI, mainly due to problems with access and insecurity, differences in livelihood strategies from stable situations, and an increased potential for bias. Agencies have made adaptations to approaches and methods to address this. These adaptations include the division of the population according to political, security, or displacement factors rather than livelihood groups to define groups with similar means of accessing food. It also includes a greater emphasis on secondary information, triangulation and combining qualitative and quantitative information. Once immediate relief needs to save lives have been identified, a livelihoods analysis can be developed over time through longer-term monitoring.

The main use of emergency livelihoods assessments is to determine the need for immediate relief, usually food aid. This may be because the scope for supporting livelihood strategies at community level is limited during violent conflict, due to fears of causing harm, to funding constraints, or agency mandates. Some assessments identified other interventions; including asset delivery or provision, market, cash and labour-based interventions, but also building the capacity of local institutions, and protection and advocacy to hold states and warring parties accountable for the provision of basic needs to civilians. For such interventions to be effective there is a need for the protection of vulnerable groups so that they are able to hold on to existing assets and those provided or created through assistance. The implication for assessments is that the causes of political vulnerability need to be examined in order to determine how to protect populations.

Lautze, S. and Hammock, J. (1997) *Coping with Crisis: Coping with Aid, Capacity Building, Coping Mechanisms and Dependency*. New York, USA: United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs.

This document was prepared at the end of 1996, as hundreds of thousands of Rwandan refugees poured out of Zaire, and the entire Great Lakes region looked poised to collapse in a crisis that occupied the full attention of the UN humanitarian emergency response system. Against this backdrop, the authors take a long view of equally pressing issues facing each UN agency today: that is, how can the capacities of affected communities to cope with crisis be more effectively strengthened and thereby hasten their recovery phase?

The UN Inter-Agency Standing Committee Sub-Working Group on Local Capacities and Coping Mechanisms and the Linkages Between Relief and Development charged the consultants to furnish an inventory of UN agencies' efforts to identify, utilise and strengthen local capacities, and to give guidance on how to improve these practices; provide a better understanding of why the potential contribution of inherent local capacities are often ignored or downplayed in disasters, and to discuss the benefits of utilising these capacities; identify practices and institutional frameworks that have undermined local initiatives and traditional coping mechanisms, and to devise a check list of strategies and procedures necessary to avoid these negative externalities; and to develop a set of good practices and innovative approaches to improve relief and development linkages.

Notes: Begins with an overview and definitions of coping mechanisms, capacity building and dependency and then proceeds to describe the rationale and added value for understanding coping mechanisms and supporting capacity development. Continues to review current UN agency strategies employed for identifying, utilising, and strengthening local capacities, pointing out reasons for which capacity building is not addressed and ways in which UN activity has undermined existing capacities. Concludes with four recommendations for best practice.

The ability to pursue livelihoods and employ coping strategies is inevitably influenced during conflict. The authors outline ways in which the response itself may hinder or help the re-establishment of livelihood pursuit, together with ways in which coping strategies may or may not be well supported by programming during the conflict.

Lautze, S. (1997) *Saving Lives and Livelihoods: The Fundamentals of a Livelihood Strategy*. Medford, Maryland, USA: Feinstein International Famine Center, Tufts University.

Begins with an understanding that complex emergencies are characterised by the deliberate exploitation of civilians. The undermining of self-sufficiency and productivity are intended consequences of war, therefore tools for analysing the trade-offs between immediate survival interventions and fostering self-sufficiency to ensure longer-term survival are needed by the humanitarian relief community. A focus solely on saving lives in the very short term (i.e. immediate relief interventions) is insufficient because 'disaster-affected populations pursue their own strategies to maximise the trade-off between both lives and livelihoods in order to save the most lives over several time periods, not just the present'. The author argues that interventions must be tailored to reflect the decision-making dynamics of disaster-affected groups, and not to assume that their highest priority is meeting the immediate needs of the most vulnerable; otherwise, beneficiaries will convert relief resources to meet their own priorities and this will be an inefficient process at best. The author lays out the major concepts underpinning a livelihoods strategy and outlines specific actions that agencies can take to ensure some of their resources are used to foster longer-term self-sufficiency and productivity among affected communities.

Eight principles are proposed as being fundamental to a livelihood strategy. For each principle, a strategy is put forward in the form of a number of action points for humanitarian relief agencies. Principle one, that complex emergencies require strategic assessment, analysis and interventions, is seen as the most important. The subsequent seven principles are in no particular order and are seen as a toolbox. The strategy proposed to address the first principle is to assess the political, military, social and economic aspects of each crisis in complex emergencies and respond accordingly. The four actions prescribed are: prepare relief workers to think and act strategically; identify how to move beyond the distribution of free relief; formulate country strategies early in the emergency; and improve coordination in the disaster relief community. Principle two is that the key is capacity building, referring to the need to support existing coping mechanisms, rather than automatically setting up parallel structures. Principle three is that markets are necessary to facilitate productivity and self-sufficiency and it is proposed that markets be used to the maximum advantage through the monitoring of markets (sales of relief items can be an indication of a high demand for cash, or a sign the relief item is inappropriate), ensuring that markets are not worsening vulnerability, determining if markets can be strengthened through selective infrastructure support and understanding the local tax base. Principle four is that asset bases are fundamental to livelihoods and the actions proposed are aimed at protecting essential assets. The subsequent principles look at social dynamics influencing the success of relief responses, timing, how stress migration undermines productivity and self-sufficiency and finally that poorly designed relief interventions undermine self-sufficiency and increase vulnerability.

Concludes that productivity and self-sufficiency are important components of any relief organisation's response to complex emergencies and there are times when livelihoods must be saved in order to save lives.

Le Sage, A. and Majid, N. (2002) 'The Livelihoods Gap: Responding to the Economic Dynamics of Vulnerability in Somalia', *Disasters* 26: 10–27.

The authors start by explaining that the political, economic and social systems that sustain lives and livelihoods in Somalia have been disrupted and transformed by more than a decade of conflict, as well as by recurrent drought and flooding. Civil strife and economic stratification have limited the ability of many to cope with further stress or even to meet their basic needs. They note that emergency conditions across Somalia have recently abated significantly due to improved political stability and good rainfall. However, even when positive environmental and security conditions coincide, few Somalis are able to stabilise their household economies, rebuild asset bases and invest in long-term recovery; breadth and sustainability of recovery remains limited by underlying economic factors.

Almost total lack of ownership of productive assets means that the poorest people are not able to take advantage of improved conditions to improve their situations, and that gains by those who are slightly better off are used up by the repayment of debt or by the inevitable recurrence of drought or flood conditions. The authors argue that to prevent poor households' regular return to subsistence income levels, aid agencies and donors need to make better use of the available information on vulnerability and livelihoods in order to re-orientate their interventions. They argue that international aid response in Somalia has not developed the appropriate tools and strategies to address the economic dynamics that perpetuate widespread vulnerability. It is increasingly necessary, even amid chronic political instability and fluctuating environmental conditions, to deliver aid in a manner that supports economic strategies of poor households to stabilise their livelihoods by rebuilding their asset bases. This means abandoning conceptually driven debates about the meaning and links between relief and development, and focusing instead on local realities throughout the country.

The authors suggest that it is necessary to disaggregate the multiple causes of vulnerability that vary over time and space to provide a structural analysis of how groups live. Four basic food economy groupings provide a starting-point to assess the different factors sustaining and undermining people's livelihoods: pastoralists; agro-pastoralists; riverine farmers; urban residents and internally displaced persons. Each of the four groups is then discussed in some detail. A number of social and political entitlements and interactions which structure and sustain livelihoods are listed, which the authors suggest must be understood to know how people live and survive during periods of political stress.

In conclusion the authors argue that unless the reasons for high rates of vulnerability, caused by the long-term socio-economic affects of the war, are addressed, then long-term development efforts will be compromised. They believe that only by accumulating ownership of and access to sufficient assets will the poorest people have an adequate cushion to cope with future stresses.

Leyland, T. (1996) 'The Case for a Community-Based Approach, with Reference to Southern Sudan', *Proceedings of the FAO Technical Consultation on the Global Rinderpest Eradication Programme*. Rome, Italy: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO).

The Pan African Rinderpest Campaign has restricted the rinderpest virus to endemic foci in eastern and sub-Saharan Africa. These foci are all located in remote, marginalised and risk-prone areas, termed 'special action' areas for rinderpest control and eradication. The characteristics of these areas tend to preclude the successful implementation of conventional vaccination projects. It is now realised that community-based approaches that use local participation are more likely to succeed in these areas. Participatory rural appraisal tools are designed to facilitate such an approach.

The UNICEF/Tufts University livestock project working with Operation Lifeline Sudan in southern Sudan has taken a participatory approach to the elimination of rinderpest and the provision of animal health services. This process has been greatly assisted by the development of a thermostable rinderpest vaccine. The author provides a brief description of the project, records some of the successes achieved and highlights the major lessons learned from the process. The author argues that participatory and community-based approaches should be used more widely in special action areas within Africa and globally in order to ensure eradication of the rinderpest virus.

Notes: The underlying argument behind the provision of community based animal health services is that improvement in animal health will lead to improvements in human health and household food security through support of pastoralist livelihoods. While the empirical evidence making this link between animal health and household food security is limited, the literature does support the improvement in animal mortality and morbidity as a result of community-based animal health programmes. By supporting herd health and number, pastoralists have more assets at their disposal together with options with which to pursue their livelihood to meet their livelihood goals.

Lybbert, T., Barrett, C., Desta, S. and Coppock, D. (2001) *Pastoral Risk and Wealth-differentiated Herd Accumulation in Southern Ethiopia*. United States Agency for International Development, Utah State University, International Livestock Research Institute, and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Herd history data collected among Boran pastoralists in southern Ethiopia are used to test several prevailing beliefs about wealth dynamics among migratory livestock producers. Firstly, the conventional wisdom that risk in African pastoral systems is largely covariate is explored. Although

rainfall affects household-level cattle mortality patterns, the covariate component of household wealth risk turns out to be modest. Most mortality risk is attributable to household-specific factors. Secondly, the ‘new range ecology’ literature challenges the long-standing belief that competition for common property grazing lands causes mortality to increase with community-level stocking density. The authors find that a household’s livestock mortality experience is indeed increasing in its own herd size, but it is effectively independent of community-level factors, suggesting overstocking may be less ubiquitous a problem than many believe. Thirdly, the anthropological literature suggests strong social safety nets assist recovery from shocks. There is evidence of social insurance consistent with reciprocity motives, but the insurance is surprisingly modest. Households rely heavily on self-insurance through herd accumulation. Fourthly, the existing literature suggests pastoralists’ marketing of animals is negligible in response to shocks. The data corroborate that claim. Finally, the recent literature on poverty dynamics raises the possibility of multiple dynamic equilibria and associated poverty traps. Clear evidence of non-convex wealth dynamics and wealth-conditional patterns of recovery to shocks suggests that poverty traps exist among the pastoralists of southern Ethiopia.

Maxwell, D. (1999) ‘Programmes in Chronically Vulnerable Areas: Challenges and Lessons Learned’, *Disasters* 23: 373–384.

In the chronically vulnerable areas of eastern Africa a smooth linear transition away from emergency programming towards rehabilitation and long-term development is difficult, if not impossible. This makes uncritical application of the ‘relief-to-development’ continuum to programming unhelpful at best, and perhaps counter-productive. This paper is the result of CARE’s efforts to review its own programmes – and those of some of its sister agencies – in chronically vulnerable areas in the eastern Africa region, to derive important lessons learned and to identify areas where improvements are needed. The author focuses on strategic considerations and decision-making in relation to entry, programme design and strategies for transition and exit.

Notes: Describes the internal processes within CARE to review their programmes in areas characterised by recurrent shocks or emergencies of either man-made or natural origins, as well as conflicts or complex political emergencies. Staff from more than 20 other agencies were also interviewed. The paper summarises the lessons learned and provides more detailed guidelines and principles. The author stresses that ‘programmes in chronically vulnerable areas must retain the capacity to prevent, mitigate and respond to shocks, even while attempting to promote the long-term development of sustainable livelihoods’.

Minear, L. (1995) ‘A Conceptual Framework’. <http://www.hwproject.tufts.edu/publications/abstracts/cf.html> (28 October 2002)

Provides a conceptual framework for a discussion of development within conflict issues, together with the role of major institutional actors. Begins with a review of current international politics which have a bearing on conflict and development. Proceeds to analyse the responsibilities, limitations, impacts and opportunities of three major institutional actors: donor governments; United Nations peace-support operations; and non-governmental organisations. Concludes by identifying the following urgent policy issues: (i) reviewing co-ordination expectations and restraints; (ii) analysing current institutional responsibilities with a view to filling identified gaps; (iii) developing a better fit between external and internal structures and resources; (iv) allocating a more appropriate share of international resources from shorter-term emergency to longer-term development use; (v) clarifying relationships between UN humanitarian and political-military activities; (vi) establishing a more humane international political framework; and (vii) enhancing professionalism and accountability.

Mourey, A. (2000) ‘Reforming Humanitarian Assistance: Two Decades of ICRC Policy’ in *Forum: War, Money and Survival*. Geneva: International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

Describes the evolution in the ICRC’s humanitarian response from saving lives to sustaining livelihoods. Explains how the ICRC’s understanding of the causes of famine has evolved and how this has resulted in the need to understand people’s economic behaviour. The relief operations of the early 1980s prompted the ICRC to conceptualise its assistance according to the health problems that a civilian population was likely to face in a conflict. This approach, known as the Health Pyramid, sets priorities for intervention so as to reduce as quickly and effectively as possible the risks of morbidity and mortality faced by the victims of armed conflict. Access to food and water is given precedence, and health services take second place. The article then goes on to detail the reasons behind the establishment of the ICRC’s Economic Security Unit, which seeks to bring together their nutrition, agronomy and relief activities. The aim of the Unit is to ensure that these three functions work together to ensure that populations affected by war do not lose their economic security.

Reyes, L. (1999) ‘Colombia: The Seeds of Return (Preserving Bio-diversity is a Priority for the Food Security of Displaced Communities)’, *UNESCO Courier* 15–17.

A Swiss organisation has successfully launched biodiversity programmes aimed at helping communities in the war-torn Uraba region of Colombia. The food security programmes, which target Afro-Colombians and Zenu Indians, have helped these displaced groups reclaim lands they were once forced to leave.

Notes: A brief article that examines the impact of preserving biodiversity and re-starting agriculture production for increased food and livelihood security of displaced communities.

Sperl, S. (2001) ‘International Refugee Aid and Social Change in Northern Mali’. <http://www.jha.ac/articles/u022.htm> (26 February 2002)

Presents a case study of the experience of people forcibly displaced as a result of the armed conflict in northern Mali between 1990 and 1995. Many of the refugees involved belonged to a nomadic culture, and, until their exodus, had only sporadic contact with the services aid agencies and modern governmental institutions are able to provide. Presents findings principally based upon interviews conducted in the summer of 1998 with some 200 returnees at selected sites in Timbuktu and Kidal regions of northern Mali. These were originally undertaken for the purpose of evaluating the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) repatriation programme. Concludes with a number of recommendations concerning the design and implementation of refugee and returnee assistance programmes in a developmental context. The author points out some of the possible unintended consequences of intervention format and content. Programmes need to be designed with the understanding of their possible impact on livelihoods

Toole, M. and Waldman, R. (1993) 'Refugees and Displaced Persons: War, Hunger, and Public Health', *Journal of the American Medical Association* 270: 600–606.

Refugees and displaced persons would benefit most from programmes that combine preventative health care measures with the provision of food, shelter, sanitation and drinking water. Refugees are defined by international law as those who flee across international borders. They are also entitled to protection by such international organisations as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Those who are displaced only within their own countries are not legally entitled to such protection and it is often more difficult to aid them. Diarrhoea, measles and other communicable disease spread quickly among refugee and displaced populations and are the leading causes of death in these groups. Malnutrition is also a serious concern. Women and children under the age of five are most seriously affected by disease and malnutrition. These health problems need to be addressed as soon as relief efforts begin.

Notes: Discusses the wide range of public health topics that require attention in complex emergencies, and the implications of each for both refugee and displaced populations. These topics include increased mortality, designation of high-risk groups and rates of communicable disease, malnutrition and injuries. Against this backdrop, the international responses since 1990 are reviewed in terms of both technical and political merit. Epidemiological data reveal the often preventable health problems common to populations in complex emergencies. There are also more and less-vulnerable groups. Relief response should be based on an understanding and analysis of these two pieces of information. The authors advocate stronger reliance on technical specialists in programme design and decision-making, as well as more rigorous monitoring of programmes. More fundamentally, the authors raise the issue of needing to find ways to secure 'access to internally displaced and war-affected civilians in countries where the government either has ceased to function effectively or intentionally obstructs aid efforts'.

Twigg, J. (2002) 'Technology, Post-Disaster Housing Reconstruction and Livelihood Security'. <http://www.livelihoodtechnology.org/home.asp?id=disIntro> (22 May 2002)

Considers safe housing and technology choice in reconstruction programmes in relation to livelihood security. The author suggests that current approaches to 'safe' housing reconstruction usually do little to increase poor people's livelihood resilience, and that the main reasons for this include: (i) a narrowly technical approach to housing; (ii) a perspective based on hazards rather than vulnerability; (iii) the artificial boundaries that aid agencies place between relief and development programming.

Indigenous building technology is particularly valuable in terms of livelihoods because it uses local skills and labour, although these are unlikely to be sustainable. The focus of reconstruction programmes is frequently on the physical structure of houses, rather than housing in terms of social and economic life. The author calls for community participation to allow for the choice of building technologies appropriate to local needs, resources and cultures. A contrast is drawn between the relatively straightforward provision of emergency shelter (tents and plastic sheeting) compared with reconstruction, which is a much longer-term commitment.

Although the focus in this paper is on natural disasters, the conceptual linkage between reconstruction and livelihoods is relevant to complex emergencies, especially where populations are displaced. In these contexts, it is necessary to understand why people are prepared to live in what might be perceived as unsafe conditions, in order to understand the roots of their vulnerability.

UNDP (1999) ‘Global Programme on Sustainable Livelihoods’ (GLO/96/508). http://www.undp.org/sl/Documents/Global_prog/global_programme.htm

Summarises a two-year project due to commence in 1999. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has made the concept of sustainable livelihoods central to its operating mandate and this programme aimed to support UNDP country offices and partners in formulating policies and programmes that contribute to poverty eradication in a sustainable manner. The document is a useful summary of UNDP’s development of the sustainable livelihood approach to date and its plans for further developing its work using this approach.

The various reports and documents produced by UNDP in relation to their sustainable livelihoods approach are listed. UNDP’s use of its sustainable livelihood approach at a country level to date is discussed. The main countries where approach has been used to date are Egypt, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland and Yemen. The document summarises the key lessons learned since 1996 in terms of policy, programming and management issues related to the implementation of the sustainable livelihood approach. It then details the reasons for the proposed Global Programme, which are to consolidate lessons learned to date, to capitalise on new opportunities and document instructive lessons worldwide. The objectives of the Programme are listed. Of most interest is priority area 4: Pilot Testing, whose objective is to adapt the existing sustainable livelihoods methodology to be applicable to post-conflict situations, with a planned output of a sustainable livelihoods development strategy for post-conflict countries. The document concludes with details of how the programme will be implemented and how achievements will be measured.

UNDP (2000) ‘Typologies of Livelihood Strategies’. <http://www.undp.org/helpdesk4/what/sl/sl-where/sl-soc-eco/sl-typology/typol.pdf> (30 October 2002)

The aim of this draft in progress is to draw together the breadth of livelihoods analyses that have been performed to date, and to distil lessons and systems which offer understanding of these livelihood patterns. The end use of the document is to support and inform national policy makers in their decision-making on issues that will impact livelihoods. The livelihood categories include some made in reference to environment (for example forest, arid, and semi-arid livelihoods) as well as more traditional categories that indicate primary means of income (pastoralist, small-holder, non-farm rural livelihoods). There is a short section on conflict and post-conflict livelihood strategies. The author summarises the studies within each category with the location and context of the study, key findings, methodologies, and references to the original document.

Westley, K. and Mikhalev, V. (2002) *The Use of Participatory Methods for Livelihood Assessment in Situations of Political Instability: A Case Study from Kosovo*, Working Paper 190. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Reviews the methodology used for a qualitative poverty assessment of Kosovo carried out in July 2000 then draws lessons learned. The purpose of the assessment is summarised along with a description of the group that commissioned the work. An overview of the process used to develop the methodology includes discussion of the use of the livelihoods framework to assess vulnerability in a situation of chronic conflict and political instability in relation to other poverty and humanitarian assistance frameworks. The specific methodology used, including training, implementation and analysis of findings is briefly reviewed. The use of participatory methods in a conflict situation is discussed and alternative methods described. The challenges of linking

community findings with macro-economic and political trends are highlighted. The question of whether or not the selected approach was the most appropriate concludes the section on methodology.

A selection of key findings and policy recommendations make up the fourth section of the paper, followed by a fifth section on lessons learned. In a final section, the authors comment upon the extent to which operating agencies in Kosovo built upon the findings in their strategies and practices, and on the impact of the process and training on the Kosovar development practitioners who carried out the field work and contributed to the analysis.

Wilson, K. (1992) ‘Enhancing Refugees Own Food Acquisition Strategies’, *Journal of Refugee Studies* 5: 226–246.

Examines how the welfare of refugees could be improved by assistance policies that enhance refugees’ own livelihood strategies. Food aid is analysed as part of a wider range of economic resources that refugees use to meet their needs. The author proposes removing the constraints on refugee access to resources and markets and the numerous restrictions on their activities. The distribution of cash or of a package based on economic value could be more efficient in terms of logistics, and could provide refugees not only with much greater value but also with the flexibility to use aid to meet whatever specific needs they identify. Constraints on cash distribution need to be addressed, and in some situations it may not be an appropriate method of assistance. These constraints are discussed, and experience with cash distribution in famines in Africa is reported. The author concludes that the time has come for carefully monitored experimentation with such new approaches.

Young, H., Jaspars, S., Brown, R., Frieze, J. and Khogali, H. (2001) *Food Security Assessments in Emergencies: A Livelihoods Approach*, Humanitarian Practice Network Paper 36. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Describes the theory and practice of Oxfam–GB’s livelihoods approach to assessing food security in emergencies. A livelihoods approach simply means emergency programming aimed at supporting livelihoods, as well as saving lives. In terms of food-security assessments, a livelihoods approach involves assessing the longer-term risks to livelihoods, together with short-term nutritional or life-threatening risks.

The first part of this paper describes the key concepts that make up food-security theory, and relates them to a livelihoods approach. These elements are availability and access to food (entitlement theory) and the severity of food insecurity in relation to meeting food needs, vulnerability, risk and coping strategies.

The second part of the paper describes how Oxfam assesses food security. The purpose of a food-security assessment is to determine the need, if any, for a food-security intervention. The type of intervention is influenced by the severity of food insecurity. This may be determined from two perspectives: firstly, by assessing whether people are able to meet their immediate food needs (the risks to lives); and secondly, the vulnerability and risks faced by different livelihood groups and their coping strategies (the risks to livelihoods). On this basis, appropriate interventions are identified, ranging from free food assistance to a wide array of livelihood-support initiatives, such as cash-for-work and de-stocking.

The third part of the paper uses case studies to illustrate how Oxfam has applied its livelihoods approach in practice, and how that approach has been adapted depending on the types of livelihood in question, and the nature of the external shock. These case-studies comprise an emergency assessment of the impact of cyclone and floods in Orissa, India, in 1999; a monitoring visit for Oxfam's response to drought in Wajir, Kenya, in 2000; and a review of Oxfam's programme for conflict-displaced people in Uraba, Colombia, in 1999.

The paper ends by highlighting the key challenges posed by a livelihoods approach to assessing food security in emergencies. These challenges include deciding on the right quantities of food aid, and choosing which categories of people to target; how to combine food and non-food interventions effectively, and when to shift from a food to a non-food approach; and issues to do with neutrality and impartiality, particularly, but not exclusively, in complex political emergencies.

Cross references

- Part 5: Date-Bah, E. (2001) *Crises and Decent Work: A Collection of Essays*, InFocus Programme on Crisis Response and Reconstruction Recovery and Reconstruction Department, International Labour Office.
- Part 3: Ellis, S. and Barakat, S. (1996) 'From Relief to Development: The Long-term Effects of Temporary Accommodation of Refugees and Displaced Persons in the Republic of Croatia', *Disasters* 20: 111–124.
- Part 1: Hoon, P., Singh, N. and Wanmali, S. (1997) 'Sustainable Livelihoods: Concepts, Principles and Approaches to Indicator Development'. <http://www.undp.org/sl/Documents/documents.htm> (30 October 2002)
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- Part 5: Martin, M. (2001) 'The Impact of Community Animal Health Services on Farmers in Low-Income Countries: A Literature Review'. <http://www.vetaid.org/publications/impactasses/Copy%20of%20IERMreport%20ours.pdf>
- Part 2: Messer, E., Cohen, M. and D'Costa, J. (1998) *Food from Peace: Breaking the Links Between Conflict and Hunger*, Food, Agriculture and the Environment Discussion Paper 24. Washington DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.
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- Part 3: Muggah, H. (2000) 'Conflict-induced Displacement and Involuntary Resettlement in Colombia: Putting Cernea's IRLR Model to the Test', *Disasters* 24: 198–216.
- Part 2: Posen, B. (1996) 'Military Responses to Refugee Disasters', *International Security* 21: 72–111.
- Part 4: Toole, M. and Waldman, R. (1993) 'Refugees and Displaced Persons: War, Hunger, and Public Health', *Journal of the American Medical Association* 270: 600–606.

- Part 2: Turshen, M. and Twagiramariya, C. (1998) *What Women do in Wartime – Gender and Conflict in Africa*. London: Zed Books.
- Part 1: Turton, C. (2001) 'Livelihoods Monitoring and Evaluation: Improving the Impacts and Relevance of Development Interventions' (first draft). <http://www.livelihoods.org/post/Docs/tur-ME01.rtf> (30 April 2002)
- Part 4: UNDP (1999) 'Global Programme on Sustainable Livelihoods'. http://www.undp.org/sl/Documents/Global_prog/global_programme.htm
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- Part 2: Young, H., Aklilu, Y., Were, G., Catley, A., Leyland, T., Borrel, A., Roberts, A. R., Webb, P., Holland, D., Johnecheck, W. and Jacobsen, K. (2002) *Nutrition and Livelihoods in Situations of Conflict and other Crises*. Medford, Massachusetts, USA: Feinstein International Famine Center, Tufts University.

5 Programme Interventions to Protect and Support Livelihoods in Times of Conflict

Aklilu, Y. and Wekese, M. (2001) *Livestock and Livelihoods in Emergencies: Lessons Learned from the 1999–2000 Emergency Response in the Pastoral Sector in Kenya*, Working Paper 3. Medford, Massachusetts, USA: Feinstein International Famine Center.

Aims to document and share the experiences and lessons learned from drought-related, livestock-based interventions carried out during the 1999–2001 drought in Kenya, in order to contribute to improved knowledge and decision-making on drought-related emergency interventions. Documentation and dissemination of lessons learned, especially in relation to food security and drought management, will contribute to the institutional memory of the entire relief and development community. This will also promote drought-related, livestock-based activities with a view to raising and securing future funding for such activities more easily. The exercise establishes a portfolio of experience to aid in planning and implementing similar or related interventions in future.

The document focuses on livestock sector interventions in the arid and semi-arid districts of Kenya. The first part provides background information and an introduction to the response activities implemented during the 1999–2002 droughts; it also underscores the importance of the livestock sector to the Kenyan economy and lays out an argument for the prioritisation of the livestock and pastoralist sectors in terms of both development and relief interventions. The second part provides the main findings from the assessment of the livestock-related drought response interventions with specific case studies, and discusses the socio-economic impacts of the interventions and the lessons learned. It concludes with recommendations/ suggestions for the future.

Amare, Y. (2000) ‘Livelihood Strategies and Food Security Policy in Ethiopia’, *Proceedings of Food Security and Sustainable Livelihoods in Ethiopia: Symposium of the Forum for Social Studies*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 10–11 March 2000. Ethiopia: Forum for Social Studies.

Attempts to take a closer look at the livelihood strategies of peasant households maintaining subsistence agriculture in what may be called the food-deficient regions of Ethiopia. Livelihood strategies are strategies that peasants undertake to maintain the viability and food security of their households in a sustainable fashion. Such strategies may be agricultural, economic, social, or consumption oriented. A major assumption behind this paper is that proper consideration of peasant livelihood strategies is important in order to design interventions that have the greatest impact on food security.

The author gives substantial attention to the considerations and patterns of decision-making that are part of peasants’ livelihood strategies in such diverse spheres of the household economy as cropping patterns, grain and livestock transactions, non-agricultural income earning, involvement in agricultural wage labour, social support and management of expenditures and food consumption, as well as the mechanisms that peasants utilise to cope with adversity. These consist of the intensification and extension of the livelihood strategies that they implement in normal times. Such a holistic treatment of peasant livelihood strategies reveals a number of important factors that should be considered: the multitude of factors that inform and condition their implementation such

as diversification, risk-aversion, resources and input availability, prices and the desire to maintain self-sufficiency and access to the market, preserve assets, and maximise alternative sources of income; the opportunities and constraints that confront their diverse strategies; the close integration of agricultural and livestock production, agricultural and non-agricultural activities and income, and production and consumption; the considerable and interacting impact of seasonality and differences in access to resources and productivity between households on their vulnerability to risk together with the effectiveness of their livelihood strategies. Policy interventions that give due consideration to, and build on, such dimensions of livelihood strategies in a comprehensive fashion are necessary if they are to enhance household livelihood security in a sustainable and effective fashion.

Barrett, C., Holden, S. and Clay, D. (2001) *Can Food-for-Work Programmes Reduce Vulnerability?* World Institute for Development Economics Research Project, United Nations University.

Explores the conditions under which food-for-work can be used as a short-term safety net and similarly the conditions under which it can be used as an effective longer-term recovery and development intervention. Of primary importance is the need to differentiate between the short-term or long-term purpose of the project, particularly since food-for-work interventions are usually most effective as short-term insurance mechanisms. Regardless of the temporal aim of the intervention, the targeting and timing of the food-for-work projects are the most important determinants of whether a project actually helps those most in need. The authors explore issues around targeting and timing in some detail, suggesting factors that are essential for effective food-for-work programmes.

Barrett, C. and Clay, D. (2002) *How Accurate is Food-for-work Self-targeting in the Presence of Imperfect Factor Markets? Evidence from Ethiopia.* Ithaca, New York, USA: Cornell University.

Effective targeting of transfers is a key issue in public policy to combat poverty. Much faith is presently placed in such self-targeting mechanisms as public employment schemes supported by food-for-work (FFW) transfers. Where targeting errors have been observed, these are usually attributed to the mismanagement of key operational details, such as the project's wage rate. Using a unique data set from rural Ethiopia, the authors demonstrate that targeting errors may also have structural causes in some low-income countries. They hypothesise that imperfect factor markets generate a predictable dispersion across households in reservation wage rates the breaks down the unconditionally positive relation between income and shadow wages on which the theory of self-targeting public employment programmes rest. Results confirm that the inaccuracy of FFW targeting stems from the fact that, in rural Ethiopia, higher-income households are endowed with more labour per unit of land or animal. Due to poor factor markets in land and livestock these labour-abundant households have lower marginal labour productivity on farm, thereby depressing the reservation wage rates they find acceptable for FFW participation.

Notes: This article can help give insight into FFW intervention programmes trying to support livelihoods. Although it is written from a 'development' perspective, many of the issues it discusses, such as imperfect factor markets, will apply also to relief intervention FFW programmes.

Bezuneh, M. and Deaton, B. (1997) ‘Food Aid Impacts on Safety Nets – Theory and Evidence – A Conceptual Perspective on Safety Nets’, *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 79: 672–677.

The role of food aid as a safety net has many potential uses. During times of emergency, food aid can be used as a means to provide an immediate safety net for those experiencing transitional need. Food aid, however, is often overlooked as a means to help develop longer-term safety-net objectives. The potential investment and savings effect created by food aid can play an important role in the ability of households to attain productive assets for the future. During times of structural adjustment, food-aid support, particularly in food-for-work projects, allows the poor to gain skills, education, and organisational capacity. These households would otherwise be spending all of their productive time finding food. Food aid also has benefits for nutritional needs. This article explores these issues using empirical evidence from a food aid programme in Baringo District in Kenya.

Date-Bah, E. (2001) *Crises and Decent Work: A Collection of Essays*, InFocus Programme on Crisis Response and Reconstruction. Geneva: Recovery and Reconstruction Department, International Labour Office (ILO).

Concerned with one aspect of livelihoods – employment – this volume brings together a sample of technical papers that deal mainly with conflict and post-conflict contexts, but also cover natural disasters and other crises. Chapter one looks at employment in relation to post-crisis recovery. Access to decent work – defined as ‘work that meets people’s basic aspirations, not only for income, but for security for themselves and their families, without discrimination or harassment and providing equal treatment for women and men’, is identified as a critical facet for achieving long-lasting peace. However, high levels of unemployment characterise conflict and post-conflict contexts as armed conflict erodes productive assets and work places. This chapter considers how employment promotion can aid the recovery of conflict-affected communities. Subsequent chapters look at ideas on a framework for economic recovery following conflict, the role of ‘decent work’ to a culture of peace, gender issues in post-conflict reconstruction, and the ILO’s role in the demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration of ex-combatants.

The penultimate chapter describes the ILO’s international focus programme (InFocus) on crisis response and reconstruction. InFocus’s objectives are to build ILO’s crisis preparedness by developing a framework and capacity to respond, to promote socio-economic reintegration and poverty alleviation of crisis-affected groups through employment promotion and other programmes, to increase awareness at all levels of the importance of addressing employment, social inequalities and other socio-economic concerns of crisis situations and to build the capacity of ILO constituents. The strategy and means of action for achieving the stated objectives are detailed.

Martin, M. (2001) ‘The Impact of Community Animal Health Services on Farmers in Low-Income Countries: A Literature Review’. <http://www.vetaid.org/publications/impactasses/Copy%20of%20IERMreport%20ours.pdf>

Community animal health services have been promoted in many of the low-income countries over the last 20 years. The purpose of this review was to bring together available data on the impact of community animal health services. Only 30 of 300 documents found met the quality selection criteria and were included in the review. Even among these, the quality of the design of these 30 studies was variable and the conclusions drawn by the author did not always relate to the evidence in the reports. Project success was often drawn from evaluating the ‘implementation indicators

rather than on impact indicators (e.g. livelihood indicators)'. However, all of the studies showed that community animal health projects have positive benefits on poor farmers and have especially high economic benefits. Many of the documents reviewed refer to projects in areas that were considered to be complex emergencies, including southern Sudan, Burundi, Somalia, and Afghanistan and thus the findings are relevant to livelihoods in conflict situations.

The author recommends that impact assessments should include implementation and livestock indicators, as well as a livestock survey and economic appraisal. They should always include a control village or a pre-post study so that impact on people's livelihoods can be attributed to the community health project and not to other factors.

Montani, A. and Majid, N. (2002) *Conducive Conditions: Livelihood Interventions in Southern Somalia*, Working Paper 193. London: Overseas Development Institute.

This Working Paper considers interventions by two organisations, in light of the working paper theme of linking livelihood approaches with recent work in the area of political economy. Save the Children–UK (SC–UK) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) work in southern Somalia and aim to support livelihoods within a situation of chronic conflict and political instability.

This paper describes the context in which the two organisations work in terms of the livelihood systems within southern Somalia, political economy themes as they relate to southern Somalia and programming possibilities in the area. The authors critically review two livelihood support programmes as case studies. These case studies aim to draw out the ways in which and to what extent the programmes of SC–UK and ICRC support livelihoods. How, and to what extent, the analysis of the political economy informs decision making by the two organisations is also explored.

The review of SC–UK's work in Belet Weyn highlights the ways in which the Agricultural Support Project aims to push staff development and community participation to the forefront of programming decisions in an effort to move from 'free' seed and tools distributions to a sustainable agricultural project. The review of the ICRC Community Intervention Project (CIP) emphasises the challenges inherent in the change of programming that the CIP presents to ICRC. These challenges include the targeting of beneficiaries and facilities, the use of cash in the context of political instability, and the influence of leadership structures and conflict dynamics.

The concluding section draws out the differences and commonalities in the approaches of the two organisations. Evidence from both case studies highlights the important role of contextual preconditions in terms both of the changing nature of the working environment in southern Somalia and the characteristics of particular organisations. The use of political economy information can be most clearly associated in the case studies with decision-making on the logistics of programme implementation, and is embedded in day-to-day action rather than in reference to a clearly defined model.

Finally, information about the strengths and weaknesses highlighted in the case studies is used to indicate the 'conducive conditions' required for livelihoods programming in situations of chronic conflict and political instability..

Nagarajan, G. (1999) *Developing Financial Institutions in Conflict Affected Countries: Emerging Issues, First Lessons Learned and Challenges Ahead*, Geneva: International Labour Organization.

What is the key constraint faced by micro and small enterprises (MSEs) in countries emerging from armed conflict? Focusing primarily on four conflict-affected countries: Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique and Uganda, the author states that creating sustainable microfinance institutions that deliver microfinance at affordable and convenient conditions helps MSEs to fulfil their potential. Lack of sustainable access to microfinance is a key constraint faced by MSEs in countries emerging from armed conflict.

Provides an overview of the specific constraints for microfinance in countries emerging from armed conflict, and argues that conflict affects the financial sector severely at the macro (disturbance of macroeconomic and financial stability), meso (destruction of financial institutions) and micro level (demonetisations and related phenomena as well as disruption of social bonds and relationships based on trust). The author presents the experience so far, identifies emerging issues, elaborates the first lessons learned on developing sustainable financial institutions and puts forwards recommendations for policy makers, financial institutions and donors. Also projects the challenges ahead, and future directions for research.

Peppiatt, D., Mitchell, J. and Holzman, P. (2001) *Cash Transfers in Emergencies: Evaluating Benefits and Assessing Risks*, Humanitarian Practice Network Paper 35. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Concentrates primarily on the use of straight cash transfers in natural disasters and situations of relative peace, rather than focusing on the transfer of cash through cash-for-work programmes or the context of complex emergencies. It is, however, a foundation piece as it summarises some of the inherent issues and dynamics that arise in the use of cash in an emergency setting. There has been reluctance on the part of the donor community to use this method of intervention, in part stemming from a client/recipient relationship that questions the ability of relief recipients to use resources wisely in the short term. At the same time there appears to be a trend in terms of declining amounts of donor food material whose shortfall is counterbalanced by increasing cash donations from donor countries, as well as increasing recognition of the importance of cash in economies of all scales of development, including rural economies. The distribution of cash, however, does present an intervention methodology with the potential to avert human suffering.

Each of the case studies presented includes a description of the emergency, the targeting method and scope of the project, problems encountered in implementation of the programme as well as an evaluation of the positive and negative effects of the cash transfer. The authors highlight areas of information that are not as widely understood, such as impacts on market inflation, the level of purchasing power that must be achieved in order to encourage market flows, the decision-making priorities and patterns for use of the transfers, among other issues.

Unruh, J. (1993) 'Restocking Refugee Pastoralists in the Horn of Africa', *Disasters* 17: 305–320.

Gives an example of how two types of interventions – farming and restocking – can interact in order to support the primary livelihood of pastoralists and attempt to avoid the negative aspects usually incurred with permanent settlement programmes. Settling pastoralists as a form of relief is

problematic for several reasons. Beyond having a generally reduced capacity for recovery that may lower the efficacy of uptake of a settlement programme, it has been observed that pastoralists will continue to accumulate stock that may lead to localised negative environmental impact. The author argues however that farming as a livelihood can be designed to accommodate livestock restocking.

In order to support this assertion, a study carried out in southern Somalia involving three formal surveys applied to 114 randomly selected small-scale/subsistence level farmers, 30 non-randomly selected participants, and 123 non-randomly selected agro-pastoralists. Refugees themselves were not included, as they were not directly engaged in production. The primary focus of the survey was to elucidate land use practices, utilisation patterns, and patterns of decision-making. These self-reported measures were complemented by an estimation of carrying capacity for each survey participant based in part on land holdings, as well as the conversion of livestock into standard stock units. This measure of carrying capacity is complicated by the fact that agriculture can produce different levels of residues that serve as fodder for the livestock, dependent on crop type. From this example, it is clear that appropriate responses for pastoralists and agro-pastoralists have a wide range of categories that need to be considered before advocating a specific response.

Whiteside, M. (1996) ‘Realistic Rehabilitation: Linking Relief and Development in Mozambique’, *Development in Practice* 6: 121–128.

Rehabilitation involves re-establishing livelihood security among the poorest households in order to reduce vulnerability to future disasters, re-start the local economy in a sustainable fashion, and avoid dependency. The author discusses experiences of post-war rehabilitation in Mozambique and suggests that, although many households rapidly re-started crop production, they remain vulnerable because they have not been able to rebuild reserves. The author cautions against over-rapid withdrawal from relief programmes, and suggests that distributing cash and allowing households to buy what they need most is sometimes more appropriate than distributing food, seeds, tools, and selected household goods.

Notes: Argues that the re-establishment of livelihoods is required during the rehabilitation phase, and suggests that in this case the appropriate methodology is cash-based transfers.

Wilson, T. (2002) *Microfinance During and After Armed Conflict: Lessons from Angola, Cambodia, Mozambique and Rwanda*. Durham, UK: Mountjoy Research Centre. www.postconflictmicrofinance.org/PCM%20Synthesis%20Report.pdf

Microfinance has been viewed as an intervention that through its very structure obviates dependency on relief, fosters self-sufficiency, and supports market recovery, in addition to other positive outcomes. Microfinance, managed in a business-like manner as a minimalist service has been seen to achieve broad outreach. This view may not, however, reflect the optimal way in which to implement microfinance in conflict and post conflict situations.

The author synthesises research carried out in Angola, Cambodia, Mozambique and Rwanda in 2001 during the first year of a three-year project. The goal of the research was to describe the environmental conditions that impact on microfinance, coping mechanisms of the poor for managing household finance, as well as the characteristics of microfinance products in demand in order to better inform practitioners and policy makers on the format and manner in which microfinance can be seen to operate optimally in conflict and post-conflict situations. Formal, semi-formal, and informal microfinance are described and considered in the study. Primary data were collected through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion with a wide range of

individuals as well as interviews with non-governmental organisation staff, governments and donors. Secondary data from organisation publications were also incorporated. The history of the conflicts and copies of the research tools are available in the appendices.

WFP (2001) *The Implications of a Sustainable Livelihoods Approach: Country Study on Ethiopia*. Rome: World Food Programme.

The result of one of three country studies (Ethiopia, Bangladesh, and Nepal) carried out by the World Food Programme (WFP) and the Department for International Development (DFID) to gain a better understanding of WFP's experiences with, and the opportunities and limits to, operationalising livelihood approaches. This country study is a review of the extent to which livelihood approaches could assist WFP to better achieve its food security related objectives, and how WFP experience could inform the further development of livelihoods approaches.

Includes an overview of current thinking about the sustainable livelihoods approach, a review of current key WFP policies on the provision of food assistance, including the extent to which they already incorporate a livelihoods approach. It provides a review of key WFP procedures for the provision of food assistance, with emphasis on the implications of introducing or strengthening livelihood approaches, and the bureaucratic, organisational or administrative constraints to increasing WFP's use of a livelihood approach.

The review of key procedures looks at the implications for WFP of implementing a livelihoods approach for emergency assistance, both sudden onset and slow onset. It also looks at the implications for providing assistance classified as Protracted Relief and Recovery (PRRO) that primarily aims to assist people regain assets. It concludes that a livelihoods approach would have significant implications for the ways in which the recovery activities of PRRO's are designed and implemented in countries and that a livelihoods approach could also help set an appropriate exit point for donors.

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