Livelihoods interventions

PART 2: TECHNICAL NOTES

The technical notes are the second of four parts contained in this module. They provide an overview of food and income security measures as an essential component of people's livelihoods. Food and income security are critical to nutrition. Other types of intervention such as health, education and water, which also directly impact on nutrition and directly relate to livelihood support in crises, are not covered in this module. Health interventions, including water and sanitation, are covered in Module 15. The technical notes are intended for people involved in nutrition programme planning and implementation. They provide technical details, highlight challenging areas and provide clear guidance on accepted current practices. Words in italics are defined in the glossary.

Summary

This module deals with livelihoods programming in emergencies. The ability of households to engage in successful livelihoods determines their food and income security that in turn determines their nutritional well-being. In addition nutritional well-being is essential for successful livelihoods. The module begins with an overview of underlying threats to livelihoods and a description of the livelihoods framework. This is followed by a section on livelihoods analysis and criteria for identifying appropriate responses. The main types of livelihoods intervention are then outlined. Key issues and challenges for livelihoods support programming in emergencies are discussed.

Introduction

i. Livelihoods and vulnerability context

Livelihoods refers to people, their capabilities, their assets, their income and the activities needed to sustain a means of living, including ways of obtaining food. Therefore, understanding livelihoods is critical to understanding nutrition in emergencies. It is through livelihoods that people obtain food and income security. Food and income security ensure that nutritional needs can be met. While nutritional status is a key outcome of how we analyse and respond to support livelihoods, adequate nutritional status is a key contributor to successful livelihoods.

A number of phenomena including, globalisation, climate change, urbanization and conflict, can impact on the success or failure of livelihood strategies. These phenomena have the potential to weaken livelihoods making households more vulnerable to food and income insecurity.

- **Globalisation:** the world's interconnectedness and interdependence is increasing. The potential negative impact of globalisation is beginning to emerge with the recent food and fuel price crisis as well as the financial crisis. These events negatively affected vulnerable populations across the world by reducing access to food and income earning opportunities.
- Climate Change: is predicted and in some cases is already assumed to be a causal factor in increased flooding events, and increased severity of extreme weather events such as hurricanes, cyclones and droughts. These events invariably result in widespread damage to agriculture and livelihoods such that, even households who could in an average year maintain their food security will experience periods where they cannot produce or purchase the food they need. In other words disasters will affect not just the chronically food insecure but those that are normally food secure. Strategies to reduce or manage the risk of disasters are therefore increasingly relevant to ensure food and income security of the most vulnerable households.

Key messages

- 1. Understanding livelihoods is critical to understanding how an emergency will affect nutrition. Nutritional status is both an outcome of the success or failure of livelihoods and a key contributor to successful livelihoods.
- 2. Organisations are increasingly programming to support livelihoods during emergencies. Standards have been developed. The Sphere handbook contains these standards and guidance on livelihoods programming.
- 3. The sustainable livelihoods framework forms the basis of all livelihoods programming. The main elements are:
 - Vulnerability context (causes of peopleûs vulnerability)
 - Policies, institutions and processes (governance environment)
 - Livelihoods assets (what people have)
 - Livelihoods strategies (what people do)
 - Livelihoods outcomes (goals that people pursue)
- 4. A wide variety of interventions can be implemented in support of livelihoods during emergencies including:
 - Food aid (general food distribution, food for work)
 - Income and employment (cash distribution, cash for work, micro-finance)
 - Market support (vouchers, monetization and destocking)
 - Production support (agricultural, livestock and fishing)
- 5. Outstanding challenges in the area of livelihoods programming include:
 - Difficulty of linking livelihoods relief interventions with longer term Livelihood interventions, particularly where livelihoods are chronically in crises
 - The challenge of supporting livelihoods appropriately in conflict
 - Livelihood programming in the context of HIV and AIDS
- **Urbanization:** has increased rapidly in the last two decades with the majority of the world's largest cities in the South. Migration from rural to urban settings has resulted in the proliferation of unplanned slum communities. These communities often have poor access to services such as health care, education, water and transport. The growth in urbanization changes patterns of access to food and dietary habits. Increased rural to urban migration can mean that households lack the skills or means to make a living in an urban setting, rendering them vulnerable.
- Conflict: there are three likely global determinants of conflict in the future. These are post Cold War weapons proliferation; increasingly bitter socio-economic divisions; and global environmental constraints. Conflict affects all aspects of livelihoods. War strategies often deliberately undermine livelihoods and war economies may develop, where a powerful elite benefits from war by using violent or exploitative practices. War directly impacts on livelihoods through the destruction, looting and theft of key assets, and indirectly through the loss of
- basic services and access to employment, markets, farms or pastures. As a result, most people's livelihood strategies become extremely restricted and may involve considerable risks to personal safety. Contemporary conflict is frequently protracted, and risks to livelihoods thus persist for long periods of time. Protracted conflict is frequently punctuated by periods of acute food insecurity and displacement.
- Pandemics: The impact of HIV and AIDS on food security and livelihoods has been dramatic in sub-Saharan Africa. However the emergence of new pandemic threats such as that posed by H1N1 virus (more commonly known as swine flu) and the possible resulting pandemic human influenza is also of great concern. The impact on livelihoods, prior to human outbreaks of influenza (e.g the culling of animals) is already evident, however with the onset of a human pandemic outbreak restrictions on movement and work are likely to lead to severe loss of food and income security at a global scale.

ii. The livelihoods framework and principles

A livelihoods framework can be used to analyse situations where some form of intervention may be necessary. The approach considers where people are, what they have, and their needs and interests. A common livelihoods framework that is used to determine whether and what type of livelihoods programming is appropriate is the 'sustainable livelihoods framework'. This framework captures the main elements of what comprises and influences people's livelihoods. The term 'sustainable' is used as it is understood that if a livelihood can only support a person or community for a short period of time, e.g., if it uses finite resources, places people at substantial risk, or cannot cope with occasional shock, then it is not really a viable livelihood. In the acute phase of an emergency it is normal for humanitarian agencies to prioritize saving lives over saving livelihoods. However, if livelihoods are not saved and preserved then there is a real risk that lives will again be put at risk in the near future.

The main elements of a sustainable livelihoods framework are:

- Vulnera bility context: the structural and underlying causes of people's vulnerability to food and livelihood insecurity, which can include poverty, chronic food insecurity, a high prevalence of HIV and AIDS and a lack of basic services
- Policies, institutions and processes: constitutes the governance environment, including government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the private sector, as well as processes such as laws, policies, culture or customary practices, markets and institutions.

- **Livelihoods assets:** what people have, including social (status in society, extended family) and human (labour) assets, as well as financial (cash, credit, savings, investments) and physical assets (livestock, houses)
- Livelihoods strategies: what people do (agriculture, wage labour) and the practical means or activities through which people access food and income
- **Livelihoods outcomes:** the goals that people are pursuing, the 'living' that results from their activities

As can be seen from **Figure 1**, food and income security are two of the principal outcomes of a sustainable livelihood. Both directly influence nutrition. At the same time income is essential for gaining access to health services and drugs with health outcomes also being a key determinant of nutrition. See Module 5 for more details on the conceptual framework on causes of undernutrition.

The resilience of people's livelihoods (whether livelihoods can survive), and their vulnerability to hazards and conflict, is largely determined by their resources, and how they have adapted to the situation. It is often the vulnerability context which determines whether a population suffers a humanitarian crisis or not. For example, HIV and AIDS are having a devastating effect on food security and health in poor countries – especially in Africa. The ability to cope with external shocks, such as drought, is therefore reduced due to labour shortage, high dependency ratios (having large numbers of people in a household dependent on a few that provide food and income), knowledge loss and loss of formal and informal institutional capacity (staff in key organizations become ill or die).

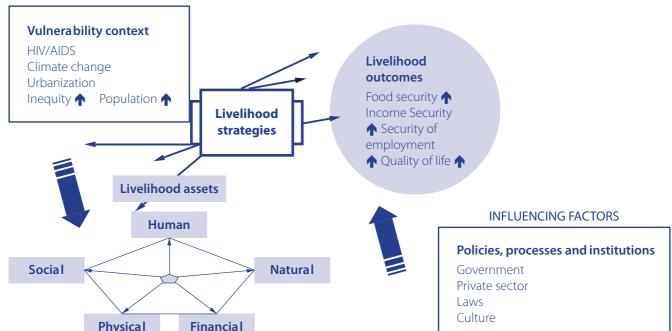


Figure 1: Sustainable livelihoods framework

Source: Oxfam Sustainable Livelihoods Team, Sustainable livelihoods framework, Policy Department, Oxfam, Oxford, 2003

iii. Livelihoods and emergency programming

Interventions to support livelihoods are increasingly common in emergencies. An increasing number of agencies recognize that while certain interventions, such as treatment of severe undernutrition in community-managed programmes, may be necessary to address undernutrition in emergencies, these interventions alone will do little to prevent further undernutrition without interventions that support livelihoods.

In emergencies, livelihood support programmes include any intervention that protects people's capabilities and assets, and supports livelihood activities. These programmes can be undertaken to prevent or mitigate the impact of a crisis or in response to a crisis. In addition livelihood support programmes are a key component to support recovery from disasters.

Programme interventions can cover a wide range of activities including:

- General food distribution (which can save lives as well as prevent people selling off assets to obtain food),
- Livestock and agricultural programming, to prevent the loss of key productive assets as well as to re-establish key livelihood strategies and
- Cash-based¹ programmes that support diverse productive livelihood strategies and market access recovery.

However, food-aid-based programmes, such as general ration distribution, *selective feeding* and *food-for-work*, continue to dominate emergency responses², and there is still much to learn about when, where and how to implement non-food aid livelihood support programmes in emergencies and their cost-effectiveness.

"The existence of chronic livelihoods crises in many parts of the world is another challenge. Large numbers of people are living in circumstances which are normally associated with humanitarian crises, but for extended periods of time. This raises issues around the nature and duration of humanitarian programmes (and therefore funding cycles), social safety nets, and linking relief and development programming. The question is how can people be supported to simultaneously have their basic needs met and their livelihoods supported or rebuilt. In protracted emergencies, this raises technical, institutional and ideological issues."

In addition "the causes of livelihood insecurity are often related to policies, institutions and process at national and international level. People whose livelihoods are most vulnerable are often those who have consistently been excluded or marginalised in national development policies, i.e. who receive less public services and government investment, or population groups who are excluded from political systems and lack political rights." 3

Livelihoods analysis and assessment

The livelihoods framework provides a tool for analysing people's livelihoods and the impact of specific shocks or vulnerabilities on livelihoods. Livelihoods assessment and analysis is covered in Module 9 where different types of food security assessment are discussed. Many food security assessment approaches incorporate some form of livelihoods analysis. For example, assessments are conducted in livelihood zones (where one type of livelihood pattern predominates) so that findings can be applied to specific livelihood groups.

A distinctive feature of livelihoods assessments is that it uses participatory approaches to find out about people's problems and priorities. Emergency assessment methods which take a livelihoods approach generally have a focus on food and income security as an outcome of sustainable livelihoods, or as a threat to livelihoods, as well as an underlying cause of undernutrition.

In the past, food security assessment methods have tended to be biased towards food aid as a response to food crisis although this is changing. The example below demonstrates how different assessments were used to develop a multifaceted programme. This case example is expanded on in the Monitoring and Evaluation section in order to describe the impact of the interventions.

Emergency food security assessment methods also generally focus on food security at the micro or household level, however there is increasing interest in markets as key determinants of livelihoods. There are few examples of assessments, which include an assessment of the macro-environment, e.g., vulnerability context and government policies that are essential determinants of people's livelihood security.

¹ Note that cash based response can be used to achieve a diverse range of outcomes in emergencies, e.g. cash transfers can be used in shelter programming.

 $^{^{2}}$ Harvey et al. Food aid and food assistance in emergency and transitional contexts: A review of current thinking, ODI 2010

³ Jaspars, S., 'From food crisis to fair trade: Livelihoods analysis, protection and support in emergencies', Emergency Nutrition Network Special Supplement Series No. 3, FNN. 2006

Case example 1: Oxfam Assessment in Haiti Earthquake 2010

On 12 January 2010 an earthquake measuring 7.0 on the Richter scale struck Haiti. Approximately 3.5 million people resided in areas directly affected by the earthquake. Approximately 220,000 people died during and immediately following the earthquake. Also as a consequence, 1.5 million persons were displaced internally in the metropolitan area and in the rural areas. The figures have recently decreased to around 1 million. The earthquake resulted in food insecurity and loss of livelihoods.

Different assessments were used to design the programme, these included a Rapid Oxfam EFSL assessment, an interagency Emergency Market Mapping and Analysis as well as an Emergency Food Security Assessment coordinated by the CNSA (Coordination Nationale de la Sécurité Alimentaire). These assessments helped determine the profiles of the different wealth groups as well as the needs of those affected by the earthquake. The assessments determined that very poor have no productive assets, whereas the poor typically have a bicycle or wheelbarrow, and the middle have a bicycle or motorcycle.

There are six basic income sources for the most of the households in the bidonvilles of PaP. These are:

- Street hawking: Very poor and poor groups
- Casual labour: Very poor, poor and middle groups
- Salaried employment: Middle and better off groups
- Petty trade / small business: Very poor, poor and middle groups
- Larger businesses: Better off
- Remittances: All groups

Whilst the very poor and poor were targeted as they are the most vulnerable, the middle wealth group were also targeted for two reasons: First, the services and activities carried out by the middle groups, who are generally skilled workers, shop keepers, etc, play a vital role in the recovery in the economy; Secondly, the middle groups were also badly affected by the earthquake.

The overall goal of the programme was to contribute to the economic and livelihoods recovery of vulnerable households in Porte au Prince. The specific objective is to improve the food security situation for vulnerable households through the rehabilitation of livelihoods and better access to basic services. The programme was planned over three phases. The first phase consisted of:

- **Basic needs grants**. An unconditional once-off grant of 8,000 Haitian Gourdes (approximately USD 50) to support households to cover their basic needs. There were 5,352 beneficiary households.
- Community canteens. This was a five-month project to provide lunch for vulnerable families. There were 195 canteens, with each canteen providing meals to 80 persons for eight weeks each (Monday to Friday). In addition, the canteens provide work to small restaurant owners who may otherwise have no source of income and no resources to restart their activity. There were a total of 3,662 households for the community canteens. Beneficiary family household heads were also provided with unconditional grants of 7,000 Haitian Gourdes to help them to recapitalize.
- Restaurant owners were supported in their recovery through livelihoods grants and the provision of double fuel-efficient stoves (36 already provided). Training on economic cooking is planned for phase 2 to reduce production costs. Restaurant owners involved in the canteens as well as local street vendors, targeted trade people and grocery storekeepers are being trained in business management to support their income generation capacity. To date 1,602 persons have been trained.
- Cash for work. This provided very poor or poor households with no skills with a source of income. Oxfam has worked with 5,931 households.
- **Livelihoods recovery grants**. These were grants of 5,000 Haitian Gourdes (approximately USD 125) to enable beneficiaries to re-start / start small businesses. Grants have been provided to 10,083 households so far.
- 750 of the most vulnerable households were provided with fuel-efficient stoves to reduce their expenditure on fuel, one of the main expenses linked with food.

Case example 2: Livelihoods assessment in Somalia: 2005

A survey by CARE in Somalia in 2005 explicitly set out to assess the causes of livelihood insecurity. The assessment found that CARE had primarily focused on addressing the immediate causes of livelihood failure through food aid and that it was important to start addressing the intermediate causes, more connected to public service provision, through efforts to improve education and skills training, to strengthening production systems, to build community assets and to upgrade the skills of local institutions. Recommendations also included addressing clan-based marginalization issues, such as access to land, as well as advocacy for addressing economic under development.

Source: Jaspars, S., 'From food crisis to fair trade: Livelihoods analysis, protection and support in emergencies', *Emergency Nutrition Network Special Supplement Series No. 3*, ENN, 2006.

Planning and Designing Interventions that Support Livelihoods in emergencies

i. Objectives of providing livelihood support in emergencies

Programmes or interventions to support livelihoods can have three objectives. These are livelihood:

- Provision, the supply of basic immediate needs
- Protection, preventing the sale of assets or the recovery of lost assets

 Promotion, strengthening institutions and advocating for policy change that supports livelihoods

Depending on the context different programme objectives will apply at a given time, however it is possible for a programme to have more than one objective. In the example below initially the objectives of programming were to reduce undernutrition rates and prevent the sale of assets, i.e. both provision and protection objectives overlapped in time. Following the floods the objective of programming focussed on the protection of livelihoods.

Case example 3: Linking relief and development programming in Wajir, Kenya

Food distributions by Oxfam were widely dispersed across the district, with minimal targeting (excluding only salaried people). In addition to nutritional objectives, the purpose of food aid was to stabilise food prices and reduce distress sale of livestock. Following large-scale food distributions in 1997, the Wajir programme carried out several emergency livelihood support interventions as part of the flood recovery programme in 1998. Interventions included CFW, restocking with sheep, goats, milking cows, donkey or camel, and the distribution of seeds and plough oxen. CFW projects included road clearing, school rebuilding, digging of pit latrines, pan de-silting, fencing of dispensaries, town cleaning and duffel making.

Source: Jaspars, S., 'From food crisis to fair trade: Livelihoods analysis, protection and support in emergencies', Emergency Nutrition Network Special Supplement Series No. 3. ENN. 2006

ii. Interventions to support livelihoods in emergencies

There are a large variety of livelihood support interventions that can be implemented in emergencies. These can be divided into four broad groups:

- Food aid
- Income and employment
- Production support
- Market support

Some interventions could be categorized under two headings. For example, food-for-work interventions can be categorized under income and employment as well as market support if the type of work involves building feeder roads for markets. Similarly, microfinance can fit under income and employment and market support, e.g., if the finance is used to create supplies for a particular commodity.

In general, food-based responses still dominate in emergencies but smaller-scale non-food responses are becoming more popular. Table 1 provides a brief description and objectives for different examples of livelihood support.

Table 1: Description and objectives of different livelihood support interventions in emergencies

Intervention	Description	Objectives
Food aid		
General distribution	Free distribution of a combination of food commodities to the affected population as a whole	To meet immediate food needs of populations cut off from their normal sources of food, therefore preventing undernutrition. To protect or recover livelihoods by preventing the sale of assets, or allowing households to spend time on productive activities that will restore livelihoods
Income and employment		
Food-for-work	Public works programmes where workers are paid in food aid. The food ration is often calculated to be less than the daily wage rate for an area. The rationale for this is to promote self-selection from the poorest households	To provide food aid as income support for the poor or unemployed and promote asset creation
Cash-for-work	Recipients are paid in cash to work on public works or community schemes. Commonly these are to improve roads, public buildings and water sources. The programme targets the poorest or most food-insecure.	To provide income to meet basic food and non-food needs and provide income support To rebuild community assets To stimulate the local economy
Cash grants	The provision of money to targeted households, communities or traders either as emergency relief to meet their basic needs for food and non-food items, or as a grant to buy assets essential for the recovery of their livelihoods	To meet basic food and non-food needs To recover livelihoods through the purchase of essential assets or re-establish business To cancel credit debts To stimulate the local economy
Microfinance	The provision of financial services to vulnerable but economically active individuals and households. This can be loans, remittance services, oan rescheduling.	To restart local economies through enterprise and employment creation To increase economic self-sufficiency
Income generation activities (IGAs)	Provision of training and/or resources/ assets to undertake new IGAs or re-establish disrupted IGAs	To diversify livelihoods or re-establish livelihoods disrupted or destroyed by an emergency
Market support		
Commodity vouchers	Vouchers distributed to emergency-affected populations which can be exchanged for a fixed quantity of named commodities from certified traders either at distribution outlets, markets or special relief shops	To provide income support and meet basic needs To help recovery of lost assets To provide production support in case of seed vouchers To support traders/retailers and stimulate markets.

Table 1: Description and objectives of different livelihood support interventions in emergencies (continued)

Intervention	Description	Objectives
Market support (continued)		
Cash vouchers	Cash vouchers have a fixed cash value and can be exchanged for a range of items up to this value, from special shops or traders (e.g. livestock fairs)	To provide income support To recover livelihoods To stimulate markets and trade
Monetization and subsidized sales	Putting large quantities of food aid grain in the market or subsidized sales through specified outlets	To improve access to staple foods for consumers. To ensure that prices are kept within normal bounds To improve traders' access to commodities
Market infrastructure and access	For example, transport and feeder roads. Some of this may be done through cash- or food-for-work programmes.	To improve physical access to markets for consumers and producers
Destocking	Purchase of livestock above prevailing prices during falling prices and when there is pressure on water and pasture. Animals can be slaughtered and meat distributed as part of the relief effort.	To protect income and terms of trade for pastoralists To prevent collapse in livestock market
Production support		
Crop production support	Usually involves some form of seed distribution in conjunction with inputs to help plant and harvest crops, e.g., tools, pesticide spray	To help re-establish crop production
Livestock support	This can take a variety of forms. Early in a food crisis, interventions include provision of water, fodder, veterinary care, livestock off-take/destocking (when animals are at increased risks of dying). After the acute stage of crisis, interventions may include restocking.	To prevent loss of livestock through sales or death To assist in herd recovery
Fishing support	Distribution of fishing tools to improve catch (nets, boats, cages)	To increase ability of people to fish as a source of food and income

Source: Jaspars, S., 'From food crisis to fair trade: Livelihoods analysis, protection and support in emergencies', *Emergency Nutrition Network Special Supplement Series No. 3*, ENN, 2006.

Despite recognition that cash, market and production based interventions are appropriate and perhaps better interventions in many emergency contexts the same interventions are

routinely implemented in emergencies. These are food distribution, feeding programmes and seeds and tools distribution. 4

⁴ Levine, Simon and Claire Chastre, 'Missing the Point', Humanitarian Practice Network Paper No. 47, Overseas Development Institute, London, 2002.

iii. Criteria for selection of appropriate interventions to support livelihoods

Table 2 below presents the criteria to take into account in deciding on different types of food, income and employment, production and market support interventions in emergencies.

Livelihoods and food security assessments should obtain information about these criteria. Emergency assessment methods are continuously evolving and are increasingly able to provide information that can be used to decide whether a livelihood intervention is appropriate and if so, what type would suit a particular situation. For details see Module 9.

Table 2: Criteria for decision-making on interventions to address food crises

Type of intervention	Criteria	Common emergency context	Advantages	Disadvantages
General food distribution	Nutritional status People cut off from normal sources of food Lack of access to food Lack of food availability Poor market recovery or access	Acute emergencies Large scale emergencies Displacement	Most readily available resource	Food aid takes a long time to reach destination High logistics requirements Can undermine markets and production if food is locally available
Food-for-work	Lack of access to food Lack of food availability Labour potential Infrastructure damaged Security and access Target population should not suffer acute food insecurity or high levels of undernutrition.	Slow-onset or recovery stage of crisis Acute or Chronic food insecurity	Easier to target than free food distribution Restores community assets and provides food	Small scale Not everyone can work
Cash grants	Food and other basic commodities available and markets functioning Risk of inflationary pressure is low	Early stages of emergency or rehabilitation	Cost efficient Choice for recipients Quick way of meeting basic needs Stimulates markets	Risk of inflation Cash may not be spent on intended programme objectives Difficult to target
Cash-for-work	Food available and markets functioning Food insecurity result of loss of income, assets or employment Risk of inflationary pressure is low Security and access	Emergency or recovery phase. Chronic or acute food insecurity	Choice Creates community infra-structure Stimulates markets Stimulates recovery Easy to target	Small scale Not everyone can work May interfere with livelihood strategies High management requirements
Vouchers	Essential commodities can be brought in by traders Opportunities to make agreements with traders Food availability and functioning markets	Usually second phase response in acute emergencies	Promotes purchase of local products Can specify commodities. Commodity vouchers protect from inflation Easy to monitor	Risk of forgery May create parallel economy May need regular adjustment to protect from inflation May favour and exclude some traders

Table 2: Criteria for decision-making on interventions to address food crises (continued)

Type of intervention	Criteria	Common emergency context	Advantages	Disadvantages
Microfinance	Functioning markets and banks Stable economy (no hyper-inflation) Skilled workforce	Recovery stage of emergency Relatively secure context Home based populations or returnees	Can be sustainable	High management costs Risk of default on loans
Market Interventions	Food insecurity is result of poorly integrated or damaged markets. Markets better placed to meet needs.	Throughout emergency	Can bring about long lasting change in people's access to markets	Needs in-depth market analysis.
Monetization⁵ and subsidized sales	Local food prices volatile Direct distribution not possible because of insecurity	Early stage of an emergency	No targeting	No targeting, needs close monitoring
Seeds and tools	Food insecurity due to reduction or loss in crop production Affected households lacking seeds and tools Lack of availability of seeds and tools Lack of seeds/tools limits production Local knowledge	Recovery stage or protracted emergencies	Re-establishes crop production Strengthens agricultural systems in longer term	Requires knowledge of local seeds and agriculture. Imported seeds may not be used
Livestock support	Sales causes collapse in market prices Deaths result from lack of pasture and/or water Livestock disease Restrictions to livestock movements Local knowledge	Depends on type of intervention but some livestock interventions can be implemented at all stages	In line with people's own priorities, and thus likely to get high levels of community participation	Can usually only be done on small scale. Depending on type of response.

Source: Jaspars, S., 'From food crisis to fair trade: Livelihoods analysis, protection and support in emergencies', *Emergency Nutrition Network Special Supplement Series No. 3*, 2006.

If criteria like those above are used to decide whether and how to implement a livelihood support programme it is important to be flexible and really listen to what people are telling you. In other words use, 'people-centred' enquiry. If a livelihoods-based assessment starts with people's livelihoods

strategies, and is based on people's own priorities, then interventions cannot be pre-determined. The criteria set out above are therefore best used as guidance to be considered in conjunction with the view of recipients on a case-by-case basis.

⁵ There has been recent movement towards a massive reduction or phase-out of monetization by numerous agencies. Oxfam stipulates that monetization of food aid should be limited and replaced with cash donations to avoid displacement of local production or commercial imports while CARE hopes to transition out of monetization by 2009 and will only monetize when certain that food that is monetized reaches the vulnerable population.

Implementing Interventions to support Livelihoods

i. Food aid interventions to support livelihoods

Food aid⁶ in the form of general rations is most frequently used to save lives and improve nutritional status in acute emergencies. In addition food aid can also be a form of livelihood support. Food aid can:

- Maintain or improve nutritional status, hence enabling a healthy active life
- Reduce the need for people to sell off assets to obtain food.
- Release income that would otherwise have been spent on food.
- Enables the payment of credit or debt i.e. supports important coping strategies

Food aid distribution to support livelihoods (as opposed to life-saving famine relief) usually starts earlier in order to protect assets and lasts longer in order to promote recovery. This is particularly true for pastoral populations that take longer to recover from drought (or other disasters where livestock are lost) than farmers or wage labourers. Food aid distribution is discussed in detail in Module 11.

In food-for-work programmes, communities should benefit from the community assets created and from the food aid itself. Community assets may include infrastructure, such as roads to improve access to markets, storage houses for crops, or wells to provide domestic water or water for livestock and fields. Natural resources can also be enhanced through soil and water conservation techniques or terracing.

A number of factors should be considered prior to using food aid as a means to support livelihoods.

• Food aid (in the form of general rations) should only be provided when there is a food deficit in an area of a country. It may be appropriate to purchase food in-country for distribution or internationally depending on the availability of food in the country as a whole. In other cases, where market infrastructure and access is good, cash may be a more appropriate intervention, allowing people to source food from markets. Too often food aid provided has been less than nutritionally adequate in quantity and quality. Food aid should provide nutritionally adequate quantities of calories through a balanced provision of macronutrients and micronutrients as internationally agreed.

- Food-for-work programmes can create various challenges: recipients may not traditionally work together as a community, making it difficult to produce 'community assets'; management demands on implementing agencies may prove excessive; food-for-work activities may compete with other subsistence or caring activities; other inputs may need to be procured which can delay implementation; and programmes may cause tension between recipients of free food aid (e.g. disabled or elderly who cannot work) and those who have to work to get the same ration.
- Protracted free food distributions have sometimes been changed to food-for-work, or food-for-recovery programmes, because of a perception that free food distributions make people dependent⁷. However, food-for-work may create dependency by attracting workers away from vital activities during the agricultural year. It is therefore important that food-for-work activities do not interfere with agricultural and other work opportunities. In addition food-for-work activities must consider the impact of proposed work on the care practices (particularly for children) which traditionally fall to women in the household.

The potential negative impact of food aid on production and markets is of concern to many in the international aid community. The fear is that food aid will reduce the incentive for farmers to plant, and that lower market prices will reduce their income from the sale of crops. This will lead to increased dependency on external assistance.

However, there has been no systematic study of the impact of emergency food aid on markets and production. Furthermore, it could be argued that the potential disincentive effects of food aid should be an argument for examining the appropriateness of the assistance being provided and the way it is provided. In countries or regions where food is available locally, it is both quicker and less expensive to purchase food aid locally than to import it, and it supports local traders and producers. The cost of local purchase of food aid is on average 50 per cent less than food aid sourced in donor countries (tied food aid). Local purchase also provides commodities that people are familiar with and can stimulate the local economy.

The term food assistance is being increasingly used in the humanitarian field. The following authors propose this distinction in terms. Barrett and Maxwell, define food aid as "the provision of food commodities for free or on highly concessional terms to individuals or institutions within one country by foreign donors". This definition focuses on the provision of food commodities by one country to another country, regardless of the use of this food. It is focused on a particular resource. On the other hand, the same reference defines food assistance as "transfers" in cash or in kind intended to increase the food intake or improve participant's nutritional status, thereby focusing on the need.

⁷ Harvey and Lind, Dependency and Humanitarian Relief, ODI, July 2005. Suggest that perceptions of dependency caused by aid are in fact not reflected in reality because beneficiaries are unable to rely on the unpredictable nature of aid delivery and hence have a diverse means of securing their household needs.

Challenge 1: Food aid as a form of livelihoods support

It is difficult to know to what extent food aid in itself can really support livelihoods. Evaluations of the impact of food distribution on pastoral economies have found that the slaughter and sale of livestock has been halted and pastoralist purchasing power has increased due to increased numbers of livestock. Food distributions have also been found to promote the maintenance of social networks through the sharing of food rations.

The failure of food aid to protect livelihoods in some pastoral populations, e.g., in Sudan and Kenya, can be explained by the fact that the scale and duration of food aid has not been sufficient to offset the impact of successive droughts and other disasters, thereby not allowing sufficient time for recovery. Also, food aid alone cannot achieve sustainable livelihoods or even livelihood protection or recovery without other types of livelihood-support interventions as well as policies at the national level that promote the development of marginal groups

Large-scale safety net programmes such as those in Ethiopia use a combination of cash and food targeted to the chronically food-insecure. Food (as opposed to cash) is provided to those in food deficit areas or at times of the year when food is not available locally. Recipients are employed on natural resource management public works (cash or food-for-work) – in particular 'community-based participatory watershed management'. The aim of the Ethiopia programme is to achieve food security for eight million chronically food-insecure people by increasing agricultural productivity. However, there is as yet no evidence that this programme will be successful. Identified weaknesses include poor quality public works, insufficient complementary inputs and lack of clear graduation strategies and goals.

Food aid may have an important role to play in livelihoods programming, but there is much to learn a bout how to use it effectively and how its relative cost-effectiveness compares to other livelihoods interventions. It should not be used as a knee-jerk reaction to livelihoods insecurity but instead as a stop-gap measure to food insecurity and should be coupled with longer-term livelihoods interventions.

ii. Income and employment support

Securing an income and/or employment is an import livelihood strategy. The revision of the Sphere handbook⁸ has recognized this by setting the following standard, key actions and indicators.

An increasing number of international agencies are supporting and implementing cash interventions in a variety of emergency contexts9. However, cash has been used for some time by governments in response to crises and in safety net10 programmes. In recognition of increased practice in cash transfer programming, the recent revision to the Sphere handbook11, have included the following standard, key actions and indicators for cash transfer programming:

Why cash?

Emergency-affected populations have often lost income, savings or assets, but items needed for immediate survival or livelihood recovery are available through the local market. In such situations it makes sense to give people money to meet and prioritize their own needs.

With cash interventions¹², recipients get goods and services directly from local traders and service providers. This stimulates the local economy and reduces much of the logistical demands associated with commodity distributions. Cash distributions are also more cost-efficient compared with food aid. Cash can also be faster to distribute than food aid and other productive inputs such as seeds and fertilizer, are easily invested in livelihood security and can improve the status of women and marginalized groups if targeted through them.

Use of cash by recipients tends to be determined by:

- Their identified needs
- The method of making the payments
- Other assistance provided and
- The total sum recipients receive

 $^{^{8}}$ Source: Minimum Standards in Food Security, Nutrition and Food Aid. Revised Sphere Handbook, 2010

⁹ CaLP is a project that aims to share and document experiences and learning with respect to the use of cash transfers and related work in emergency assistance programming. You can join the community of practice at http://dgroups.org/directory/

¹⁰ Safety net programmes are discussed later in these technical notes in a section on social protection.

¹¹ Source: Minimum Standards in Food Security, Nutrition and Food Aid. Revised Sphere Handbook, 2010

¹² There are many good guidelines to support cash transfer programming including, Delivering Money: Cash Transfer Mechanisms in Emergencies, Harvey et al. 2010, IFRC Guidelines for Cash Transfer Programming, 2007, ACF Programming Cash Based Interventions and Oxfam's Cash Transfers in Emergencies S. Jaspars and P. Creti.

Food security, livelihoods standard 2: income and employment

Where income generation and employment are feasible livelihood strategies, women and men have equal access to appropriate income-earning opportunities.

Key actions (to be read in conjunction with the guidance notes¹³)

- Base the decisions on income-generation activities on a market assessment and on an adequate participatory analysis of the capabilities of households to engage in the activities
- Base the type of remuneration (cash, voucher, food or a combination of these) on sound analysis of local capacities, immediate needs, markets systems and the disaster-affected population's preferences.
- Base the level of remuneration on needs, objectives for livelihoods restoration and local labour rates.
- Ensure procedures to provide a safe, secure working environment are in place.
- Take measures to avoid diversion and/or insecurity when involving large sums of cash.

Key indicators (to be read in conjunction with the guidance notes)

- All the targeted people generate incomes through their activities and contribute to meeting their basic and other livelihoods needs.
- Responses providing employment opportunities are equally available to women and men and do not negatively affect the local market or negatively impact on normal livelihood activities.
- Communities are kept aware of and understand remuneration as a contribution towards the food security of all household members equally.

Food security, cash and voucher transfers standard: access to available goods and services. Cash and vouchers are considered as ways to address basic needs, and to protect and re-establish livelihoods.

Source: Minimum Standards in Food Security, Nutrition and Food Aid. Revised Sphere Handbook, 2010

Key actions (to be read in conjunction with the guidance notes)

- Consult and involve beneficiaries, community representatives and other key stakeholders in assessment, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.
- Assess and analyse if people could buy what they need in local markets at prices that are cost-efficient compared with alternative transfers, and analyse the market chain.
- Choose cash or vouchers or a combination of these based on the most appropriate delivery mechanism and the likely benefits to the disaster-affected population and the local economy.
- Implement measures to reduce risks of illegal diversion, insecurity, inflation, harmful use and negative impacts on disadvantaged groups. Particular care is needed for targeting systems.
- Monitor to assess if cash/vouchers remain the most appropriate transfer and if adjustments are needed.

Key indicators (to be read in conjunction with guidance notes)

- All targeted populations meet some or all their basic food needs and other livelihood needs (e.g., productive assets, health, education, transportation, shelter, transport) through purchase from the local markets.
- Cash and/or vouchers are the preferred form of transfer for all targeted populations, particularly for women and other groups that are typically vulnerable people.
- The transfer does not result in anti-social expenditures.
- The transfer does not generate insecurity. The local economy is supported to recover from the disaster.

¹³ These are the guidance notes found in the Minimum Standards in Food Security, Nutrition and Food Aid. Revised Sphere Handbook, 2010

When cash is distributed on its own the majority is spent on food, with the remainder being used for other need including clothes, education, transport and medicine. If cash is provided as a complement to food aid, then it is more likely to be spent on livelihood recovery, such as restocking, setting up small businesses and the payment of school fees. Small regular payments are more likely to be used to buy food, whereas larger lump sums are more likely to be spent on productive assets and the re-establishment of economic activities.

When to use cash and possible risks?

Once an emergency assessment has determined that people are not able to meet their immediate (or livelihood recovery) needs with existing sources of food and income, then four questions need to be addressed to determine whether a cash intervention is appropriate:

- Is sufficient food (or other goods) available locally to meet the needs?
- Are markets functioning and accessible and able to meet increased demand?
- Is there a risk of increasing inflation?
- Can cash be delivered safely and effectively?

While these basic criteria appear straightforward, answering these four questions is not. There is no agreed methodology on market assessments, and where market assessments have been done, the interpretation may differ between different actors (see Module 9)¹⁴. In addition, food availability may also be difficult to determine as food crop assessments and population estimates are often unreliable.

The safety and effectiveness of cash delivery will in part be determined by:

 The different options available for delivering cash (bank, local money transfer companies, mobile phone transfers, direct distribution by implementing agency)

- The risk of taxation or diversion by local authorities or elites
- The risk of theft before and after delivery.

Even if there are significant risks, these can be minimized. For example, the use of local banks minimizes both the risk of theft during delivery and the risk to recipients as they can choose the time and amount of cash to withdraw from their account.

Some organizations still fear recipients may use cash transfers for non-essential items despite evaluations failing to find any significant evidence of this. In addition as cash transfer programmes are scaled up the risk of inflation increases. To date (mainly due to the small scale nature of programmes) little evidence of inflationary impact exists.

What type of cash intervention?

There are three major types of cash interventions which have been used in emergencies:

- Cash-for-work
- Cash vouchers
- Cash grants

Annex 1 summarizes the advantages and disadvantages of the different types of cash transfers. In theory, cash grants are quicker to distribute and can be applied on a larger scale in acute emergencies than other forms of cash transfer.

Most evaluations of cash interventions have focused on how the cash was spent. Few evaluations have considered the impact of cash programmes on livelihoods. There is a need for a much more systematic approach to evaluating the impact of cash programmes if they are to be adopted by the wider humanitarian community, including an analysis of the impact on food security, nutritional status, markets, social relations, and security.

More impact and cost-effectiveness studies of cash transfer programmes are needed.

Challenge 2: Cash as a form of livelihoods support

Most evaluations of cash interventions have focused on how the cash was spent. Few evaluations have considered the impact of cash programmes on livelihoods. There is a need for a much more systematic approach to evaluating the impact of cash programmes if they are to be adopted by the wider humanitarian community, including an analysis of the impact on food security, nutritional status, markets, social relations, and security.

More impact and cost-effectiveness studies of cash transfer programmes are needed.

¹⁴ Recent collaboration by humanitarian agencies has resulted in the development of the Emergency Market Mapping and Analysis toolkit (EMMA) which should increase the potential for an agreed market assessment methodology.

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Case example 4: Milling vouchers in Darfur to Optimize food aid 2009

Darfur is a semi-arid region of Sudan, devastated by conflict since 2003. Widespread looting and destruction of assets, displacement and restricted movements have had a significant impact on people's lives and livelihoods (farming, livestock herding, trade and migration). The region, which was formerly self-sufficient in food except in unusually bad drought years, has become a major recipient of food aid.

The recently increased insecurity and the ongoing loss of assets leaves little hope for a decrease in the need in the near future and food aid remains the most appropriate response to cover the basic food needs of the vast majority of IDPs. Several assessments highlighted that part of the distributed ration is sold or bartered to get access to other basic items and services. An ACF study, for example, showed that on average, almost half of the camp populations use sales of food aid as one of their main sources of income to cover basic expenditures such as fresh food, firewood and milling.

Given the already stretched household budgets, ACF set out to find alternatives to reduce these fixed expenditures and started a pilot project distributing milling vouchers in late 2007. This involved 21,757 households in the camps of Al Salam, Al Sereif and Otash (South Darfur) and in Shangil Tobay and Shadad (North Darfur). It was implemented in South Darfur from September 2007 to February 2008 (ECHO funded) and in North Darfur from October 2007 to May 2008 (DFID funded).

The objective of the programme was to support the registered general food distribution (GFD) beneficiaries to cover their milling needs, as well as to enable IDPs to use their cash income for other purposes (such as fresh foods).

The programme has shown positive results and been very popular among the beneficiaries and the millers. Overall, 96% of the vouchers were used for their intended purpose (milling and cleaning of cereal), while only 2% was sold or exchanged. In the vast majority of cases, vouchers were sold for their real value i.e. 2 SDG.

The first post distribution monitoring (PDM), conducted in November 2007, showed that after two months of operations, the percentage of households selling the GFD cereal decreased significantly with a 55% decrease in South Darfur and a 70% decrease in North Darfur. The share of households bartering the GFD cereals also plummeted to almost 0% (96% decrease in South Darfur and 89% decrease in North Darfur). The use of cash for milling purposes also dropped (74% decrease in South Darfur and 78% decrease in North Darfur). In terms of economic impact, the vouchers covered approximately 20% of household expenditures. With an average expenditure of 60 SDG per household and per month, the vouchers, with a cost value of 2 SDG per voucher, contributed 12 SDG per month for a family of six members.

It is interesting to note, however, that the use of the income derived from the sales is now used increasingly for the purchase of fresh foods and firewood as well as to cover for health and education related expenses, and that the overall quantities sold by the households have decreased.

The monitoring findings were confirmed during an external evaluation in February 2008. The beneficiaries said that they now consume more of their food ration than they did before the voucher programme. Some said that they have increased their number of daily meals from two to three. All said that they still sell some of their food rations but that the amount sold is less than before and the income has been spent on other basic needs rather than milling. The evaluation concluded that the voucher programme is relevant and appropriate as it provides a clear response to the economic needs of the displaced people.

The programme has also boosted the local economy by giving local millers more income generation opportunities, and as a consequence the number of millers has increased.

Source: Mattinen and Palmaera Milling vouchers in Darfur to optimize Food Aid. Field Exchange Issue 34, 2008

Cash-for-work

Most agencies that implement cash-for-work programmes adhere to a guiding set of principles (see **Annex 2** for an example). One of the key criteria for implementing cash-for-work programmes should be that the activity is needed in order to restore livelihoods. Similarly to food for work it is critical that projects do not interfere with labour markets or undermine other household activities, e.g. child care.

Cash for work recipients should earn at least enough money to meet their most immediate needs. The more money they earn, the more likely it is that cash spent will contribute to sustainable livelihood recovery. A number of different factors can be considered to determine the payment rate for cash for work programmes. These are described in the IFRC Guidelines for Cash Transfer Programming.

Case example 5: Delivering cash following an earthquake in Iran: 2004

Following a rapid assessment in April 2004, a cash programme was designed to provide financial support to the most vulnerable people affected by the earthquake. The amount distributed allowed families to purchase household items, household furniture or other equipment they needed as they moved into temporary or transitional houses. It targeted female-headed households, orphans, disabled people and the elderly. The government's welfare organization already supported these vulnerable groups, so working closely with this organization was the most efficient way of reaching the most vulnerable. An independent household identification process within a disrupted, densely populated urban environment would have taken too much time and would have required skilled staff that were unavailable at the time. Although there was undoubtedly a small inclusion error, it was not considered significant. However, an evaluation of the programme did find that a small number of families who should have been eligible for the cash support were unintentionally excluded. This was because the welfare organization's capacity was badly affected by the earthquake and they provided the list of recipients while their caseload was still increasing.

Source: International Federation of the Red Cross, Guidelines for Cash Transfer Programming, IFRC, Geneva, 2007.

Case example 6: Microfinance as livelihood support in urban Argentina

In December 2001 Argentina faced a crisis caused by social and economic factors – a combination of negative economic growth and large-scale unemployment leading to social collapse. The dramatic increase in poverty had important consequences in terms of lack of access to food, health care and other basic needs. Action Contre la Faim (ACF) – Spain responded initially with food canteens but once the crisis was over, it identified income generation as the priority intervention.

From November 2002 up to December 2004 ACF implemented community IGAs and microcredit support in the Partido Moreno, a suburb of Buenos Aires.

ACF collaborated with a local non-profit making association specializing in microfinance and working in the targeted area. They created a revolving fund of 80,000 pesos funded by ACF for improving access of canteen beneficiaries to microcredit, for including beneficiaries beginning a new IGA and for giving beneficiaries a one-week grace period before starting repayments.

Between February and December 2004 a total of 442 microcredits were approved. Overall, 78 per cent of borrowers were women. Credit was approved for a variety of activities including trade (shops, sale of clothes, or prepared food), production (bakeries, textiles, handicrafts, food production) and services (hairdressers, electricians, mechanics, etc.).

The programme proved to be sustainable due to the collaboration with a local partner and to adapting eligibility criteria that allowed access for the most vulnerable. The default rate still proved to be very low (5 per cent). Challenges included the fact that recipients had to rely on their own knowledge and abilities to develop their IGA-based activities while market access for the IGA was generally in the nearest neighbourhood, where the level of poverty meant that income generation was on the low side.

Source: Jaspars, S., 'From food crisis to fair trade: Livelihoods analysis, protection and support in emergencies', Emergency Nutrition Network Special Supplement Series No. 3. ENN. 2006

The identification and design of projects should be done in collaboration with the affected communities. Care must be taken to ensure that those unable to work, or unable to carry out hard labour, also benefit from the project, as these groups may be some of the poorest and most food-insecure. The two options for including socially or physically vulnerable groups in the programme are:

- 1. Design projects in which they can participate and perhaps require less hard labour or can have more flexible working hours, e.g. crèches for child care.
- 2. Provide these groups with vouchers or cash grants to meet their immediate needs.

Women's participation in cash-for-work programmes has not been problematic even in the most conservative religious societies, although in some situations, different projects must be designed for men and women.

Commodity or cash vouchers

There are two types of voucher. These are:

- Cash vouchers can be exchanged for a range of commodities up to the specified value
- Commodity vouchers can be exchanged for a fixed quantity of named commodities

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Vouchers can be exchanged either with traders and retailers in shops or with traders or producers in local markets, distribution outlets, fairs, and other events organized specifically for the programme.

Commodity or cash voucher programmes encourage traders to bring food and other commodities to local markets. Vouchers allow more choice than direct distribution of commodities, but can still be applied towards the purchase of certain commodities.

Challenges that have arisen during voucher programming include:

- Community resistance to being directed to buy particular food or commodities in specified shops
- Insufficient food and commodity supplies to meet demand
- Poor quality of goods provided by shopkeepers
- Inflated rewards being given to shopkeepers

Cash grants and microfinance

There can be two forms of cash grants. These are:

- Conditional cash grants are given on the condition that recipients do something, i.e. rebuild their house or establish a livelihood whereas
- Unconditional cash grants are given with no conditions however it is assumed that money will be used to cover needs (either basic in nature, e.g. food) or to re-establish livelihoods or productive activities.

Cash grants can be provided for a variety of purposes. These are summarized in **Annex 3**. If the aim of a cash grant is to provide basic needs, then it is necessary to calculate the cost of the essential goods and services that households need and to subtract the value of existing sources of food and income. Other objectives for cash grants include the need to compensate host families for the expenses incurred while taking care of displaced people. Recipients of cash grants are not expected to pay back the grant and there is no expectation of continued financial support.

Conversely microfinance requires the repayment of money and can include: emergency loans, remittance services, loan rescheduling, loans to restore capital assets, or to start new economic activities.

The target groups for microfinance services are mainly home-based resident populations and returnees, both of whom tend to have at least some assets and an incentive to stay where they are if they can earn a living. Displaced people and refugees pose greater challenges, although experience working with both populations exists. The critical factors appear to be the relative stability of their tenure in their present location, and the extent to which government regulations forbid or curtail economic support to refugees.

iii. Market support

Markets play a crucial role in supplying goods and services to ensure survival and to protect livelihoods. Prior to, during and after a crisis, disaster affected populations depend on markets for employment and income. The Sphere handbook revisions have included the following standard, key actions and indicators on markets:

Food security, livelihoods standard 3: access to markets

The disaster-affected population's safe access to market goods and services as producers, consumers and traders is protected and promoted.

Key actions (to be read in conjunction with the guidance notes)

- Protect and reinforce access to affordable operating markets for producers, consumers and traders.
- Base food security and livelihoods responses on a demonstrated understanding of whether local markets are functioning or are disrupted, as well as their potential for strengthening
- Base advocacy for improvements and policy changes on the market analysis conducted before each intervention.
- Take steps to promote and support market access for vulnerable groups.
- Control the adverse effects of responses, including food purchases and distribution, on local markets.
- Minimise the negative consequences of extreme seasonal or other abnormal price fluctuations on markets.

Key indicators (to be read in conjunction with the guidance notes)

- Interventions are designed to support the recovery of markets, either through direct intervention or through the promotion of local traders via cash / voucher programmes.
- All targeted populations have safe and full access to market goods, services and systems throughout the programme duration.

Market systems may be able to provide affected populations with relief and services to meet needs such as food, fuel and non food items. In a recent study called "Milk Matters" the authors found that women in Somali pastoral communities thought income generation activities would enhance their ability to provide milk (through market purchase) during prolonged drought periods, thereby reducing the risk of child undernutrition. In addition markets may protect livelihoods by providing productive assets such as agricultural inputs. Markets may provide opportunities for employment or for the sale of producers' goods. Annex 3 contains an example of a market model that can be used in analysing markets

Organizations are increasingly realizing that in order to ensure sustainable support to livelihoods of disaster affected populations an analysis of markets is needed.

A recent inter-agency tool called Emergency Market Mapping and Analysis (EMMA) has been developed to promote and guide market analysis during emergencies. The toolkit promotes a three-strand approach to understand markets. These are:

 A Gap analysis: this strand is about understanding the context and priority needs of the most affected in relation to their livelihood strategies.

- Market analysis: this strand is about understanding each critical market system in terms of its constraints and capabilities.
- Response analysis: this strand explores different options, comparing feasibility, likely outcomes, benefit and risks before leading to a recommendation for action.

The gap analysis informs the market analysis by defining what the market must achieve to meet the needs of the most affected and the market analysis informs the response analysis by assessing what the market system is capable of delivering and the constraints it faces.

Market support interventions can take many forms: cash and voucher programmes (described above); and programmes that support market infrastructure, the maintenance of food prices in markets (e.g., through the provision of subsidized foods) and the producers' access to markets locally, nationally and internationally.

The aim of market support programmes in emergencies is generally to ensure that people's access to basic goods is maintained. Gaining a sound understanding of the key markets that affect the livelihoods of poor people is a critical first step in developing appropriate market access interventions.

Case example 7: A market support programme to address an urban food crisis in Zimbabwe: 2004

At a time when Zimbabwe's urban population had seen its purchasing power slashed by soaring inflation and widespread unemployment and a time of limited access to food, the USAID funded Market Assistance Pilot Programme (MAPP) provided recipients in Zimbabwe's second largest city, Bulawayo, with a low-cost maize alternative – sorghum – through existing commercial channels. C-SAFE (a consortium of implementing NGOs) approached existing commercial entities that could facilitate a programme aimed at 'filling the market gap' with an affordable maize substitute. Within weeks, 150 retailers in 40 high-density Bulawayo suburbs agreed to sell sorghum. Demand exploded from 30 tons to 300 tons a day and by November 2003, seven local millers were milling and packaging the USAID sorghum to meet consumer demand. At the height of demand, MAPP sorghum had an average shelf life of less than one hour.

The price of sorghum set by C-SAFE was determined by income, household size and the retail price gap between maize and sorghum. When cereal prices rise, the potential for side marketing increases, so C-SAFE monitored the market activity and adjusted the sorghum price accordingly. Retailers were also permitted a 15 per cent mark-up on the product to ensure profitability. Preliminary estimates suggest that the sorghum meal prices allowed most poor families in the target area to purchase sufficient food to feed all family members three meals per day for the six-month duration of the pilot programme.

Seventy-seven percent of the high-density population (460,000 people) were being fed per month by the MAPP. A number of lessons were learned from this pilot programme:

- (i) Contrary to the initial misconceptions by retailers, the urban population in Bulawayo accepted sorghum meal they usually ate maize
- (ii) Low-income households will always self select and continue purchase of sorghum meal as long as it is affordable compared to maize meal.
- (iii) Leakage and side marketing will always occur if sorghum meal prices are too low when compared to maize meal. This invariably occurs during periods of maize meal shortages.

Source: Allen, K., 'A Market Support Programme to Address an Urban Food Crisis in Zimbabwe'. Field Exchange, 23, ENN, 2004.

¹⁵ Milk Matters, the role and value of milk in diets of Somali patoralist children in Liben and Shinile, Ethiopia, Kate Sadler and Andy Cately, 2009

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iv. Production support

Production support includes livestock, crop production and fishing interventions. These can take a variety of forms,

depending mainly on the stage and type of emergency, and the livelihoods affected. The revised Sphere handbook has the following standard, key actions and indicators for primary production:

Food security, livelihoods standard 1: primary production
Primary production mechanisms are protected and supported.

Key actions (to be read in conjunction with the guidance notes)

- Base the interventions to support primary production on livelihoods assessment, context analysis and a demonstrated understanding of the viability of production systems, including access to and availability of necessary inputs, services and market demand.
- Introduce new technologies only where their implications for local production systems, cultural practices and natural environment are understood and accepted by food producers and local consumers.
- Provide production inputs or cash to purchase a range of inputs in order to give producers flexibility in strategizing and managing their production and reducing risks.
- Deliver inputs on time, ensure they are locally acceptable and conform to appropriate quality norms.
- Introduce inputs and services with care not to exacerbate vulnerability or increase risk, e.g. by increasing competition for scarce natural resources or by damaging existing social networks.
- Train food producers in better management practices where possible and appropriate.
- Purchase inputs and services locally whenever possible, unless this would adversely affect local producers, markets or consumers.
- Carry out regular monitoring to assess that production inputs are used appropriately by beneficiaries.

Key indicators (to be read in conjunction with the guidance notes)

- All households with assessed needs have access to the necessary inputs to protect and restart primary production to the level of pre-disaster, when justified, and in accordance with the agricultural calendar.
- All targeted households are given cash or vouchers, where it is considered (or assessed) to be operationally viable, at market value of required inputs, giving households choices on livelihoods options.

Livestock interventions include de-stocking (buying livestock for immediate slaughter and distributing the meat fresh or dried), fodder distribution, veterinary care and repairing boreholes and other water sources, all of which are often carried out at an early stage of drought-related emergencies. Other interventions include subsidies for transport to market or initiatives to improve access to pasture in neighbouring regions or countries. Restocking (providing livestock to families who have lost stock) is done during the recovery or rehabilitation stages.

Emergency crop production programmes are generally part of a rehabilitation programme. They most commonly involve seed, fertilizer and tool distribution and are often implemented in conjunction with general ration distribution programmes to ensure that seeds are not eaten or sold for food. In many emergencies, there are other constraints to production, for example, access to land and land rights, which need to be addressed at policy level.

Seed and tool distribution

Seed and tool distribution frequently form part of the standard package. Pesticides and fertilizers may also be distributed as part of the seeds and tools package. The assumption is often that food insecurity, associated with crop failure, will create seed unavailability during the next planting season. However, in many emergencies, seed is available locally, or in the country, and can be effectively provided through seed fairs or vouchers.

In order to assess availability and access to seeds following a disaster, the following questions must be answered:

- Have farmers lost their seeds or been forced to eat them?
- Has the disaster disrupted marketing of local crops or exchange of seed between farmers?
- Has the disaster affected the quality of seed produced by farmers or the quality of seed available from markets?

Case example 8: Agricultural rehabilitation programme following Hurricane Mitch: 1998

In October 1998 Hurricane Mitch devastated several countries in Central America. Many people died and there were more than 7,000 victims in Honduras alone. The region's agricultural production was badly affected. In response, the Red Cross National Societies and the IFRC designed an agriculture rehabilitation programme for El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua.

The programme benefited more than 30,000 peasant families providing certified corn and bean seeds, grain, fertilizer, spray pumps and complementary cash payments in two of the four countries. The cash component was intended to cover immediate food needs, where the food situation was desperate, and to provide resources so that recipients could buy complementary items.

A study to compare six communities that received cash or cash and food with 6 others that did not drew some interesting conclusions;

- The support package composed exclusively of seed and fertilizer helped recipients to restore production but did not address the immediate problem of food scarcity or a lack of resources to support production. As a result, recipients were more likely to sell their seed to raise cash.
- Where the basic input package was reinforced with food aid and cash, it had an immediate impact on livelihood security, as there was less risk of agricultural inputs being sold.
- In general, recipients used the cash in a responsible way, e.g., to buy food or medicines, other agricultural inputs and complementary services.

Source: International Federation of the Red Cross, Guidelines for Cash Transfer Programming, IFRC, Geneva, 2007.

Even where assessments do find a lack of seeds, it is often unclear whether this is the factor limiting production. Furthermore, assessments need to consider all chronic constraints to production in addition to how seed availability is affected by an acute disaster.

Seed fairs

Seed fairs are markets organized to help disaster-affected households to obtain seed through an exchange of vouchers. They are organized on a specific day and location where vulnerable households are provided with vouchers worth a specific cash value to exchange for seed from registered sellers. Fairs are also a meeting place, where buyers and sellers can exchange information about seed quality, prices and innovations in the market.

Seed fairs have been implemented in a variety of emergency contexts, including conflict, drought and floods. Recent evaluations have shown that enough local seeds have been available to meet needs although this cannot always be assumed and should always be checked in the initial assessment.

Organization of a seed fair involves the following steps:

- 1. Establish a seed fair committee (local leadership, government officials, extension staff).
- 2. Assess the availability and quality of local seed.
- 3. Identify a location for the fair.
- 4. Recruit and educate seed vendors.
- 5. Identify recipients.

- 6. Prepare for the fair (decide on monetary value of seed to be distributed and produce booklets of vouchers).
- 7. Promote the fair (inform vendors and the community).
- 8. Hold the fair (inspect the quality of the seed, register quantities brought by each vendor, agree on prices, distribute vouchers, exchange seed for vouchers and cash, redeem vouchers).
- 9. Evaluate the process and impact.

The potential impact of seed vouchers and fairs on livelihood assets is illustrated in **Table 4**. Many of the impacts cited do not apply to standard seed distribution programmes.

A number of lessons have been learned through conducting seed fairs:

- Decide on the voucher value and ensure the vulnerable have adequate land for planting.
- Use all types of communication and advertising for the fairs, including radio and locally producing leaflets.
- Ensure community involvement through an effective seed fair committee. Recognize their contribution on the day of the fair.
- For seller recruitment, focus on local sellers from the community. Start early to facilitate this.
- Carefully consider seed pricing. Avoid price setting, but make sure recipients have enough time for bargaining.
- Consider the fair site carefully.

Table 4: The potential impact of seed vouchers and fairs on livelihood assets

Asset	Impact
Physical	Households obtain seeds in time for planting Recipients have a choice of crops, variety, quantity and quality of seed
Financial	Financial transfer to those receiving vouchers Increased profit for seed sellers due to seed fair premium Cash infusion into the community
Social	Communities participate in planning and implementation via seed fair committees Open, transparent and public process increased confidence Strengthened relationships between seed sellers and farmers
Human	Enhanced knowledge of different seed systems, their strengths and opportunities for integration Enhanced knowledge of crops, varietal preference and seed quality Seed fair interventions ideal gatherings for divulging information, education and communication in seed, agriculture and other issues, such as HIV and AIDS
Natural	Increased genetic diversity by providing farmers with crop and variety choice

Source: Bramel, P. J. and T. Remington, Seed Vouchers and Fairs: Using markets in disaster response, Catholic Relief Services, 2005.

- Make sure that both recipients and vendors are involved in the planning process to consider date, place of fair and quality of products.
- Weigh seed before and after fairs to validate sales from vouchers.

Livestock programmes¹⁶

There are many different livestock production systems including pastoralists, agro-pastoralists, displaced populations with livestock, households with small numbers of small livestock, etc. The most common problems associated with livestock in emergencies are reduced access to pasture and water, increased exposure to disease, limited access to health care, reduced terms of trade for livestock for grain exchange and reduced access to markets.

The impact of emergencies on livestock owners includes:

- Lower livestock prices and reduced income from sale of animals
- Loss of livestock due to increased sales and deaths
- Loss of livestock products (milk, meat, fat and ghee) impacting on nutrition.
- Reduced mobility due to death of transport animals
- Increased workload due to grazing areas being remote from water points
- Loss of employment from herding
- Loss of house making materials (hides and skins)
- Inability to access key livelihood resources (firewood, water, pasture etc.)

A number of livestock interventions are described in more detail below. Emergency water interventions are not covered in detail here but include the installation, repair, or rehabilitation of existing strategic key water points, such as boreholes and shallow wells, the delivery of water by truck and the drilling of new boreholes.

Livestock marketing support

Livestock marketing support includes market transport subsidies and purchase for slaughter. Market transport subsidies may be possible for animals still in fair condition early in the emergency. At the acute stage of an emergency, livestock trade is likely to have ceased and only a few entrepreneurial traders and some agro-pastoralists with access to cheap feed sources are likely to continue accepting animals for sale, albeit on terms extremely favourable to the buyer.

Purchase for slaughter can be started after the end of any market transport subsidy support scheme. In contrast to destocking, purchase for slaughter does not target the weak animals but the animals still in good condition. Camels are preferred because they maintain their strength longer than cattle in typical drought or shock conditions. Sheep and goats can also be used.

De-stocking

De-stocking, also referred to as livestock off-take, involves buying (or exchanging) livestock for immediate slaughter, with the meat distributed dry or fresh. The main aim of destocking is to provide a value to animals that would otherwise die. Destocking has become one of the most widely used emergency interventions in pastoralist areas. Generally cattle, sheep and goats are the main species targeted.

¹⁶ The Livestock Emergency Guidelines and Standards (LEGS) have been developed as a set of international guidelines and standards for the design, implementation and assessment of livestock interventions to assist people affected by humanitarian crises.

Case example 9: Seed vouchers and fairs in Zimbabwe: 2001-2002

From 2001 to 2002 Zimbabwe experienced one of the worst droughts in a decade that significantly reduced the supply of saved seed. The Catholic Relief Services (CRS) proposed a response based on the assumption that seed was available locally but farmers had limited access due to a lack of capital.

CRS worked with a local NGO that had agriculture programme experience. Following a training workshop, the community elected agricultural recovery committees. A needs assessment was carried out, focusing on the quantity of seed of specific crops and the varieties required in relation to the estimated availability for each. Assessments also served as opportunities to inform and recruit potential vendors. Meetings were held with local communities and commercial seed companies to recruit and educate seed vendors. The committee assisted in identifying vendors.

A total of 19 fairs in 6 districts were organized for 22,500 recipients and with 1,347 vendors. A total of 324 MT of seeds of 31 different crops were exchanged. Nearly half (48 per cent) of the recipients and 72 per cent of the sellers were women. The range of crop varieties on sale was highest for maize, with 18 varieties, followed by sorghum (10), groundnuts (9), beans (10) and pearl millet (5). There was evidence of short-term positive impact on the area planted and crop production.

Only 50 to 63 per cent of recipients were pleased with the choice of the fair site. The fairs were held in one location in each ward, which meant that some recipients had to walk long distances. Between 60 and 90 per cent of recipients considered the quantity of seed available sufficient. Most received the seed on time. Very few of the recipients felt the prices set were negotiable even though the price set was to be used as a maximum by sellers and up to one quarter of recipients concluded that the prices were fixed and very expensive. Between 41 and 67 per cent of recipients felt the vouchers had enabled them to buy all the types and quantities of varieties of crops that were available.

Recipients judged the quality of the seed to be very good, and the majority expressed satisfaction with the range and varieties of crops available. Fairs improved the knowledge of local seed systems for both the CRS, its partners and recipients. Overall, 94 per cent of recipients recommended further seed assistance through seed fairs. The seed sellers were also satisfied.

Source: Bramel, P. J. and T. Remington, CRS Seed Vouchers and Fairs: A meta-analysis of their use in Zimbabwe, Ethiopia and Gambia, Catholic Relief Services – East Africa, Nairobi. 2005.

The advantages of de-stocking include:

- Provides cash which can be used to cover immediate needs
- Livestock numbers are reduced, leaving more grazing for the other breeding animals
- Creates employment (slaughtering, meat preparation, guarding, etc.) for the very poor

Before starting the de-stocking, the community must agree upon the type and condition of animals, prices, number of animals to be purchased, frequency or schedule for slaughter and the seller and recipient criteria. The recipients of the meat can be identified while the animals are still alive and can be made responsible for the slaughter, division and sharing of the meat. Local veterinarians or public health professionals should be involved in the meat inspection both before and after slaughter as food safety is critical where fresh meat distributions are taking place. The de-stocking itself can be run alongside a veterinary or feed supplement programme, where the money from livestock sales can be used to buy veterinary drugs or fodder for the remaining stock.

Fodder distribution

Most emergency fodder distribution involves the transportation of fodder from areas that have been relatively unaffected by the disaster to badly affected areas. Interventions have included:

- Transporting prickly pear and crop residues to livestock areas
- Purchase and distribution of urea/straw feed blocks and mineral bricks to breeding stock and animals used for ploughing
- Buying and transporting hay
- Providing water in dry season reserves where vegetation exists but water is unavailable

It is generally recommended that fodder distribution is only implemented for core breeding stock or pack animals and that it is accompanied by veterinary inputs. Interventions need to be planned early, as fodder commodities can be expensive to transport and difficult to obtain. Most fodder or livestock feed supplementation interventions plan to feed animals for a period of 90 days. Feed supplementation can be carried out as part of a destocking programme where animals are bought in exchange for feed.

Case example 10: De-stocking in Kenya: 1999-2001

The drought in 1999-2001 was one of the most severe in recent history in Kenya. Nearly three million pastoralists and agro-pastoralists were considered at risk. As a direct result of the drought, an estimated 2 million sheep and goats, over 900,000 cattle and 14,000 camels worth some 6 billion Kenyan Shillings (USD\$80 million) were lost. This threatened the pastoralists' future livelihoods, as many dropped out of their traditional production systems and settled near food distribution centres.

CARE implemented a de-stocking programme in Garrissa. Each de-stocking centre was allocated 25 head of cattle and 50 shoats. CARE estimated that 45 per cent of stocks were purchased from people targeted for relief and the remainder from better off members of the community who had stock to dispose off.

In addition to providing income for those who sold stock, the income from sales of skins and hides enabled women's groups to start small businesses, and some 60 MT of fresh meat was distributed to 1,943 households. The main strength of the programme was its wide coverage, despite the security problems in Garissa. However, the project had high overhead and operation costs and did not draw adequately on local information so that allocation of equal numbers of livestock to be de-stocked per centre ignored the variation in needy people.

General lessons learned:

- De-stocking was very successful due to the high level of community interest.
- More livestock were offered for sale than the interventions could handle, indicating that pastoralists are willing to sell stock when they have the opportunity to do so.
- Fresh meat is cheap, easy to produce, fast to distribute, and entails minimum wastage and can be distributed at regular intervals, like relief food rations.
- De-stocking supports the local economy and livelihoods.

Source: Akilu, Y. and M. Wekesa, 'Drought, Livestock and Livelihoods: Lessons from the 1999-2001 Emergency Response in the Pastoral Sector in Kenya', *Humanitarian Practice Network Paper No. 40*, Overseas Development Institute, London, 2002.

Veterinary and animal health support

Emergency animal health and vaccination campaigns are important because of increased risk of exposure to disease in some emergencies. Most emergency veterinary interventions revolve around external and internal parasite control campaigns in disaster-affected herds using local community animal health workers (CAHW), the private sector or NGO staff.

In countries with functioning government veterinary services, emergency veterinary drugs and vaccines can be provided to government clinics or private sector veterinarians. In all cases, however, it is important to link CAHWs to private-sector pharmacists and quality drug suppliers. CAHWs can play an important role in sensitizing and educating livestock owners on the importance and impact of a quality veterinary drug and animal health service delivery systems. Vaccination campaigns need to cover large numbers of animals in order to meet the minimum coverage levels required.

Restocking

Restocking is a method of asset building aimed at families who have recently lost most of their stock. A number of questions have to be answered before deciding how or if to restock:

- Is the area already over-stocked or over-grazed?
- Are there other opportunities for getting food or income?
- Which species have an added value for the vulnerable?
- Is it a suitable environment for the species?
- Do the recipients have prior knowledge of livestock management?
- Is the species culturally and religiously acceptable to the recipients?
- Is local knowledge on husbandry and back-up available?
- Is there enough food, water and shelter to support the herd?
- Is it profitable to keep a herd?
- Are its products / benefits consumable locally?

There are many different methods of restocking. The most successful approach has been restocking with local animals, as these are familiar with the environment, there is no risk of bringing in new diseases and this supports the local economy.

Researchers and development officers estimate that in truly pastoral systems a minimum of between 50 and 150 breeding female small stock are required for subsistence. In food-insecure environments, recipients may need to be supported with additional food or cash so that they do not have to sell their herds to meet basic needs. Participatory community-based methods have been successfully employed in the selection of recipients, the type and source of animals to be purchased and for determining the purchase and exchange price. Vouchers for livestock have also been used in a number of contexts.

Monitoring and evaluation of livelihoods interventions

The agencies that are increasingly implementing livelihoods interventions and developing guidelines and manuals to aid in their implementation are establishing monitoring and evaluation systems. Given the wide range of potential emergency livelihoods interventions and the many objectives set for these programmes it is evident that monitoring systems will collect data on a large number of variables. This module cannot therefore provide details of the different types of monitoring systems that may be established. Module 20 provides more details on monitoring and evaluating nutrition in emergencies in general.

Table 5: Process and impact indicators for monitoring seeds distributions

Key questions for monitoring process (how was the transfer delivered?)	 Did the intended recipients receive the seeds? Did the recipients receive the correct amounts of seeds Was the distribution done on time? Were the recipients and other stakeholders satisfied with the process and method of implementation? What other assistance are recipients receiving? Types of recipient? 		
Key questions for monitoring impact (what change has there been for the recipient?)	 What was the average yield of the seed distributed? How have sources of food and income changed? How have coping strategies changed? How much has income and expenditure changed since the seed distribution programme? Have there been any changes in consumption patterns? Would recipients have preferred another form of assistance? 		

As a broad generalization, monitoring systems for emergency livelihoods interventions should collect data on the process (how was the intervention delivered) and the impact (what change has there been for recipients). Process indicators will vary substantially with the type of intervention. An example of process and impact indicators for seed distribution monitoring can be found in **Table 5**. The case example below builds on Case Example 1 described above to describe the results of programming including the impact of interventions.

It is important to recognize that some impact indicators, such as altered income and expenditure patterns or changed consumption patterns, may appear closely associated with, and a consequence of, the intervention. It is also important to recognize that other indicators, such as nutritional status and

mortality (not included in Table 5), cannot necessarily be attributed to the livelihood intervention. The most appropriate conclusion is that there is a plausible causal association, e.g., it is possible that the intervention had an impact on nutrition and mortality. This is because there is a more complex pathway between a livelihood intervention and nutrition and mortality than there is between potential impacts, such as altered expenditure or consumption patterns.

Another important point is that while monitoring systems must set out to determine how the intervention is being delivered and any positive impacts, it is also essential to monitor potentially negative impacts. For example, inflation caused by cash transfers or price depressions as a result of food aid interventions.

Case example 11: Impact of Oxfam work in Haiti after the 2010 Earthquake

The monitoring review in July 2010 found that the EFSL programme reached its objectives of supporting the most affected people in addressing the impact of the earthquake.

CFW evaluation – phase 1: 88% of the households had spent all of their income, and 11% were able to save some of their income. Money was spent on food (28%), water, fuel, other goods and equipment, as well as health.

Only 18% of the beneficiaries were able to start or restart their income generating activity from the income of the CFW. The duration of an average of 11 days was **insufficient** to support income generation capacity recovery for the beneficiaries. This led to an increase on the number of days of each rotation to **20**. Evaluations of the second round of CFW with 20 days' work have not been analysed yet but other agencies who have conducted evaluations have shown that even with 24 days' work, 90% of money in some instances was spent on food. Current recommendations for minimum number of days are ranging from **36-48** but there are not yet results to show on this.

Beneficiaries of hot meals and grants: Monitoring shows a substantial increase in the average income of households: in proportion to the average income received before the earthquake, the average income of HH has increased from 20 % just after the disaster to 40% after the canteens programme. While formal employment and daily labour have drastically decreased as sources of income since the disaster, petty trade and trade in grocery stores have strongly restarted and account for the increase in family resources. Taking into consideration that 84% of beneficiaries have used at least part of the grant received to procure goods and/or equipment to reinforce or start a business and that 87% of them have been able to restart an economic activity, **the programme has strongly contributed to income generation and self-employment**.

The canteen component enabled the increase of the average number of meals per day from 1.6 after the earthquake to 2.1 during the programme (2.6 being the average before the earthquake). **However the programme did not manage to support families to reach their intake before the earthquake** since the number of households having three meals per day dropped from 44% during the canteens to 25% after the programme.

As discussed in Module 20, evaluations are quite distinct from monitoring, although data from the latter form an important element of evaluation findings. Evaluations are generally used post-intervention as a way of learning lessons (although realtime evaluations can also be implemented in order to make changes during an intervention phase). Given the relative novelty of emergency livelihoods programming, it is important that evaluations address a number of issues. These include cost and cost-effectiveness, experience of timing and scale-up in relation to the onset of the emergency, and potential for linkages with longer term programming. Another critical element of evaluation and perhaps more so than for other types of intervention is the need to obtain good information on how the intervention was perceived by recipients (recipient perceptions). Livelihoods are about how people earn a living and their quality of life. It is therefore the views of those involved in a specific livelihood that are critical to understanding whether the intervention was a success or not.

Issues and challenges for livelihoods programming in emergencies

i. Linking relief and development livelihoods programming

All types of livelihood support programming discussed in this module can be applied both in emergency and development contexts. Therefore, there are opportunities for linkage. However, the intervention designs may differ making it difficult to link relief and development interventions. For example, in an emergency, income support may be provided in the form of cash grants, whereas in a more stable context, microfinance initiatives may be preferable. **Table 6** gives examples of the types of interventions that may be implemented in four types of context: relief; rehabilitation; development; and mitigation or preparedness.

Table 6: Livelihoods interventions in different contexts

	Relief	Reha bilitation	Development	Mitigation/ preparedness
Income generation and markets	Asset/income transfers or expenditure reduction: food aid; cash grants; vouchers; cash-for- work; food-for-work; seed distribution	Vouchers and fairs Cash-for-work Food-for-work Asset recovery (seeds and tools, livestock, equipment) Microfinance	Microfinance Training in business management transfer Organizing small-scale producers Lobbying for a more supportive market environment Social welfare programmes Diversification opportunities	Contingency stocks Linking social welfare to emergency response Insurance to, e.g., cereal/fodder banks Early warning systems
Livestock	Destocking Fodder distribution Vaccination Water provision Animal health	Restocking Fodder banks Supported vaccination and drug activities	Support for cooperative development Improving information access Diversification opportunities	Rehabilitation of boreholes Animal health Livestock marketing Fodder cultivation EWS
Agriculture	Asset creation, (FFW CFW) Fishing assets distribution (nets, etc.)	Seed fairs Seeds and tools Credit Extension activities	Land tenure Land and fishing rights Seed exchanges Seed banks Extension activities	Seed banks EWS

Source: Jaspars, S., 'From food crisis to fair trade: Livelihoods analysis, protection and support in emergencies', Emergency Nutrition Network Special Supplement Series No. 3, FNN. 2006

Challenge 3: Linking relief and development livelihoods programming

Livelihoods support programming is important in both emergency and development contexts. However, interventions designs may differ in different contexts. For example, in an emergency, income support may be provided in the form of cash grants, whereas in a more stable context, microfinance initiatives may be preferable.

Efforts should be made to link livelihoods support programmes in relief and development settings while being aware that programme design will need to be modified to be appropriate in different contexts.

In addition Governments and aid agencies are showing increasing interest in social protection programmes to reduce the vulnerability of those that suffer from chronic livelihood crises and to build resilience to future shocks. "Social protection involves policies and programs that protect people against risk and vulnerability, mitigate the impacts of shocks, and support people who suffer from chronic incapacities to secure basic livelihoods. It can also build assets, reducing both short-term and intergenerational transmission of poverty."¹⁷

Social protection programmes can have three components namely:

- Social Insurance (e.g. health, life and asset insurance)
- Social Assistance/Safety Nets (e.g. cash, food, vouchers or subsidies)
- Social Services (e.g. maternal and child health and nutrition programmes)

¹⁷ Social Protection, opportunities for Africa, IFPRI, M. Adato and J. Hoddinott

Case example 12: Government of Malawi Social Protection Programme

In April 2006, the methodology for a pilot social cash transfer scheme was designed and tested in Mchinji district through operational research and from September onwards, a pilot social cash transfer scheme has been implemented.

The objectives of the scheme are to:

- 1. Reduce poverty, hunger and starvation in all households living in the pilot area which are ultra poor and at the same time labour constrained;
- 2. Increase school enrolment and attendance of children living in target group households and invest in their health and nutrition status;
- 3. Generate information on the feasibility, costs and benefits and on the positive and negative impact of a Social Cash Transfer Scheme as a component of a Social Protection Programme for Malawi.

Other cash transfer schemes were operating in the country for humanitarian purposes to deliver cash as an alternative to food aid and these projects have been implemented through NGOs, for example the Dowa cash transfer scheme by Concern Worldwide. In order to qualify for the scheme, households have to meet two criteria: ultra poor without labour.

1. Ultra poor

This means that they are in the lowest expenditure quintile and below the national ultra poverty line (only one meal per day, not able to purchase essential non-food items like soap, clothing, school utensils, begging, no valuable assets).

2. Labour constrained

A household is labour constrained when it has no able bodied household member in the age group 19 to 64, who is fit for work, or when one household member in the age group 19 to 64 years, who is fit for work, has to care for more than 3 dependents.

The categories that fall under 'ultra poor labour constrained households', are the elderly, the elderly with Orphans and other Vulnerable Children (OVC), female headed households with more than 3 orphans, chronically ill persons, persons with disabilities as well as child-headed households (CHH).

By using these 'inclusive targeting criteria', the most vulnerable 10% of the population in a Traditional Authority are being targeted and not one specific category like OVC or CHH alone. The reason for such an inclusive approach is that the scheme has great acceptance by the communities whose members recognise which households are most destitute. Also, in a low capacity country like Malawi, it would not be wise to establish too many grant mechanisms like an elderly scheme, an OVC scheme, a foster grant, a disability grant, etc, as this would simply overburden the administrative capacity of a District Assembly.

The monthly cash transfers vary according to household size and take into account whether the household has children enrolled in primary or in secondary school:

- 1 person household MK 600
- 2 person household MK 1,000
- 3 person household MK 1,400
- 4 and more persons MK 1,800

For children enrolled in primary school a bonus of MK 200 is added, for children in secondary school a bonus of MK 400. This bonus is meant to encourage school enrolment and retention as well as investment in the children's health and nutrition status and as protection of children from exploitation and abuse such as child labour or early marriages.

Delivering cash transfers without any conditions empowers the household to choose how to use the money. Preliminary results show that the monies are being used wisely and invested in meeting immediate basic needs, such as soap, food, education materials, health, clothing, shelter but also in livestock, poultry, seeds and fertilizer and in small savings. Hence, far from enhancing dependency, the pilot scheme is an opportunity for empowerment and an investment in children.

Once deemed only within the reach of rich countries, interest in social protection is increasing across Africa and other low-income countries. Governments in countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Senegal and Ghana, to name a few, are implementing social protection programmes in partnership with NGOs and the private sector.

African Governments supported by donors and NGOs have undertaken safety net programmes on a pilot basis. However, "successful implementation of large-scale social protection programs in Ethiopia and South Africa-each with more than 8 million beneficiaries-has demonstrated that social protection systems are possible in low income countries." ¹⁸

ii. Working in conflict: livelihood security and protection linkages

Conflict affects all aspects of livelihoods. War strategies often deliberately undermine livelihoods and war economies may develop, where a powerful elite benefits from war by using violent or exploitative practices. War directly impacts on livelihoods through the destruction, looting and theft of key assets, and indirectly through the loss of basic services and access to employment, markets, farms or pastures. As a result, most people's livelihood strategies become extremely restricted and may involve considerable risks to personal safety. Contemporary conflict is frequently protracted, and risks to livelihoods thus persist for long periods of time. Protracted conflict is frequently punctuated by periods of acute food insecurity and displacement.

Minimising the risk of diversion, theft or attack is important when programming in conflict situations. Agencies seek to achieve this by avoiding the direct distribution of in-kind goods or cash, and by close monitoring of both the context (movement or presence of armed groups) and the process of distribution. Risks associated with cash distribution are minimised by delivery via local banks or money-transfer companies, or by distributing only small quantities on a regular basis.

Asset protection and recovery is also possible, although only to a limited extent. This needs careful consideration lest people are exposed to greater risks through the distribution of valuable assets, as well as consideration of such questions as access to land and markets and freedom of movement.

Food security/livelihoods interventions in conflict are similar to those in any emergency context; the key difference in situations of conflict is the importance of understanding how conflict influences the governance environment, in particular the power relations between and within groups, and how the political economy of conflict affects the functioning of local institutions and thus the livelihoods of different groups. It is

necessary to analyse, mitigate and monitor the potential harms that may be associated with livelihoods programming in conflict, including the risk of reinforcing unequal power relations. This includes making sure that the type of assistance provided, and the way in which it is provided, does not put people at increased risk. These are also the key elements of a conflict analysis. Whilst a livelihoods strategy should provide appropriate livelihood support, in conflict the application of humanitarian principles is also important. Objective assessments of need within all groups are important, to ensure that livelihoods assistance reaches the most needy, and to avoid accusations of bias towards particular livelihood or ethnic groups.¹⁹

Protection work can directly contribute to an increase in food or livelihood security for affected populations. Protection activities are often centred on gathering evidence of human rights abuses, holding states and warring parties accountable, and making war-affected populations aware of their rights. Other protection activities may include providing war-affected populations with better information on their options (e.g., for returning home after displacement) or supporting risk-minimizing strategies that conflict-affected populations are already using.

Mainstreaming HIV and AIDS in livelihoods interventions

The impact of HIV and AIDS on the different elements of sustainable livelihoods is illustrated in **Figure 2**. As illustrated below, the disease has an impact at many levels. It increases vulnerability to shocks such as drought and crop failure as households have less capacity to respond. Assets may be sold to pay for expensive medical treatments and the work output of adults diminish. Some livelihood strategies may no longer be viable as they are too physically demanding for those that are sick. At the same time governments and institutions may be weakened by the high level of illness and absenteeism amongst staff many of whom have to care for sick relatives and friends.

The implications for livelihoods programming are broad, ranging from the adaptation of *early warning systems*, better emergency preparedness measures, review of targeting procedures, as well as the type of livelihoods inputs provided and the way they are implemented. Most agencies are still struggling with 'mainstreaming' HIV and AIDS into their livelihoods programmes. **Box 1** gives some examples of how this has been done in southern Africa.

Another emerging challenge is that as *antiretroviral therapy* (ART) is rolled out, formerly bedridden and often destitute patients recover speedily and soon require some means of income support or livelihoods activity. Linking IGA/livelihoods activities with ART roll-out programmes therefore becomes important, raising institutional challenges as well as challenges of scale.

¹⁸ Social Protection, opportunities for Africa, IFPRI, M. Adato and J. Hoddinott

 $^{^{19}}$ Jaspars S. and Dan Maxwell, Food Security and Livelihoods programming in Conflict: a review, HPN, 2009

Challenge 4: Livelihood security and protection linkages in conflict settings

Despite the clear links between protection and livelihoods, most agencies keep their protection and livelihoods programming separate. Insecurity and lack of access will inevitably hinder the implementation of livelihoods programmes while any distribution of resources may be subject to manipulation and abuse. The manipulation of food assistance is one of the most frequently reported problems with humanitarian assistance in conflict areas.

Livelihoods work in conflict may also create dilemmas about the application of humanitarian principles. Since weak governance is a key feature in situations of chronic conflict, one of the most obvious options to support livelihoods may be to build the capacity of local institutions. However, each local institution will have its own particular agenda, which is not necessarily to provide assistance according to objective measures of need. Ethnicity and political affiliation will influence the actions of local institutions, and local institutions may come under pressure to favour the more powerful groups.

In any situation, the threat to life and to livelihoods and the humanitarian imperative to respond to these threats must be carefully balanced against any potentially negative effects that an intervention could have in terms of shifting the balance of power.

Figure 2: Impact of HIV and AIDS on sustainable livelihoods Assets Physical – less capital and equipment Human – less labour, lower production and knowledge of livelihoods Financial – less **Vulnera bility** income, more context expenditure Shock – HIV acts Livelihood Livelihood Policies, Social as a shock to the institutions and strategies are outcomes institutions and household forced to adapt processes are customs become through illness Increased weakened by to HIV/AIDS stretched and death. vulnerability HIV/AIDS and and mav Natural – loss of and food adapt to it. break down. Trends – The land tenure insecurity Lower levels of impact of HIV in rights, changes economic growth the long term to land use Ultimately can be seen as Weakened social patterns HIV/AIDs a vulnerability services Physical increases trend. productive and destitution and Potential effects Seasonality – As common on political and may lead to poverty deepens, property assets famine as it social stability the hungry neglected and governance interacts with season may other shocks extend. Increased food insecurity due to HIV/AIDs further fuels the epidemic as susceptibility to infection increases

Box 1: Mainstreaming HIV/AIDS into livelihoods programming in southern Africa

- Add corn soy blend (CSB) to the food aid ration for 10 per cent of food aid recipients. The idea is that CSB is energy
 dense, palatable, and therefore a good food for households taking care of chronically ill members or for labour
 poor households with many children.
- Put emphasis on staff training around HIV and AIDS knowledge and attitudes, including a gender component and training on the prevention of abuse and sexual exploitation in humanitarian operations.
- Ensure community-based targeting is not excluding households that do not have a voice in the community because of stigma, or because they cannot come to meetings or do not know about them (for example, in the case of child-headed households). One way of doing this is by including representatives of home-based care groups in targeting forums.
- Liaise with HIV and AIDS groups who use events such as food distributions and seed fairs to carry out information campaigns and discuss HIV and AIDS issues with community members.
- Ensure that there is a water and sanitation component in food security responses and advocate for clean water and toilets. The cost of soap is another issue. These are all issues for those caring for the chronically ill which can lead to an extra burden for women and older girls.

Source: Witteveen, Ann, Regional food security advisor for Southern Africa, Oxfam.

Challenge 5: Incorporating the HIV/AIDS issues into livelihood programming

HIV and AIDS present a number of challenges for livelihoods programming, including adaptation of early warning systems, better emergency preparedness measures, review of targeting procedures, as well as the type of livelihoods inputs provided and the way they are implemented. In addition, linking livelihoods programmes with the roll-out of ART raises institutional challenges.

HIV and AIDS issues need to be routinely considered and addressed in livelihoods programming.

Annex 1: Advantages and disadvantages of different types of cash intervention

Cash for work	Cash vouchers	Cash grants
Advantages		
Creates community assets Easier to register labourers for cash for work, than recipients for cash grants	Can be directed towards food and commodity purchase and consumption Voucher exchange is easy to monitor Less vulnerable to inflation and devaluation; Security risks can be lower than for cash for work or cash grants	Quick to distribute and circulate Minimal involvement of implementing agency at point of trade Low administration costs
Disadvantages		
High administration costs Some of the poor or food-insecure households may not be able to participate (e.g., elderly, ill, labour poor households, women with other household duties) Can take considerable time to organize May interfere with labour markets or other household activities or priorities	High administration costs Risk of forgery May create a parallel economy May need regular adjustment by agency to protect from inflation Can take many weeks to organize	Harder to monitor usage Targeting and registration can be more difficult because cash is of value to everyone

Source: Creti, P. and S. Jaspars, Cash-transfer programming in emergencies, Oxfam, Oxford, 2007.

Annex 2: Principles of cash-for-work programming

Principle	Explanation
The food-insecure or the poorest people should be targeted.	The recipients of the programme should be those who have lost a large proportion of their food or income sources as a result of the disaster.
The most physically vulnerable people should be included.	Arrangements are made for those unable to work: for example, they could be given cash grants or vouchers instead of CFW.
The community should 'own' the programme.	The community identifies projects activities. This involves a process of community mobilization and awareness about the nature and process of CFW programming.
Work should be labour-intensive but minimize disruption to normal voluntary community activities.	Programmes should employ as much unskilled labour as possible to maximize impact on a largest possible number of affected households.
A gender balance should be ensured.	Projects should promote female participation. A variety of activities should be implemented, a majority of which will be suitable for both men and women. Child-care arrangements may be needed.
Equal pay should be the rule.	Women and men will be paid equally for agreed of working units.
Essential livelihood activities should not be undermined.	Cash work activities should not interfere with or replace traditional livelihoods and coping strategies, or divert household resources from other productive activities already in place.

 $From \ Creti, P. \ and \ S. \ Jaspars, \ \textit{Cash-transfer programming in emergencies}, Ox fam, Ox ford, 2007.$

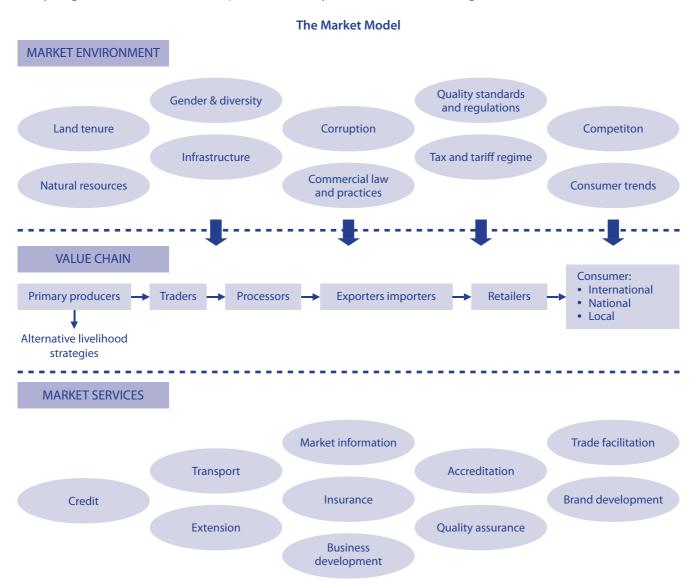
Annex 3: Different types of cash grants

Type of grant	Description and application
Grants to meet basic needs	Grants to meet basic food and non-food needs Can be one-time grant, but usually provided on regular basis, e.g., monthly Applied in Somaliland by Horn Relief, USAID in Mozambique, Iranian Red Crescent in Iran, Swiss Development Cooperation (SDC) in Mongolia, ICRC in West Bank (Occupied Palestinian Territory)
Grants to host families	Grants to reduce economic burden of hosting IDPs Applied by SDC, countries including Indonesia, Serbia, Russian Federation (Ingushetia)
Grants to rebuild housing	Grants for materials to rebuild houses, together with technical assistance Applied by SDC in Kosovo, where recipients had to host displaced people in return
Grants to replace livelihood assets	Cash to purchase essential livelihood assets or to purchase the materials necessary to re-establish business Applied by Oxfam in Indonesia and Sri Lanka
Community grants	Grants for communities to design and manage their re-emergence from disaster Applied by MCI in Indonesia
Grants for returnees	SDC in Bosnia and Kosovo UNHCR to cover transport costs for returnees to Afghanistan

Annex 4: Market analysis

A market is represented in three parts, the market environment, the value chain and the market services.

Ideally, the analysis of a particular market should be a participatory process in which key players in the market (particularly producers and traders) decide who should be included in each of the three sections of the market model. The value chain identifies all the market players that are involved in trading a product as it moves from producer to consumer. Value chains are rarely linear and at each point in the chain there are usually several markets to which a producer or trader can sell. Market service providers may handle the product as it moves along the chain, but they are not involved in trading the product themselves. Service providers such as credit lenders and transporters can be critical in enabling a market to function. The market environment (everything from infrastructure to trade policies) is also key to the effective functioning of a market.



Having built a simple model of a market, it is possible to use the model to identify the relative power of different market players, along with possible causes of unequal power distribution within the market. For example, by discussing the number of actors at each position in the supply chain, it is possible to identify a potential market distortion. Where there are large numbers of suppliers in relation to the number of buyers, the buyers are likely to be in a very powerful position and the market is competitive. An integrated market allows goods to move smoothly along the supply (or value) chain from producer to consumer. An integrated market needs good market services such as good information flows, a well-developed transport system and developed marketing networks. Those players with access to knowledge and resources (such as market information and credit) are likely to have more power than those who do not.

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TECHNICAL NOTES

Having identified the relative power of different market players and the possible causes of this power inequality, the next step is to identify how to build the power of poor people in markets. Often, a mix of programme interventions at different positions in the market brings about the greatest impact in the lives of poor people.

Some of the more long-term interventions aimed at increasing the power of poor people in markets include:

- lobbying for a supportive market environment by addressing specific trade barriers
- formalizing markets through gaining agreement on codes of conduct, contractual arrangements and creating mechanisms for dealing with disputes
- supporting poor producers to diversify production
- developing the organisation and resources of small-scale producers.
- improving poor producers' access to market services, especially credit
- working with small-scale producers to develop viable businesses