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Household dynamics in pastoral communities and implications for humanitarian aid interventions

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Household dynamics in pastoral communities and implications for humanitarian aid interventions

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ETB	Ethiopian birr
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GFDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GIS	geographic information system
GPS	global positioning system
HEA	household economy approach
HH	household
ILRI	International Livestock Research Institute
KII	key informant interviews
NDRMC	National Disaster Risk Management Commission
NGO	nongovernmental organization
No.	number
Oxfam	Oxfam GB
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Program
SNA	social network analysis
UN	United Nations
UN-OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
USD	United States dollars
WFP	World Food Program

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Executive summary

Introduction

For many humanitarian and development actors, the household (HH) is presumed to represent the most appropriate social unit for aid delivery. However, scholars argue that it fails to represent the complex structures of the pastoralist family and living arrangements, and the temporal and spatial dynamics and variabilities of these including the place of HHs within a wider social landscape or network. This can have significant implications for aid delivery and targeting. In the context of a severe drought and significant humanitarian aid response in 2016–17, this study sought to explore these issues and provide guidance to humanitarian (and development) aid actors.

The study

This study had three major questions: i) How was the humanitarian aid delivered in 2016–17 and to whom was it targeted? ii) What is a pastoralist HH today? and iii) What is the appropriate social/family unit for aid delivery in pastoral societies? It was hypothesized that the definitions of pastoralist HHs used by NGOs and government for humanitarian aid delivery did not match reality, and as such this had implications for the effectiveness of food aid distribution. The study was undertaken in 2018 in three kebeles, one in each pastoralist-dominated region of the country, through a short survey administered to each household head (HH head), and a selection of in-depth HH case studies. Social network analysis (SNA) was used to analyse and map social networks. In addition, a survey and key informant interviews (KIIs) were undertaken with representatives from humanitarian aid organizations and government. This report documents the main research findings. More details on the case studies and HH survey data can be found in a working paper for the study (Flintan et al. 2019).

Humanitarian aid delivery in pastoral areas

Droughts are a common phenomenon in the lowlands of Ethiopia, with the most recent drought spiking in 2016–17. In 2016, over one third of Ethiopia's woredas (districts) were officially classified as facing a dire food security and nutrition crisis. At the peak of the crisis in April, over 10.2 million people were targeted with emergency food assistance. In general, food aid was targeted at individuals rather than HHs. A HH was called "vulnerable" if it contained one or more vulnerable individuals. A HH was used as a point of reference by government and NGOs during the aid distribution process, with limits placed on how many vulnerable people in a HH could receive aid.

Definitions of pastoralist HHs

Humanitarian aid agencies and NGOs have no standard and agreed clear definition of what a HH is in terms of membership, structure and boundaries. In general, a HH was broadly termed: 'a number of people, often a family,

living in the same house (or flat) under the same roof or in the same compound, sharing meals eaten "out of the same dish", which can include the husband, wife, partners, children and other close relatives, and who are sharing resources and livelihoods.' However, there was variations of this. As such, though understandings were similar, the definition was open to interpretation and as some key informants indicated, could be contested. Generally, there was some recognition that there could be variability within and between HHs; the details and complexities of this were not well understood and accommodated for in aid delivery. Further, at a national level, there was little accommodation for the mobility of pastoralists within the design of the aid delivery interventions and for many this movement was seen as a problem to be resolved by pastoralists' settling. In many cases, those working at the local level did take some account of mobility and for example tried to get aid to those that had moved and/or keep the aid until their return. However, it was clear that more could be done to accommodate for mobility within the aid distribution program overall.

What is a pastoralist HH?

Though communities did use the word HH, this was not on a day-to-day basis and rather it was used when engaging with NGOs or government. The majority interviewed felt that the word HH did not adequately capture the complexities and dynamics of the family or social groupings of which they are a part. Rather, communities have their own local terms to describe their family structures and living arrangements, normally based on a core family group and an outer layer of non-core members (normally relatives) with whom they have strong interactions, often on a daily basis. The "boundaries" between these layers are fluid and porous. Numbers of both can vary and change over time or seasons. Family living arrangements can also be complex. As one HH head put it, 'for us, the definition of a "household" just depends on the time that you are visiting.'

As such, these social units are not discrete bounded, stable and fixed groups. Rather, their structures can vary widely and can change over time and circumstances. Those family units headed by females have different structures to those headed by males, though almost always still rely on a male in the HH to access certain resources or decision-making processes. Good relations in and across the unit are considered vital for coping with circumstances such as drought. As socio-political and economic contexts shift, changes also take place in these social units, with movement of people (out-migration) increasingly becoming a livelihood "choice", with men in particular going to another country to work.

In pastoralist communities, it is rare for individuals or social/family groupings (or HHs) to act alone, but rather social networking and building social capital are important including for building resilience both within the family groupings and across the community. A new or adapted network has grown in communities around and in response to the redistribution or sharing of humanitarian food aid, which combined with the sharing of "other assistance" was seen to be a key strategy for coping with drought.

Of those HH heads that received food aid in the 2016–17 drought period, 69% (n=199) in Su'ula kebele (village) in Afar region, 36% in Asli kebele, Somali region and 61% (n=370) in Fuldowa kebele, Oromia region shared it. Food aid was mainly shared with family members, often more than once. The main reason for giving the food aid to another person or HH was 'because they had none', though relationships between the giver and receiver were also an important reason, as was 'because it is normal to do so'.

Around 60% of the population across all regions also gave other types of assistance too, the most common being food (non-food-aid food) and cash. There was a significant amount of two-way transactions, i.e. giving and receiving to/from the same individual or HH, highlighting the reciprocal nature of the sharing. Such networks introduce interesting dynamics into the community, shifting a degree of power from the wealthier (normally at the centre of more traditional wealth redistribution networks) to the vulnerable who gain in status and security, and build social capital from the sharing of food aid. Women in particular play a very active role in the aid-sharing networks not only because they are often the vulnerable ones receiving food aid, but also because food of any kind is considered a women's domain and responsibility.

The study also investigated whether there was a correlation or relationship between the physical location of a HH and whether or not they received aid—and there was not. In addition, there was no correlation or relationship between level of connectedness in the social network (in terms of sharing food aid or other assistance) and location in the physical landscape, as was there no correlation between location and ability to cope with and recover from drought. This indicates that in the study area, physical location in a kebele made no or little difference to whether an HH received aid or to the resilience of that HH.

Discussion and conclusions

The family groupings that exist in pastoralist communities in the study areas are generally "open" in nature, rather than "closed" (Randall and Coast 2014), as they offer, give, receive or ask for help from a wide range of kin or others beyond their immediate nuclear family. In addition, because the majority of sharing of aid happens within the kebele and between individuals with strong relations, the social network can be described as mainly one of 'bonding social capital' or ties (with intra-community relations based on kinship and friendship). However, there were also some examples of 'bridging social capital' or ties (with inter-community relations between people of different identities but having common aims). This follows Anbacha and Kiosavik (2018) and their conclusions of a study on women's support networks in Borana, where they found both types of social capital. The SNA also revealed that no HHs dominated the network, suggesting that the social support network is egalitarian.

It is clear that pastoral social networks exist and the sharing of food aid and other assistance that took place through this network challenges ideas of targeting of food aid: though the majority of food aid got to the targeted beneficiaries through the aid pipeline, part of it did not *stay* with those beneficiaries and rather, was shared. As such, it could be said that the aid distribution targeting failed to fully meet its targets. However, it did inadvertently contribute to the strengthening of the social network that was and remains so important to get communities through crises such as drought. Indeed, some community members said that the drought and working together through the drought made the community stronger. The role that food aid, and more specifically the 'sharing of food aid' plays in contributing to strong social networks, is not something that is acknowledged in aid delivery design or implementation. Rather, many of the actions taken by humanitarian and development actors can serve to challenge or weaken the social networks by focusing on individuals rather than communities, and the privatization or individualization of land, water and other resources rather than supporting collective or communal management and ownership. In many ways, pastoralists themselves contributed to the success of the aid delivery in 2016–17 by overcoming many of the hurdles facing them including the limitations of the aid distribution process.

With this in mind, and in consideration of the question that remains as to what is the most appropriate social or family grouping for aid delivery, the research is inconclusive. Overall, it was agreed by community respondents that the term HH is useful as a broad unit of reference for social groupings that in reality have significant variance and diversity in them and is used in community engagement with government and NGOs. However, there is the danger that the lack of a standard detailed definition of HH could lead to various interpretations by NGOs, governments, survey respondents and others, which could skew survey responses and the targeting of aid.

It is clear that targeting of food aid to individuals did have challenges in 2016-17, and not least in that though the aid reached the beneficiaries, it often did not stay with them as the aid was shared. Such challenges are also likely to arise if aid is distributed to a HH. Alternatively, if food aid had been distributed to a community and left to the allocation of community leaders or a committee, aid would likely have reached those that needed it more quickly but there could have been another set of challenges in terms of ensuring that allocation of aid by the community occurs in a transparent and accountable manner and does not contribute to internal tensions, for example.

Either way, humanitarian aid delivery was one factor among many that helped communities get through the drought and was not the defining factor alone. Indeed, for many, the most important coping strategy or activity is mobility, and yet mobility continues to be constrained and blocked by land use changes, settlement, lack of support and facilitation including services along livestock routes, and in some ways by the aid distribution process itself.

Recommendations

The situation described in this research is a challenging one to address, including how aid could be better targeted and distributed to improve resilience. Taking into consideration the results of this study, and reflection on the analysis and results, the following recommendations are made:

1. Humanitarian aid and development agencies should have a clearer and agreed upon definition of what they mean by a HH, recognizing that their definition may not necessarily reflect how local community social groupings or families are structured socially and physically. Though the term as it is used by such actors offers flexibility this can create problems in its interpretation at the local level by communities when asked 'who are the members of your household?'. As such, in order to ensure more consistency, the boundaries of who should be or who should not be, included in a listing of "HH" members could be provided. This would also be the case for those conducting HH surveys, that is, making it clear to survey participants what is meant by "your HH" when asked questions about the HH members. This would provide a more robust basis for data collection and comparing across HHs and/or for extrapolating results.

2. Humanitarian actors need to better recognize and accommodate the complex structures, relations and functionality of pastoralist societies and social/family units, including that the sharing of humanitarian food aid is an important aspect of building social capital and resilience, within the planning and implementation of humanitarian aid distribution.

3. More support needs to be provided to pastoralist communities to build the social networks and social capital that exist as a means of strengthening the collective and communal society. Interventions that encourage individualization are likely to have long-term negative impacts on the society as a whole and should be avoided.

4. The particular role of women and the importance of social networks for women and their empowerment should be recognized and built upon.

5. Movement or mobility of people and livestock should not be framed as a problem, but rather the movement, particularly during drought, should be facilitated and supported. At the very least, aid agencies and other actors should not contribute to its further restriction.

6. Additional research is required on the impacts of socioeconomic changes taking place in pastoralist communities in Ethiopia in order to better design interventions to support the positive and mitigate the negative impacts of these, as well as the gender aspects. How these relate to both short- and long-term resilience of individuals, HHs and communities is an important feature of this.

7. The SNA tool proved highly useful in mapping out the social network that exists for transacting food aid and other assistance. However, more research is required to dig deeper into the relations mapped out and the relationship of this aid-based social network with or impact on the more traditional or customary wealth redistribution networks or other, that still exist. In addition, SNA could be used at a HH level to map out transactions and/or interactions including how resources flow from one individual to another and the boundaries around these. This could be an effective way of defining an appropriate target unit for aid delivery and/or longer-term development in the future.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background to the research

Complexities and dynamics of pastoralist HHs

For many development and humanitarian actors, the HH is presumed to represent the most appropriate social unit for aid delivery. This is exemplified in the most commonly used vulnerability or needs-enquiry tool, the HH survey. However, the use of the term HH and how its structure and membership has been described (such as being "those that eat out of the same pot") are questioned by some scholars who argue that pastoralist HHs in particular are highly complex and do not easily fit within a simplified terminology (Randall et al. 2011; Villalba et al. 2015).

It is said that aid targeting typically uses a definition of the pastoral HH that treats it as one bounded and stable unit. However, such a standardized approach distorts parameters that are key to the analysis of pastoral systems, such as livestock holdings and mobility or polygamy, kinship and bonded relations. Where polygamous arrangements are included in wealth and poverty assessments, a false picture can be provided of the wealth of HHs such as livestock distribution—it is normal for livestock to be counted as being owned by one HH, i.e. that of the husband and first wife (suggesting that other wives/HHs have little or no livestock), whereas though the majority of the livestock may indeed be managed by the husband and the first HH, in reality the income and benefits (wealth) from that livestock are much more fairly distributed across all the sub-HHs and wives (Kratli and Swift 2014).

Indeed, pastoralist families can be highly complex. Referring to the HH as a unit for study in research in Afar, Ethiopia, Davies (2006) states that 'the term "household" relates to the people who are primarily dependent on one person, the household head, and can include a number of wives each living in their own separate house (*ari*)'. Similarly, Maasai families often comprise several sub-HHs that may be considered as separate entities leading to an increase in the number of HHs referred to by development agents (Villalba et al. 2015).

Sometimes, the very poorest in a community may not be part of or attached to a specific HH and so are "statistically invisible" (Randall and Coast 2014). Most national representative surveys require individuals to be members of one HH only, but many people contribute to and/or take resources from two or more HHs with temporally varied movements between HHs an integral part of poverty alleviation or avoidance (Randall and Coast 2014). This has implications for variables such as HH size, ramifications for data analysis and for understanding poverty, vulnerability, resilience and their determinants. And as Randall et al. (2011) suggest, 'it generates data and outputs with potential for undercounting, bias and misrepresentation'. Indeed, a study comparing data analysis using different definitions of a HH showed that when using three different definitions of a HH in a survey analysis it led to a 4–7% deviation in results (Villalba et al. 2015).

Randall (2015) suggests further that this is particularly the case for mobile pastoralists who have faced 'heterogeneous patterns of…statistical invisibility with different forms and intensities according to the national and socio-political context'. Despite recent improvements, she highlights that in some countries, a deliberate exclusion of (particularly nomadic) pastoralists in data collection exercises has prevailed, requiring considerable work on developing appropriate categories and definitions if they are to be adequately accounted for.

A HH or what some prefer to call a "domestic group" (Randall personal communication 2018) contains individuals with different rights to resources and access to networks both as a function of their group membership but also due to their individual characteristics, gender, circumstances and societal or kinship links. Often what NGOs and government tend to do is simplify the complex relationships and structure of these domestic groups and use the simpler and more quantifiable unit of a "HH". As such, the word HH becomes less of a description of reality and more one of an 'administrative construct' (Randall personal communication 2019).

Randall and Coast (2014) introduce the concept of "closed" and "open" HHs. A closed HH is one whose members support those in their nuclear families of descent and origin and receive or ask for help only from these same people. Generally, they have a fairly stable membership without a constant flux of people with different rights, expectations and obligations. Alternatively, open HHs are those that offer, give, receive or ask for help or support from a wider range of kin or others. This makes it difficult to establish membership of these open HHs in a survey because of frequent movements and reconfigurations as different individuals exploit different social networks and obligations to generate social capital and security in stressful economic (or environmental) contexts.

Social networks and capital

Indeed, it is said that 'the focus on HH ignores that crucial functions within pastoral economies are taking place at a scale that is higher than the household' (Kratli and Swift 2014). Kin and social networks are particularly important for pastoralists. For example, pastoralists will use social networks to negotiate access to pastures, provide support in times of need, as age sets and as layers of customary institutions; the sharing of resources can be an important part of this including informal transfers of wealth or assets (Devereux 2006).

At the centre of many pastoral social networks in Ethiopia are found customary institutions. It is said that these can have both a positive and negative impact on how equally aid is distributed. For example, studies of aid targeting in pastoral areas indicate that "traditional" governance structures still exert considerable influence over the distribution of aid transfers, which can disproportionately benefit the wealthiest HHs (Sabates-Wheeler et al. 2013). Such inequities developing in pastoral areas may have been directly or indirectly impacted upon by aid delivery itself (weakening traditional wealth distribution systems such as busa gonofa) (Tache and Sjaastad 2010).

Mobility also tends to be downplayed including in HH assessments and/or not taken into account at all (Kratli and Swift 2014). Mobility can be both spatially across an environmental landscape and socially through a social landscape (within and across domestic or social groups). This might include the splitting of herds and the splitting of family groups to spread risk and manage variability. Standard definitions may fail to take into account how pastoral HHs may differ from non-pastoral HHs and how these differences have become ever more complex as livelihoods have diversified, social systems become more complex, and new opportunities have arisen both within and alongside customary pastoral systems. Though there has been some recognition of HH dynamics in terms of marital arrangements such as polygamy, other HH dynamics such as longer-term migration of HH members that may be occurring—widening the social landscape or abandoning it altogether—may not be taken into account.

Indeed, the literature shows that communities have a set of coping strategies to put in place in times of drought; this may include sending children to school to receive food distributions, pastoralist women selling grain received as aid for additional income to feed the HH, community members taking up wage employment etc. Further, Berman et al. (2014) suggest that social support networks are an important coping mechanism, but not all HHs experience the same levels of inclusion in these networks. Indeed, when faced with an external shock or perturbation, responses to the shock are likely to vary more between HHs than within HHs (Sallu et al. 2010; Cassidy and Barnes 2012). Further, though community cohesion, good leadership or individual support to collective action can strengthen resilience of communities to shocks or stress, this may not always be the case and those communities that may be unwilling to give up traditional customary management systems may be less resilient than those that do (Béné et al. 2016).

The literature on social capital has classified social networks derived from reciprocity into two categories: "bonding social capital" (an intra-community relation among defined socioeconomic groups based on kinship and friendship) and "bridging social capital" (an inter-community relation between people of different identities but having common aims. Bonding creates strong, dense network structures, involves strong social norms and develops localized trust between members. Bridging ties enables the sharing of resources and opportunities in one network with members in another (Anbacha and Kjosavik 2018).

A study of women's social networks in Borana called *marro* showed that both types of sharing are undertaken in order to ensure food and livelihood security, and the practice increases in importance during drought (Anbacha and Kjosavik 2018). Alternatively, a study of support networks in Uganda showed that bonding ties might not be so important as previously thought and instead it was shown that: (1) support networks differ depending on the stress experienced; (2) networks are characterized by bridging social ties with little evidence of bonding social ties and (3) core HHs that provide support within the networks typically hold formal positions in village institutions, mediating access to both formal and informal support structures (Mayanja et al. 2015).

In some circumstances, pastoral customary support structures and reciprocal relations appear to have broken down, making it harder for the pastoral poor to rebuild their livelihoods. With socioeconomic changes taking place it is also suggested by some that pastoral communities are becoming more stratified, with a greater number of assets in the hands of a fewer number of well-off pastoralists in a community, while there are a greater number of poor pastoralists with few assets including livestock (Catley and Iyasu 2010; Coppock 2016). In times of crisis, poorer pastoralist HHs may turn to negative response mechanisms such as beggary, the sale of forest products and marketing one's labour for cash. These are practices which were traditionally considered to be socially degrading (Devereux 2006) but are now increasingly common.

The Household Economy Approach (HEA) developed by Save the Children-United Kingdom in the mid 2000s went some way to considering the complexities of communities and their coping strategies, including carrying out baseline analyses to understand how HHs that had been categorized according to levels of wealth had survived a 12-month period (Holzmann et al. 2008), and scenario analysis to forecast likely future access to food and other items (Pantuliano and Wekesa 2008). However, more complex issues like mobility were still not considered, and it is not clear to what extent the HEA is still being used today, particularly in relation to aid delivery.

Resilience

Resilience refers to the capacity of a social-ecological system to cope with shocks such as droughts or economic crises without changing its fundamental defining features. Resilient systems have the adaptive capacity or coping mechanisms to absorb shocks and adapt to new challenges without changing their fundamental structure and function (Gunderson and Holling 2002). The exact definition of adaptive capacity and how it relates to resilience varies. In some instances, resilience is seen as a sub-component of adaptive capacity (Brooks and Adger 2005), whereas others regard it as a process that modifies ecological resilience (Gunderson 2000). The definition often depends on whether the focus is predominantly on the social system (former) or ecological system (latter) (Cassidy and Barnes 2012)[1].

In the last decade, the conceptualization of "resilience" has become more elaborate with it being viewed more as 'an emergent property that also includes two other dimensions: the adaptive capacity of the system components… [including learning, adjusting responses]…; and their transformative capacity', the latter meaning the ability to change to a new system as the existing system becomes untenable (Bené et al. 2015). As such, resilience is said to have

1. There are different calculated indices which can be used to represent HH resilience. Cassidy and Barnes (2012) considered the following: i) Livelihood Diversity Index, ii) Wealth Index and iii) Resilience Index. There are also iv) HH Vulnerability Index (Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources Policy Network 2007), v) Livelihood Vulnerability Index (Hahn et al. 2009) and vi) the Human Adaptive Capacity Index (Vincent 2007). It is important to note that development studies, in their interpretation of the concept of resilience, sometimes fail to acknowledge scale effects. There may be ethical reasons for not applying the ecological usage, where resilience is based on a system's ability to change its components, while still maintaining its overall structure (Holling 2001). If losing some HHs is a way for a community structure to stay resilient, then it is clear from a moral standpoint that it is not only on the emergent property of community that we must focus, but also on the constituent elements of individual people or HHs.

three capacities—absorptive, adaptive and transformative ((Bené et al. 2015)—and should be seen as an active ability to change and manage that change. As such, the resilience of a social-ecological system such as pastoralism can be influenced by a HH's capacity for social learning and innovation (Cassidy and Barnes 2012), and (as it is hypothesized here in this study) also by its degree of connectedness in a social and/or ecological landscape that facilitates (or blocks) that innovation or change.

Increasingly, attention is being paid to human vulnerability and how to reduce this through strengthening social resilience (Nelson et al. 2007; Cassidy and Barnes 2012). A "resilience approach" recognizes that there is no single stable state in a social-ecological system, but that the system is exposed to different "shocks" that challenge its fundamental identity and make it dynamic. It has been shown that those HHs that have a greater number of assets and a variety of assets, and those HHs that are more socially networked are likely to have a wider range of livelihood strategies, greater levels of other forms of social capital and greater overall resilience (Boyd et al. 2008; Schwarz et al. 2011).

However, at the same time beyond the HH level, resilience 'may include a wide range of systemic factors, such as health conditions, political relationships, cultural norms, agroecological conditions, or macroeconomic situations… the resilience of a community [can be] inextricably linked to the condition of the environment and the status of its resources. Emphasising this socio-ecological dependence helps in defining (or redefining) more adequately vulnerable groups (thus improving the targeting process of interventions). But it also means that resilience in relation to food security must include indicators of natural resource status' (Béné et al. 2015).

When understanding the resilience of a HH, how that HH is defined matters including taking into account power and gender relations, as well as how that HH is connected to other HHs as part of a social landscape and potentially, its relationship with the physical landscape. With a better understanding of a the structure, assets, status and networks of a HH and how these contribute to its overall resilience and that of the community of which it is a part (i.e. their ability to cope with the most recent drought), it is possible to offer guidance for building resilience of HHs as well as the individuals that form them. As such, this research will measure resilience through the ability of a HH to cope with the most recent drought period, related to its position in the social and physical landscape.

Aid delivery and targeting

Aid delivery in an emergency is challenging, and particularly to remote populations with poor infrastructure, communication services etc, as is the case across most of Ethiopia's pastoralist areas. In the past, there have been major technical difficulties with aid delivery here. For example, in the mid-2000s, there were concerns about sampling biases and geographic coverage, obtaining information from HHs, communities and government officials that was reliable, the balance of qualitative and quantitative information and converting this into beneficiary numbers and food aid needs, the distinction between chronic and transitory food insecurity, targeting, and the classification of HHs and the lack of attention paid to variability within them (Haan et al. 2006; Kebebew et al. 2001).

How best to ensure that aid reaches and remains with targeted beneficiaries is an ongoing challenge for humanitarian and development organizations (Sabates-Wheeler 2018; Lind et al. 2018). There is increasing pressure on aid organizations to show value-for-money including within targeted aid delivery, but most importantly, concerns have been raised about fairness and ensuring that those most in need benefit. How best to do this is a critical question for aid organizations and particularly in pastoralist areas where social structures and settings are highly complex (as described above).

Within the Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP)[2] in pastoral areas, targeting of aid[3] has been challenged on a number of levels, to the point of asking whether targeting should be attempted at all (Lind et al. 2018). Sabates-Wheeler (2018) highlights three key areas: (1) the difficulty of identifying the poorest from among the poor, particularly in a context in which a large proportion of HHs hold the view that 'we are all poor here'; (2) heterogeneity in HH characteristics within a target population that is assumed to be relatively homogeneous whereas in reality there might be significant social and even geographic differences influencing entitlements and access; and (3) provision of individual or HH transfers in diverse social and cultural contexts.

Further, 'in an environment where traditional authority structures exert considerable influence in the selection of beneficiaries, there are high levels of errors of inclusion—wealthy HHs receiving public works payments—and errors of exclusion' (Sabates-Wheeler et al. 2013). In addition, there can be corruption, favouritism and simply not enough information. Government officials feel pressured to allow more HHs to get a little aid, rather than a selected few getting a larger amount. As Sabates-Wheeler (2018) suggests: 'using a rather arbitrary targeting eligibility cut-off in the face of tight budgets and in a context in which everyone is poor calls into question the social acceptability, as well as the political attractiveness, of targeting'.

Though some steps were taken to improve understanding of targeting such as training and measures to improve transparency in PSNP, it would seem that targeting continues to be an issue. Indeed, a review of PSNP targeting in pastoralist areas from its start to the most recent evaluation in 2016 showed no meaningful improvement in targeting performance since 2010. The explanations raised in the report for this were "resources" and "under-coverage", the lack of involvement of traditional leaders in targeting, insufficient training, attitudes of program implementers and transparency. However, in their conclusions, Lind et al. (2018) suggested that norms regarding fairness and a lack of transparency are the most likely explanations. Steps to improve transparency have been taken such as the posting of beneficiary listings in kebele centres, though still, many pastoralists do not get to see these. And in terms of community norms of fairness, they comment, 'a major element of local notions of "fairness" in these areas are that everyone should benefit regardless of wealth, and that targeting a minority of community members can engender tensions' (Lind et al. 2018). Such tensions can have unintended negative impacts on social relations and institutions. These risks are greatest in places where populations requiring social transfer support dwarf the program resources that are available. As such, the actions taken by local officials to share aid with a wider group of the population would in some ways be helping to dissipate such tensions (Lind et al. 2018).

Another challenge of aid distribution raised by Sabates-Wheeler (2018) is the difficulties of targeting people "on the move" including pastoralists. Often males are absent from the HH in order to take livestock to grazing or water. Sabates-Wheeler (2018) describe how long periods of male absence from the larger family, combined with smaller, polygamous HH units across multiple locations, means that resource distribution takes on necessarily complex forms. Targeting challenges include the difficulties of locating mobile groups, and then the interference with herding patterns caused by the requirement to be present for the targeting process including registration and to collect the "transfer" or aid.

Further, the issues of "sharing" of aid has also been highlighted (Ali and Hobson 2009; Devereux and Tibbo 2012). As has been discussed, social networks and reciprocal sharing of assets and mutual assistance has been the norm in pastoral areas and is a key aspect of community and HH's coping mechanisms. Another study on the PSNP delivery in Ethiopia showed that communities exercise discretion in allocating aid that is pro-poor in nature (Simons 2016). And in Afar, a key determinant for many Ethiopian Afar pastoralists is the accrual of debts and obligations that are recalled during a time of crisis; these may be elaborate debts between multiple parties over many generations and "repayment" does not have to be in kind. As Davies and Bennet (2007) describe:

2. The objective of the PSNP is '...to provide transfers to the food insecure population in chronically food insecure woredas in a way that prevents asset depletion at the HH level and creates assets at the community level' (GFDRE 2010).

3. 'While local communities have some discretion in the allocation of program resources, PSNP targeting is informed by the criteria laid out in the programme implementation manual for the PSNP (GFDRE 2010). The same manual governs PSNP implementation and operations in the highlands of Ethiopia as well as Afar and Somali. Program resources are not intended for well-off HHs as measured by land and livestock holdings. HHs that are food insecure, defined as being unable to feed themselves for at least three months per year, but who have adult able-bodied members present, are employed on public works projects. Food insecure households that lack labor power receive payments but do not have to work. These payments, called Direct Support, are intended to assist households that, for example contain primary income earners who are elderly or disabled' (Sabates-Wheeler et al. 2013).

> Services rendered, support provided, or livestock gifted all act as routine "payment" and "repayments", defying quantification or measurement, and it is the regular, visible contribution according to one's means which ensures insurance premiums are paid up. These social institutions are sometimes considered as a form of "bonding" social capital…Participation in these social institutions is a quintessential part of being an Afar and failure to fully participate can lead to the withdrawal of goodwill over time, which presents the risk of outright destitution for the household. Afars claim to invest in these institutions for two reasons: because they believe they will receive help in return and because of social pressures. This participation is an indication of wealth in Afar and is an important aspiration for a pastoralist owing to the status and security that it confers.

However, though a study by Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2013) identified twenty forms of informal social support as well as more general forms of support including cash support, food support (including the provision of cooked meals), livestock support and money lending, more often than not it was said that the amounts given were small and provided as help-in-kind (assistance in terms of childcare, grain, sugar and fuel wood).

Nevertheless, the sharing of food aid by communities does challenge the targets and targeting set by aid agencies. As Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2013) suggest, 'while, network-based affiliation and distribution provide important functions under high levels of uncertainty, such as, subsistence assurance and risk mitigation, the sharing of resources between more people than the program intended may counteract the possible positive effects of the program for the eligible'. A dilution of the transfer can happen as aid is split across a greater number of recipients than it was originally intended for. The PSNP is designed to resist dilution through the use of a concept called 'full family targeting. If a HH is identified as chronically food insecure and eligible for PSNP, all HH members will be listed as clients of the program (GFDRE 2010). As one official commented in their study, 'people share whatever they are getting. Thus, full family targeting is difficult.' One official took this further and said that because of the nature of sharing in such societies it is better not to focus on the HH security, and rather focus on the security of the community, an interesting conclusion seemingly not taken up by government or humanitarian organizations:

> In our society especially in rural areas there is a resource sharing culture. Moreover, there are no significant wealth variations among a majority of the community members. Thus, in our case we believe that food security can be realized at the community level, not at the HH level as it is stated in the program document (PSNP project implementation manual). When it comes to Afar, food security has to be viewed in this way. In Afar almost everything is communal (Sabates-Wheeler et al. 2013).

The results of the study by Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2013) are indicative, but not conclusive, as the authors state, 'while practices of sharing clearly challenge standard assumptions of HH asset accumulation and "graduation" in the design of productive safety nets, sharing can expand and/or deepen claims to other social support in the future. Further research is required to provide greater insights into who recipients share with, how much of their transfer they share, and forms of reciprocity, and repayment they receive in turn.'

1.2 This research

This research starts from the premise that by better understanding pastoralist HHs and their place and relationship within both the wider social and physical or environmental landscapes that currently exist, improved guidance can be provided on how best aid, and particularly humanitarian aid, can be delivered and/or targeted. This includes understanding the structure and dynamics of a HH and how resources flow into, within, across and out of the HH, while also understanding the structure and dynamics of a community, e.g. a clan, kebele or traditional social unit, the influence of gender, and how resources flow within and in and out of this via different HHs as part of a social network.

Further, this research challenges the concept of a pastoralist HH and that it is possible to develop a definition that accounts for the variability and differences in and across pastoralist HHs, and that those definitions that exist and are used for aid delivery are not reflective of reality. As such this research will focus on understanding how humanitarian

aid was delivered by humanitarian aid agencies in the 2016–17 major drought period in three different regions of the country including how it was targeted, understanding what is a pastoralist HH today and is it better described as something other than HH, and the implications of this for aid delivery in the future.

Objectives of the research

The overall objective of this 18-month research project was to develop knowledge and understanding that will 'increase the resilience of pastoralist livelihoods to threats and crisis'. This was undertaken through a study of pastoralist HHs and humanitarian aid delivery including targeting, and other types of assistance. The sub-objectives were:

1. To understand how HHs were defined by humanitarian aid agencies during recent drought interventions in order to target food aid;
2. To understand the different forms and structures of HHs that exist in case study pastoral areas of Ethiopia, how these different forms and structures operate and inter-relate at different scales, the importance of factors such as gender, and what impact this has on the ability of a HH to cope with drought so contributing to its resilience;
3. To explore the relationship between the pastoralist social landscape including HHs, and the physical/ environmental pastoralist landscape, and the impact this may have on a HH's resilience including access to aid; and
4. To enhance the capacity of different stakeholders to understand pastoralist HHs, how they function, the relevance of definitions of HHs in contemporary pastoralism settings, and the implications of this for humanitarian aid delivery including targeting.

The research had four hypotheses:

1. Pastoralist HHs as targeted by humanitarian aid delivery are different to reality including how pastoralists themselves define a HH.
2. Pastoralist HHs are part of a well-defined social network, landscape or community on which gender has an impact.
3. A HH's position in the community or social landscape as well as its position in the physical landscape have an impact on its resilience (ability to cope with drought).
4. There is a need for a new approach to aid delivery including targeting to better build pastoralist HH resilience.

The research questions were developed to reflect the above and are provided in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Research questions

Questions	Research and/or analysis tools
1. How was humanitarian aid delivered in 2016–17 in pastoral areas and to whom was it targeted?	
1.1 What were the aid-delivery strategies and to whom was aid targeted by NGOs and government in the 2016–17 drought?	KIIs, literature review
1.2 If it was targeted to a HH, how was the HH defined?	KIIs, literature review
1.3 To what extent did aid agencies attempt to take account of and include in their aid delivery the diversity of HHs in terms of membership, structure and entitlements to aid?	KIIs, literature review
2. What is a pastoralist HH?	
2.1 How do pastoralists themselves define a pastoralist HH or "domestic group"?	HH survey, in-depth case studies, KIIs
2.2 What is the structure of an average pastoralist HH and how do HHs form a social landscape or network—a community? What impact does gender have on this?	HH survey (SNA), in-depth case studies, KIIs, literature review
2.3. Does the position of a HH in the community, and the position of a HH in the physical landscape, have an impact on a HH's resilience, i.e. how it copes with drought?	HH survey (SNA), mapping of kebele and location of HHs, KIIs
3. What is the most appropriate social/family unit for aid delivery in pastoral societies?	
3.2 How do the definitions of a pastoralist HH used by humanitarian and development actors in aid delivery compare with reality?	Combination and analysis of 1 and 2 above
3.2 If there are differences, what implications does this have for aid delivery and for a HH's resilience (ability to cope with drought)?	Analysis of the above.
3.3 What is the most appropriate social or family grouping for aid delivery, can it be defined and if so, what is the definition?	Analysis of the above

Methodologies

The research used a mix of quantitative and qualitative tools for the information collection and analysis. The research commenced with a HH survey, followed by in-depth information collection in selected case studies. A key and innovative tool for analysis was SNA, used to understand the ties and reciprocal arrangements that exist within pastoral communities, between different HHs, the flow of aid, and the position of HHs within the community network and the strength of their ties (see below). The HH as perceived by the HH head was the unit of study together with the relations between it and other HHs in a community or kebele. A third component of the research mapped out (using Geographic Information System (GIS)) the location of all HHs interviewed in the HH survey to understand their position in the environmental/physical landscape, as well as in the social landscape indicated by the SNA.

Within this research, the resilience of a HH was broadly measured by the ability of the HH to cope with the most recent drought period (as defined by the HH head) and in terms of a scoring between 1–10. Though it is recognized that this did not take into account many of the complexities of resilience as described in various sections in the report, it is believed that it did give an adequate, albeit simplistic, representation and indication sufficient for this research and analysis.

The research was undertaken in four phases:

1. A review of the definitions of a pastoralist HH in Ethiopia as used by humanitarian aid agencies during the 2016–17 drought period. This was carried out through a short survey completed by NGOs who distributed food and/or livestock feed aid in the drought period, followed up by KIIs and a review of key agency documents.

2. KIIs with national, regional and local stakeholders including government and key UN agencies sought to understand in more detail how a HH was defined or described by humanitarian and development actors, and how aid was targeted and to whom. In addition, KIIs were carried out with kebele and customary leaders for background information on how pastoralists define HHs and how these interact at community and other levels. A list of KIIs conducted is provided in Annexe 1.

3. A HH survey was undertaken in three kebeles—one each in Somali, Oromia and Afar regions. In each region, ILRI established a partnership with an NGO who had delivered aid in 2016–17, including Oxfam, CARE and Save the Children respectively, as well as local research centres and/or universities. Each kebele had a population dominated by pastoralists, had received aid during 2016–17, were found in the partner NGO intervention areas, and were considered to be reasonably accessible. Background information on the kebele and woreda is found in Annexe 4. In total 1,983 HH heads were interviewed, identified using the kebele HH listing: 292 in Su'ula kebele, Elide'ar woreda, Afar; 986 in Asli kebele, Afdem woreda, Somali region; and 705 in Fuldowa kebele, Arero woreda, Borana Oromia (see Table 1.1). Every HH head in the kebele was interviewed, though one area of Su'ula in Afar was not accessible to the team, and a small part of Asli kebele in Somali region was cut off by flooding. A checklist for the survey is found in Annexe 2.

4. In-depth case studies were conducted of six families in each kebele/woreda, using participatory research tools (see below). The checklists for the tools are found in Annexe 3.

In order to facilitate the research and more easily link the study results with the data on HH aid delivery held by NGOs and local government, the team used the kebele listing of HHs as a starting point for framing the research and to identify HHs, though it was recognized that this could be framing the community social and family groupings "unnaturally". Of those HH heads interviewed, Afar 45%, Somali 21% and Oromia 28% were headed by females; this is a significant percentage of female-headed HHs particularly in Afar. Preliminary research on this issue suggested the main cause was out-migration of husbands for work abroad, and polygamy where second and third wives were registered as HH heads in their own right.

Table 1.2 HHs interviewed per kebele/region

Region, woreda	Kebele	Number of HHs interviewed		Total[4]	Total number on kebele list or other[5]
		Male headed	Female headed		
Afar, Elide'ar	Su'ula	161	131	292	469
		55.1%	44.9%		
Somali, Afdem	Asli (Balanbalay)	779	207	986	1,320[6]
		79.0%	21.0%		
Oromia, Arero	Fuldowa	509	196	705	801
		72.2%	27.8%		

The mean age of those interviewed was 43.99 years, with the youngest HH head aged 15 years and the oldest 99 years (see Table 1.3). Two HH heads in Asli and one in Fuldowa were aged 15; two in Su'ula, 34 in Asli and 45 HH heads in Fuldowa were aged between 16–20; and seven in Su'ula, 18 in Asli and 71 in Fuldowa were aged between 80 and 99 years. Such figures show a presence of relatively young HH heads (albeit limited), particularly in Afar. There was also a presence of aged HH heads, particularly in Fuldowa, Oromia (10% of those interviewed).

Each HH was asked to complete a small questionnaire including some background information on livelihoods and socioeconomics, plus more detailed information on food aid and livestock feed aid, including sharing of these, as well as the giving and receiving of other types of assistance (see Annexe 1). Each HH was asked to list what aid they received from another HH (identifying that HH) in the last drought period defined as 2016–17, and what aid they had given to another HH, with some short accompanying questions including how many times the transaction(s) occurred, whether payment was made, the relationship with the other HH, reason(s) for the transaction, and what happened to the food/feed afterwards. This was done twice—once for food aid and once for "other assistance".

4. The research team tried to interview all HHs currently located in the kebele, however in Afar region there was one area that was only accessible through a three to four day camel ride and it was not clear how many HHs would be there; in Asli, Somali a small part of the kebele was not accessible due to flooding. In Fuldowa, Oromia, it was understood that the majority of HHs were visited and included. From our experience, it was found that the number of HHs currently in the kebele were less than those registered on the kebele or other lists.

5. From kebele/woreda list or other

6. According to PSNP lists

Table 1.3 Age of those interviewed (HH heads)

Kebele	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
Su'ula	44.28	20	90
Asli	41.99	15	95
Fuldowa	46.66	15	99
Total	43.99	15	99

Table 1.4 Number of HHs in certain age brackets

Kebele	No. of HH heads		
	15 years-old	Aged between 16–20 years	Aged between 80–99 years
Su'ula	0	2	7
Asli	2	34	18
Fuldowa	3	45	71

Following the survey, the data was analysed through SNA to map out the different transactions and those HH members that were involved in i) the most transactions, ii) the medium transactions and iii) the least transactions. Eighteen HHs in the three regions/kebeles (six HHs in Afar, six in Somali and six in Oromia) were selected for more in-depth case study research based on their position in the SNA as above, i.e. their comparative degree of connectiveness (low, medium, high) and amount of transactions made. In-depth research was undertaken using participatory tools to further explore how HHs were structured, function, make decisions etc.

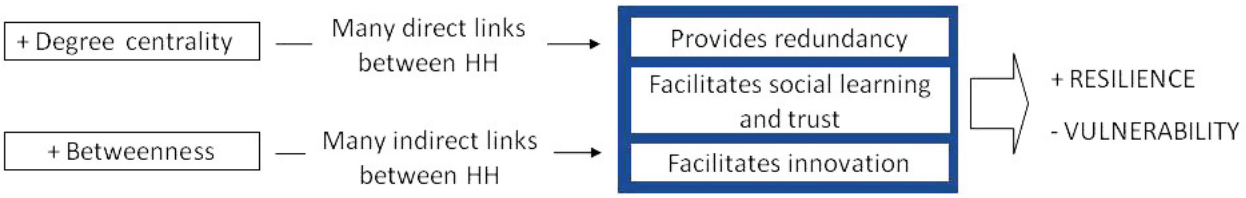
Social network analysis (SNA)

This research used SNA as a tool for understanding what ties and reciprocal arrangements exist within pastoral communities, between different HHs, the flow of aid and the position of HHs within the community network and the strength of their ties etc. As mentioned above, the research team used kebele lists to identify the HHs despite knowing that this could hide social complexities. However, beyond this initial entry point, the research team allowed the pastoralists themselves to define their HH head/family structure, the boundaries of this and the interactions of their unit with others.

SNA is attracting increasing attention as a tool for measuring social connectivity that arises through exchanges in information, labor, money and food (Hanneman and Riddle 2005; Webb and Bodin 2008; Cassidy and Barnes 2012; Berman et al. 2014). SNA has been used to understand the structure that arises out of the pattern of interaction in rural society, including in the course of processes of help and support that people provide to one another in times of a crisis or emergency (Bandyopadhyay et al. 2011; Berman et al. 2014).

SNA allows social connectivity to be analysed, using two measures of network centrality: degree centrality and between-ness. Degree centrality is simply the number of other nodes, e.g. HHs, that are directly connected to a specific node—a high degree of centrality can enhance resilience by providing redundancy and facilitating social learning and can be an indicator of high levels of trust. Between-ness measures the indirect connectivity of each node (HH) by computing the number of times a specific node is part of the shortest path between all other pairs of nodes (described in detail in Cassidy and Barnes 2012 and other publications on SNA). The "bonding ties" that connect members of a group are said to be important for enhancing resilience by facilitating the internal transmission of information and knowledge (Putnam 2001). On the other hand, "bridging ties," the external connections to and between different groups, are important for promoting innovation as these are more likely to bring new ideas into the group (Cassidy and Barnes 2012).

Figure 1.1 How the social network structure can impact on a HH's or a community's resilience and vulnerability (Cassidy and Barnes 2012)



SNA means analysing various characteristics of the pattern of distribution of relational ties as mentioned above and drawing inferences about the network as a whole or about those belonging to it considered individually or in groups (Bandyopadhyay et al. 2011). For analytical purposes, a social network is conceptualized as a digraph (or a graph if the relationship has no direction). Digraph diagrams may be drawn to instantly provide direct mapping of ties showing their clustering as well as scattered-ness. In a digraph, we call a unit—whether an individual, a family, a HH or a village—a node. A tie between two nodes indicates the presence of the relationship connecting them. Absence of a tie indicates the absence of the relationship. A tie with a direction is called an arc, and a tie without direction is called an edge. One could also note the value or volume of flow as the weight of a tie, and thus obtain a network that would then be a weighted digraph.

Figure 1.2 How social network structure can impact resilience and vulnerability (Cassidy and Barnes 2012).

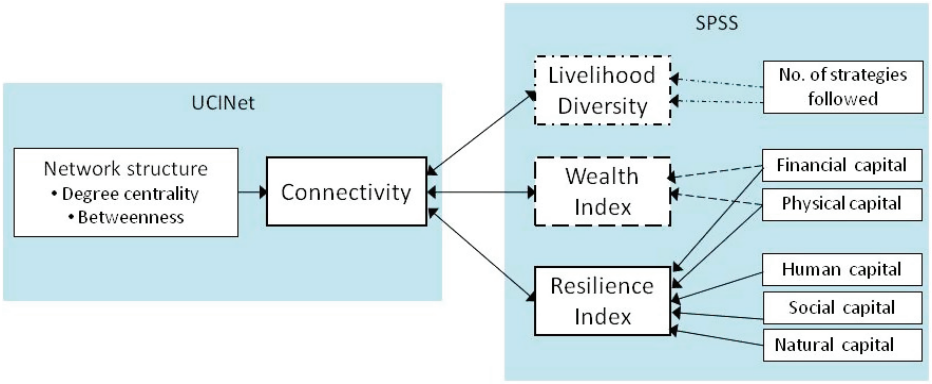


Figure 1.3 List and weighting of indicators used to calculate the HH resilience index, based on Vincent's HH Adaptive Capacity Index (2007) (Cassidy and Barnes 2012).

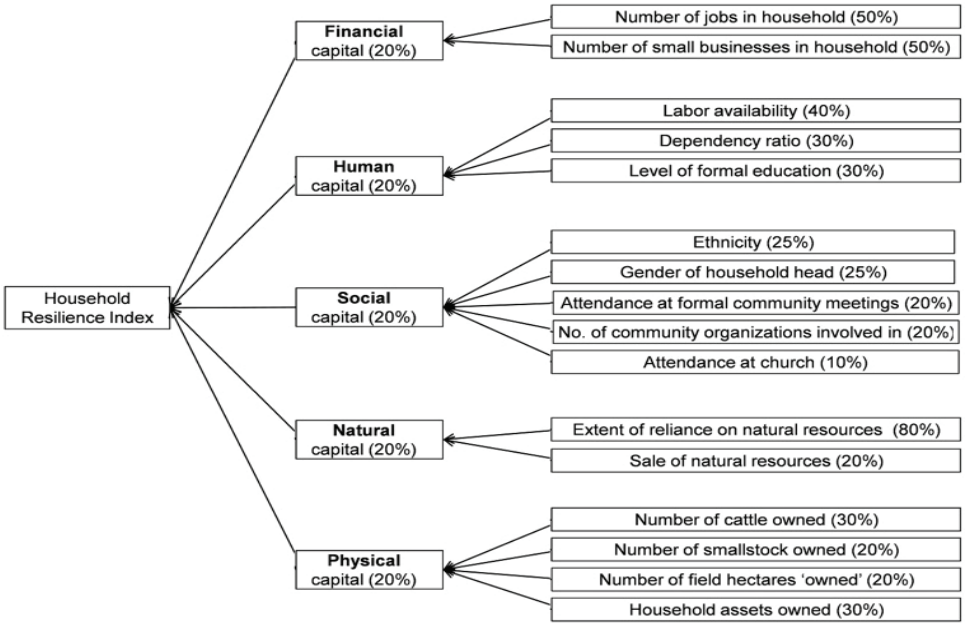
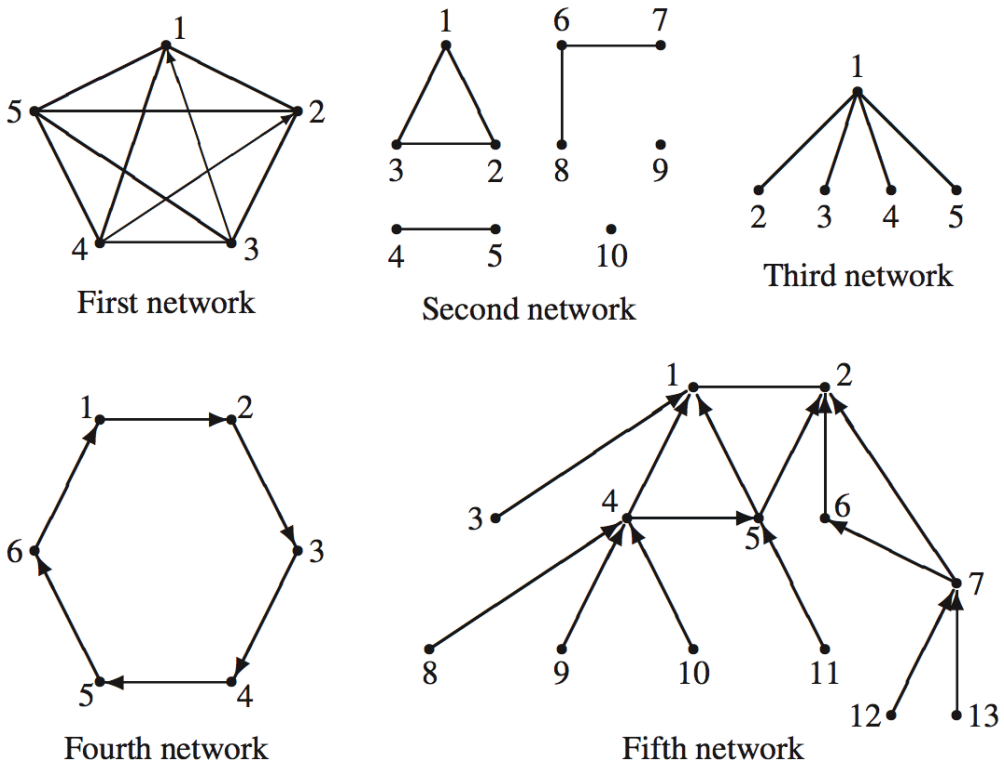


Figure 1.4 Examples of hypothetical social networks.



Within this research analysis, UCINET software (Borgatti et al. 2002) was used to present the social network and the basics for analysis. To maintain confidentiality, HH names were removed and replaced with a number. SPSS (Armonk, New York) was used for further analysis including of the questionnaires.

Interactions between the social and physical landscapes

An important point raised in SNA is the influence of the position of HHs in the environmental landscape on its position in the social landscape (network), i.e. if a HH is socially isolated, is this because it is geographically isolated too? Do pastoralists work in a clustered approach interacting mostly with those living close together, or along transport routes, or is interaction dispersed across the landscape? Does the position of a HH in the environmental/physical landscape influence their ability to access resources and build their assets? As such, a third component of the research mapped out (using GIS) the location of all HHs interviewed in the HH survey to understand their position in the environmental landscape as well as in the social landscape. Analysis was then undertaken exploring some of the above issues.

Partnerships and capacity building

For each region, a local research team was established led by a temporary ILRI staff member/consultant drawn from a local university or other. The research team also included representatives from regional/local universities and local government (see Table 1.5.) Not only did these local team members bring local knowledge, but participation in the research built their capacity. An ILRI staff member or consultant facilitated the research in each kebele/region. Local enumerators who spoke the local language were employed to undertake the HH survey. A local translator was used if necessary.

Table 1.5 Local research teams

Region	Name	Institution
Afar	Mulubrhan Balehegn	Mekelle University (employed by ILRI)
	Mahamuda Mohammed	Semera University
	Hussein Sulle	Elide'ar woreda administration
Somali	Hamdi Aden	Ex-Oxfam/Jijiga University (employed by ILRI)
	Jafar Abdulahi Gedi	Afdem woreda administration
	Omar Nur Ruled	Asli kebele leader
	Madina Roble Host	Women's Affairs Officer, Asli
Oromia	Habtamu Disasa Muleta	Dilla University (employed by ILRI)
	Bikila Negasa	Yabello Pastoral and Dryland Agriculture Research Centre

Compliance and quality control

The research including tools, methodologies and permission notes, was approved by ILRI's compliance committee. All interviewees were asked to give written permission for the interview to be carried out. These permission slips together with all personal data are under careful storage as agreed with ILRI's compliance committee to protect the identities of those that contributed to the research.

1.3 This report

This report provides a summary of the results, conclusions and recommendations of the research, with more details found in the working paper (Flintan et al. 2019). The report is divided up into five sections. The next and second section will describe the modalities of the 2016–17 humanitarian aid delivery including descriptions by humanitarian actors themselves, gathered through a questionnaire. A short third section documents the perceptions of community members on the same together with perceptions of each HH's resilience, with information collected through the HH survey. Section 4.0 considers the social network mapping including details of sharing of food aid and other assistance, together with the mapping of physical locations of HHs and any correlations between the two. The next section will consider what HHs mean in reality, their complexities and dynamics, with information summarized from the in-depth case studies. The final section will provide the analysis of the research, relating back to the key research questions and hypotheses, and responding to them. Recommendations will be made for incorporating the results into humanitarian aid delivery in future.

2. Humanitarian aid delivery including definitions of a HH[7]

Droughts are a common phenomenon in the lowlands of Ethiopia, with the most recent drought spiking in 2016–17 with the El Niño weather front severely affecting food security and agricultural production including livestock. In 2016, over one third of Ethiopia's woredas (districts) were officially classified as facing a dire food security and nutrition crisis. At the peak of the crisis in April, over 10.2 million were targeted with food assistance, while an additional 7.9 million people were targeted through the PSNP. The most affected regions were Afar, Amhara, Dire Dawa, Harari, Oromia, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples', Somali and Tigray, including the majority of the pastoral areas in the lowlands. The Government of Ethiopia made available 735 million United States dollars (USD) and international donors contributed USD 985 million to the 2016 humanitarian response (UN-OCHA 2017).

In 2016–17, food aid in pastoral areas was mainly distributed by government and in some cases NGOs through the Joint Emergency Operation Program led by Catholic Relief Services, which acted as a food aid pipeline for around 33% of the emergency-affected areas in Ethiopia.

The overall responsible body for disaster relief response in the country was and still is the National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC). It works through regional equivalents and disaster risk management technical working groups that act as coordination platforms for government, UN agencies, NGOs and other actors. In 2016–17, it coordinated aid through clusters, with a well-defined road map or master plan for the humanitarian response. The plan contained who, where, what and how aid should be distributed. Government-led clusters finalized decisions guided by seasonal assessments and prioritization of hot-spot woredas. Government followed up with NGOs and other partners ensuring that they followed the national protocol and guidelines endorsed by the Ministry of Health clearly stating the criteria qualifying individuals for food aid. Health extension workers were part of the distribution and supported the beneficiary identification and food aid distribution. The government was also a key actor linking humanitarian response to a long-term social protection program through PSNP.

Aid was mobilized from central government, donors, UN agencies and NGOs while the NDRMC carried out significant publicity, awareness raising and lobbying to get assistance. Dispatching of food aid was made through regions, zones and woredas to distribution centres overseen by regional NDRMC. Livestock feed aid followed the same process with government offices purchasing hay and other feed for distribution.

The NDRMC provided guidance for all distributions. The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN-OCHA) played a key role in coordinating the international response including of NGOs. Communities assisted on-the-ground in the beneficiary selection process, locating and mobilizing beneficiaries, dealing with complaints and assisting in the monitoring. Outside of an emergency, PSNP is the main channel for aid delivery (food and cash), though some survey respondents included them as a source of emergency food aid too.

7. This chapter is mainly taken from the questionnaires completed by NGO and United Nations (UN) representatives, together with KIIs undertaken with the same, as well as government officials.

2.1 Targeting of aid

Overall, survey respondents agreed that the population targeted during 2016–17 was drought-affected people, internally displaced people (IDPs), and chronically food-insecure households. However, though some NGOs and government had a definition of a HH, in general food aid delivery was targeted at individuals rather than HHs. Local health centres and government woreda offices were usually responsible for developing a master list of "vulnerable" individuals or "vulnerable HHs" requiring food aid. Information collected at local level was consolidated at woreda, zone and regional levels. Normally, a local selection committee and a complaints, handling or management committee was established at local level to enable input from communities on targeting, timely adjustments and potentially, to make corrections after distribution. This follows the structures and processes established by PSNP.

Generally, beneficiaries needed to collect their food aid allocations from local distribution centres, though in some cases (e.g. where beneficiaries were located far away) aid was delivered to them with assistance of local NGOs. For the PSNP, guidance states that aid should be delivered within a three-hour walk of beneficiaries. Distribution was overseen by the woreda sector office and kebele administration, using the master list for verifying beneficiaries. If the beneficiary was not in a position to collect the food aid, then another family member could represent them. Wheat was distributed whole and had to be milled by the beneficiaries; though there were some grinding mills around the distribution centres, there were not enough and as a result there were often long queues.

Despite the constraints placed on mobility, pastoralists still move with their livestock and for many this is their most important drought-coping strategy. In some places, steps were taken at the local level to accommodate for pastoralist mobility through allowing any responsible family member to collect the aid, sending messages to where the pastoralists had moved to (particularly in Afar through the *dagu* system), keeping aid until the pastoralists returned and/or delivering the food aid directly to the villages or pastoralists. However, the collection of food aid still proved challenging for many. In fact, for many including government spokespersons, the movement of pastoralists is seen as a problem to be resolved by pastoralists changing (becoming more sedentarized) rather than aid delivery accommodating them and their livestock production system. As one government respondent said:

> …such problems are very challenging to solve and are also results of list mix up, and abuse of aid food and other resources. Sometimes, even when the whole community have shifted to a different place, kebele may receive aid in their names. At times, others coming from another kebele may create pressure on their new kebele to receive food. This is a difficult aspect of providing aid for pastoralists.

The poor access and communication infrastructure added to the challenges, as well as lack of attention to bureaucratic procedures, some pilfering of aid particularly by transport companies, confusion over which HH lists were being used and a culture among local communities of not complaining or expressing their grievances. Instances of food being spoiled due to high temperatures was mentioned together with delays in the transportation8. In addition, though most NGO and government representatives said that there was a strong monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system in place, a NDRMC representative said that monitoring was 'loose' and for example, reports were not submitted on time.

One person interviewed suggested that those distributing food aid could learn from the mobile health extension services that have been making health care distributions to mobile populations. Those that distribute medicine and nutritional supplements to specific individuals use phone numbers and post boxes to track HHs. Vaccination and nutrition supplements and other health provision report cards are provided so that when pastoralists move, they can show what they have obtained and what they need in their new location. Also, vouchers are provided so that they can use them when traveling through or in other places.

In general, however, the majority of respondents said that aid targeting and delivery was relatively well coordinated and controlled, and that food aid reached the targeted beneficiaries.

8. For more information, see Flintan et al. 2019.

2.2 Humanitarian aid organizations and definitions of a pastoralist HH

Despite aid being targeted at individuals, the concept of the HH is still a relevant point of discussion as individuals are part of a HH or social grouping that have different capacities to cope with drought. In addition, in 2016–17, limits were placed on the number of individuals receiving aid in a HH—hence using the HH unit and its boundaries for defining who would or would not get aid. HHs were classified as vulnerable based on the presence of vulnerable HH members[9].

As mentioned above, a questionnaire was sent and received from a number of NGOs and UN agencies on the topic. In those cases where NGOs had a definition of HH, it was similar to: 'a number of people, often a family, living in the same house (or flat) under the same roof or in the same compound, sharing meals eaten out of the same dish, which can include the husband, wife, partners, children and other close relatives, and who are sharing resources and livelihoods.' Normally, this includes those who may be on migration with livestock. Anyone living under the same roof was added in some instances, though visitors were not included.

The definition used is a fairly flexible definition that takes account of some of the perceived dynamics of pastoralist HHs and sometimes complex living arrangements. It was said that the average number of members of a HH was around five to six, and a HH could be headed by a male, female or child. In polygamous marriages, i.e. where one man has more than one wife and all his families fulfil the targeting criteria, one wife will be registered with the kebele as part of his male-headed HH and the others will be registered as female-headed HHs in their own right, including their direct family members (as in PSNP). Often a polygamous family may be spread across two or more kebeles, taking advantage of available water or grazing. Young people tend to be registered as a HH when they get married. If a person moves to another kebele and wants to remain and receive food aid, then they can only get registered there once they have received a letter of clearance from their previous kebele.

A senior official from the NDRMC stated, 'a household is a family having on average 5–6 members and can be male or female-headed, and the family size can vary.' This reflects the guidance of the Central Statistics Authority and their population census. In the 2007 census, the mean size of HHs in rural Afar, Somali region and Borana, Oromia was said to be 6.0, 6.5 and 5.4 respectively. A regional NDRMC officer added that the amount of time a person spends with the HH is part of the criteria, i.e. if a person spends less than three months of the year with a HH then they would not be considered part of that HH/family in terms of definition. However, it was recognized by respondents that the definitions used by NGOs and government 'do not always reflect reality'. As one NGO representative put it, 'defining the HHs is contested, specifically in[a] pastoral context as there exist extended family and polygamous HHs.'

2.3 Taking account of diversity and variability within and between HHs

There were mixed opinions among NGO respondents as to whether they thought that there was effort in taking into account and accommodating for the variability within and between HHs. Female-headed HHs and other vulnerable HHs were given priority in aid distribution, however, limits still existed on how many individuals in a HH could receive aid.

Where wealth was a criteria used for defining who was eligible for aid (though more for livestock feed aid, see below), it was said that there were some problems with this in that livestock holdings can vary from kebele to kebele and therefore livestock holdings that reflected medium wealth in one kebele could reflect poor in another, as well as not taking into account the fact that many herds are shared across families or HH.

9. In the PSNP woredas, assistance was capped at five household members—so even if a HH had more members, they would only receive assistance for five. This was because of the financing shortfall for the PSNP overall, and the need to find savings to spread assistance more widely. In some pastoral areas, humanitarian food assistance was used to top up large PSNP HHs who were disadvantaged by the HH cap (Lind personal communication 2019).

Indeed, though this is usually the case in polygamous family groups, it is often not captured in HH assessments or surveys. It is often the case today that polygamous HHs are registered as several different HHs with the male HH head heading the HH with his first wife, and other wives heading their own HHs. This is despite the fact that they are pooling resources and sharing responsibilities. When wealth assessments are carried out, normally, all livestock is counted as part of the husband's HH, with nothing being counted as part of the HHs headed by the wives, whereas in reality the livestock are shared across the HHs. As such if there are many polygamous HHs in a kebele, it would look like all the male-headed HHs own the livestock, and all the female-headed ones do not, resulting in a different average (and standard deviation) than had livestock been counted more evenly across the HHs which better reflects reality. On the other hand, Kratli and Swift (2014) said that if livestock is counted separately this also does not reflect reality and results in a fragmentation of livestock holdings in the data, diminishing the relative magnitude of mobility and the understanding of the wealth and poverty of such HHs by 'inhibiting the visibility of income-based and mobility-based indicators of pastoralism'.

In short, the structure and dynamics of polygamous HHs are not captured well in any community analysis, distorting social data on a regular basis due to high numbers of polygamous HHs in pastoral communities. For the family grouping (husband and all wives), being registered separately is an advantage for aid delivery as they would more than likely be described as separate HHs with the second and third wives registered as HHs and more likely to qualify as "vulnerable" and receive aid.

2.4 Livestock feed aid

The majority of NGOs who responded that they had provided livestock feed aid did so directly to beneficiaries or through a central distribution area where agreed numbers of livestock came to feed every day and sharing of the hay with other HHs or livestock was prevented. Government also provided livestock feed aid. NGOs said that there was no difference in the definition of a HH whether giving food aid or livestock feed aid.

The feed provided was hay, and in some cases bran, multi-nutrient concentrates and farming or factory by-products, locally sourced if available. Where hay depended on HHs collecting it, such as in some places in Afar, much was left uncollected as it was too bulky to carry (often provided in large bales) and the researchers saw hay still sitting in one distribution centre in Afar. In addition, there were complaints of low-quality feed.

Where distribution was made direct to communities, a Livestock Relief Committee or similar was set up to produce a list of beneficiaries with the woreda and/or kebele government and endorsed by the community. Preference was given to poorer HHs with livestock and the lack of a HH's ability to feed those livestock from other sources. Due to lack of supply, livestock fed were restricted to core breeding stock. One NGO distributed feed through retail shops, providing vouchers to the kebele office to distribute to selected HHs to be exchanged for feed. It was said that this helped to build up trading relations between the retailers and livestock keepers for future business. Some NGOs combined provision of livestock feed with animal health care and/or destocking. Again, NGO and government representatives believed that the majority of feed reached the beneficiaries targeted.

Problems with the distribution of livestock feed as raised by NGOs included corruption, theft and loss during transport and poor handling (storage and distribution). Further, it was said that the culture is a problem in that people tend not to complain or identify corrupt officials. Additional problems included unclear selection criteria and lack of close monitoring; aid delivery was not well-supported technically, i.e. to assist in selection of appropriate animals; the administrative system and community social interaction and self-interest hindered implementation of activities; a lengthy bureaucracy wasted a lot of time on petty issues and the lack of local transportation made it difficult to reach some HHs in remote locations. There were also severe budget limitations[10].

10. For more information, see Flintan et al. 2019.

2.5 Improving humanitarian aid targeting

In general, the majority of NGO and agency respondents agreed that the most recent drought relief response was an improvement on previous ones. Firstly, fund mobilization was significant, and though not providing enough for all needs it allowed for a more timely, effective and far-reaching drought response than in the past. Latest methodologies such as commodity tracking systems were said to aid the response, and improved monitoring helped to ensure guidelin

NGO representatives suggested that ways to improve emergency response included improvement in early warning systems and collection of meteorological data and application, removing the limit on the number of vulnerable individuals that can receive food aid in a HH, and more regular census and improved understanding of pastoralist movements. Also, it was said that there should be greater community participation and representation in decisions about assistance including targeting, improved capacity of committees to rightly identify needy HHs, and traditional mechanisms of targeting and sharing aid could be better understood and strengthened with clan leaders involved (as is often the case in PSNP).

In addition, NGO and government representatives mentioned that the type of food aid needs to be improved—some types are difficult for pastoralists to eat, and grain needs milling, which is not always readily available. Infrastructure needs to be improved and a government representative said that pastoralists need to settle so that food can be more easily supplied. Food and feed aid should be increased, and more resources made available so operations can increase in scope. There needs to be greater involvement of sectoral ministries and offices, particularly at the local level. Finally, it was suggested that there needs to be greater investment in the long-term development of pastoral areas and livestock-based production systems. Development projects that are designed for pastoral areas should have a contingency fund as a crisis modifier since drought is periodical and predictable in the pastoral areas of Ethiopia.

3. Views and perceptions of pastoralist HHs

3.1 Aid delivery, coping strategies and recovery

Aid delivery at local level

The second component of the research sought to understand aid delivery at the local level, including who received aid and what people did with the aid once they had received it. This was done through a short survey and mapping exercise of aid transactions, i.e. of the sharing of food aid once received. "Other assistance" was also mapped.

The study showed that 99% of HHs[11] interviewed in Su'ula, Afar, 65.7% in Asli, Somali region and 86.5% in Fuldowa in Oromia said that they had received food aid in the last drought period. In Su'ula and Asli, the majority of those interviewed said that the food aid came from government—49% in Su'ula and 47% in Asli. Alternatively, in Fuldowa Arero, 51% of respondents said that food aid came from CARE. In Asli, an additional 32% said that food aid came from the World Food Program (WFP), and in Su'ula and Fuldowa, respondents said that 44% and 34% came from PSNP, respectively[12]. Food aid over the drought period was received by a HH more times in Su'ula, Afar than in other regions with a mean of 8.56 times, compared to 3.81 in Asli, Somali and 4.33 in Fuldowa, Oromia. The maximum number of times one HH received aid was between 10–14.

Table 3.1 Number of respondents who received food aid

Kebele	Did you receive food aid in the last drought period?		Total
	Yes	No	
Su'ula	289	3	292
	99.0%	1.0%	100.0%
Asli	649	337	986
	65.7%	34.3%	100.0%
Fuldowa	610	95	705
	86.5%	13.5%	100.0%
Total	1,548	435	1,983
	78.0%	22.0%	100.0%

On further analysis, it was noted that even though food aid was said to be targeted particularly to women, the same percentage of female-headed HHs as male-headed HHs received food aid.

11. For the purposes of this part of the study, the research followed the categorization of households as per the kebele listing, though it is recognized that the HH on the list may not reflect the complexities found in community family groupings.

12. Though the study only asked questions about emergency food aid, respondents sometimes included reference to PSNP in their responses.

Table 3.2 Sources of food aid

Sources of food aid	Kebele		
	Su'ula	Asli	Fuldowa
NGO	4%	0%	4%
WFP	0%	32%	0%
PSNP	44%	1%	34%
UN	0%	1%	0%
NGO	0%	0%	1%
CARE	0%	0%	51%
Save the Children	0%	0%	0%
Oxfam	0%	3%	0%
Government	10%	1%	8%
National government	0%	0%	0%
Regional government	1%	0%	0%
Local government	37%	45%	0%
A family member	1%	0%	0%
Community leader	0%	0%	0%
Other - specify	0%	0%	0%
Don't know	2%	15%	2%

Table 3.3 Number (No.) and percentage of male- and female-headed HHs who received food aid

Region, woreda	Kebele	No. of HHs interviewed		No. and percentage of those interviewed who received food aid	
		Male headed	Female headed	Male headed	Female headed
Afar, Elide'ar	Su'ula	161	131	158	131
		55.1%	44.9%	98%	100%
Somali, Afdem	Asli	779	207	517	132
		79.0%	21.0%	66%	64%
Oromia, Arero	Fuldowa	509	196	446	164
		72.2%	27.8%	88%	84%

Fewer people received livestock feed aid—in Su'ula, Afar 29% said they had received, in Asli, Somali 13% and in Fuldowa, Oromia 68%. Again, the majority of HHs said that they received the livestock feed aid from government. However, in Asli, 65% said that they had received livestock feed from Oxfam. Most HHs received livestock feed assistance between one to three times and the maximum was six times.

When HHs were asked, 'on a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being lowest (least successful) and 10 being highest (most successful), how well do you think your household coped[13] with the last drought period?' The average responses (ranging from 2.34 to 3.36) indicated that in general, HHs did not cope well. The lowest score was found in Asli, Somali and the highest in Oromia. According to HH respondents, the mean percentage of HH livestock that died was in Su'ula kebele, Afar 59.04%, in Asli 86.61%, and in Fuldowa, Oromia 70.81%.

13. The interpretation of what "coping" meant was left to the respondent.

Figure 3.1 Scores by HHs for coping with the last drought

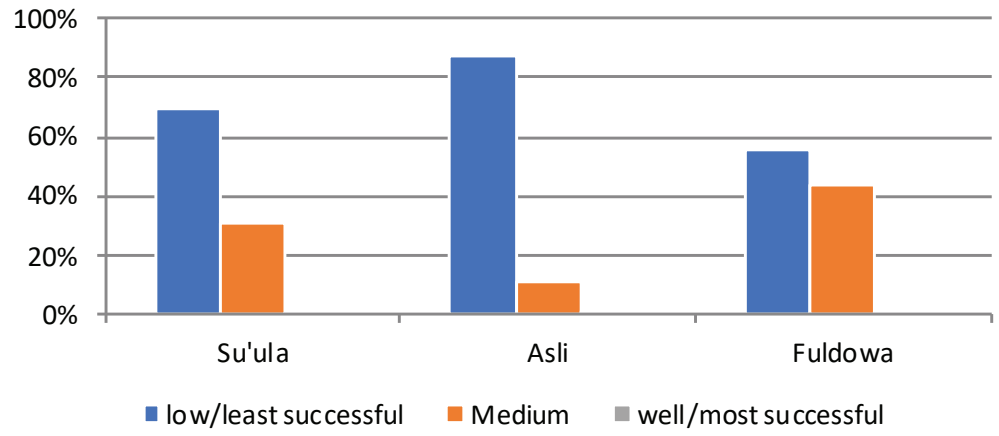


Table 3.4 Mean scores of HHs responses for coping with the last drought

Keblele	Mean
Su'ula	3.17
Asli	2.34
Fuldowa	3.36
Total	2.83

Table 3.5 What percentage of your livestock died from drought-related causes in the last drought period?

Kebele	Mean %
Su'ula	59.04
Asli	86.61
Fuldowa	70.81
Total	76.93

When asked, 'on a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being lowest (least successful) and 10 being highest (most successful), how well do you think your HH has succeeded in recovering from the last drought period?', respondents in Asli, Somali region (where the greatest amount of livestock was lost) responded least positively with an average response of 2.26, followed closely by Su'ula, Afar with an average 3.26. Interestingly, though the average percentage loss of herd in Fuldowa, Oromia was 71%, respondents here gave the most positive score of 4.49 out of 10 for their recovery—albeit still being low.

Figure 3.2 Scores by HHs for recovering from the last drought

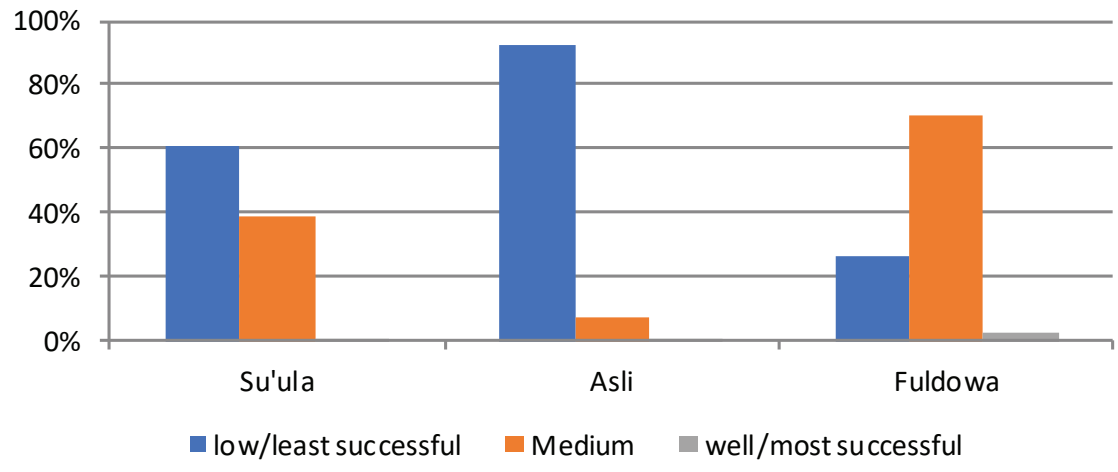


Table 3.6 Mean scores of HHs responses for recovering from the last drought

Kebele	Mean
Su'ula	3.26
Asli	2.26
Fuldowa	4.49
Total	3.20

In the follow-up case study research, when pastoralists were asked about their coping strategies, movement with livestock was considered to be the most important. Indeed, though many pastoralists do not move as much as they did in the past and/or now split HHs with one part remaining at the homestead and one moving with the livestock, in drought often the whole HH still moves and the importance of this to survival was highlighted by respondents, confirming that those who did move tended to be better off than those that stayed behind.

Gender issues and resilience

To explore gender issues in relation to resilience to drought, HHs were split into male and female-headed HHs to see if there were differences between these in coping and recovery. Surprisingly, the scores of female-headed HHs were very similar to the scores of male-headed HHs indicating that female-headed HHs coped as well as male-headed ones and recovered at the same pace. The greatest variation was found in Fuldowa.

Table 3.7 Gender differences in resilience scoring

Scores for coping with drought	Su'ula	Fuldowa	Asli
Percentage of female-headed HHs low	69	61	88
Percentage of male-headed HHs low	70	53	87
Percentage of female-headed HHs medium	31	38	11
Percentage of male-headed HHs medium	30	46	12
Percentage of female-headed HHs high	0	1	1
Percentage of male-headed HHs high	0	1	1
Scores for recovery from drought	Su'ula	Fuldowa	Asli
Percentage of female-headed HHs low	63	34	93
Percentage of male-headed HHs low	60	24	92
Percentage of female-headed HHs medium	36	64	6
Percentage of male-headed HHs medium	40	73	7
Percentage of female-headed HHs high	1	2	1
Percentage of male-headed HHs high	0	3	1

Figure 3.3 Gender differences in coping with drought

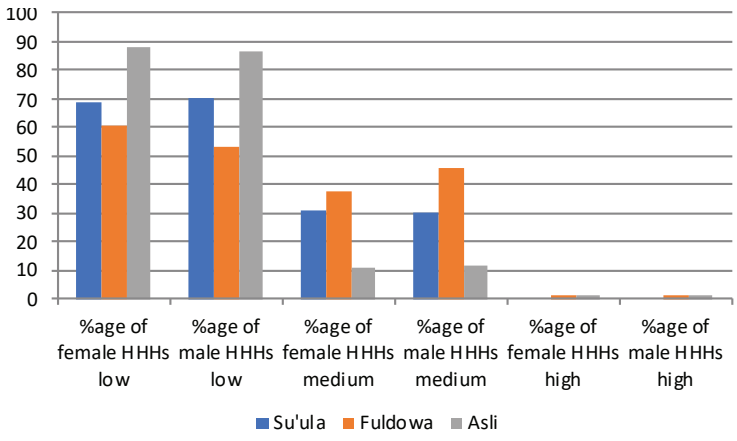
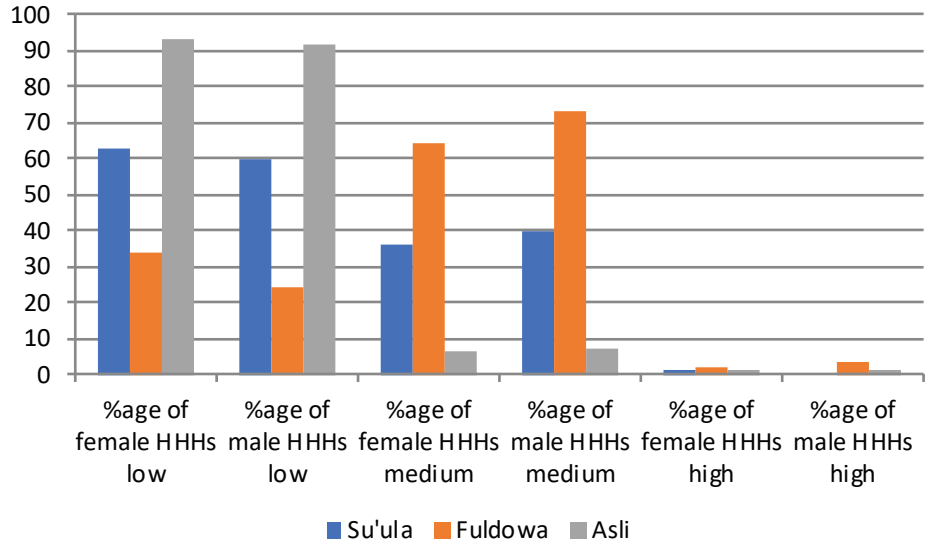


Figure 3.4 Gender differences in recovery from drought



4. Relationship between the social and physical landscapes related to aid delivery

An important part of this research was to understand how pastoral HHs function within the larger social landscape, and a key way of doing this was to understand whether and how HHs share food aid and other assistance. This is also an important question for food aid targeting. The research sought to understand if and how transactions (the giving and receiving of aid and other assistance) occurred between HHs in each kebele. SNA was used to produce a map of the transactions made between HHs, which was further analysed through SPSS.

4.1 Giving of food aid to another HH

The survey showed that 69% of HHs (n=199) who received food aid from government or an NGO in Su'ula, Afar, 36% (n=234) in Asli, Somali region, and 61% (n=370) in Fuldowa, Oromia said that they gave part of that food aid to another HH (see Table 4.1). This is a considerable amount given that the majority of respondents were facing food insecurity themselves. During follow-up interviews, it was indicated that the lower number found in Somali region was mainly due to the critical situation there, i.e. HHs hanging on to their food aid[14].

In order to determine whether the action was a one-off or rather part of a long-term relationship, the question was asked, 'how many times did you give food aid to this HH during the last drought period?' The highest response was 10 times in Su'ula kebele and nine in Fuldowa, with six in Asli. Further, a significant proportion of those that shared food aid, shared to the same HH more than once—24% in Su'ula, Afar, 14% in Fuldowa, Oromia, and 5% in Asli, Somali region shared two times; between 1–2.5% shared three or more times.

A clear majority of transactions giving food aid to others was made inside the kebele only, with Fuldowa HHs giving a little more than the others to those living outside the kebele which could reflect polygamous HHs spread across two or more kebeles improving access to different available grazing and water. In general, there was no payment made for the food aid. Most food aid transactions were wheat and sorghum. Slightly less female-headed HHs compared to male-headed HHs shared food aid (see Table 4.2).

The clear majority of food aid was shared with family—between 54–60%. In Afar, clan relations were also an important factor (19%), as well as kinship in Asli, Somali (23%) and Fuldowa, Oromia (13%), and friends in Su'ula, Afar (24%) and Fuldowa, Oromia (13%). The majority of food that was given to another HH was said to be sourced from either NGOs (more so in Fuldowa, where there had been greater NGO delivery, see above) or government.

14. Note: The quantity of food aid received or given was not asked.

Table 4.1 Statistics on the giving of food aid

Giving of food aid	Su'ula, Afar	Fuldowa, Oromia	Asli, Somali
	No. (percentage)	No. (percentage)	No. (percentages)
No. HHs interviewed	292	705	986
No. who received food aid (percentage of population interviewed)	289 (99%)	610 (87%)	649 (66%)
No. who received food aid but did not give part to another HH (percentage of those who received food aid)	90 (31.1%)	240 (39.3%)	415 (63.9%)
No. who received food aid and gave some part to another HH (percentage of those who received food aid)	199 (68.9%)	370 (60.7%)	234 (36.1%)
No. who received food aid and gave part to another HH one time (percentage of those who received food aid)	146 (73.4%)	308 (83.2%)	220 (94%)
No. who received food aid and gave part to another HH two times (percentage of those who received food aid)	48 (24.1%0	53 (14.3%)	12 (5.1%)
No. who received food aid and gave part to another HH three times or more (percentage of those who received food aid)	5 (2.5%)	9 (2.4%)	2 (0.9%)
Transactions made giving food aid inside and outside the PA			
No. of transactions made giving food aid to another HH inside the kebele (percentage of those that shared food aid)	293 (99.0%)	415 (82.7%)	407 (96.7%)
No. of transactions made giving food aid to another HH outside the kebele (percentage of those that shared food aid)	3 (1.0%)	87 (17.3%)	14 (3.3%)

Table 4.2 Proportion of male and female-headed HHs sharing food aid

Region, woreda	Kebele	No. of HHs interviewed		No. and percentage of those interviewed who received food aid		Percentage of those that received food aid who then shared that food aid	
		Male headed	Female headed	Male headed	Female headed	Male headed	Female headed
Afar, Elide'ar	Su'ula	161	131	158	131	114	85
		55.1%	44.9%	98%	100%	72%	65%
Somali, Afdem	Asli	779	207	517	132	191	43
		79.0%	21.0%	66%	64%	37%	33%
Oromia, Arero	Fuldowa	509	196	446	164	286	84
		72.2%	27.8%	88%	84%	65%	51%

The main reason for giving the food aid to another HH was 'because they had none' with 93% stating this in Asli, 60% in Fuldowa and 39% in Su'ula. In Su'ula and Fuldowa (though less in the latter), relationships were more important as was 'because it is normal to do so'. A very small minority said it was because someone had told them to. In addition, local researchers suggested that the sharing could also be in order to make the food aid distribution fairer, particularly where the better off were receiving aid even though they might not need it as much as others; culturally, it is difficult to challenge the better off receiving food aid.

Figure 4.1 Did you give food aid to another HH during the last drought period?

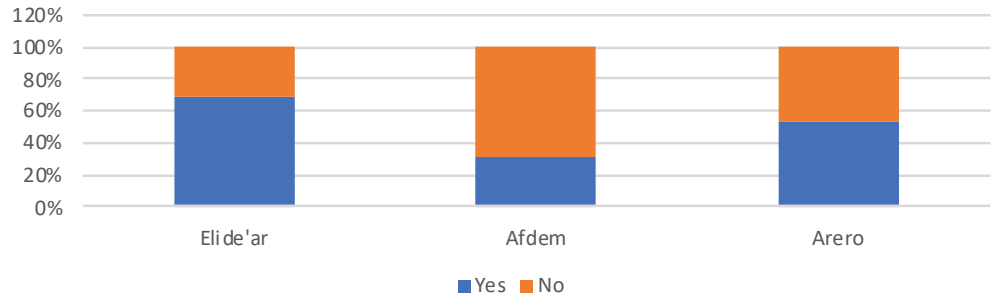


Figure 4.2 The type of food aid given out

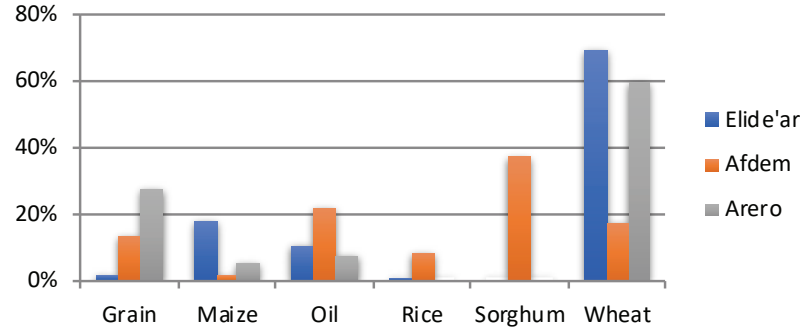


Figure 4.3 The relationships between the giver and the receiver

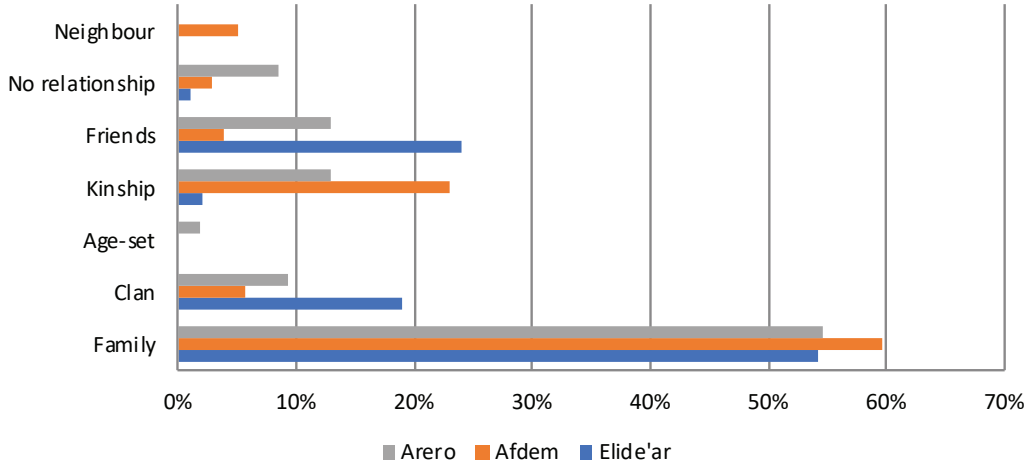


Figure 4.4 The source of the food given to another HH

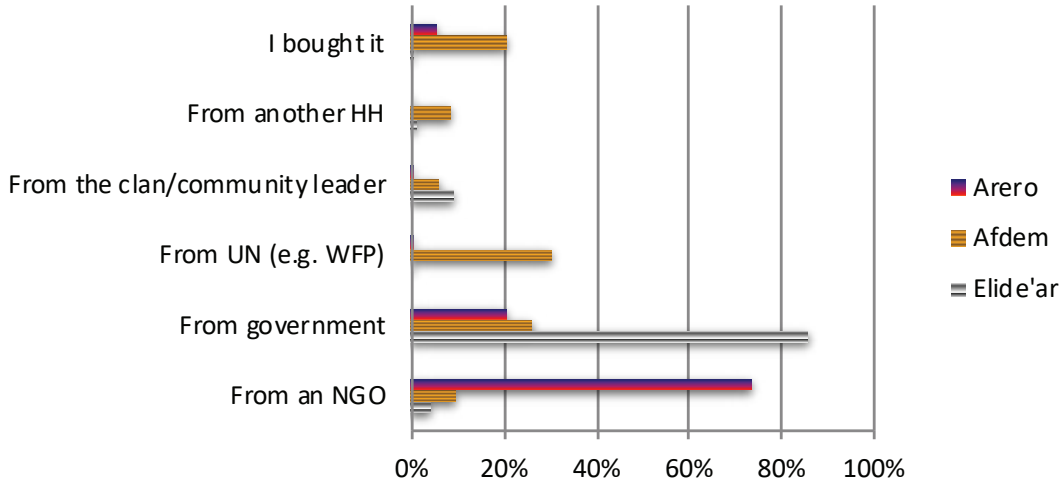
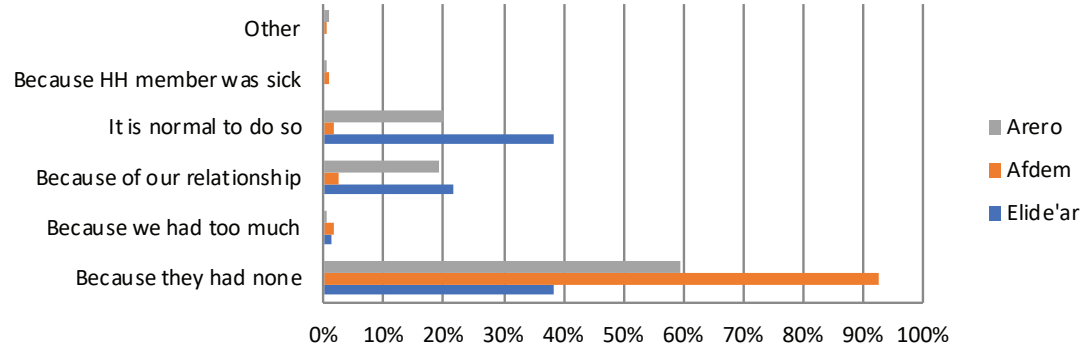


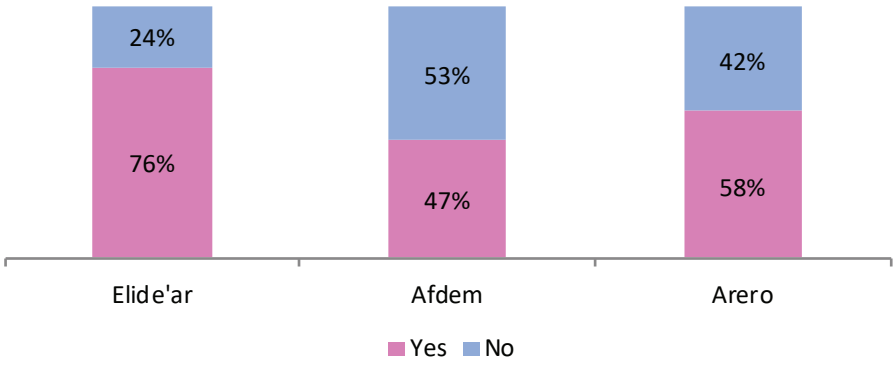
Figure 4.5 Why did you share the food aid with the other HH?



4.2 Receiving of food aid from another HH

The highest number of positive responses to receiving aid from another HH was found in Su'ula kebele, Afar, with 76% HHs saying that they received, followed by Fuldowa, Oromia with 58% and then Asli with 47%. In Su'ula, Afar, 76% of those that received food aid from official sources also received aid from another HH (n=220). In Asli, Somali and Fuldowa, Oromia, 50% (n=325) and 60% (n=368), respectively, received both food aid from official sources as well as food aid shared from another HH. Most of this food aid was received once by HHs—67% in Su'ula, 84% in Fuldowa and 89% in Asli; though 13 HHs (6%) received it three or more times from another HH in Su'ula, Afar, and 2–3% in Fuldowa and Asli.

Figure 4.6 Responses to the question 'did you receive food aid from another HH?'



With the higher percentage of the population receiving official food aid distribution in Su'ula (99%) and Fuldowa (87%), there were only small numbers of the population not receiving food aid at all 1% (n=3) in Su'ula and 13% in Fuldowa (n=95); the majority of these (n = 1 in Afar, and n=89 or 94% of those who did not receive food aid in Fuldowa, Borana) also did not receive food aid from another HH. However, in Asli, Somali region, where community members stressed the critical nature of the drought and that all HHs were in need, 41% of those that did not receive food aid from the government/NGO did receive food aid from another HH, totalling 137 HHs, leaving only 200 out of 986 HHs in the kebele without any food aid. Given that the number of HHs who said that they received food aid and gave some part away in Asli was only 133 HHs, this suggests that the majority of the food aid given away was to those that did not receive food aid in the government/NGO distribution. This indicates that the aid supplied was significantly below the need of the community: most HHs received food aid only once from another HH (85% of those that did not receive aid from government/NGO but did receive food aid from a HH), but 12% (n=17) received it twice, and 2% (n=3) received it three or more times. This need of the community for food aid is also backed up by the main reason that food aid was shared in Somali region, i.e. 'because they had none'.

The reasons for HHs not receiving either food aid from government/NGO and not from another HH could be that these HHs were relatively better off (i.e. had not qualified for food aid or for other HHs sharing with them), or could have arrived in the kebele since the drought and/or been away during the food aid distribution process—the exact

reason requires further investigation. Alternatively, it could just reflect the gap between the supply and the need. What is clear is that food aid distribution by no means filled the needs of communities, and despite those community members being under stress themselves, a significant proportion shared their food aid with other HHs as acts of compassion and/or to build social capital.

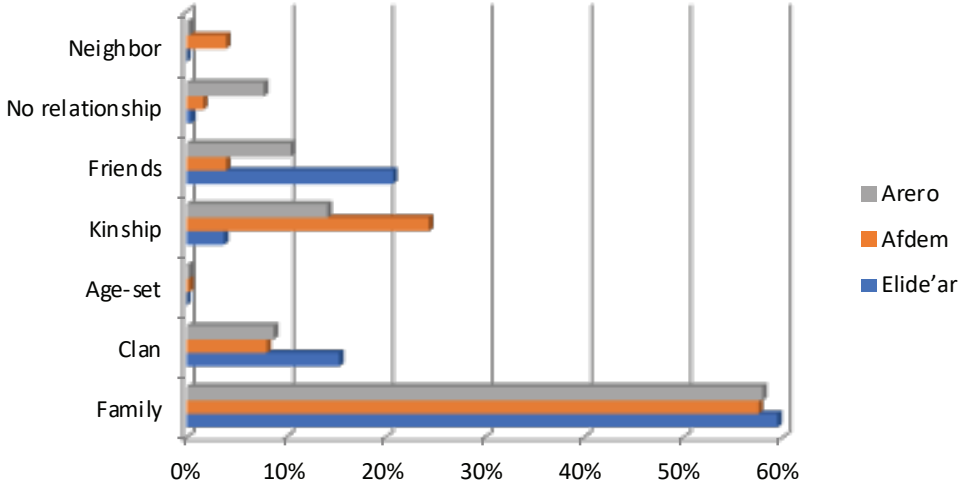
Table 4.3 Statistics on the receiving of food aid

	Su'ula	Fuldowa	Asli
	No. (percentage)	No. (percentage)	No. (percentage)
No. HHs interviewed	292	705	986
No. who received food aid (percentage of population interviewed)	289 (99%)	610 (87%)	649 (66%)
No. who received food aid and did not receive food aid from another HH (percentage of those that received food aid)	69 (23.9%)	242 (39.7%)	324 (49.6%)
No. who received food aid and received food aid from another HH (percentage of those that received food aid)	220 (76.1%)	368 (60.3%)	325 (50.1%)
No. who received food aid and received food aid one time from another HH (percentage of those that received food aid)	151 (68.6%)	310 (84.2%)	288 (88.6%)
No. of those that received food aid and received food aid two times from another HH (percentage of those that received food aid)	56 (25.5%)	49 (13.3%)	29 (8.9%)
No. who received food aid and received food aid three times or more from another HH (percentage of those that received food aid)	13 (5.9%)	9 (2.4%)	8 (2.5%)
No. who did not receive food aid (percentage of population interviewed)	3 (1%)	95 (13%)	337 (34%)
No. who did not receive food aid and did not receive food aid from another HH (percentage of those that received food aid)	1 (33.3%)	89 (93.7%)	200 (59.3%)
No. who did not receive food aid but did receive food aid from another HH (percentage of those that received food aid)	2 (66.7%)	6 (6.3%)	137 (40.7%)
No. who did not receive food aid but did receive food aid from another HH one time (percentage of those that did not receive food aid)	2 (100%)	5 (83.3%)	117 (85.4%)
No. who did not receive food aid but did receive food aid from another HH two times (percentage of those that did not receive food aid)	-	1 (16.7%)	17 (12.4%)
No. who did not receive food aid but did receive food aid from another HH three times or more (percentage of those that did not receive food aid)	-	-	3 (2.2%)
Receiving of food aid from inside or outside of the kebele			
No. of transactions receiving food aid from inside the kebele (percentage of transactions receiving food aid)	363 (98.1%)	503 (85.3%)	549 (95.3%)
No. of transactions receiving food aid from outside the kebele (percentage of transactions receiving food aid)	7 (1.9%)	87 (14.7%)	27 (4.3%)

The main food aid shared was grain or a type of grain followed by oil. In Su'ula and Asli, the majority of transactions for receiving of food aid came from inside the kebele (98% and 95%, respectively). However, in Fuldowa 15% came from outside the kebele (though 67% of these came from the same woreda—Arero). The mean number of times the food aid was received from a HH was between two to three, with a maximum number of times (16) found in Su'ula, followed by 12 in Asli and eight in Fuldowa. When asked, 'did you pay the HH for the food aid?', the clear majority across all kebeles said no (98–99%), with a very small number—10 HHs in Asli, 12 HHs in Fuldowa and two in Su'ula—saying that they had paid for the food aid.

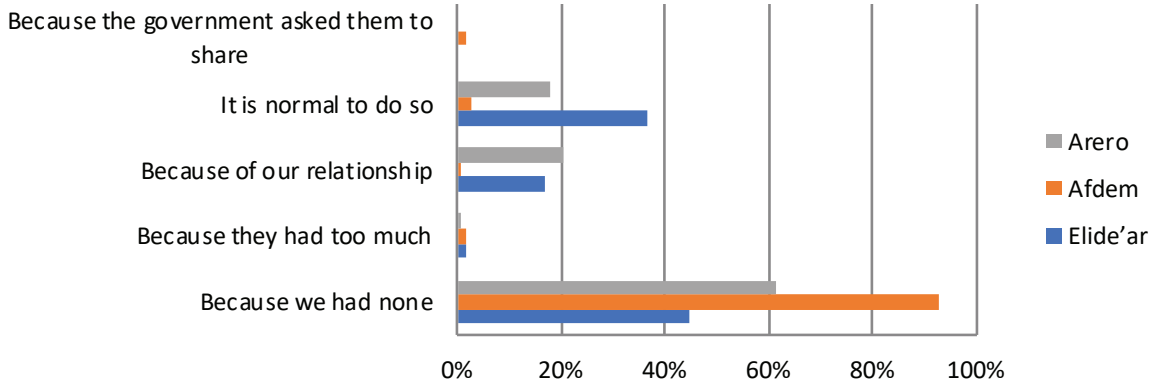
The majority of food transactions was received from family members 58–59% across all kebeles. This was followed by "kin" or "kinship" particularly in Asli Somali (24%) and Fuldowa, Oromia (14%), friends, particularly in Su'ula (21%) and Fuldowa (10%) and clan particularly in Su'ula (15%). A small but significant number of HHs (8%, n=46) in Fuldowa received aid from another HH with which they had 'no relationship' and 4% (n=25) of respondents in Asli said the food aid came from a neighbour.

Figure 4.7 Types of relationships between the receiver and the giver



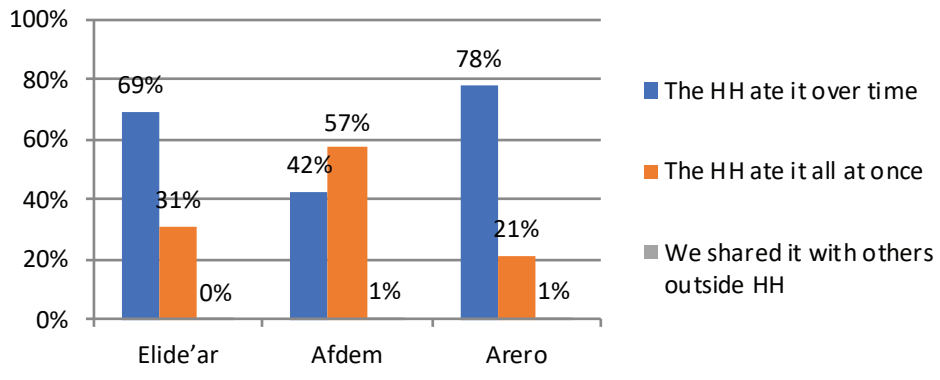
There were some significant differences in reasons given as to why a HH received food aid from another HH. The main reason given was because the HH had no food themselves—93% of HHs in Asli, 61% in Fuldowa and 45% in Su'ula. An insignificant number received aid because the giving HH had too much food. In Su'ula, 37% of HHs and 18% of HHs in Fuldowa said they received the food because 'it is normal to share' and 17% and 20% respectively said that it was because of the relationship between the two HHs. A minority of respondents received the food because the HH had been told to share either by community/clan leader, government or NGO.

Figure 4.8 Reasons why the HH received food aid from another HH



When asked what the HH did with the food aid when they received it, the majority of respondents said that they ate it over time. However, 57% in Asli, 31% in Su'ula, and 21% in Fuldowa said that they ate it all at once suggesting that the amounts shared were small. A very small minority said that they shared it with others outside the HH.

Figure 4.9 What did you do with the food aid that you received from the other HH?



4.3 Two-way transactions

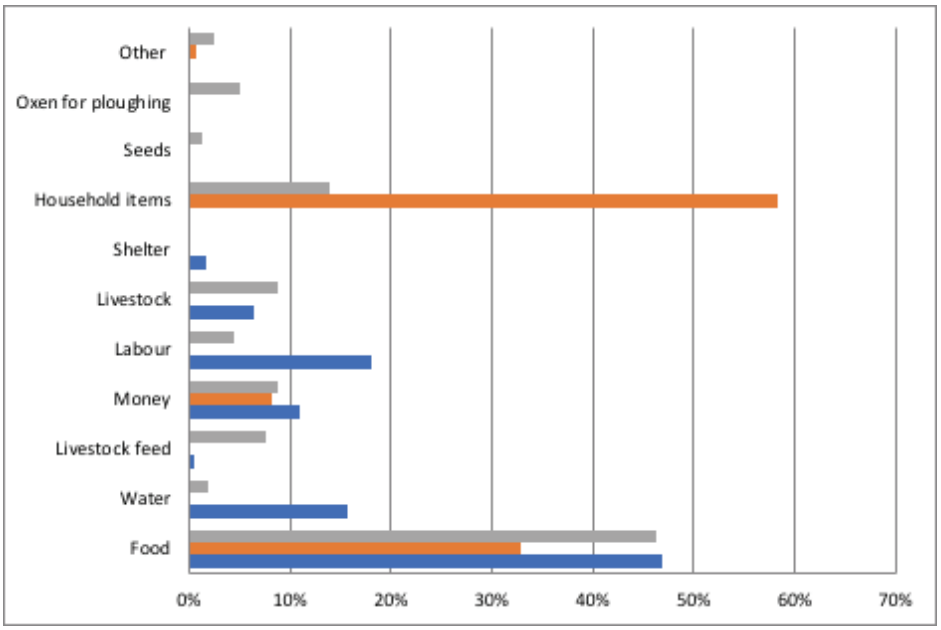
Further analysis revealed that there was a significant amount of two-way interactions highlighting the reciprocal nature of the sharing. With food aid in Su'ula kebele, Afar, there were 144 two-way transactions (i.e. 144 giving from HH-A to HH-B, and then a return giving from HH-B to HH-A); in Fuldowa, 122 two-way transactions occurred and in Asli, Somali region, there were 185 two-way transactions. For "other assistance" (see below) in Su'ula kebele there were 76 two-way transactions, 20 in Fuldowa and 12 in Asli. These two-way transactions tended to be undertaken at different times, i.e. HHs were not trading food aid, but rather giving at one time when one HH had more, with the transaction being repaid when the situation was reversed.

4.4 Giving other kinds of assistance

The research also asked about other types of assistance that did not involve food aid. In Su'ula Afar, 59% of HHs said that they gave another HH "other assistance". In Fuldowa, Oromia, 17% of other HHs gave assistance while only 10% in Asli, Somali region.

Across all kebeles, the main type of assistance provided was food (43% of all transactions), as well as money (10%). Variations were then seen across the regions/kebeles, with water sharing and labour being important assistance in Su'ula, livestock in Su'ula (6%) and Fuldowa (9%), livestock feed in Fuldowa (8%) and HH items predominating in Asli (58%) with some in Fuldowa (14%). The majority of HHs provided assistance to were located in the kebele: 98% in Su'ula, 87% in Fuldowa and 80% in Asli.

Figure 4.10 Types of assistance given



When asked, 'how many times was this assistance provided?', the greatest number of times was 16 (Su'ula) and 15 (Fuldowa), though the mean was four. In Asli, the mean was one with a maximum of three. In the clear majority of cases (99%), no money was requested for this type of assistance.

Family and kinship were the most important relationships between HHs when giving assistance, mentioned by 59% of HHs, particularly in Asli and Fuldowa. Friendship was also important in Su'ula (28%). The main reason for giving "other assistance" was because the HH needed it, particularly in Asli (88%), while in Su'ula it was more because of the relationship or because it was normal to do so (total 71%). This suggests again that sharing in Su'ula, Afar and to a lesser extent in Fuldowa, Oromia was based more on relationships and norms than first and foremost because of need, which was found more commonly in Asli, Somali.

Figure 4.11 Types of relationships between giver and receiver for other assistance

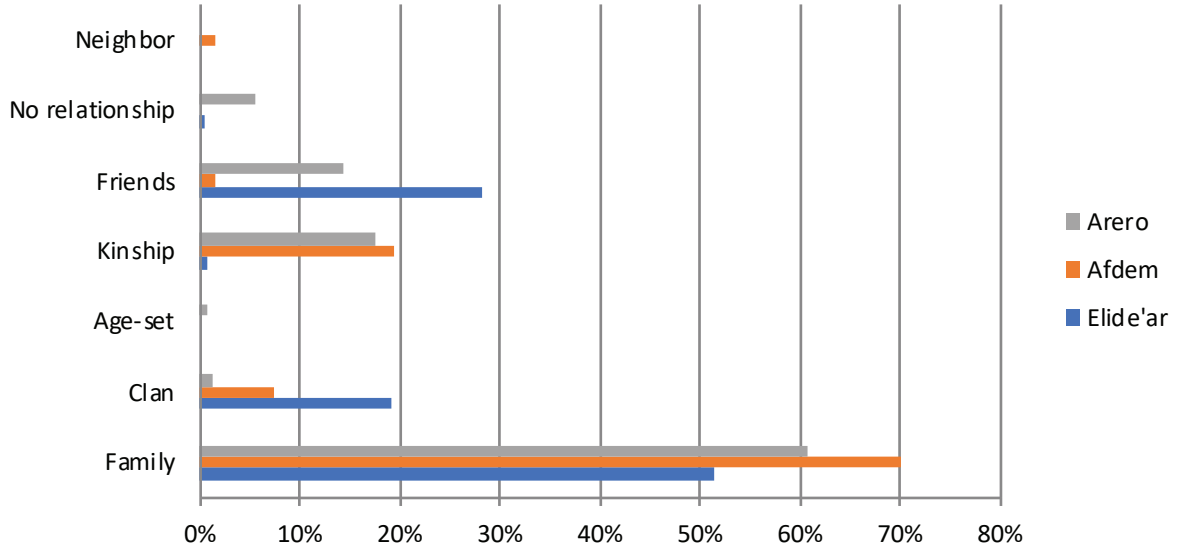
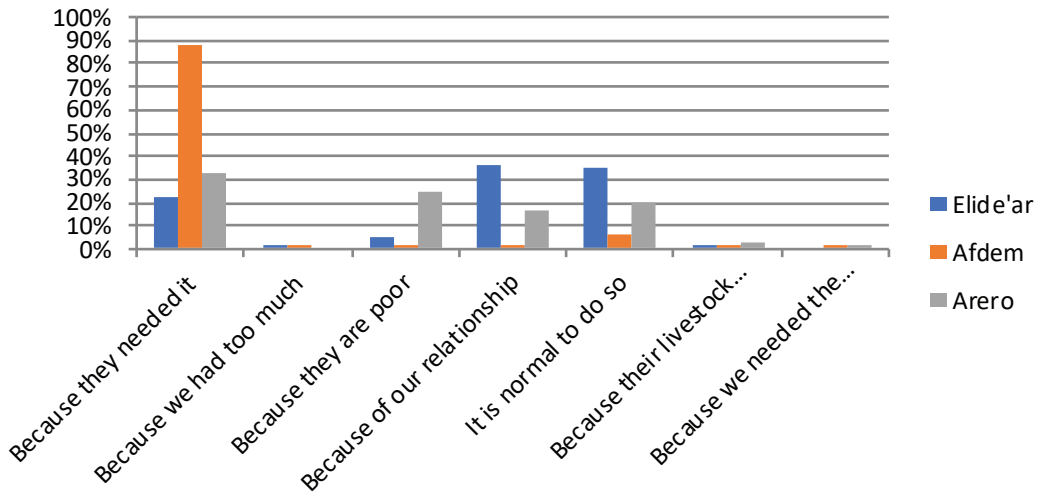


Figure 4.12 Reasons for giving other assistance to another HH

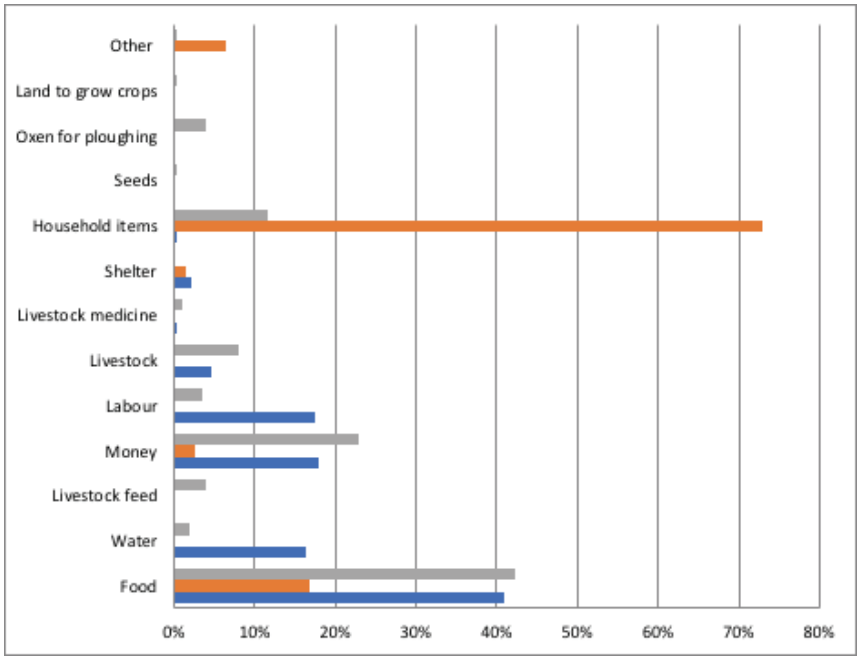


4.5 Receiving of other kinds of assistance from another HH

In Asli, Somali and Fuldowa, Oromia, 24–25% of HHs that said that they had received other kinds of assistance from another HH in the last drought period. In Su'ula, Afar, this rose to 67% suggesting that the reciprocal and sharing component of pastoralist communities is stronger in Afar than elsewhere. The main type of assistance provided was food, HH items and money. In Su'ula and Fuldowa, the food was highest (41–42%) followed by others. However, in Asli the receiving of food was lower (17%), money was very low (2.6%), yet the receiving of HH items was high (73%). HH items mentioned included those provided by the Norwegian Refugee Council during the drought response including plastic tarpaulins/sheets, blankets, crockery, jerry-cans, mats and kettles. Only 4% of HHs said that they had received livestock (none in Asli). The majority of assistance was provided from HHs within the kebele.

In Sul'ua, Afar, two HHs received assistance up to 24 times (this was cash) though the mean was five; in Fuldowa, 18 times was the highest with a mean of three, and in Asli where there was less sharing, five with a mean of one. It can be seen that some HHs have a long-standing reciprocal relationship particularly in Afar and Oromia that continues over time. In the majority of cases the assistance was not paid for.

Figure 4.13 Types of assistance received



Family and kinship relations were the main connections between HHs. In Su'ula, clan (18% of respondents) and friends (24%) were also important; in Arero too 11% of transactions were between friends. In Asli and Fuldowa, though small, there was a significant amount of transactions between those that have no family or other ties—6% (n=16) and 4% (n=9), respectively. In the majority of cases, the assistance was provided because the HH needed it; this was particularly the case in Asli with 93% of respondents saying so. In Su'ula and Fuldowa, a greater number of respondents said that it was 'because of our relationship' or 'it is normal to do so'—between 18–36%—suggesting that here the provision of assistance is still a practice heavily supported by tradition and norms/values and not so much on need (as in Asli).

Figure 4.14 Relationship between the receiver and the giver

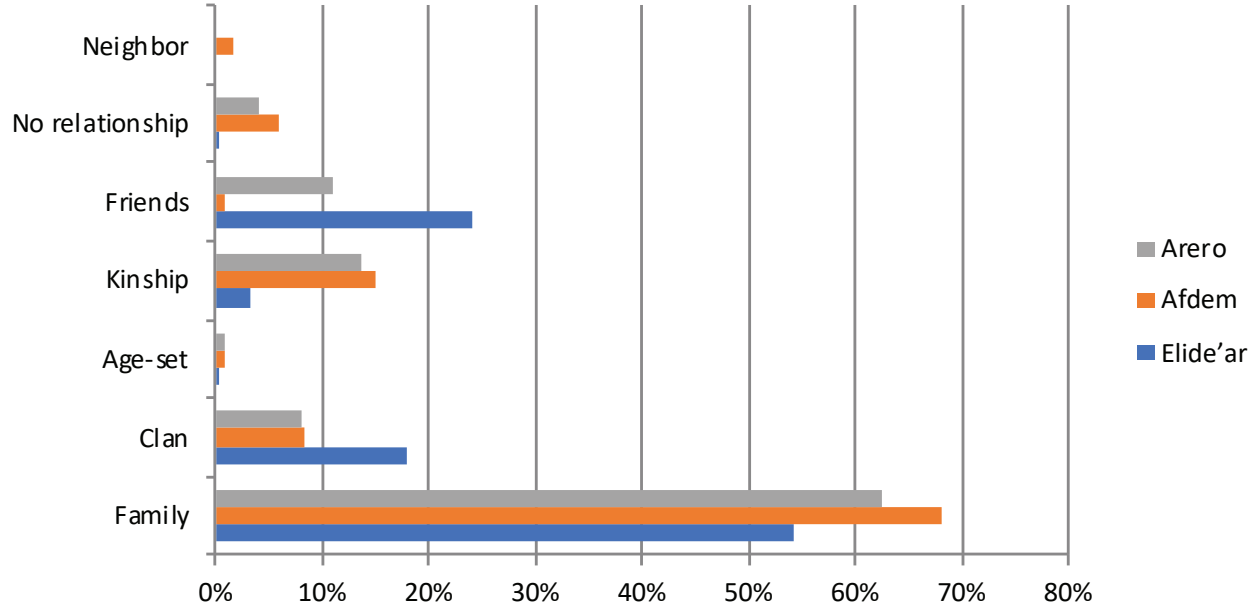
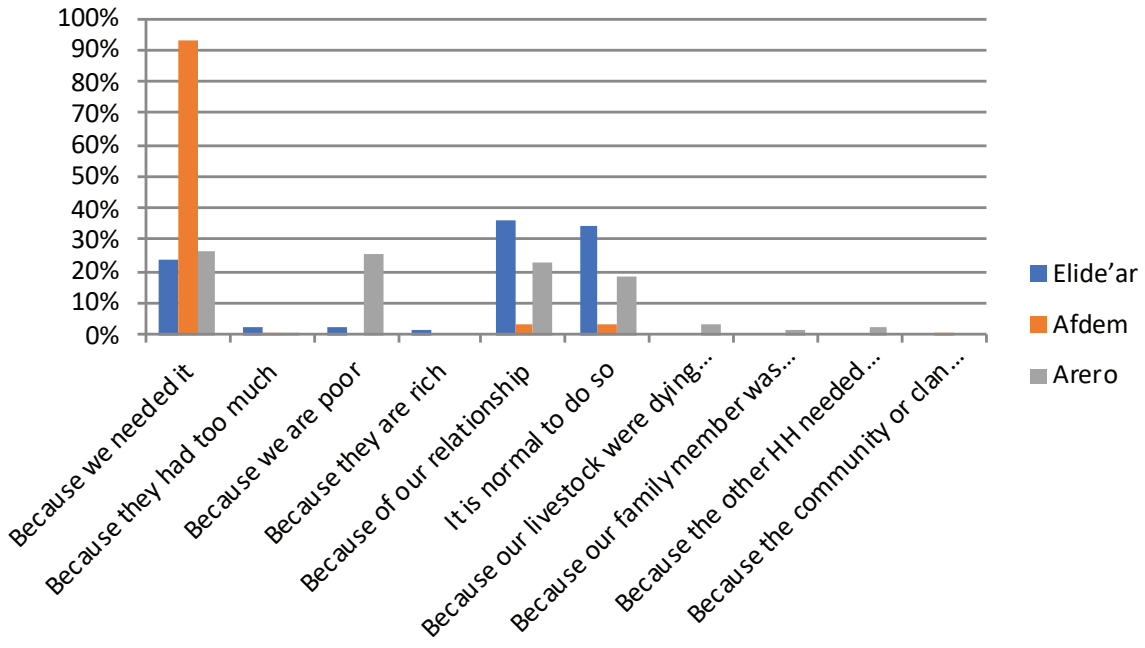


Figure 4.15 Why HHs received other types of assistance



4.6 Mapping of transactions through SNA

As described above, the information collected from HHs in the survey related to giving and receiving of food aid from another HH, as well as the giving or receiving of "other assistance", was analysed and mapped using SNA providing an image of the social landscape and its degrees of connectivity. In addition, the geographical location of the HHs through Global Positioning System (GPS) was mapped to show the physical landscape and any correlations between the two identified.

For each kebele, the transactions (sharing) are shown for i) receiving and ii) giving of a) food aid (that is food aid originally coming from government or an NGO as noted above), and b) "other assistance". As can be seen, the SNA maps (examples below in Figures. 4.16, 4.17 and 4.18 with all SNA maps provided in Annex 7) provide a striking picture of a highly dynamic and comprehensive sharing of both food aid and other assistance in the three pastoralist communities. The maps also show the two-way transactions that took place with arrows flowing both ways. There are also chains of connection with HH 'X' giving to HH 'Y' giving to HH 'Z'. It is also noticeable that there are no HHs dominating the network, i.e. receiving or giving significantly more than others.

Though basic analysis has been done of these SNA maps, with the main highlights below, there is still room to further explore these networks to better understand relations between HHs and why some are more connected than others.

4.7 Mapping the physical landscape

In order to understand the position of a HH in the physical landscape and its relevance, if any, to the social landscape, a physical mapping of HHs through GIS was undertaken. GPS readings were taken of each HH interviewed and mapped. As can be seen from maps in the Working Paper (Flintan et al. 2019) the majority of HHs were located in two or three clusters in each kebele, emphasizing the importance of physical connections between HHs as well as social (see above). It would be interesting to delve into the clusters of HHs a little more and to see if the connectivity (i.e. number of transactions) is higher between those that are physically clustered, rather than between those in the cluster and outside it; this requires future analysis.

In order to see if there was a correlation or relationship between the degree of "connectedness" of a HH (i.e. number of sharing transactions that it participated in), the three different levels of connectedness of HHs were mapped out on the physical landscape maps.

As the example shows, there was no correlation or relationship between level of connectedness and location in the physical landscape; those that were well or medium connected were found next to those that were least connected or not connected.

4.8 The relationship between HHs in the physical landscape and their resilience to drought

According to the spatial mapping of HHs, in all regions the position of the HH in the physical landscape did not have a relation to whether or not they received aid, i.e. in those regions where aid was not universal across the kebele—that is, in Somali and Oromia regions. This indicates that aid delivery was not limited to the HHs around kebele centres or along transport routes, but rather, aid was distributed effectively to all qualifying individuals/HHs across a kebele.

Also, there was no correlation between location and ability to cope with and recover from drought. That is, those that live further from a kebele centre are able to cope (or not cope) as well as those that live close by. It should be remembered that the average HH score on how HHs felt that they coped with drought and recovered from it was 3.36 in the self-scoring process.

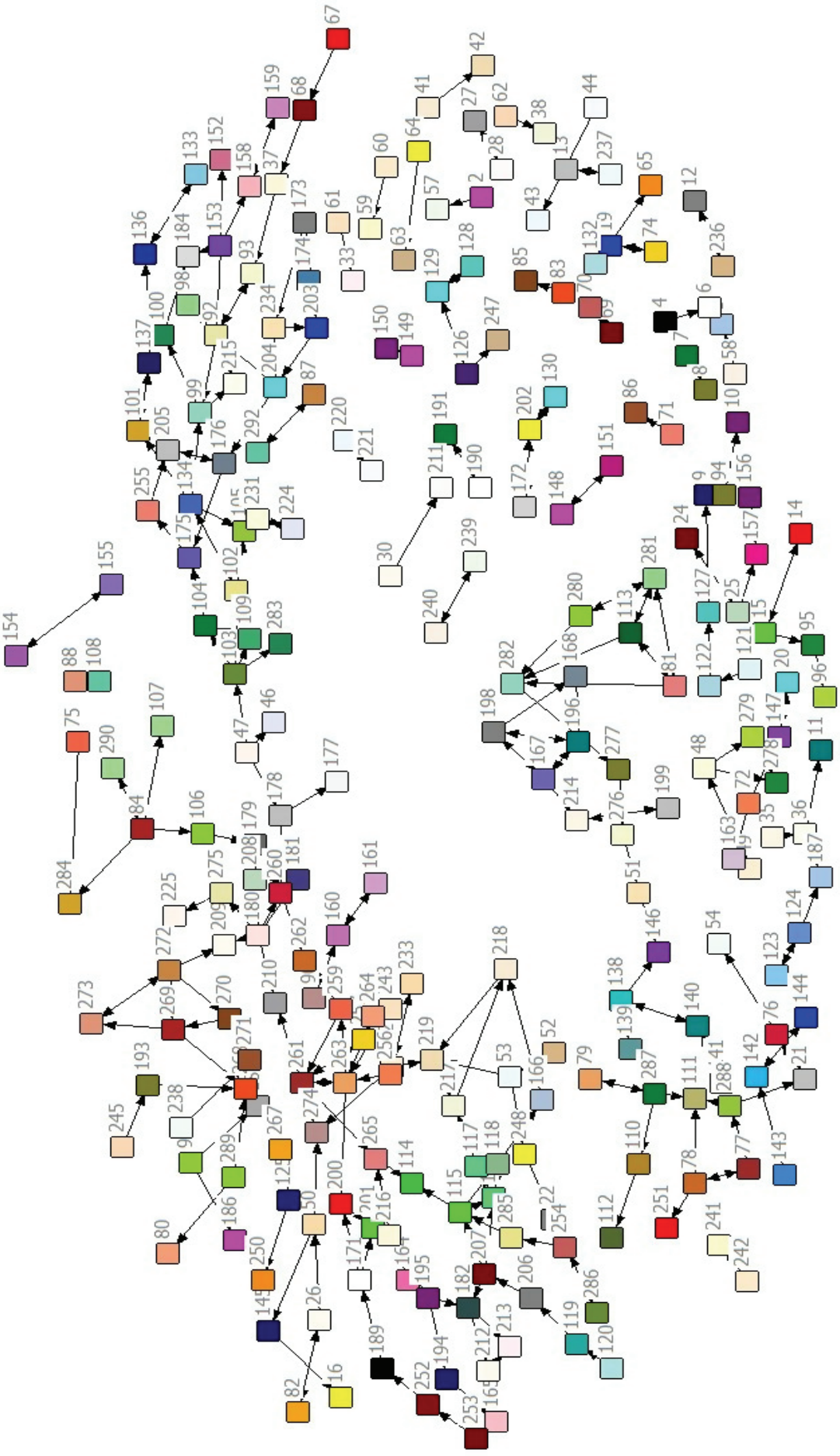
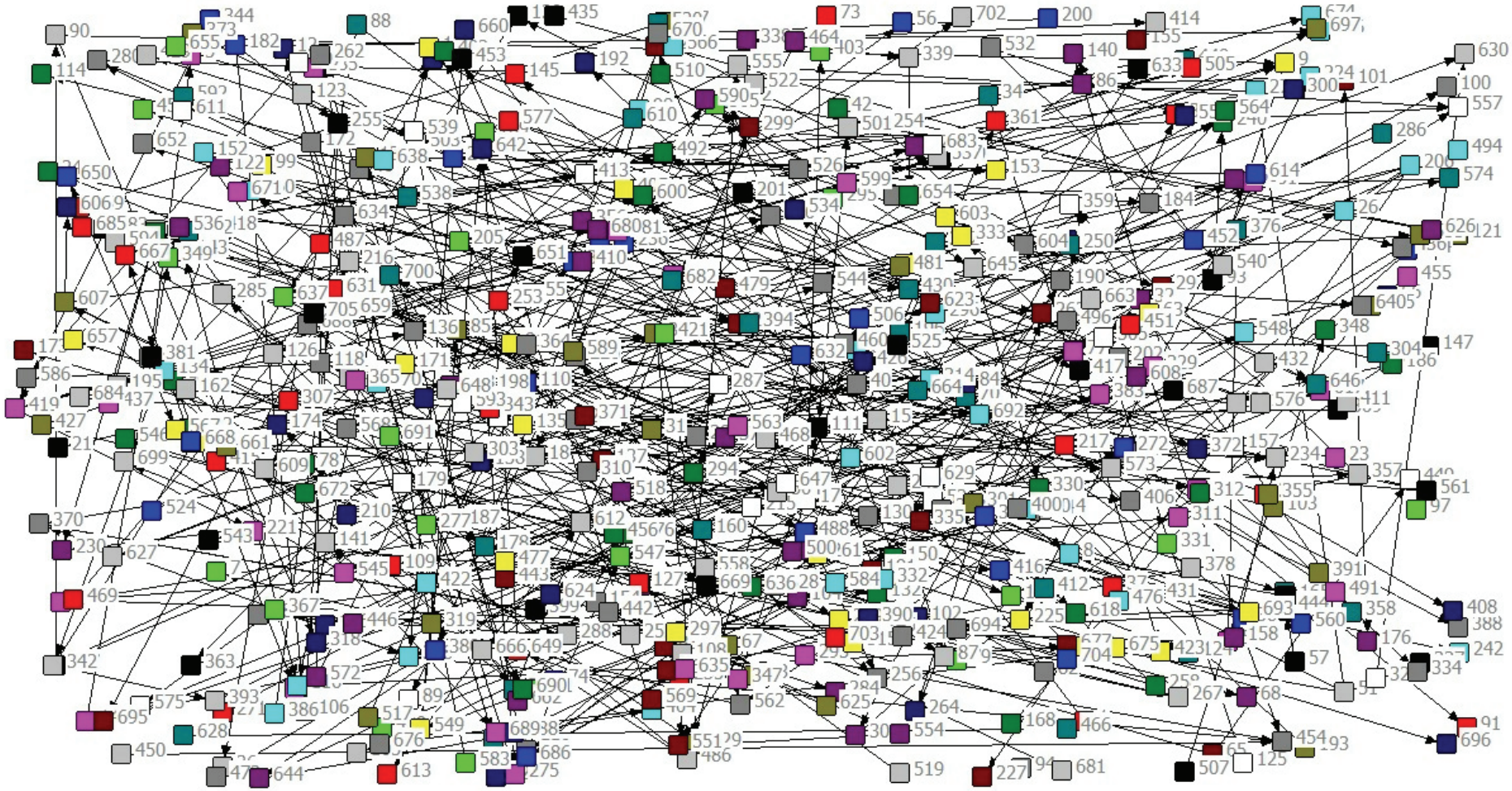


Figure 4.16 Example of social network map of food aid received from another HH during 2016–17 drought period in Su'ula kebele, Afar region.
Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving. Colours have no meaning other than to help distinguish one HH from another. As can be seen, there are a number of two-way transactions as well as chains of connection, i.e. that HH 'X' gives to HH 'Y' gives to HH 'Z'. The map also shows that there are no HHs that dominate the network.

Figure 4.17 The social network map of food aid received from another HH during 2016–17 drought period in Fuldowa kebele, Oromia region.[15]

Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving. Colours have no particular relevance.



15. This map is presented here to give an indication of the complexity and extent of the social network. However, for more detailed analysis the map needs to be expanded and/or broken down.

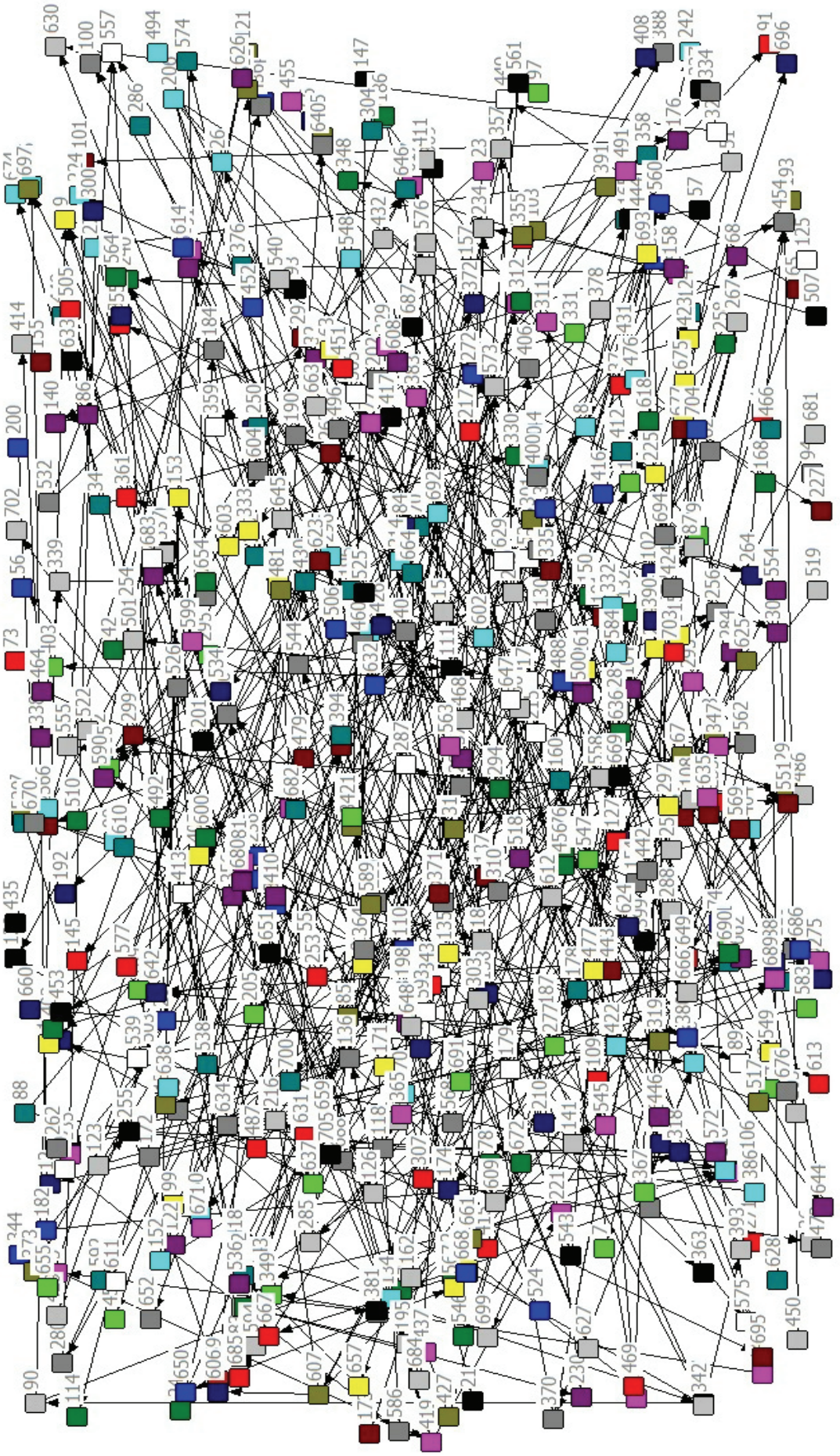


Figure 4.18 The social network map of food aid received and given from another HH during 2016–17 drought period in Asli kebele, Somali region. Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving.[16]

16. Note: Transactions outside the kebele have been removed.

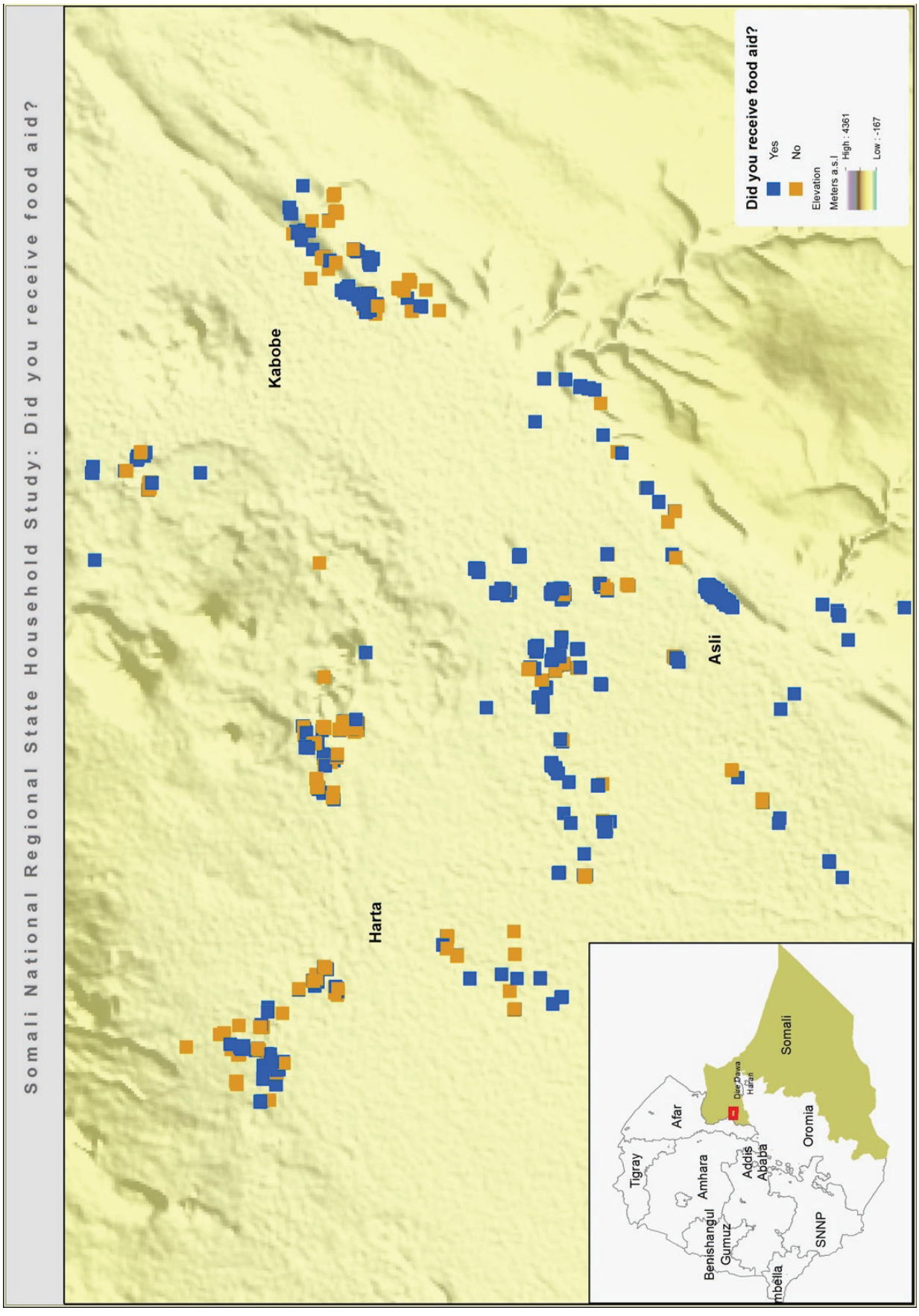


Figure 4.19 Location of HHs as defined by kebele and receiving of food aid in Asli kebele, Somali region

5. Structures, relations and dynamics of pastoralist HHs

Based on the SNA and their degree of connectedness, six HHs in each kebele/region were chosen for in-depth case studies, i.e. two well connected (had been involved in several transactions—giving and/or receiving of aid or other assistance), two medium connected, and two least connected (had been involved in few or no transactions). The structure, resource flow, decision-making processes in HHs and other issues were explored through participatory tools with members of the HH. The dynamics of gender were considered. In addition, how HHs themselves define a HH and perceive the usefulness of the word was discussed with HH members. For more details of the case studies, see the Working Paper by Flintan et al. (2019).

5.1 Foundations of pastoralist HHs

All HHs interviewed had livestock, which in the majority of cases was said to be owned collectively by the HH and belonged to all HH members equally, though camels and cattle were said to be owned by men in some cases. In Fuldowa kebele, Oromia, HHs said that they

owned individual agricultural plots, though it was not mentioned if they had a landholding certificate for these. No-one in Su'ula, Afar or in Asli kebele, Somali region, said that they owned agricultural plots. Rather in Su'ula and Asli, it was said that no person owned the land, and that it was held collectively; the same was said for non-agricultural areas in Fuldowa. In Fuldowa, Oromia it was said that there was major conflict over land with the Somali people, and many men spent time protecting the border from them. Most HH items tend to be collectively held and used even if bought by only one HH member, excluding some cultural items.

Monthly earnings ranged from between 263–4,500 Ethiopian birr (ETB). The majority of income came from livestock sales or cash payments of PSNP. In Afar and Somali regions, other than Pastoralist Community Development Project the next source of income was from male members of the family working in Djibouti and sending remittances to the family. All six HHs interviewed in Afar had at least one HH member working in Djibouti, and one family in Somali region had two with a third studying there. Other income sources mentioned included working for government, shops or small-scale businesses, or trading. Women earn money through making handicrafts such as mats and HH utensils, particularly in Afar. Crop sales featured in Oromia only. In general, it was said that income was shared for HH use, though more HHs in Somali than in other regions said that the husband controlled the spending. Only two HHs in Oromia mentioned saving income.

Main expenditures across the three areas included food, HH consumables, school supplements, medical expenses, gifts to close relatives, purchase of livestock and livestock feed (Figure 5.1). In Borana, it was mentioned that livestock could be sold to support clan members who are poor. Other expenditures in Afar included payment for fi'ema (traditional peer or age-group membership contribution) and zekah (religious donations). This highlighted that in these pastoralist communities, customary and religious wealth redistribution and community support institutions

and arrangements still exist. Other property was said to leave the HH through being sold, eaten, inheritance, given, bartered, passed to children, e.g. upon marriage, stolen/raided (Borana only) and compensation paid when someone kills another (Somali only). In general, how money is spent is decided by both husband and wife/wives, though some women/wives disagreed that decisions were equally made.

Figure 5.1 Example of a flow diagram from Somali region

5.2 HH sizes, definitions and structures

In general, when asked, 'what does the word "household" mean to you?', respondents across the regions described it as a family who may live under several roofs but eat together, share livestock and other resources as well as responsibilities for managing those resources, and support each other. Members of the HH, particularly men, may migrate for parts of the year with livestock or for work, but they are still a member of the HH. Sometimes wives will only see their husbands once or twice per month. However, if that migration is prolonged for example if a male HH head is living in a country for work purposes for several years, then it is usual for the wife to be registered with the kebele as the HH head (commonly found in Afar, as well as sometimes in Somali region).

Indeed, on further investigation, though respondents had meaning for the word "household", this use of the term was very much reserved for when they were engaging with NGOs, aid agencies and/or government, while in their day-to-day conversations and/or when talking about the family structure among themselves they use the more traditional terms (described in more detail below).

5.3 Traditional "HH" definitions and practices

Structures of family or social units

In terms of structure, most respondents across regions described a HH as a core family group and then an outer layer of family members with whom they have strong connections but are likely to fall within another HH or social grouping. Membership of both layers can be dynamic due to changing living arrangements, whether there is crisis or conflicts and their circumstances. For example, during drought in all three regions, it is common for children to be sent to live with family members in other areas. In Afar, there were two examples of a son or brother of up to 28 years unmarried and living with his mother or sister. Single mothers (sisters or sisters-in-law of the HH head) particularly younger ones may also be part of the core group. Practices such as *absuma* in Afar where a man may marry his niece also complicated family structures, as often the wife will stay with her own core family, at least for some years. As one HH head put it, 'for us, the definition of a HH just depends on the time that you are visiting the HH.'

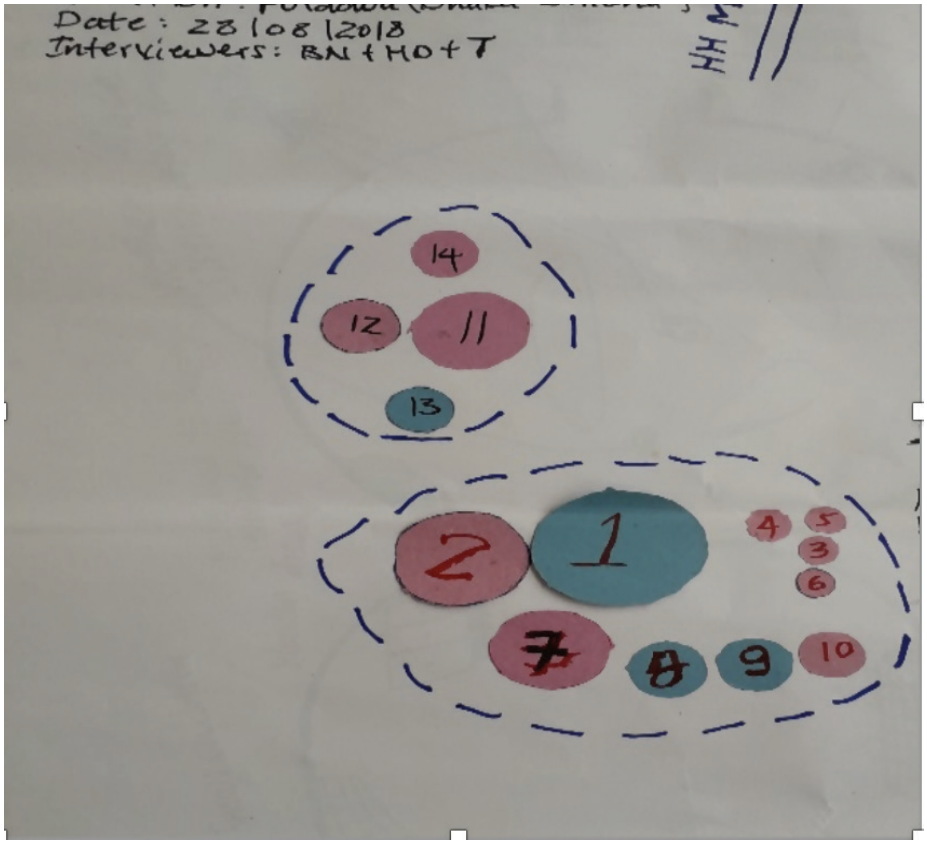
In Afar, the core family or HH ranged from four to nine members. Female-headed HHs tended to be smaller in size than male-headed ones. One female HH head had a husband who had been living in Djibouti for six years, so she was classified and effectively acted as the head of the HH. In Asli, Somali, the family/HH size ranged from 7–10 members, though in some of these there were two to three sub-groups where HH members were living in a different place.

In Oromia, the core family ranged from 8–22 members; often (and where family numbers are large, i.e. 14 or 22) these included two sub-groups or HHs—one led by the HH head and the other led by a second wife or an elder child. From the HH head/husband's point of view, he classified them as one family or one HH with shared cattle enclosure and livestock, and shared responsibilities including fetching of water and farming. However, from a kebele registration and thus food aid distribution point of view, they are considered as separate HHs which given that they receive two or three lots of aid worked to their advantage.

Family living arrangements can also be complex. Sometimes young married women and men may still live with their parents in the same compound even though they are married. Often, grown-up children and their spouses live together with their parents in one compound, and though they live in a separate hut will eat and work together. In addition, widows will often reside in the same compound as her parents. Some HHs can be spread geographically with older children away at college or university and yet still counted as part of the family group. On the other hand, father, sons and aunts may all live close to one another so that they can support each other. They will use animals communally, usually the large ones such as a camel that can be used for transport, milk etc., yet will be registered with the local government as separate HHs.

In general, it was felt that the structure of the HH in Oromia and Somali regions has not changed much in recent years. However, in Afar, some respondents mentioned that people now live in a settled village much more so than before, and this has resulted in increased splitting of the family with male members taking the livestock or working elsewhere as labourers, and the women left at the homestead with the children. Often in these cases, women and children will live together increasing the number under one roof.

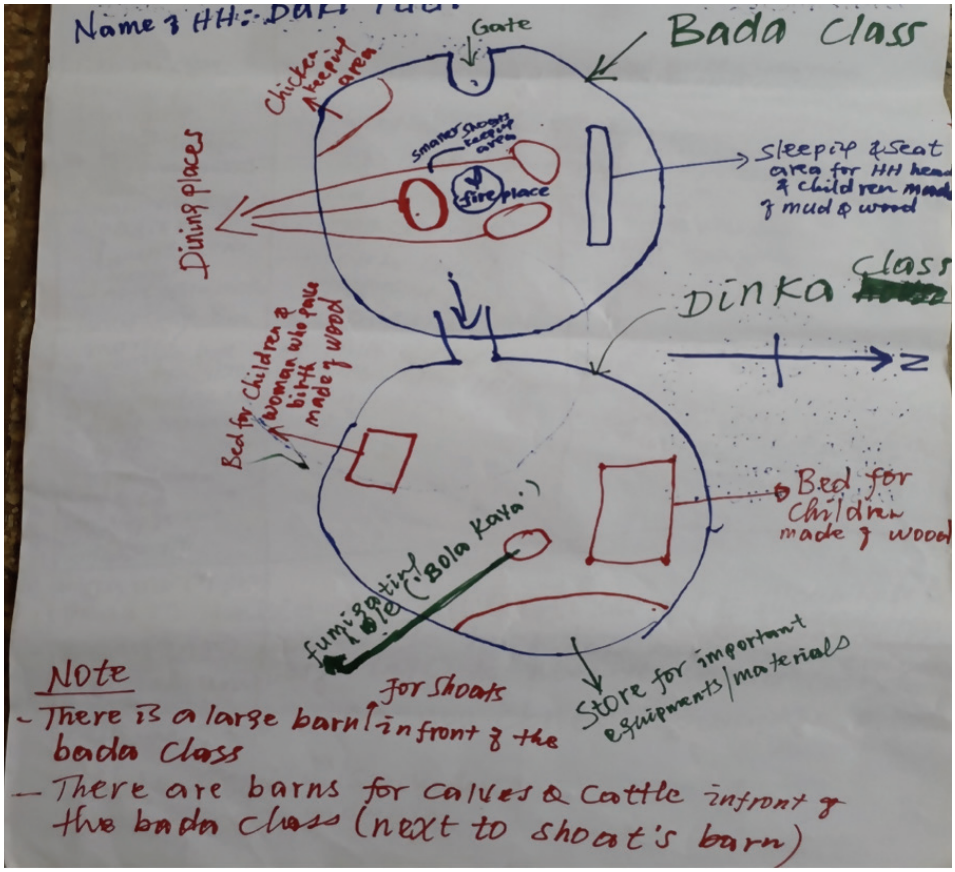
Figure 5.2 Mapping of members of HH No. 0–419: blue are male, pink are female and the size of the circle shows the degree of authority that the person has (the larger the circle, the greater the authority).



Local family groupings

In Afar, the word for HH is burrah a'ba. whereas the more commonly used term by communities is buda marra which means family or close relatives, while those that are related or married into the family but are not core family members are called the ramada. The boundaries of the buda marra and ramada are porous and depend on where they are living and the type of relationship. There is then affa or sub-clan and kedo or clan. Respondents agreed that in times of drought, close family and relatives are more important in terms of provision of assistance than clan or sub-clan.

Figure 5.3 Family (*buda marra)* and relatives (*ramada)* of HH 105



In Borana, Oromia, the word "household" as used by NGOs or government tends to be translated as maatii in Afan Oromo, which literally means all persons that dwell under the same home or roof and who share meals and all the resources produced there. In fact, maatii can encompass relatives and non-relatives. The term is used to communicate with each other and for identifying families of children. On the other hand, communities more normally use the word warra to describe the smallest collective social unit in the family, which is usually all close relatives (through birth or marriage) who do not necessarily live together in the same house but who use resources interchangeably and collectively. Warra not only includes all close relatives but sometimes also includes people who are adopted or under custody of the family head. Maatii is confined to the location of a "home" or "house" in contrast to warra that is more strongly defined by family and kinship ties. There are also relatives who claim ancestral communality but are not close to each other—fira fite.

The support system among clan members is jiffu, though others said that this is specifically between kin, e.g. brothers. It is mandatory to support other members of the Borana clan. Clan members are called milo. Family and ancestors are very important. There is then the well-known traditional clan-initiated support system—busa ganofa. In Borana, it was highlighted that women in particular have a close relationship with each other as a basis for sharing between and supporting each other, though as Table 4.1b shows, a slightly higher proportion of male-headed HHs shared food aid than female-headed HHs. By tradition in both Borana and Afar, it is expected that families, HHs and/or clan members help each other, often including those outside the immediate community.

In Somali, several terms can be used—qoys, raas and sometimes aqa—for HH. Qoys tends to be the most commonly used translation for HH which means people living under one roof, eating out of the same pot, sleeping together, living together. In Amharic, the word normally used for HH is betsebi, written as ቤተሰብ, which when translated means 'a house and its occupants regarded as a unit'.

As such, the word "HH" as used by NGOs, government and to some extent communities tends to be translated to reflect locational boundaries (roof or house), rather than the boundaries as defined by relationships more commonly used by communities themselves.

Complications of marriages

Polygamous relationships complicate family structures further and how a HH is defined. Usually if a man has more than one wife, they are all considered to be his family, share livestock, farms, money and aid, but are likely to be considered and registered as separate HHs, with the husband named head of HH with one wife and the other wife/wives heading their own HHs. As such, food aid is delivered to each HH, though livestock feed would likely only go to the HH head as such polygamous families tend to pool/share livestock.

In Afar, arranged marriages such as abumsa, where a girl marries her uncle on her mother's side, was mentioned in two HHs in Afar. Normally, this marriage would be one of convenience such as to enable a widowed woman or in some cases a disabled woman to be married and be taken care of by a man or to strengthen family alliances. Though arranged marriages can be viewed negatively, it can be argued that in the physically challenging environment that the majority of pastoralists live, it can also have advantages—a family unit without a husband or wife is unlikely to function as well as one that has both. Often an "arrangement" is worked out that is acceptable to both parties in terms of living arrangements and responsibilities for both families. For a woman who for one reason or another may find it difficult to find a husband, at least the absuma arrangement provides her with one.

5.4 Authority in the HH

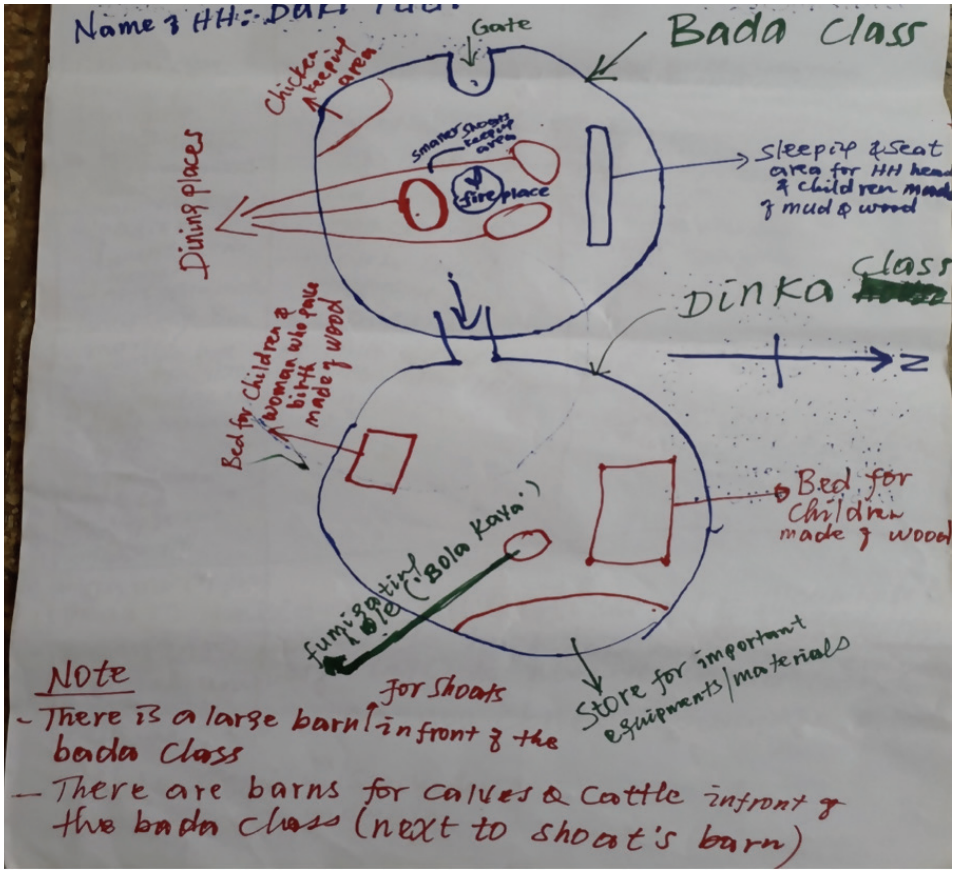
In all cases, if the HH head is male then he has the greatest authority even though one female respondent argued that women have more responsibilities. In terms of authority, after the HH head comes his wife. In Afar and Borana, the eldest son and then the eldest daughter would then come; if no son or only a young son, then the eldest daughter would have greatest authority. In Somali region, it was said to be the eldest child regardless of sex. More often than not, men of the same age and/or status are seen to have greater authority than women. In one HH in Borana, after the male HH head, it was his mother who had the greatest authority and not the HH head's wife (who came after the mother).

There can be different male and female domains found in huts, and particularly those based on traditional designs. Though most areas and possessions are shared, there are some areas kept exclusively for a man or a woman, for example cultural items that belong to and/or are associated with one or the other (see Figure 5.4; more details are provided in Flintan et al. 2019).

In general, in male-headed HHs, decisions are made in consultation between the husband and his wife (and sometimes other family members). Many respondents stressed that it is very important for the pastoralists to make decisions together. If it is not done in this way (i.e. in consultation), as one male HH head said, 'the family will break.'

It was said that generally, women have less authority than men. Authority increases with age until a certain point when both men and women will be dependent on the younger generation. If the HH head is female, the greatest authority will still be held by her and she will make decisions such as selling of livestock or roles in the HH. However, there is a dependence on male members of the family for certain things and decisions; this was the case in all three regions. In couples where husbands were away for prolonged periods of time leaving the wife as HH head, the wife said that she had the authority. It was said that as female HH heads become elderly then their reliance on male family members grows.

Figure 5.4 Map of male/female domains of a HH from Fuldowa, Oromia



Beyond the HH head, authority over HH decision-making was said to be gained through different means. This could be due to the amount of income brought into the HH, age or physical strength with which to defend the HH. Sometimes other relatives, particularly male relatives can have authority over decisions. Outside the immediate HH, any decisive authority is mainly determined by income.

5.5 Relevance of the term "HH"

In general, it was agreed by respondents that the term "HH" is useful for government and NGOs to decide who to give food aid to or not, and for assigning, dividing or counting a community or population. It is a point of reference for communities simplifying social groupings that have a lot of variance in them and can be useful for sharing of aid, labour distribution or other. However, it does not necessarily reflect reality and the way that traditional social groupings or units are structured (as above); – rather, community members themselves tend to use the more traditional terms. In terms of aid delivery and access to aid, the government and NGO definitions of a HH tend to be an advantage for communities in that they will register as sub-groups or HHs rather than as the traditionally defined and larger family grouping with several sub-groups. By registering as sub-groups, this means overall that more members of the group could be eligible for aid.

However, concerns were raised that only a limited number of individuals in a HH were allowed to be registered for humanitarian food aid, whereas HH numbers and the number of vulnerable people in a HH varied. In general, neither government nor NGOs ask about the numbers in a HH (though there were some examples of this being done particularly in Somali region). It was said that often it was women who were targeted by the emergency food

aid program, whereas men tended to receive through PSNP food-for-work, though Table 3.3 shows roughly the same percentage of male HH heads as female HH heads were targeted with food aid. Concerns were of particular importance for those that had a large family or a large extended family that often visited requesting assistance, as was the case in a female-headed HH.

A minority of respondents raised concerns about the local aid selection committee saying it could not be trusted, though in general, people trusted that the community leaders knew the community and numbers in families and divided aid fairly. Indeed, there were no complaints from those interviewed that aid had been targeted at non-deserving HHs, though culturally it would be difficult to criticize this.

5.6 Transactions—the giving and receiving of assistance

In Afar, all those interviewed in depth had received food aid during the last drought period. In Oromia and Somali this was not the case, with some not having received food aid. One HH from Oromia was of the least connected category and though she had not received food aid from government or an NGO she did receive food aid from another HH close by, possibly a relative. The woman used to be a second wife but had since been widowed. The Somali case was an older man and one of his wives; they did not receive food aid but did receive cash assistance. The male HH head said that their different sub-HHs support each other reflected in the listing of transactions from a HH close which was likely to be another wife's HH.

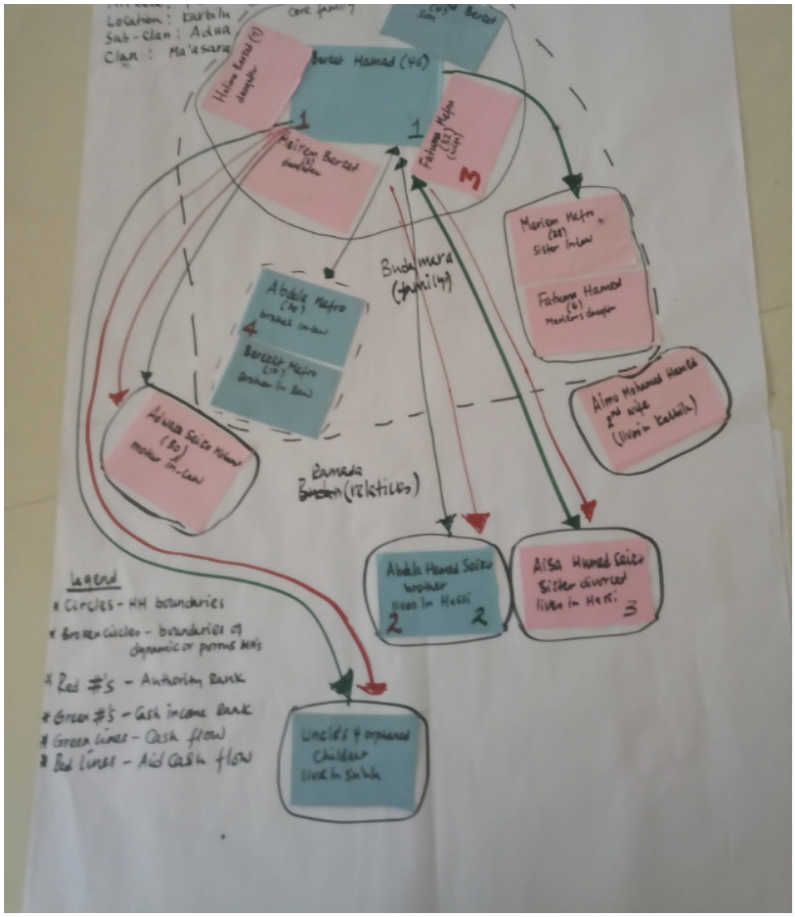
According to the in-depth interviews, often transactions (the giving and receiving of aid) occurred between neighbours confirming existing perspectives on sharing behaviour within horizontal support networks. Also, transactions tended to happen at least once and were often repeated, indicating that the relationships were long lasting and a long-term investment. In Afar, where the greatest proportion of transactions took place, the number of connections or transactions that people made, and which were noted during the SNA, did not clearly correlate with their wealth status; self-defined "destitute" or "poor" were found in both the least and well-connected categories. Medium connected, however, did seem to correlate with medium wealth status in all regions. Even those of medium wealth received assistance (particularly in Afar), and even those that were poor gave assistance.

HHs in different places and belonging to the same family often received food aid at different times and so pooled and shared it between them. HHs also shared aid with others even though they themselves had little. Usually it was up to the most senior woman in the HH to decide whether food aid is consumed or shared; men were happy for women to have this responsibility as food was seen as "women's issues", though as Table 4.3 shows, a slightly higher proportion of male-headed HHs shared food aid than female-headed HHs.

In Somali region, with some HHs it was indicated that there was less sharing of food aid beyond the immediate family/HH compared to the other two case study areas. Many said that this was because all were in a bad condition and suffering.

It was said that some months ago PSNP changed from distributing food aid to distributing cash aid; one HH head said it was ETB1,000 given once, which was so small it was not possible to share. In Afar it was said that nearly every HH in the village was part of the PSNP, and indeed all HHs interviewed in depth had received PSNP assistance. In Borana, cash aid from PSNP was also available to some HHs. In Somali region, HHs had undertaken cash-for-work organized by Oxfam. When cash comes into a HH it is spent and shared (usually in a reciprocal arrangement). Some cash is given to extended family members. HH heads in Afar said that they also made cash contribution or gifts during death, marriage and sickness of close relatives

Figure 5.5 Food aid flow among different members and relatives of HH 105



5.7 Other types of assistance

In Afar in particular, those outside the immediate family are important sources of other types of assistance and though this heightens during times of drought or other crises, community members assist each other all year round. It was emphasized that the strength and cohesiveness of the HH is very important for ensuring HH members get through drought and other crises and this strength is built up in good times as well as bad. In Borana, individual HHs create their own reciprocal assistance relations, and community or clan assistance is mobilized through the clan leaders as busa ganofa. Women in particular assist each other all year round including in house building, drawing water and looking after children. Labour can be particularly demanding during the rainy season. It was said that the HH shares all things except personal belongings like clothes. Depending on the economic status of the HH, clan members give each other money, cattle and shoats during different ritual and social events such as child naming and marriage ceremonies. HH heads in Afar mentioned being given cash from zekhat, gifts from neighbours and gifts from clan members

5.8 Coping with drought

HHs interviewed through the case studies stressed that the close family, and good relations with those family members, was of utmost importance to ensure that people get through drought. In fact, several HHs mentioned that the drought made people more united and cohesive, as all have had to work together literally day and night to keep the animals alive. In Afar and Borana, several HHs would work together to share responsibilities such as collecting fodder for livestock, collecting water and other responsibilities, particularly during the drought time. However, in

Somali region, the drought was so severe and widespread everyone was trying their best to survive and were not able to rely on other HH members as they too were in trouble. It was also suggested that the social network here is not so strong as in other regions, but this needs further investigation. Movement with livestock was seen as the best coping strategy; those that split their herds said that those that moved survived better than those that remained. In Borana, it was more common for the whole family to move in search of grazing, rather than only the males (as in Afar), though in one case it was said that women and children stayed behind with a donkey. Sometimes children were sent to live with relatives or others in a place where the drought might not be so severe.

Female-headed HHs relied strongly on male family members for assistance. In addition, and particularly in Borana, women helped each other and worked collectively on a daily basis (particularly helping pregnant or vulnerable women),

Other factors that helped people/families get through drought highlighted by respondents included government food aid provision, water harvesting and storage, the villagization scheme that provides water throughout the year, provision of livestock feed including factory byproducts (furshka in Afan Oromo), collecting trees and leaves, digging croplands by hand (as no oxen) and selling of animals.

The majority of HHs said that they had not yet fully recovered from the last drought period (Afar, Borana and Somali). Steps had been taken to raise funds such as members of the family working as labourers. Livestock were recovering but many had not yet given birth. Though things are certainly better, it will take more time to fully recover. Uncertainty in terms of drought are changing land use practices with people reserving and enclosing grasslands for their individual HH use after learning about cut-and-carry. More land is also being ploughed for cropping. However, though such changes may resolve challenges in the short term, in the long term if trends continue and rangelands continue to be privatized and/or converted to croplands, then it is likely that the whole pastoral system will be placed under further pressure.

6. Discussion, conclusions and recommendations

6.1 Discussion and conclusions

As this research has shown, the definitions and understandings of the term "HH" are similar whether it is an NGO, international agency, government office or a community describing the word. However, though NGOs, aid agencies and government use the term on a regular basis to describe the pastoralist family unit, the term simplifies and draws boundaries around what in reality is a much more fluid and complex structure.

This more fluid and complex family or social structure or grouping of normally (but not always) related individuals is not well understood by humanitarian aid actors, particularly at a national level. Nor is the place and embeddedness of this unit (and the individuals that form part of this unit) within a wider social landscape and network fully understood and accommodated for in aid delivery. Indeed, in the context of emergency aid delivery which demands a rapid response, giving time to understand and account for such complexities is challenging.

This research shows that not only is there complexity in the HH unit itself, but also in how that HH interacts with other HHs. Indeed, there are strong social networks across HHs and/or the families and individuals that form more customary social groupings. This social network is somewhat different to the wealth redistribution or self-help customary institutions or networks that have existed in the past and in many cases still do; these customary institutions rely on the wealthy and the more powerful to share their resources, not only making that wealth more equal across the community but the act of sharing provides those individuals with greater status and power in the community (such as in decision-making processes)[17].

New or adapted social networks built on the sharing of resources such as humanitarian food aid (and as described above) have somewhat challenged the customary way of doing things and rather give the power of sharing to the weak: aid comes into the community through individuals who are classified as vulnerable providing them with resources that they can choose to share or not. These "vulnerable" individuals would not normally be in a position to share resources and would rather more than likely remain only on the receiving end; as such, the sharing of food aid not only gets the food to additional individuals who need it, but also builds the status of the giver, strengthens their place in the social community landscape and gives them social credit that could be used at another time. There is a need to dig deeper into such issues including looking at what impact the new or adapted social networks based on the giving of food aid have on the more traditional wealth redistribution networks, the individuals involved and the society as a whole, including impacts on resilience at different levels.

Indeed, the general humanitarian practice of distributing food aid in 2016–17 to women in particular not only meant that they and their families filled immediate needs, but also gave women status and a relatively high degree of power, i.e. in determining what to do with the food aid when they received it. As can be seen above, many women chose

17. In addition, it was said by a local researcher that though it is the poorer part of the community that labour to clear bush for example, it is the better off who benefit in the long term with their livestock having improved access to grazing as a result.

to share it (though slightly less female HH heads shared compared to male HH heads, see Table 4.3). Not only was this done as an act of compassion for those that needed it but also as a means of building social capital and networks, i.e. as a local safety net for times when they might be in need and the favour (transaction) is returned. However, this unexpected outcome of the aid delivery process (as it currently is) of empowering women (or other recipients of food aid) through the sharing process has not been recognized and/or built on by humanitarian aid organizations. Though one of the reasons for targeting women as recipients of food aid is because it is known that women control and are able to maintain that control and authority over food, the additional power that results through sharing is not yet acknowledged. As such, there may have been a lost opportunity for strengthening women's empowerment more purposively through the sharing process and using that process for other purposes too, such as it being used as a communication channel for relaying important messages or for sharing of more development-oriented aid support.

The family groupings or HHs that exist in pastoralist communities are generally open in nature, rather than closed (Randall and Coast 2014), as they offer, give, receive or ask for help from a wide range of kin or others beyond their immediate nuclear family. In addition, because the majority of sharing of aid happens within the kebele and between individuals with strong relations, the social network can be described as mainly one of bonding social capital or ties (with intra-community relations based on kinship and friendship), though there were also some examples of bridging social capital or ties (with inter-community relations between people of different identities but having common aims). This follows Anbacha and Kiosavik (2018) and their conclusions of a study on women's support networks in Borana, where they found both types of social capital.

The SNA also revealed that no HHs dominated the network, suggesting that the social support network is relatively egalitarian and not dominated by those with greater power (decision-making or financial). Rather, women are key actors in the network (certainly in relation to aid sharing); that is, it is those who tend to have less power traditionally. This suggests that the social support network (at least in terms of food aid redistribution) challenges perceived perceptions of power dynamics in communities and as suggested above, could be utilized as a channel for sharing resources (including longer-term development resources) in a more equal way, i.e. rather than through village leaders for example.

It is clear that the pastoral social network that exists and the sharing of food aid and other assistance that took place through this network challenges ideas of targeting of food aid. Indeed, though the majority of food aid got to the targeted beneficiaries in the 2016–17 aid delivery period, a significant part of it did not *stay* with those beneficiaries but rather was shared (albeit the amounts shared between individuals were understood to be small).

However, though the way that food aid was distributed (i.e. to individuals) contributed to a situation where much food aid was shared and could be said to have failed to fully meet its targets, it did contribute to the strengthening of the social network that was and remains so important to get communities through crises such as drought. In addition, it avoided tensions in the community that could have arisen from a situation where some were given food aid and others were not. Indeed, some community members said that the drought and working together through the drought had made the community stronger despite the difficulties. The role that food aid, and more specifically the *sharing* of food aid plays in contributing to strong social networks, is not something that is acknowledged in aid delivery design or implementation.

Because these networks were not recognized and the opportunities that they presented were not acknowledged, there were lost opportunities for supporting and building such networks as a key activity or strategy for strengthening community, HHs' or individuals' capacities before or during drought. In fact, many of the actions taken by humanitarian and development actors served or can serve to challenge or weaken the social networks by focusing on the individual rather than the community, or through the provision of support given to the privatization or individualization of land, water and other resources. More thought should be put into supporting collective or communal management and ownership, including through the aid delivery process. Not only may damage have been caused to the collectiveness of communities, but also opportunities may have been missed for supporting the building of capacity and resilience of the larger social units defined by the social network that supports them which could have contributed to a more progressive development of pastoralist communities and an improved—including more cost-effective—delivery program than was seen.

In many ways, pastoralists themselves contributed to the success of the aid delivery in 2016–17. Pastoralists are adept at adjusting themselves to a given situation including one of aid distribution in times of drought: the sharing of food aid, splitting of families, locational separation, registration of wives as separate HHs, use of social networks and moving of livestock but still ensuring that aid was collected were all strategies used by pastoralists that allowed them to access aid but still maintain their pastoral livelihood system. Pastoralists were able to work around the restrictions and limitations that aid organizations put in place. Though many of these restrictions and limitations were unavoidable due to, for example, the lack of aid to provide for all needs, more could have been done by organizations to adapt to the needs and priorities of pastoralists rather than the other way around. Indeed, the introduction of cash transfers instead of food aid through mobile banking and 'e-payments would have obvious delivery advantages for people on the move' (Sabates-Wheeler 2018). Of course, this would depend on food being available in the markets to buy. As noted above, a small number of NGOs have been testing this and other approaches. Another suggestion made by those interviewed included registration cards that are taken with pastoralists as they move so that they can access aid wherever they are. If aid agencies better understand pastoralist movements in times of drought (often following regular patterns), they could predict where the majority of pastoralists will move to and ensure that adequate aid is provided there rather than at the place where the pastoralists have come from.

With this in mind and in consideration of the question, 'what is the most appropriate social or family grouping for aid delivery?', the research is inconclusive. Overall, it was agreed by community respondents that the term "HH" is useful as a broad unit of reference for social groupings that have significant variance and diversity, and is used in their engagement with government and NGOs as a unit for deciding who to give food aid to, and for assigning, dividing or counting a community or population. Respondents have learned to live with the term and when asked by NGOs or government, 'how many people are living in your HH?', they will give an answer. However, there is the danger that the lack of a standard definition of HH used by NGOs or government and by not providing details to a person being interviewed on which members or family sub-groups should be included, the interpretation of the term is left to the respondent and therefore answers can vary from one HH to another. Indeed, we saw this in our own research—the interpretation of the term by the researchers and the communities in Fuldowa, Borana, Oromia meant that sub-group family units were being included in the description of family members resulting in high numbers, whereas in the other regions they were not.

In addition, for aid delivery, it is an advantage to a family head when being asked about his or her HH to split the HH into as many sub-groupings as possible, as the number of individuals that could receive food aid in a HH was capped, so the more HHs there were, the greater opportunity there was to receive aid. Further, wives in a polygamous marriage and registered as HH heads were more likely to receive aid than the wife who was registered with the husband: female-headed HHs were often considered to be more vulnerable than male-headed ones, though this research challenges this by showing that female-headed HHs cope and recover from drought on an almost equal footing to male-headed ones. This meant overall, a greater number of the family polygamous group were eligible for aid, i.e. if they matched the criteria being used. As such, communities were generally happy to use the term HH in their engagement with NGOs or government including for food aid delivery, even though it might not necessarily describe the family social structure and relations that exist or reflect their variability and complexities.

It is clear that targeting of food aid to individuals does have challenges, and not least in that the aid might reach the beneficiaries but often does not stay with them as the aid is shared. This would likely be the case if food aid is distributed to a HH too—HHs would still share. Alternatively, if food aid was distributed to a community it is believed that there could be another set of challenges, for example in terms of the communities' reallocation to those who need it; with internal community distributions there might be more room for inter-community tensions. However there is also evidence to suggest that providing aid to a community would be quicker, less resource intensive and just as effective, if community-based controls, and government or NGO oversight, M&E etc. are in place, as concluded by Sabates-Wheeler (2018) in her evaluations of PSNP: 'where communities display strong horizontal bonding, local universal support tailored to community needs is likely to be more effective in building economic resilience than individualized, targeted support.' However, though this may be the case, if aid was distributed to a community and through the more traditional structure of a community leader downwards, the opportunities for those more vulnerable members of a community to play a central role in that aid distribution would likely be compromised. As such, more thought is required in this regard before any firm conclusion can be reached.

In conclusion therefore, this research cannot suggest or recommend that there should be any great shift in aid delivery processes at this time. Rather, as a starting point, an improved understanding of pastoralist society and its dynamics is required, as well as an understanding of the opportunities that are presented by these dynamics, such as social networks, and how best to utilize these opportunities and dynamics.

It should also be noted that for the majority of community members that took part in this study, the humanitarian food aid delivery was one factor among many that helped them get through the drought. Community members could not and did not rely on food aid alone, but rather had a suite of coping strategies and activities that could be and were used, albeit to different capacities. Still for many, the most important coping strategy/activity is mobility—moving livestock to areas not so badly hit by the drought. However, though the mobility of pastoralists and the importance of this as a coping strategy is known by humanitarian actors, there was little attempt to adjust aid delivery strategies to accommodate for this. Normally, if an individual qualified for aid, it needed to be retrieved from the kebele where one is registered, even if one had moved. Further, mobility continues to be constrained and blocked by land use changes, settlement, lack of support and facilitation including services along livestock routes, and in some ways by the aid distribution process itself that in essence requires that an aid beneficiary be present at a distribution centre to collect their aid package. It is suggested, therefore, that if increased investment was made in facilitating mobility rather than trying to constrain it, pastoralist communities would be better placed to cope with drought, and there would be less need for humanitarian food aid delivery in the first place. At the very least, aid agencies should better accommodate for mobility and not contribute to its further restriction.

6.2 Recommendations

The situation described in this research is a challenging one to address, including how humanitarian food aid could be better targeted and distributed to improve resilience. Through this research, it has been made clear that in the majority of cases aid does get to those targeted. However, due to social norms and community needs, aid is then shared. One could ask, 'does it matter if food aid dilution happens?' In other words, does it matter if community members not categorized as the most vulnerable ultimately receive food aid? In terms of effectiveness of the aid delivery process, perhaps so, but in terms of aid's contribution and impact on supporting individuals, families and communities to get through drought, seemingly not. What is clear is that pastoral communities do still share, including food aid; this is a vital part of building and maintaining their social capital as well as their self-esteem and compassion in helping others seemingly in more need than themselves. Such sharing should not be seen as a problem, but rather reflects the strength of the collective and communal nature of pastoralists and the constant adeptness of pastoralists to keep adapting to new circumstances and opportunities.

Taking into consideration the results of this study, the following recommendations are made:

1. Humanitarian aid (and development) agencies should have a clearer definition of what they mean by a HH, recognizing that it may not necessarily reflect how local community social groupings or families are structured socially and physically. Though the current explanation (some could call it "definition") of a HH through its broadness does offer flexibility in application, the flexibility can create a problem in interpretation by communities when asked 'who are the members of your household?'. As such, in order to ensure more consistency, the boundaries of who should be or who should not be, included in a listing of "HH" members could be provided. This would also be the case for those conducting HH surveys, that is, making it clear to survey participants what is meant by "your HH". This would provide a more robust basis for data collection and comparing across HHs and/or for extrapolating results.

2. Humanitarian actors need to better recognize and accommodate the complex structures, relations and functionality of pastoralist societies including that the sharing of humanitarian food aid is an important aspect of building social capital and resilience, within the planning and implementation of humanitarian aid distribution. This does not necessarily require a new model for aid delivery, but rather an improved one that serves to support and work with the social networks that exist, and clearly, are so important for communities in terms of coping with drought.

3. More support needs to be provided to building the social networks and social capital that exist in pastoralist communities as a means of strengthening the collective and communal society. At the very least, humanitarian (and development) aid actors should take more care that processes that they establish or support "do no harm" to the collective and communal society including the important social networks. This includes avoiding investment in individualization or privatization of collective resources such as water or land.

4. The particular role of women, and the importance of these networks for women, should be recognized and built upon. Indeed, the general practice of targeting women in particular not only meant that they and their families filled immediate needs, but also gave the women status and a high degree of power. This "empowerment" outcome needs to be fully understood and accounted for, and where appropriate built upon by humanitarian aid organizations. Though sharing of aid and other assistance may increase in times of drought, it is part of long-term engagement and relationship building which could be used as a channel for communication and sharing of more general aid support and/or built on to raise women's status, unity and place in decision-making processes.

5. Movement or mobility of people and livestock should not be framed as a problem and rather movement of people and livestock particularly during drought should be facilitated and supported through protection and servicing of livestock routes including water points, resting places, and provision of fodder and feed. In addition, more should be done to accommodate for movement during drought through more innovative and flexible methods of registration for aid that allows aid to be collected away from one's usual residence, for example, through mobile banking or e-transfers, registration cards that move with the pastoralist, or similar measures being undertaken to provide mobile health care in Ethiopia. Increased investment should be made in facilitating mobility rather than trying to constrain it, so that pastoralist communities are better placed to cope with drought, and there would be less need for humanitarian food aid delivery in the first place. At the very least, aid agencies should better accommodate for mobility and not contribute to its further restriction.

6. Additional research is required on the impacts of socioeconomic changes taking place in pastoralist communities in Ethiopia in order to better design interventions to support the positive and mitigate the negative impacts of these.. Such changes include the outmigration of male members of the community including youth to find work abroad, increasingly more settled lifestyles which are often leading to split families, shifts to growing crops at the expense of land being available for grazing, and changes in gender relations. How these relate to both short- and long-term resilience of individuals, HHs and communities as a whole is an important feature of this.

7. The SNA tool proved highly useful in mapping out the social network that exists for transacting food aid and other assistance. However, more research is required to dig deeper into the relations mapped out and the relationship of this aid-based social network with or impact on the more traditional or customary wealth redistribution networks that still exist. Though the aspect of sharing across communities is not new, with customary practices of reciprocity and sharing at the core of collective and communal societies, the actors involved in the humanitarian aid-sharing network are different. There is a need to explore in more detail how these networks work, the role that different actors play in them and the impact of them on society including their resilience to occurrences such as drought. This is particularly important from a gender perspective as women play a key role in the network facilitating the sharing of food aid. In addition, SNA could be used at a HH level to map out transactions here, including how resources flow from one individual to another and the boundary(s) around these. This could be an effective way of defining an appropriate target unit for aid delivery and/or longer-term development in the future.

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Annex

Annex 1: Questionnaire sent to NGOs

Questionnaire for research on understanding and defining a pastoralist household and implications for aid delivery

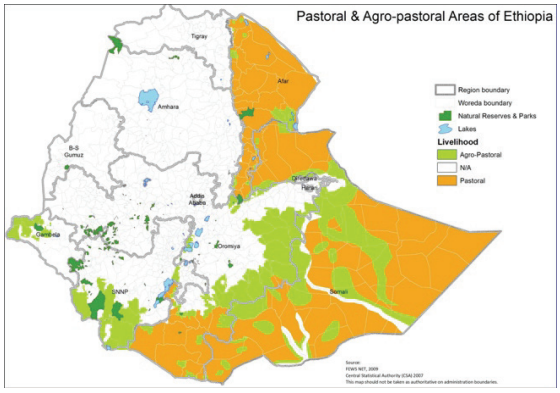
Dear Colleague, ILRI is undertaking research for FAO and EU on understanding a pastoralist "household," and implications of this for humanitarian aid delivery. As an introduction to the research we are carrying out a short survey on the response of organisations to the 2016/17 drought period, and how aid was targeted and to whom. It is anticipated that this research will have wide interest from government and the donor and humanitarian community, and therefore request a small amount of your time to complete the questionnaire. The information provided will be treated entirely confidentially, and not linked to your name or your organisation. The name of your organisation will be listed in a general list in the report as a contributor to the research. The questionnaire will not be shared with anyone other than ourselves.

For further information please contact Fiona Flintan (f.flintan@cgiar.org) or Bedasa Eba (b.eba@cgiar.org)
Once completed please return the form to Bedasa Eba (b.eba@cgiar.org)

Please note that all responses will be shared anonymously – each questionnaire/organisation will be coded and only the codes will appear in the report not the names of organisations or individuals.

1. Name of organisation
2. Your name
3. Your position
4. Your email
5. Your phone number

We will be asking you questions on food and livestock feed aid delivery in pastoralist and agro-pastoralist areas. We are using the below map to broadly define these areas.



6. In the last major emergency drought period, did you distribute food aid directly to a HH in the pastoral areas?
7. If not, why not – and how was the aid distributed?
8. Why was the aid distributed in this way?
9. In the last major emergency drought period did you distribute livestock feed aid to a HH in the pastoral areas?
10. If not, why not – and how was the aid distributed?
11. Why was the livestock feed distributed in this way?
12. If yes (you did distribute directly to HHs), how did you decide which HHs to distribute to?
13. If yes (you did distribute directly to HHs), did you use a listing of HHs, and where was this listing obtained?
14. If yes (you did distribute directly to HHs), please explain briefly how the distribution of food and livestock feed to the HH as was carried out – if the two were different please explain the differences
15. Does your organisation have a definition of a HH that you use when delivering food aid? If yes, what is this?
16. If yes, is this the same definition that you used when distributing food aid as above in 2016/17?
17. If not, why not?
18. Is there any difference between the definition that you use for a HH when distributing food aid, and when you are distributing livestock feed aid. If yes, can you explain what the difference is?
19. Do you think that the definition of a HH that you use reflects reality, and if not, why not?
20. When you distribute food aid do you take any steps to accommodate for the variability found in HH structures, numbers, gender etc. If yes, what steps do you take?
21. What role does government play in influencing how aid is distributed, targeted and/or reaches intended beneficiaries?
22. What role do UN agencies play in influencing how aid is distributed, targeted and reaches intended beneficiaries?
23. What role do NGOs play in influencing how aid is distributed, targeted and reaches intended beneficiaries?
24. What role do communities play in influencing how aid is distributed. targeted and reaches intended beneficiaries?
25. Generally do you think that food aid reaches the beneficiaries that it is targeted to locally? Please explain your answer
26. Generally do you think that livestock feed aid reaches the beneficiaries that it is targeted to locally?

    26b. Please explain your answer.
27. How do you think humanitarian aid targeting in pastoralist areas can be improved?
28. Do you have any further comments?

We thank you very much for completing this questionnaire, and we will share the results of the research with you. Please return the survey to:
Bedasa Eba, ILRI, b.eba@cgiar.org or call: 0913205384

Annex 2: List of key informant interviews

Name	Position	Organisation	Place and date of interview
Federal/National level			
		CSA	AA, Januaryr 2019
Halake Bante	Program policy officer	WFP	AA, October 2018
Tesfu Kahsay	Thematic Director, Livelihoods, Resilience & WASH	Save the Children	AA, February, March and October 2018
Almaz Demessie	Acting Director	Early Warning & Emergency Response Directorate	AA, October 2018
Beyne Adane	M&E Expert	PSNP	AA, October 2018
Elizabeth and Haji Meteyisa	Programme manager and Emergency response manager	CARE	AA, March, April, September 2018
Michael Jacobs	CoP, PRME	Mercycorps	AA, February 2018
Habtamu Amsalu Kebede	Emergency response coordinator	Danish Church Aid	AA, May 2018
Angeliki Parasyraki	Head of programs	Oxfam	AA, September 2018
Somali region			
Mahamed Haji	MEAL Officer/Acting Project Coordinator	Oxfam	DD, April, July, August 2018
Ibrahim Omer	Kebele Leader	Asli kebele	Asli, June-August 2018
Hassen Raybe	Zonal coordinator	Shinile zone	Shinile, June-August 2018
Community representatives	Member	Kebele committee	August 2018
Afar region			
Seid		Save the Children	Semera, July 2018
Mohammed Hussein		Office of disaster prevention & food security	Semera, July 2018
Mohammed and Ahmed		Save the Children Elid'ar woreda	Elid'ar, August 2018
Daniel Getachew	Food security officer	Office of disaster prevention and food security, Elid'ar	Elid'ar, August 2018
Hussein Sulle	Head	Office of disaster prevention and food security, Elid'ar	Elid'ar, August 2018
Hussein Sulle Momin	Early warning and food security process owner	Pastoral Agriculture and Rural Development office	Elid'ar September 2018
Ibrahim Abdela Momin	Kebele chairman	Su'ula kebele office	Su'ula, September, 2018
Aidabis Afki'e	Senior program assistant	WFP	Su'ula, September 2018
Abinet Sisay	Project manager	VSF-Germany	Su'ula, September 2018
Hamedu Meahamed	Clan leader and vice-chairperson of Su'ula	Su'ula kebele office	Su'ula, September 2018
Ahmed Abdulkadir Mohammed	Health and nutrition officer	Save the Children, Elid'ar office	Elid'ar, September 2018
Mohammed Ali Gira	Woreda coordinator	Afar Pastoralists Development Association (APDA)	Elid'ar, September 2018
Community representatives	Members	Kebele	Su'ula kebele, July 2018
Oromia region			
Begena Duressa	Director	Early Warning and Drought Response Directorate, ODRMC	AA, October 2018

Name	Position	Organisation	Place and date of interview
Birhane Hoedofa	Community facilitator and food distributor	CARE	Arero, September 2018
Galgalo Halake	Head	Arero Disaster Prevention Administration Office	Arero, September 2018
Guracha Birara	Kebele administration	Fuldowa kebele office	Fuldowa, September 2018

Annex 3: Checklists for key informant interviews

Checklist for KII with **local (kebele, woreda, zone) government or NGO staff**

1. Name of organisation/office
2. Your name
3. Your position
4. Your email and tel. no.
5. Can you clarify the length and timing of the most recent drought period in this area – when did it start and when did it finish (or if still ongoing)?
6. Compared to other drought periods do you think the drought relief response was better or worse than in the past?
7. Why do you say this?
8. Who coordinated the drought response locally? And what did this involve?
9. Do you have a figure of how much food aid and livestock feed aid was distributed to the woreda [insert name of the zone/woreda/kebele] in the most recent drought response?

10a. What was the key process of distributing food aid locally to communities in the woreda [insert name of zone/ woreda/kebele] in the most recent drought response?

10b. What was the key process of distributing livestock feed aid locally to communities in the woreda [name of case study woreda] in the most recent drought response?

11. Did your organisation distribute food aid and/or livestock feed directly to a HH in the woreda [zone/woreda/ kebele] in the last drought period?
12. If not, why not – and how was the aid distributed? If it was different for food aid and for livestock feed aid, please explain the differences.
13. If yes (you did distribute directly to HHs), how did you decide which HHs to distribute to? If different for food aid and for livestock feed aid please explain the differences.
14. If yes, did you use a listing of HHs, and where was this listing obtained?
15. If yes, please explain briefly how the distribution of food and livestock feed was carried out locally – if the two were different please explain the differences
16. How do you know which people belong to which HH?
17. How are people registered to a particular HH?
18. How are HHs registered in a kebele?
19. How does your office/organisation define a HH?
20. Do you have a list of HHs in the kebele and how was this list developed?
21. Are there different HHs lists for different purposes – can you explain the differences in these?

22a. How do you consider polygamous HHs in your definition? Are the wives considered to be a separate HH or all part of one big HH?

22b. How do you take account of the mobility of pastoralists and that at any given time there may be some HH members taking livestock elsewhere?

23. When does a young person get registered with their own HH?

24. If a new person comes from another area, how long would they need to stay here before they were registered as a HH on the HH list?

25 Does your organisation have a definition of a HH that you use when delivering food aid? If yes, what is this?

26. Does this definition differ from other definitions of a HH that you use for other purposes? If so, please explain why.

27. If yes, is this the same definition that you used when distributing food aid as above in the last drought period?

28. If not, why not?

29. Is there any difference between the definition that you use for a HH when distributing food aid, and when you are distributing livestock feed aid. If yes, can you explain what the difference is?

30. Do you think that the definition of a HH that you use reflects reality, and if not, why not?

31. How is food aid normally physically distributed? Please explain the process.

32. Who in a HH normally collects or receives the food aid?

33. Why do you give to this person?

34. Is there a difference in the distribution of food aid and livestock feed? If so, what is this – please explain.

34a. Do you monitor what happens to that food aid and livestock feed aid once it has been received by a HH member? If yes, how do you do this?

35a. How do you decide which HHs in the kebele or woreda/zone receive food aid and which don't receive food aid?

35b. How do you decided which HHs in the kebele or woreda/zone receive livestock feed aid and which don't receive it?

36. Is wealth/poverty of the HH a criteria for their inclusion on the list for receiving food aid?

37. If so, how do you calculate how rich/poor a HH is?

38a. When you distribute food aid do you take any steps to accommodate for the variability found in HH structures, numbers, gender etc. If yes, what steps do you take?

38b. When you distribute food aid do you take into account the physical mobility of pastoralists? If yes, how do you do this?

39. What role does government play in influencing how aid is distributed locally and to whom?

40. What role do UN agencies play in influencing how aid is distributed locally and to whom?

41. What role do NGOs play in influencing how aid is distributed locally and to whom?

42. What role do communities play in influencing how aid is distributed locally and to whom?

43. Do you think that food aid reaches the beneficiaries that it is targeted to locally?

44. Please explain your answer

45. How do you think food aid targeting in pastoralist areas can be improved?

46. Do you have any further comments on the topic of food aid, targeting and pastoralists?

We thank you very much for completing this interview, and we will share the results of the research with you.

Checklist for KII with government or NGO staff in Addis Ababa

1. Name of organisation
2. Your name
3. Your position
4. Your email and tel. no.
5. Can you clarify the length and timing of the most recent drought period in the country – when did it start and when did it finish (or if still ongoing)?
6. Compared to other drought periods do you think the drought relief response nationally was better or worse than in the past?
7. Why do you say this?
8. Who coordinated the drought response at a national level? And what did this involve?
9. Do you have a figure of how much food aid and livestock feed aid was distributed through your organisation in the most recent drought response? What is this?

10a. What was the key process of distributing food aid locally to communities in the woreda [insert name of zone/woreda/kebele] in the most recent drought response?

10b. What was the key process of distributing livestock feed aid locally to communities in the woreda [name of case study woreda] in the most recent drought response?

11. Did your organisation distribute food aid and/or livestock feed directly to a HH in the woreda [zone/woreda/kebele] in the last drought period?
12. If not, why not – and how was the aid distributed? If it was different for food aid and for livestock feed aid, please explain the differences.
13. If yes (you did distribute directly to HHs), how did you decide which HHs to distribute to? If different for food aid and for livestock feed aid please explain the differences.
14. If yes, did you use a listing of HHs, and where was this listing obtained?
15. If yes, please explain briefly how the distribution of food and livestock feed was carried out locally – if the two were different please explain the differences
16. How does your office/organisation define a HH?
17. Does your organisation have a different definition of a HH that you use when delivering food aid? If yes, what is this?
18. If yes, is this the same definition that you used when distributing food aid as above in the last drought period?
19. If not, why not?
20. Is there any difference between the definition that you use for a HH when distributing food aid, and when you are distributing livestock feed aid. If yes, can you explain what the difference is?

20a. Do you think that the definition of a HH that you use reflects reality, and if not, why not?

20b. How do you consider polygamous HHs in your definition? Are the wives considered to be a separate HH or all part of one big HH?

20c. How do you take account of the mobility of pastoralists and that at any given time there may be some HH members taking livestock elsewhere?

21a. When you distribute food aid do you take any steps to accommodate for the variability found in HH structures, numbers, gender etc. If yes, what steps do you take?

21b. When you distribute food aid do you take into account the physical mobility of pastoralists? If yes, how do you do this?

21c. When you distribute livestock feed aid do you take any steps to accommodate for the variability found in HH structures, numbers, gender etc. If yes, what steps do you take?

21d. When you distribute livestock feed aid do you take into account the physical mobility of pastoralists? If yes, how do you do this?

22. Once aid has been distributed do you monitor how that aid is distributed within a community or within a HH? Please explain. Does this differ for food aid and livestock feed aid – please explain.

23. How do you monitor if food aid is received by the HHs/people you are targeting? Does this differ for livestock feed aid and food aid – please explain.

24a. Do you think that the food aid is being received by the HHs/people you are targeting or are there problems/ challenges with this? Please explain.

24b. Do you think that the livestock feed aid is being received by the HHs/people you are targeting or are there problems/challenges with this? Please explain.

25. What role does government play in influencing how aid is distributed locally and to whom?

26. What role do UN agencies play in influencing how aid is distributed locally and to whom?

27. What role do NGOs play in influencing how aid is distributed locally and to whom?

28. What role do communities play in influencing how aid is distributed locally and to whom?

29. How do you think food aid targeting in pastoralist areas can be improved?

30. Do you have any further comments on the topic of food aid, targeting and pastoralists?

We thank you very much for completing this interview, and we will share the results of the research with you.

Checklist for KII with government or NGO staff at regional level

1. Name of organisation

2. Your name

3. Your position

4. Your email and tel. no.

5. Can you clarify the length and timing of the most recent drought period in the region– when did it start and when did it finish (or if still ongoing)?

6. Compared to other drought periods do you think the drought relief response regionally was better or worse than in the past?

7. Why do you say this?

8. Who coordinated the drought response at a regional level? And what did this involve?

9. Do you have a figure of how much food aid and livestock feed aid was distributed through your organisation in the most recent drought response?

10a. What was the key process of distributing food aid locally to communities in the woreda [insert name of zone/woreda/kebele] in the most recent drought response?

10b. What was the key process of distributing livestock feed aid locally to communities in the woreda [name of case study woreda] in the most recent drought response?

11. Did your organisation distribute food aid and/or livestock feed directly to a HH in the woreda [zone/woreda/kebele] in the last drought period?

12. If not, why not – and how was the aid distributed? If it was different for food aid and for livestock feed aid, please explain the differences.

13. If yes (you did distribute directly to HHs), how did you decide which HHs to distribute to? If different for food aid and for livestock feed aid please explain the differences.

14. If yes, did you use a listing of HHs, and where was this listing obtained?

15. If yes, please explain briefly how the distribution of food and livestock feed was carried out locally – if the two were different please explain the differences

16. How does your office/organisation define a HH?

17. Does your organisation have a different definition of a HH that you use when delivering food aid? If yes, what is this?

17. If yes, is this the same definition that you used when distributing food aid as above in the last drought period?

18. If not, why not?

19. Is there any difference between the definition that you use for a HH when distributing food aid, and when you are distributing livestock feed aid. If yes, can you explain what the difference is?

20a. Do you think that the definition of a HH that you use reflects reality, and if not, why not?

20b. How do you consider polygamous HHs in your definition? Are the wives considered to be a separate HH or all part of one big HH?

20c. How do you take account of the mobility of pastoralists and that at any given time there may be some HH members taking livestock elsewhere?

21a. When you distribute food aid do you take any steps to accommodate for the variability found in HH structures, numbers, gender etc. If yes, what steps do you take?

21b. When you distribute food aid do you take into account the physical mobility of pastoralists? If yes, how do you do this?

21c. When you distribute livestock feed aid do you take any steps to accommodate for the variability found in HH structures, numbers, gender etc. If yes, what steps do you take?

21d. When you distribute livestock feed aid do you take into account the physical mobility of pastoralists? If yes, how do you do this?

22. Once aid has been distributed do you monitor how that aid is distributed within a community or within a HH? Please explain. Does this differ for food aid and livestock feed aid – please explain.

23. How do you monitor if food aid is received by the HHs/people you are targeting? Does this differ for livestock feed aid and food aid – please explain.

24a. Do you think that the food aid is being received by the HHs/people you are targeting or are there problems/challenges with this? Please explain.

24b. Do you think that the livestock feed aid is being received by the HHs/people you are targeting or are there problems/challenges with this? Please explain.

25. What role does government play in influencing how aid is distributed locally and to whom?

26. What role do UN agencies play in influencing how aid is distributed locally and to whom?

27. What role do NGOs play in influencing how aid is distributed locally and to whom?

28. What role do communities play in influencing how aid is distributed locally and to whom?

29. How do you think food aid targeting in pastoralist areas can be improved?

30. Do you have any further comments on the topic of food aid, targeting and pastoralists?

We thank you very much for completing this interview, and we will share the results of the research with you.

Annex 4: HH survey questionnaire 2018

Good Morning/afternoon, my name is _____. I came from International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI), carrying out research on how pastoralist households assisted each other in the last major drought-emergency period which ran from_____ to_____. For this purpose we are interviewing everyone in the kebele and I would like to talk to you ask you some very short questions. The interview will take about 15 minutes. All the information we obtain from you will remain strictly confidential.

Module1. Details of interviewer and location

A1_1	Name of supervisor				
A1_2	Name of Enumerator				
A1_3	Date of interview (G.C.)	Day	Month	Year	
A1_4	Time of Interview Started				
A1_5	Region				
A1_6	Zone				
A1_7	Woreda				
HH_ID	Household identification number				
A1_8	Kebele				
A1_9	GPS reading of the HH. Latitude:		Longitude:		

Instructions for enumerators

Interview household head – this could be male or female (or in some rare cases the HH head could be a child)

Some questions allow several answers. Unless specifically instructed in the question, do not prompt and simply tick the answers that are mentioned.

Module 2: Household head characteristics

B1_1	Name of the household head	
B1_2	Sex of the household head (1= Male; 2= Female)	
B1_3	What is your age?	
B1_4	Did you receive food aid in the last drought period? 1=Yes/2=No	
B1_5a	From whom did this food aid come from? [1. NGO, 2. WFP, 3. PSNP, 4. UN, 5. NGO, 6. CARE, 7. Save the Children, 8. Oxfam, 9. Government, 10. National government, 11. Regional government, 12. Local government, 13. A neighbour, 14. A friend, 15. A family member, 16. Community leader, 17. Other - Specify 18. Don't know] 1st	

B1_5b	From whom did this food aid come from? [1. NGO, 2. WFP, 3. PSNP, 4. UN, 5. NGO, 6. CARE, 7. Save the Children, 8. Oxfam, 9. Government, 10. National government, 11. Regional government, 12. Local government, 13. A neighbour, 14. A friend, 15. A family member, 16. Community leader, 17. Other - Specify 18. Don't know, 99.NA] 2nd	
B1_5c	From whom did this food aid come from? [1. NGO, 2. WFP, 3. PSNP, 4. UN, 5. NGO, 6. CARE, 7. Save the Children, 8. Oxfam, 9. Government, 10. National government, 11. Regional government, 12. Local government, 13. A neighbour, 14. A friend, 15. A family member, 16. Community leader, 17. Other - Specify 18. Don't know, 99.NA]3rd	
B1_6	How many times did you receive food aid?	
B1_7	Did you receive livestock feed aid in the last drought? 1=Yes/2=No	
B1_8a	From whom did this livestock feed aid come from? [1. NGO, 2. WFP, 3. PSNP, 4. UN, 5. NGO, 6. CARE, 7. Save the Children, 8. Oxfam, 9. Government, 10. National government, 11. Regional government, 12. Local government, 13. A neighbour, 14. A friend, 15. A family member, 16. Community leader, 17. Other - Specify 18. Don't know]1st	
B1_8b	From whom did this livestock feed aid come from? [1. NGO, 2. WFP, 3. PSNP, 4. UN, 5. NGO, 6. CARE, 7. Save the Children, 8. Oxfam, 9. Government, 10. National government, 11. Regional government, 12. Local government, 13. A neighbour, 14. A friend, 15. A family member, 16. Community leader, 17. Other - Specify 18. Don't know, 99.NA]2nd	
B1_8c	From whom did this livestock feed aid come from? [1. NGO, 2. WFP, 3. PSNP, 4. UN, 5. NGO, 6. CARE, 7. Save the Children, 8. Oxfam, 9. Government, 10. National government, 11. Regional government, 12. Local government, 13. A neighbour, 14. A friend, 15. A family member, 16. Community leader, 17. Other - Specify 18. Don't know, 99.NA]3rd	
B1_9	How many times did you receive livestock feed aid?	
B1_10	On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being lowest (least successful) and 10 being highest (most successful) how well do you think your household succeeded in coping with the last drought period?	
B1_11	For what percentage of time did you not have enough food to eat in the last drought period?	
B1_12	What percentage of your livestock died from drought-related causes in the last drought period?	
B1_13	On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being lowest (least successful) and 10 being highest (most successful) how well do you think your household has succeeded in recovering from the last drought period?	

Module 3: Humanitarian food aid received in the last drought emergency period

*We would now like to ask you about any Food Aid that you received from another individual (**not** from an NGO, government office, UN (e.g. WFP) or other organization) during the last drought period because we want to understand how Food Aid is distributed and shared within a community. This is Food Aid such as grain, peas (YSP) or oil that has been given to the community as part of the drought relief aid response.*

Notes to enumerators: please understand that the focus is on food received from or given to another HH (which could be within the kebele or outside the kebele) and it is not about food received directly from an aid organization or from government – though it will have come into the community from an aid organization or government the transactions we want listed here are between HHs.

Note: "Food aid" does not include something *produced or made* by the HH – the section is only about such as food aid grain, oil or pulses or other types of official food aid. We want to understand if HHs share official food aid.

C1_1	Did you receive food aid from another HH (that is, not from government, not from UN e.g. WFP, and not from an NGO or similar) during the last drought period? 1=Yes/2=No [If yes, continue, if no, go to question C1_9].	

Note to enumerators: please list the transaction(s) of food aid received from each different HH separately. So if for example grain is received from 3 different HHs then this needs to be listed separately. If different types of food aid are received from the same HH then these should be listed separately. When received from a HH that is resident in the kebele please identify which HH this is from the kebele HH listing and enter the ILRI HH identification number.

Please tell me what food aid you received, from which HH and what you did with the food aid once you received it [Enumerator please fill in below table for this]								
C1_2. Type of food aid received [Note – we do not require the quantity]	C1_3. Is HH you received from inside/outside the kebele?			C1_4. How many times did you receive food aid from this HH in the last drought period?	C1_5. Did you pay the HH for the food aid? 1=Yes2=No	C1_6. What is your relationship with this HH (first answer only) 1. Family 2. Clan 3. Age-set 4. Kinship 5. Friends 6. No relationship 7. Other – specify	C1_7. Why did the HH give you the food (first answer only)? 1. Because we had none 2. Because they had too much 3. Because of our relationship 4. It is normal to do so 5. Because a HH member was sick 6. Because the other HH needed the money 7. Because community/clan leader asked them to share 8. Because the government asked them to share 9. Because the NGO asked them to share 10. Because the UN asked them to share 11. Other – specify	C1_8. What did you do with the food aid when you received it? 1. The HH ate it over time 2. The HH ate it all at once 3. We shared it with others outside HH 4. We sold it 5. Other – specify
	C1_3a. If from outside, in which kebele and/or woreda does this HH reside?	C1_3b. If from within the kebele which HH gave you the food aid?						
		Name	ILRI HH ID no.					

Note: "Food aid" does not include something *produced or made* by the HH – the questionnaire is only about such as food aid grain, oil or pulses or other types of official food aid. We want to know if HHs share official food aid.

Note to enumerators: please list the transaction(s) of food aid given to each different HH separately. So if for example oil is given to 3 different HHs then this needs to be listed separately. If different types of food aid are given to the same HH then these should be listed separately. When given to a HH that is resident in the kebele please identify which HH this is, from the kebele HH listing and enter the ILRI HH identification number.

C1_9	Did you give food aid to another HH during the last drought period? 1=Yes/2=No [If yes continue, if no go to Module 4]. [Note to enumerators – we are only talking about giving of official food aid here such as oil, grain YSP-pulses/peas etc.]	

Please tell me what food aid you gave away, to which HH, why and where did the food aid come from [Enumerator please fill in below table for this]

C1_10. Type of food aid given away[Note – we do not require the quantity]	C1_11. Is HH you gave to from inside/outside the kebele?			C1_12. How many times did you give food aid to this HH during the last drought period?	C1_13. Did the HH pay you for the food aid? 1=Yes 2=No	C1_14. What is your relationship with this HH (first answer only) 1. Family 2. Clan 3. Age-set 4. Kinship 5. Friends 6. No relationship 7. Other – specify	C1_15. Where did you get the food aid that you gave away? 1. From an NGO 2. From government 3. From UN (e.g. WFP) 4. From the clan/ community leader 5. From another HH 6. I bought it 7. Other – specify	C1_16. Why did you give the HH the food (first answer only)? 1. Because they had none 2. Because we had too much 3. Because of our relationship 4. It is normal to do so 5. Because HH member was sick 6. Because we needed the money 7. Because the community or clan leader asked us to share 8. Because the government asked us to share 9. Because the NGO asked us to share 10. Other – specify
	C1_11a. If from outside, in which kebele and/ or woreda does this HH reside?	C1_11b. If from within the kebele, to which HH did you give the food aid?						
		Name	ILRI HH ID no.					

Module 4: Other assistance received in the last emergency-drought period

We would now like to ask you about any ***other*** *assistance that you received from or gave to another household during the last drought period because we want to understand how communities assist each other during drought. This is assistance that has been received or given to another household other than what was asked above before.*

Notes to enumerators: please understand that the focus is on assistance received from or given to another HH (which could be within the kebele or outside the kebele).

Section1. Other assistance received

D1_1	Did you receive any kind of assistance (other than what was described previously) directly from another HH in the last drought period? 1=Yes/2=No [If yes, continue, if no go to question D1_8].	

Note to enumerators: please list the transaction(s) of assistance received from each different HH separately. So if for example assistance such as money is received from 3 different HHs then this needs to be listed separately. If different types of assistance are received from the same HH then these should be listed separately. When received from a HH that is resident in the kebele please identify which HH this is from the kebele HH listing and enter the ILRI HH identification number.

D1_2. Type of assistance received [Code D1_2]	D1_3. Is the HH you received from inside/ outside the kebele?			D1_4. How many times did you receive the assistance from this HH in the last drought period?	D1_5. Did you pay the HH for the assistance? 1=Yes/2=No	D1_6. What is your relationship with this HH (first answer only) 1. Family 2. Clan 3. Age-set 4. Kinship 5. Friends 6. No relationship 7. Other – specify	D1_7. Why did the HH give you the assistance (first answer only)? [Code D1_7]
	D1_3a. If from outside, in which kebele and/or woreda does this HH reside?	D1_3b. If from within the kebele which HH gave you assistance?					
		Name	ILRI HH ID No.				

Section 2. Assistance given to another HH

D1_8	Did you give any kind of assistance to another HH? 1=Yes/2=No [If yes, continue, if no, End interview].	

Note to enumerators: please list the transaction(s) of assistance given out to each different HH separately. So if for example if money is given to 3 different HHs then this needs to be listed separately. If different types of assistance are given to the same HH then these should be listed separately. When given to a HH that is resident in the kebele please identify which HH this is from the kebele HH listing and enter the ILRI HH identification number.

D1_9. Type of assistance given [Code D1_9]	D1_10. Is the HH you gave assistance to from inside/outside the kebele?			D1_11. How many times did you give assistance to this HH in the last drought period?	D1_12. Did you ask for money from the HH for the assistance? 1=Yes/2=No	D1_13. What is your relationship with this HH? (first answer only) 1. Family 2. Clan 3. Age-set 4. Kinship 5. Friends 6. No relationship 7. Other – specify	D1_14. Why did you give the HH the assistance (first answer only)? [Code D1_14]
	D1_10a. If from outside, in which kebele and/or woreda does this HH reside?	D1_10b. If from within the kebele which HH?					
		Name	ILRI HH ID no.				

Codes for Module 4

D1_2 & D1_9 - type of assistance				D1-7 - Reason for assistance			
1	Food	10	Household items	1	Because we needed it	10	Because the community or clan leader asked them to assist us
2	Water	11	Seeds	2	Because they had too much	11	Because the government asked them to assist us
3	Livestock feed	12	Farm tools	3	Because we are poor	12	Because the NGO asked them to assist us
4	Money	13	Oxen for ploughing	4	Because they are rich	13	Because the UN asked them to assist us
5	Labour	14	Land to grow crops	5	Because of our relationship	14	Because we helped them last time
6	Livestock	15	Other - Specify	6	It is normal to do so	15	Other – specify
7	Human medicine			7	Because our livestock were dying or sick		
8	Livestock medicine			8	Because our family member was sick or dying		
9	Shelter			9	Because the other HH needed the money		

D1-14 - Reason for assistance			
1	Because they needed it	9	Because we needed the money
2	Because we had too much	10	Because the community or clan leader asked us to assist them
3	Because we are rich	11	Because the government asked us to assist them
4	Because they are poor	12	Because the NGO asked us to assist them
5	Because of our relationship	13	Because the UN asked us to assist them
6	It is normal to do so	14	Because they helped us last time
7	Because their livestock were dying or sick	15	Other – specify
8	Because their family member was sick or dying		

Annex 5: Checklists and tools for in-depth case study interviews

[First step is to ask the respondents to fill out the consent form – see separate files]

There are five modules to the in-depth study with each household:

1. Module 1 – household characteristics and wealth status – short survey
2. Module 2 – defining household structure – form to fill
3. Module 3 – household members mapping – see separate sheet - could take half a day to do this – need to prepare some materials such as card: take a photo of map.
4. Module 4 – resource flows in/out of HH – see separate sheet
5. Module 5 – mapping of male and female domains – see separate sheet

Module1A. Details of interviewer and location

A1_1	Name of supervisor				
A1_2	Name of Enumerator				
A1_3	Date of interview (G.C.)	Day	Month	Year	
A1_4	Time of Interview Started				
A1_5	Region				
A1_6	Zone				
A1_7	Woreda				
HH_ID	ILRI Household identification number				
A1_8	Kebele				
A1_9	GPS reading of the HH. Latitude: Longitude:				

Module 1B. Wealth status

1B.1_1	In your understanding in terms of wealth status in the kebele, would you say that you are comparatively well-off/rich, medium, poor or destitute?	(_____)

Section 1B.2. Housing quality

1B.1_1	What is the main material that is used to construct the roof of the main house? (Code a)	(_____)
1B.1_2	What is the main material that is used to construct the floor of the main house? (Code b)	(_____)

Code (a), Type of Roof	Code (b), Type of Floor
Thatched roof	1. Earth
Corrugated metal roof	2. Cow dung
Mud/sand/stone, etc	3. Concrete/stone/cement
Plastic/garment sheeting	4. Tile/bricks
Bamboo	5. Other (Specify)
Other (Specify)	

Section 1B.3: Livestock ownership

1B.3_0	Do you own any livestock? (1=Yes, 2=No) if no skip to IGA section below.	(_____)

1B.3_1	1B.3_2	1B.3_3
S/no	Type of Livestock	Number currently owned (include those that are present here and those being cared for by household members elsewhere)
1	Oxen/bulls	
2	Local cows	
3	Crossbred Cows	
4	Local calves (less than 2 years old)	
5	Crossbred Calves	
6	Sheep male older than 1 year	
7	Sheep female older than 1year	
8	Lambs less than 1 year	
9	Goats male older than 1 year	
10	Goats female older than 1 years	
11	Young goats less than 1 year	
12	Equines (Donkeys, Horse, Mule)	
13	Camels	
14	Chicken	
15	Beehives	

Section 1B.4 Other major assets are owned

1B.3_0	Do you own any other major assets? If yes, please list below	(_____)

1B.3_1	1B.3_2	1B.3_3
S/no	Type of asset (for example house in town, motorbike, shop, private well or storage tank, animal shelter, cart, television, radio, jewellery, solar panels, generator, satellite dish, equipment or machinery, private grazing area, private agricultural plot, etc.)	Number currently owned (include those that are present here and those being cared for by household members elsewhere)
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

Section 1B.4: Income from different sources in the last year

1.B.4_0	What was the estimated cash income of the HH over the last year?	
1B.4_1	What percentage of your cash income was earned from the following:	(_____)
a)	Livestock sales	
b)	Livestock product sales e.g. milk, hides & skins,	
c)	Income generation activities (IGAs)	
d)	Crop sales	
e)	PSNP	

f)	Wage employment (other than from PSNP or IGAs)	
g)	Remittances	
h)	From other sources – please specify	
1B.4_11	If you received remittances or money from family or friends living abroad, who did it come from, what is their relationship of this person to you, and in which country/city do they live?	

Module 2: Household structure

Please ask the HH to fill out the attached form on Household Structure (see excel file) for all HH members. [This can also be used as a starting point for Module 3].

Module 3: Household members mapping

First of all I would like to undertake an exercise with you to understand the structure of your HH, with some accompanying questions and discussions.
[Use separate guidance sheet on Family/HH mapping]

Module 4: Mapping of male and female domains in the HH and homestead

Now, I would like to undertake an exercise with you to understand the different male and female domains in the HH and homestead
[Use separate guidance sheet on HH domains].

Module 5: Resource flows in/out of HH

Now, I would like to undertake an exercise with you to understand how resources flow in, through and out of the HH.
[Use separate guidance sheet on Resources Flows in/out of HH]

Module 2: Defining HH structure - guidelines for interviewers									
Name	Age	Sex	Which other HH member is s/he dependent on?	Relationship to the HH head	Location		Eating arrangements		What is the livelihood or job of this family member or are they at school?
					Do s/he live under the same roof as the HH head?	If not, where does s/he live - give name and distance in km if possible.	Does s/he normally eat with the HH head?	if not, where does s/he normally eat? (on a daily basis)	

Module 3: Mapping out the household and its structure – guidelines for interviewers

Objective

To understand the different members of the HH, how the boundaries of the HH are defined, what the relationships are been the members, who the members are and their roles and responsibilities in the HH.

Anticipated output

A diagrammatic map of the HH, and background information.

Equipment needed:

Coloured card of two colours, preferably blue and pink colour (though other colours are also ok if pink and blue are not available).

Flipchart paper
Scotch tape
Thick marker pens
Scissors

How to do a mapping of the household structure and members

- Ask up to eight family members to do the exercise together – they can be of different ages, sex, generations etc. Minimum age limit is 12.
- Prepare pieces of card of two different colours (blue and pink) cut into different sized circles (3 or 4 sizes). The blue is for male members of the HH and the pink is for female members of the family. Then tape four pieces of flipchart paper together to make one large piece (you might need to add more to this later if needed).
- Ask the group to determine the criteria for defining the level of authority that a family member has and note these down – these could include for example things like age, gender, position in the structure of the HH, responsibility/ level of dependence, wealth, physical strength etc.
- Write the name of each HH member on the appropriately sized circle, with their degree of authority over decision making processes according to the size of the card i.e. the family member(s) with the most authority over decision making on the largest card circle(s), and the members with the least authority over decision making the smallest circle(s), the medium size for medium levels of decision making. For this exercise ask the group to list all HH members – and let them decide which family/kin members to include and which not to include. You can use the list developed in Module 2 as a starting point for this exercise – however in the process you may also need to update the Table in Module 2 if the group add some members not already included.
- Then ask the group to arrange the circles on the large piece of flipchart paper(s) so that the members with the most decision-making authority (No. 1) member is at the centre and the other members are placed in relation to how physically close they live to the most important (No. 1) member. That is, those that live in the central hut would be placed closest, whereas those that live in another country would be placed furthest away. Those that live in the same compound would be nearer but not as close as those that lived in the same hut, and those that lived in Addis Ababa would be placed further away but not as far away as those living in a different country etc. etc.
- Once all members of the HH have been placed on the flipchart paper(s) draw boundaries/lines around the different sub-units of the HH if these exist for example a circle around the 'inner' sub-unit of the HH e.g. defined by those that live under the same roof or eat around the same fireplace or out of the same pot, and then another circle around those that live in the same compound or are of the same kin but not the inner/closest members of the 'HH', and then those that live further away etc. Dotted lines can show boundaries that are more open where movement across social boundaries takes place, and solid lines for more stronger unchanging, boundaries. As such a series of concentric circles or units can be drawn with the central part of the HH clearly defined in the middle.

[Please see example below]

Whilst all this is happening the following questions can be asked.

Questions for discussions during household mapping

1. Please can you tell me how you defined or interpreted my use of the word "household"?
2. Please list all members of your Household. Please can you help me fill in the details of each member of the HH in the attached table.
3. Write down the name of each HH member on the circles of card, putting all female members on the pink card, and male members on the blue card. Please use the larger circles for the members of the HH who have the greatest authority in decision-making processes, HH, and the smallest cards for the members of the HH that have the least role in HH decision-making processes, and the middle sizes for those in the middle.
4. Please can you tell me how you decided who had the most, least, medium authority over decision-making. What decisions are important in a pastoralist environment? And why do these people make or not make these decisions?
5. Please put the circle with the person with the greatest level of decision-making authority at the centre of the paper, and then arrange the other cards/members of the HH around this in terms of their physical closeness to the HH head at this time, and their distance from the HH head. Please can you explain to me how and why you are choosing to put the members of the HH in the different places. If some members are not close the HH head, where are they? Is this a temporary arrangement for them to live far away, or is it more long-term?
6. Do you think there are different layers and sections of a greater HH or social grouping for the different members of the "household" i.e. are there some members that are part of a core sub-unit of the household, and then are there some members that are part of more remote sub-unit of the household? You could also ask these questions indirectly. . For example we can ask who are your family members, what do you do together? eat, work, sleep etc. what about your other relatives; what about clan members etc? what do you share with them? what do you not share with these? what about relatives further than these, where do they live? what do you share and not share with these.
7. Can you explain this and show me on the paper where you have put the circles - Please show me those HH members that are part of the core group, and those that are in less-core or 'outer' groups and layers of the larger HH? Can we draw lines on the paper to show the different layers or section? And why does this situation exist?
8. How did you understand the word "household" in your own terms/culture and what are the boundaries of the HH?
9. Do you think the word "household" is a useful term? Please explain.
10. Is there another term or word that better describes the social structures of your core family, "HH" or other grouping? Please can you tell me what this is, and please explain it and the different structures around it.
11. What are the important criteria for defining who is a member of the "household" or other structure/name? Why are these criteria important? And who decides that these criteria are important?
12. If your HH has some polygamous relationships i.e. one man has more than one wife, do you think this complicates how a HH is defined? How do you include such relations in your definition of a HH?
13. Are all the members of your family included in your list of HH members? If not, please list these family members and explain why they are not on the list? What do they do? Where do they live? Were they previously part of your HH and if so, when did they leave?
14. Do you have any interaction with these family members? If yes, what is this interaction?

15. Are any of the members of your HH also a member of another HH? If yes, please can you explain.

16. Does the membership of your HH or core social group change at different times of the year? If yes, please can you explain how and the reasons for this.

17. Does the membership of your HH or core social group change during times of drought? If yes, please can you explain how and the reasons for this.

18. Do you think NGOs have a good understanding of what your social "household" (or other social grouping) is? Please explain your article and give examples if possible.

19. Do you think government have a good understanding of what your "household" (or other social grouping) is? Please explain your article and give examples if possible.

20. Has local government ever come to you and asked you how many members are in your HH and who they are?

21. If yes, what definition of HH do you use? Is this definition the same as you have described above to me or is it different? Please explain.

22. Is your HH registered on the kebele list of HHs? Do you know how many members are included under the HH registration? Is this correct? Please explain.

23. Has any NGO or UN agency ever come to you and asked you how many members are in your HH and who they are?

24. If yes, what definition of HH do you use? Is this definition the same as you have described above to me or is it different? Please explain.

25. Have you ever told an NGO or government the wrong number of people in your HH? If so, why was this?

26. Do you know if NGOs and/or government use a definition of HH that is different to the one that you use? If yes, what definition do they use and what are the differences? Is there a problem with this – if so, what is the problem?

27. Is the number of people and structure of your HH similar to others in the community or are there some major differences? Please explain.

28. Has the structure of what can be considered an average "HH" (in terms of number and structure) in your community changed over the last 10 years? If so, please can you explain in detail the changes, and what are the main reasons for these changes?

29. Are there some residents/members of the kebele who are not a member of any HH in the kebele? Why is this? Please explain. Has the number of these non-HH resident/members changed in recent years – please explain including the reasons for this.

Assistance

30. How do "HH" (or core social grouping) provide assistance to each other on a daily basis? What kind of assistance do you give each other and why?

31. Are there times of the year when you give more assistance to each other? Why is this? Please explain.

32. During times of drought does the assistance that you provide to each other change? If yes, what are these changes?

33a. Does the HH give assistance other others outside the HH on a daily basis? If yes, what is this?

33b. Does the assistance that the HH gives to others change at different times of the year? If yes, why is this? Please explain.

33c. Does the assistance that the HH gives to others change during times of drought? If yes, why is this? Please explain.

34. Do men and women equally play a role in giving assistance – please explain? What other divisions are there?

Authority

35. Who out of all your HH members has the greatest authority over the HH? What authority does he or she have? Why is this?

36. Who has second and third greatest authority? What authority do they have? Why is this?

37. Who has least or no authority in the HH? Why is this?

38. Do men and women have equal authority – please explain? What other divisions are there?

Resources and wealth

39. Who in the HH is the person that brings in the main cash into the HH on a monthly basis?

40. How much is this cash on a monthly basis (estimated)?

41. Where does this cash come from?

42. Can you tell me what happens to that cash when it comes into the HH? Is it shared amongst members – if so, amongst who? Is the cash put into savings? Is it spent? And if so, who normally spends it? Who decides on what to spend it? [you might want to use the map as a prompt for respondent to show what happens to the money]

43. What other large sums of cash come into the HH on a regular monthly basis? Where does this come from? Can you show us using the 'map' of HH members what happens to that cash when it comes into the HH? Is it shared amongst members – if so, amongst who? Is the cash put into savings? Is it spent? And if so, who normally spends it? Who decides on what to spend it?

44. What other large sums of cash come into the HH on a regular yearly basis? Where does this come from? Can you show us using the 'map' of HH members what happens to that cash when it comes into the HH? Is it shared amongst members – if so, amongst who? Is the cash put into savings? Is it spent? And if so, who normally spends it? Who decides on what to spend it?

45. Do members of the HH have different access to wealth, or is all wealth equal? Please explain. Do you think this is a good system of wealth distribution or does it need to be changed? Please explain.

If not equal:

- Who out of all your HH members is the wealthiest in the HH? How is this wealth defined?
- Who has second and third greatest wealth? How is this wealth defined? Why is this?
- Who has least or no wealth in the HH? Why is this?
- Is the wealth shared in the HH? If so, how is it shared? Who in the HH has rights to the wealth and who doesn't? Please explain.
- Do men and women have equal rights to HH wealth – please explain? What other divisions are there?
- Is the wealth inheritable? How is it inherited?

46. Do members of the HH have different access to land for use, or is all access to land equal? Please explain. Do you think this is a good system of land access distribution or does it need to be changed? Please explain.

If not equal:

- Who out of all your HH members has greatest land holdings in the HH? Or is all land held collectively and equally by HH or by certain groups in the HH? Why is this? Please explain.
- Who has second and third greatest land holdings? Why is this? Please explain.
- Who has least or no land holdings in the HH? Why is this? Please explain.
- Is the land shared in the HH? If so, how is it shared? Who in the HH has rights of 'ownership' use and access to the land and who doesn't? Please explain.
- Do men and women have equal rights to HH land and access to land – please explain? What other divisions are there?
- Is access to land inheritable? How is it inherited?

47. Do members of the HH have different access to livestock - or is all access to livestock equal? Please explain. Do you think this is a good system of livestock distribution or does it need to be changed? Please explain.

If not equal:

- Who out of all your HH members has greatest number oflivestock holdings in the HH? Or is all livestock held collectively and equally by the HH or by certain groups in the HH? Why is this? Please explain.
- Who has second and third greatest numbers of livestock holdings? Why is this?
- Who has least or no livestock in the HH? Why is this?
- Is the livestock and livestock products shared in the HH? If so, how is it shared? Please explain. Who in the HH has different rights to own, use and access livestock – please explain the differences and details?
- Do men and women have equal rights to HH livestock holdings – please explain? What other divisions are there?
- Is livestock inheritable? How is it inherited? Please explain.

Aid

48. In the last drought period, who in the HH is the person that brought in the most food aid into the HH?

49. Did other members collect food aid too? If so, who were these?

50. How much food aid was received in total in the last drought period?

51. Where did this food aid come from? Which organisation or government gave this to you?

52. Do you know how this organisation decided on which HHs to give food aid to? Do you agree with their decision? Are there any challenges or problems with what they decided, and if so, what are these?

53. Can you show us using the 'map/picture' of HH members what happened to that food aid when it comes into the HH? Is it shared amongst members – if so, amongst who? Was the food aid saved or given to other non-HH members? Was it eaten? And if so, was it divided equally amongst all members or did some members get more? Please explain. Who decided on how to divide the food aid?

54. Do men and women in the HH have equal rights to aid – please explain? What other divisions are there?

55. In the last drought period, who in the HH is the person that brought in the most cash aid (e.g. cash-for-work) into the HH?

56. Did other members also collect cash aid too? If so, who were these?

57. How much cash aid was received?

58. Where did this cash aid come from? Which organisation or government gave this to you?

59. Do you know how this organisation decided on which HHs to give cash aid to? Do you agree with their decision? Are there any challenges or problems with what they decided, and if so, what are these?

60. Is this cash aid received on a regular basis (e.g. cash-for-work) or is it a one-off payment? Please explain.

61. Can you show us using the 'map' of HH members what happened to that cash aid when it comes into the HH? Is it shared amongst members – if so, amongst who? Was the cash aid saved or given to other non-HH members? Was it eaten? And if so, was it divided equally amongst all members or did some get more? Please explain. Who decided on how to divide the food aid?

62. Could you tell me how well you think you coped with the last drought? What proportion of your livestock died? What other negative impacts did you face during the drought? What were you main coping strategies during the drought? If you moved location, why did you move and where did you move? Did all the HH move or only some? Please explain.

63. How much did you rely on other members of your HH including those that live far away, to get through the drought?

64. How important do you think the strength of the HH is and its closeness/cohesiveness is, in order to being able to cope well with drought? Please explain your answer.

65. How well have you recovered from the drought period? Have you been able to rebuild your herd(s)?

66. How much did you rely on other members of your HH including those that live far away, to recover from the drought?

67. How important do you think the strength of the HH is and its closeness/cohesiveness is, in order to being able to recover from the drought? Please explain your answer.

Module 4: Mapping of male and female domains in the HH and the homestead

If possible, the researcher will walk around the house/hut of the HH with the HH members and discuss the different areas where men and women have involvement in and control over household tasks, property, activities. Due to cultural reasons it may not be possible to enter every place so alternatively the researcher can stand and have the places described to him/her. In some pastoral communities there are very clear lines and divisions between a woman's area in and outside the hut and a man's. Within these areas women and men will carry out specific activities and keep their possessions. These different domains and areas will be sketched on a map/diagram.

Ask the following questions:

Hut/house

1. How is the hut/house divided into areas for the man (husband) or men and areas for the woman (wife) or other women, and/or for other family members – that is where they have exclusive rights of use to and/or have greater influence or control?

2. Does age also have an influence on this i.e. do older/younger men and women have their own areas of use or authority? Please explain.

3. Does status in the HH have an influence on this? Please explain.

4. Are there any other factors that influence how the hut/house is used by members of the HH, and their rights of use, control and authority?

5. What areas in the hut/house are collectively used? Can all members access these areas at all times? Please explain.

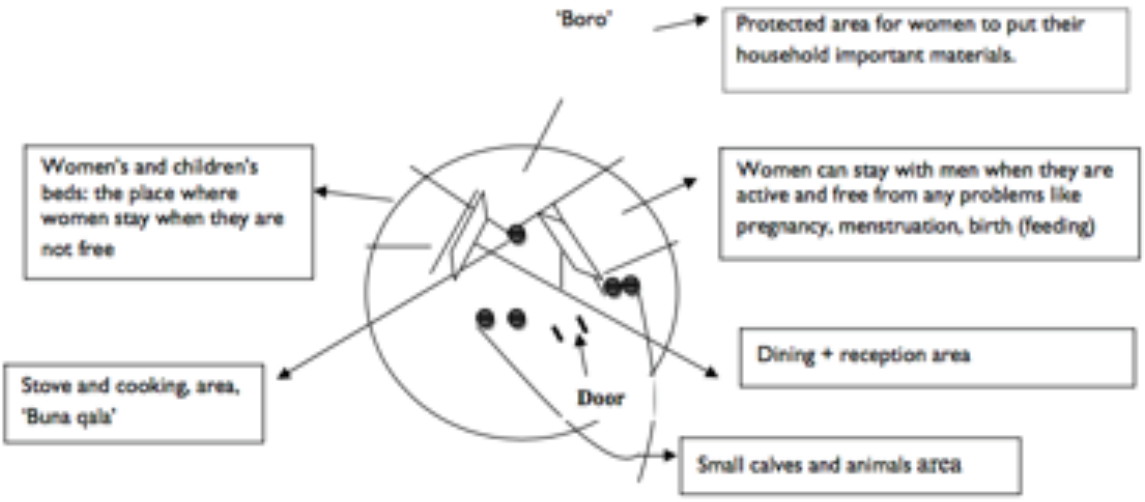
6. Are there any conflicts between HH members that use the hut/house in terms of accessing the different areas? Please explain.
7. What property types are kept in these different areas of the hut/house?
8. Do HH members not physically present in the HH also have their own areas and property?
9. Is all the property kept in the woman's area owned by women?
10. Is all the property kept in the man's area owned by men?
11. Do the husband and wife access the property of the each other? How is this possible?
12. Are there conditions where women or men have limited access to property or certain places in the hut? e.g. during menstruation? pregnancy, breastfeeding, birth etc
13. How is property in the household defined? Is it by tradition/culture or by customary laws, or by government legislation or by other?

Homestead/compound

1. How is the bigger homestead/compound divided into areas for the man/men and areas for the woman/women – that is where they have exclusive rights of use to and/or have greater influence or control?
2. Does age also have an influence on this i.e. do older/younger men and women have their own areas of use or authority in the homestead/compound? Please explain.
3. Does status in the HH have an influence on this? Please explain.
4. Are there any other factors that influence how the homestead/compound is used by members of the HH, and their rights of use, control and authority?
5. What areas in the compound are collectively used? Can all members access these areas at all times? Please explain.
6. Are there any conflicts between HH members that use the homestead/compound in terms of accessing the different areas? Please explain.
7. What property types are kept in these different areas of the compound?
8. Do HH members not physically present in the HH also have their own areas and property?
9. Is all the property kept in the woman's area owned by women?
10. Is all the property kept in the man's area owned by men?
11. Do the husband and wife access the property of the each other in the homestead/compound? How is this possible?
12. Are there conditions where women or men have limited access to property or certain places in the hut or homestead? e.g. during menstruation? pregnancy, breastfeeding, birth etc
13. How is property in the homestead/compound defined? Is it by tradition/culture or by customary laws, or by government legislation or by other?
14. Are there any conflicts between HH members that use the compound/homestead in terms of accessing the different areas? Please explain.

Please add any other questions you think would be interesting.
For an example see below.

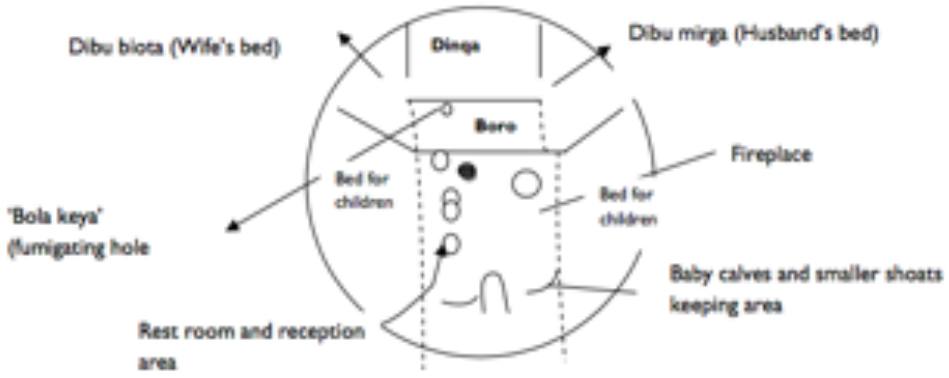
5.1 Typical Borana Hut and Its Surroundings: Male and Female Domains (YAAR01/IND/F)



Notes:

- There is big barn to the right side of the house (adjacent side of men's corner) for large animals.
- There is a small house at the back side of the house for larger calves and shoats (separated). Some households make a second outer fence to protect their animals from wild animals. Those households who engage in crop farming may have small huts for storing crops outside their house.

5.2 Household Mapping (YADH04/IND/F)



Annex 6: Background information on case study woreda and kebele

1. Elidear District, Su'ula kebele

The most recent drought in Elidear district was 2015/2017, though it is said to be still continuing. as there has not been any considerable amount of rain received yet, in the current 'karma' or rainy season (KII-5, KII-6, KII-9). The effects of drought were magnified by the no-peace-no-war situation between Ethiopia and Eritrea. This situation has contributed to the once bustling commercial district to be nothing than livestock production. Livestock prices and demand for meat has reduced for some time now, making pastoralists' income opportunities very limited. There are no permanent rivers in the district, and the majority of people are reliant on water trucking delivered along roadsides.

According to woreda administration figures there are 17 kebele in Elidear district, out of which 10 are considered village districts (pure pastoralists) and 7 town districts, where some of the members are either traders or former-pastoralists who have settled in towns because, for example household heads have joined the formal work force mainly as government employees. Within the district, there are three sub-woreda namely Bure (which has 7 keblele), Elidear (5 kebele) and Dichi'oto (5 kebele).

According to the data that is used by the Save the Children office, there are said to be 16,302 HHs in the woreda, 92922 population (47390 male, 45532 female), which gives an average of 5.7 people per HH. Assessments carried out by NGOs and UN agencies for the government provide information of food and food-for-work targeting. In the current situation there are around 27,900 PSNP beneficiaries and 27,000 FA in the woreda i.e about half the population.

Figure A6-1 Elidear Wereda population statistics according to woreda administration

There are a number of NGOs working in the woreda, with a significant amount working on health and nutrition, including Save the Children, the study's partner in the district. Nutritional supplements (such as plumpy nut) are distributed through the Health Bureau (KII-5). Some NGOs such as APDA (Afar Pastoralist Development Association) distributed water Save the Children provided medicine, nutritional supplements, supervision support and general trainings. Others such as VSF provide livestock feed.

A UN agency in Elidar woreda, relies on information from woreda and kebele offices for provision of aid, based on government assessments. Emergency nutrition aid is distributed through central kebele distribution centers, direct to beneficiaries overseen by the kebele administration. The distribution capacity of government has improved over time – today, there are around 94 distribution points or stores in 32 districts in the zone. In Elidear woreda there are 12 distribution points, the highest compared to other woreda. The distribution points are arranged so that any given center is not more than 1 hour distance from HHs (KII-9, KII-17).

Su'ula kebele

For Su'ula kebele woreda figures stated that there were 1035 HHs, with a population of 5899 (3008 male, 2891 female). There is a new settlement site, where many HHs can be accessed. Drought has been ongoing and though rain has fallen in some parts now, in others there has been none for several years.

There is a number of NGO and government projects working there including PCDP, GOAL, APDA and Save the Children. WFP has also provided assistance. It is said that there is strong coordination between them, meeting every three months to follow and evaluate activities (KII-12). Food assistance has been provided to nearly all in the kebele including wheat, beans and oil. Local government and NGOS had confidence that that the response to the drought was good and effective (KII-11, KII-12, KII-13) – even business people and such as Afdera Salt Producing Association got involved contributing 500 quintal of rice. ABE schools were targeted with a feeding program. A local government representative said that another unique aspect about the response was that in the past aid distribution used to wait until the local government had all the food or the quota. However, in this case and in order to save lives and save time, the government started distributing each food as it arrives. Similarly, in the past there were only four distribution centers. However, the distribution centers were increased to ten across the 17 kebeles including one in Su'ula kebele. The regional government is responsible for transporting the food aid from national centers to the distribution centers (KII-11). Food distribution in the kebele was around 4132 quintal of grains, fava beans etc. Emergency response included 15kg wheat per person, 4 kg of CSB, 4 kg beans, and 1.1 litres of oil per person (KII-7).

Others said that response could have been better, particularly if NGOs had worked in better coordination with other organisations working n the district (KII-12).

Kebele task forces under the supervision of the kebele chairman coordinated the aid process. The task forces identified beneficiaries and ensured that aid was distributed to beneficiary HHs (KII-11). It was said that food was distributed involving two committees at kebele level: 1. Identification committee (*'leyeta'* committee), which identifies HHs that need the support or that should be supported (they are said to know each HH); and 2. The distribution committee who receive the food aid from the kebele or other centers, and distribute the food aid based on the identified HH. It was considered important that the community is part of the identification committee as they better know the challenges that some communities face – often HH members themselves will not admit to their own misfortune or problems as they feel uncomfortable to speak about them and will need to rely on other community members raising these and speaking on their behalf (KII-7). For the provision of medicine or such as nutritional supplements, these are distributed to the most vulnerable community members identified through an assessment undertaken by an NGO with local government (KII-12). These are distributed directly to HHs. Cards are given so that if HHs travel to another kebele or woreda they can show what they have obtained and/or what they need (KII-12).

Unofficial records stated that one Isuzu truck of baled hay 450 quintals of wheat five times, plus maize and oil were distributed during the last drought period (KII-11). NGOs distributed livestock feed (hay) accompanied by woreda experts and kebele officials (KII-11). When people move it is known through the *dagu* system where people are, and food can be sent to them through others, or for such as livestock feed it is kept until they come back (KII-13). Sometimes the people will come and collect from far away (KII-11).

For emergency response, it was said that the list of people needing aid is different for different years. The list and number of beneficiaries for emergency aid is done based on the *karma* and *sugum* rains assessment every year. Experts from federal and regional sectors and other UN-agents UNICEF, WFP, Save the Children and local community

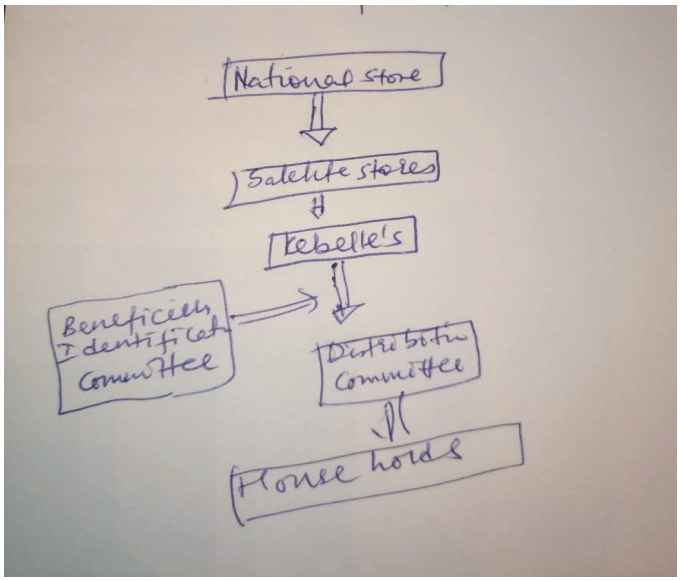
members coordinated by the regional Disaster Prevention Office undertake the assessments at each district and coordinate the response at regional level. The assessments are meant to study the distribution and intensity of rain and thus the availability of livestock fodder and water. The assessment results are then sent to regional government, where it will then be approved and sent to the federal government. Based on that assessment result the federal will undertake some preparations. Based on the assessment results, each district will get an amount that is specific for each kebele. According to the assessment, an amount of aid will be sent to the woreda (KII-7).

The assessment or identification usually involves classifying households according to their wealth. It is based on the level of income. For instance, based on the number of goats - 15 goats, >01 goats> and 3> goats; camel ownership of male or female is important - one that has a female camel will usually not be eligible for support. If someone has more than 10 goats and 5 camels then they are considered to be rich. However, for the elderly, they are always eligible. There are different categories such as rich (well to do), poor and destitute. However, the wealth classification is relative for each kebele. Aid is usually targeted to the destitute and the poor. The same list is used for distribution of livestock feed aid though the distribution is normally done through NGOs. Alternativelym the list for PSNP is constant, and sometimes there is conflict because of mis-identification. There is a committee for listening to complaints, usually made up of the elderly, clan leaders etc. who resolve mis-identification problems (KII-7). Female-headed HHs are given priority over male-headed (KII-11).

Table A6-1: Example of wealth categories

Household categories	Wealth
Rich (well to do)	15 goats, multiple male camels, multiple female camels
Poor	<5 goats, no camels
Destitute	Disabled, elderly, sick, no animals

Figure A6-2 How food aid is distributed to beneficiaries in the last drought



Food aid is delivered out of distribution points (see above). Any member of the household can collect food, but it is normally the HHH or the wife, sometimes children. However, if it is a young person, then they might ask the father or mother to show up for fear that the young person may not take the food to the final destination. Sometimes the distribution committee will rent camels to distribute to remote HHs. Other times relatives, friends and various connections are used to deliver the food to HHs located far away.

It was said that the food aid response was better in the last drought period with better quality and greater quantity of food distributed in the kebele (KII-11). It is believed that food aid reaches the beneficiaries that it is targeted to (KII-11).

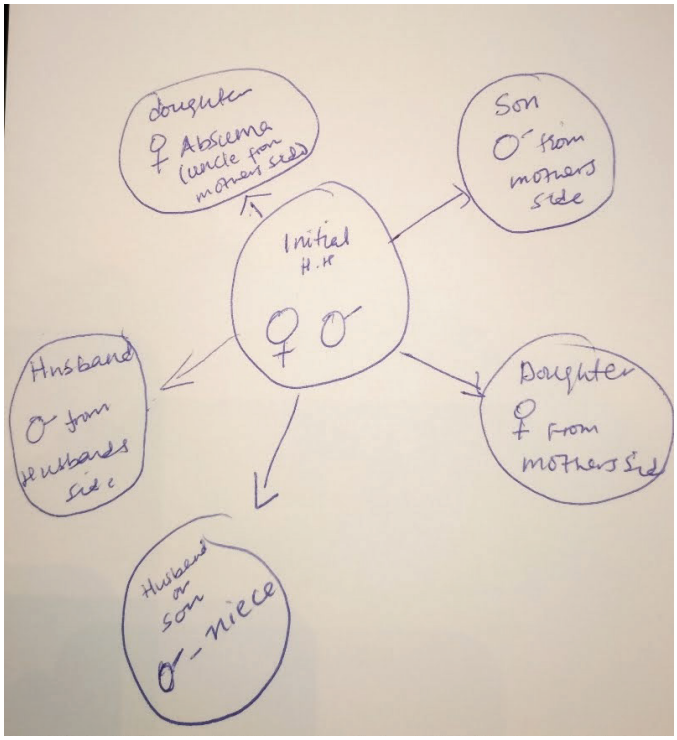
A representative from the Pastoral Agriculture and Rural Development Disaster Prevention Office, Su'ula, described different types of HHs common in the kebele – see Table ?? And as such the definition of a HH as "living under one roof" is not so relevant as there are a number of different ways a person is considered a member of a HH.

Table A6-2 Household types

Household type	Members or description of a HH
Normal	Husband, wife, unmarried children
Married female-headed household	A woman married to a man with multiple wives (she is not his first wife) and unmarried children
Widowed female-headed household	A widow and her unmarried children
Elderly	Old couple (could be a widow) with no children – an elderly woman living and being supported in another HH would normally be eligible for support.
Young female-headed (single person household)	Married young woman, but still living with her parents
Child-headed household	An older child with his or her siblings, whose mother is dead and a father could be dead or living with another wife/family. These children usually live together with a relative from either of their mother or father

The PARDDP said that it is difficult to define a definitive list of HHs in the kebele as people move a lot. However, most kebele are established based on a clan belongingness to a particular area or place. Settlements and territories are dependent on clans – clans grow from families, who usually live in more or less similar territories (KII-6) (see Figure). There are also other structures called *'gosa'* and *'gosameri'* - responsible for the whole clan. There will be many sub-clans under a given clan. Most clan leaders are responsible for many social functions such as arranging marriages. There are also the fiema- who are of the same age or age peers – they will be responsible for arranging marriages and supporting during times of disaster etc, marriage, death etc. The *'fiemataba'* is the leader of the *fiema*. The members of a *fiema* could be from different clans. In principle therefore, wife and husband will come from different clans (KII-6).

Figure A6-3 Clans grow from a family



However, there are no clear clan territories and people move from territory to territory. In extreme and prolonged drought situations, people move to another area and do not return back for a long time sometimes for more than six months, but they will still be considered a member of the kebele. However normally the identification committee will know who is a member of the clan and will not register a person twice should they move from place to place. Anyway, often only part of the HH will move so the rest will stay and look after the herd at the homestead. Food aid

will be kept for those that migrate and will be returning – at some point they will return and collect it (KII-6; KII-8). Sometimes, "*they will get a message by dagu and then come to collect the aid or someone near the kebele will got to the place where a particular beneficiary is located and will collect it and take it to the beneficiary*" (KII-8)

If a person goes to the town, which is what usually happens, then they will need to wait one year until their household will be recognised and registered. However, if the change is due to marriage then the HH will be directly accepted as a member of the kebele and registered as such. It can take around 6 months for a completely new HH to be registered (KII-6). A baby will normally be registered after the age of two (KII-8).

For the distribution of livestock feed by the government, only those livestock for whom tax has been paid and who appear in the tax records will receive livestock feed aid, and then also if they had been identified by the identification committee as qualifying (KII-6).

It was said that number of members of the household is the important factor in determining how much food aid a HH gets, regardless of the structures of the households, whether households are living in separate houses or in the same house. The food aid just depends on the number of members of household. Of course, the status of the members such as pregnancy, disabled, elderly etc will affect the amount of food aid (KII-6).

In terms of monitoring food aid, there will be a monitoring in each wereda by officers undertaking an assessment of whether food aid reaches the beneficiaries (KII-11). There will be a follow-up to check if the committee has collected the required food. This is done at the end of each distribution. The committee will be checked and interviewed. It is assumed that the food will be given to children after distribution, and those who need the food. So there is no follow up with regard to what happens to the food distribution at household level (KII-6).

Community perspective

A FGD in Su'ula kebele (FGD1) revealed that community members are not clear how the list for aid beneficiaries is developed – and all said that they have never been contacted by an identification committee. They also suggested that some who receive aid are not deserving and there are some very poor HHs that are left out. Some people also received goats (and feed aid) from NGOs and did not deserve them. The community members said that they do complain to the kebele about this but have never had a response:

We are now used to such injustice and continue with our lives.

The FGD1 discussants said that the pastoralists are mobile, but this should not be a problem for aid delivery and every HH will return at some point. Aid could be distributed around a permanent watering point so that when each HH comes, they can collect their food. However currently food aid is distributed from Su'ula village "for the comfort of kebele administrators." All family members may be eligible for food aid, however there are some problems: sometimes young boys collect the food aid and sell part of it to buy chat and sometimes "angada" (tobacco). The use of chat is said to be a serious problem in the village as it is across Afar. Sometimes the village tabia (see below) will sell the food aid, however villagers try to control this (KII-8).

A KII (KII-8) said that when food aid arrives it is kept in the kebele store. It is then distributed according to the list of individuals by calling people to a distribution centre. When a food distribution is about to take place messages will be sent through dagu informing people so that they will come back to the village. Sometimes food is sent on camels to remote locations. "On lucky days we also get the military 'ooral' trucks going to villages to collect wood and send the food by truck…However dagu is our most important mechanism for reaching people located far away" (KII-8). Sometimes NGOs such as Save the Children will also assist with distribution as well as provision of food aid and medication.

The lowest level of community structure (the *gossameri*[18]) identified the list of individuals that needs support. There is a list of HHs in the kebele, which is developed by the woreda (KII-8, KII-9). The maximum number of HH members is usually given as five, though there are always more than this.[19] A baby above age 2 would be registered. New people coming to a kebele would be registered after six months and would be eligible for food aid if met the selection criteria (KII-8). A respondent from a UN agency said that the government list is based on the Ethiopia population census undertaken some years back.

It was said that the list is different for PSNP and for emergency aid. Not all tabia will require the same amount of food aid all the time – kebele officials discuss with clan leaders to identify tabia. It was said that the biggest problem is found in the resettlement area and the town as these people cannot move. "The ones further away do not have such a problem as they can move from place to place" (KII-8).

At the kebele administration level it was said that it is the men that collect the food aid – according to the adda it should be the men and it is rare that women collect it due to the long distance. He will collect for several wives/ HHs if he is in polygamous relationships. This seemed to contradict what HHs were saying themselves where it was said to be more common that women collected it. And later in the interview the same person said they give "to whoever shows up….we just make sure that the person that is coming belongs to the right HH. For migrated HHs we sometimes give it to delegates – however we confirm this through dagu and other ways before we give. However there have been reports of sons and husbands selling food aid and using it for buying chat" (KII-8).

KII-8 said that he believes that the definition of a HH reflects reality, however the problem is that people are so mobile and therefore HH membership and numbers change as some members move to or come from different locations. As such, it may be important to consider HHs differently according to the different migration patterns.

The community also takes steps to redistribute wealth through traditional mechanisms such as zekha (religious-based financial assistance). The community buys goats from the rich and redistributes them to the poor. The community will give preference to disabled first, and the elderly. Pregnant women are registered through a health center and receive aid through here. If a women gives birth or there is a problem of poverty then there will be special consideration (KII-8).

There were said to be some other problems in aid delivery. One of the problems is that many people do not know how to consume the 'apricots' (??) or 'boloke' and even the wheat received as food aid.

There are no mills around our villages. Therefore, our women, even if they are sick and hungry have to work hard to process the food for long time. They have to mill it using a stone mill. It is very tiresome for women and men cannot do it because it is a woman's job to prepare food. Not only the milling, but also the cooking is a problem. Women are exposed to extreme heat and fire during baking of the bread. We use either 'brukuta' or the 'mufe' stone, both of which are difficult to work with. The baking of wheat passes through an elaborate and long process that takes a lot of water and energy including:

1. Clean it physically and soak it in water for half a day;
2. Dry it in a stove for short duration and mill it in the stone mill ('dignu');
3. Return it to water to make it wet;
4. Again mill it with the stone mill.
5. Wait for it for about an hour for it to ferment;
6. Then put it in the 'mufe' baking stone (FGD1).

18. There are 4 tabias in the kebele and 15 gott or sub-gossa. There are sub-divisions within the gossa. In every gott there are 15 gosameri. A kebele tends to be formed around a clan, so the two are similar.

19. It was not clear if this was just for food aid purposes or not.

The 'mufe' oven uses long stones put in to a dug pit side by side so to make a flat stone walled pit. Fire is then put in the middle until the stones are hot red. Once the stones are red, the fire will be taken out while the dough will be plastered onto the vertical stones. Another flat stone will then be put as a lid on the stone. The baked bread will be removed after some time.

The processing of maize is even more time and energy consuming and therefore, beneficiaries usually prefer wheat over maize:

1. Clean it physically;
2. Crush it with '*burkuta*' stone (or any stone);
3. Put it in water for about 12 hours;
3. Again crush it using pestle and mortar;
4. Dry it under the sun;
5. Remove the husk;
6 Put it back into water for 12 more hours;
7. Mill it using the stone mill;
8. Bake it in a metal pan. It cannot be baked in the 'mufe' stone and therefore, they need a metal pan, which most families do not have (FGD1).
9. Other problems include food aid being sold especially part of the wheat, because people have other needs such as sugar, oil, spices, coffee and tea – also they need the money for milling the wheat and transporting it so they get that by selling at least half – it costs 40 Birr to transport the wheat, and 100 Birr per quintal to mill it. With livestock feed aid, communities are reluctant to collect livestock feed aid from a central location, and will bring their livestock to feed on it rather than carry it.

A community-level key informant (KII-8) said that "most of the time they [the woreda] just send the amount and they simply distribute it. Whenever we there is a complaint they do not answer to us. We have no say."

Improving aid delivery

Communities said that if the amount of food and resources is communicated to them, then they can identify the deserving HHs. In Su'ula kebele they have not seen a targeting committee, and if they had they could have talked to them and helped make the right decisions for targeting. When there is food aid delivery it should be brought to the nearest village or water point. There were said to be a lot of HHs who are not able to travel to the town to collect their or to rent a camel to fetch it (FGD1).

The long travel required to access food aid was also mentioned by others – there is a problem of transportation and food should be taken to these places directly (KII-8). Lack of access road is an important challenge for aid delivery (KII-12). There needs to be an improvement in transportation to remote villages so that it can reach the HHs when they migrate. Water aid can be more important than food aid – as such, on respondent said government should focus on water aid (KII-11).

Others said that the targeting and distribution should take into account different migration patterns including across seasons (KII-8). Pregnant women should also be given greater attention.

In addition, it was said that milling of grain should be undertaken before distribution, or ready-made food should be provided. Most Afar eat together and drink together. The need to process/mill the grain creates problems.

2. Fuldowa kebele, Arero woreda, Borana zone

In Borana, the most recent drought period was between March 2016 and Septmber 2017 (KII_1). It was said that the drought relief for the most recent drought was not as effective as the previous one due to it not being well coordinated, not timely, with a weak early warning system and a long time for government to respond (KII-1). Another respondent said that the response of communities themselves was better, in terms of selling cattle when advised and keeping minimal number of animals with more chance of survival (KII-19).

In Borana, the zonal drought risk management office coordinated the drought response locally involving NGOs, education and water offices, and pastoral development offices (KII-1). In Borana, the government with assistance mainly from CARE supplied food aid to HHs (as below).

In Borana the main process was as follows:

1. Pre and post- harvest assessment
2. Identifying Kebeles, Woredas who are in need of food and feed aid
3. Woreda reports/appeals to zone about the no of people who are in need of food and feed aid.
4. Zone appeals to the region
5. Regional government appeals to federal government
6. Multi-agency partners including NGOs, government bodies (NDRM) and UN_OCHA will assess the cases in the suspected areas
7. Multi-agency assessment will report its assessment to the Federal government which then will be approved by the Federal government
8. Flow of food and feed aid based on the humanitarian refinement document.

The joint emergency operation via USAID donor disperses to Catholic Relief Services and coordination to CARE-Central warehouse to field office ware houses and distributed to the kebele warehouse. Based on master beneficiary list food aid will be distributed using payment sheet as per the allocated ration size by the distribution. Criteria were developed for food aid distribution by the Targeting Committee. For livestock feed a livestock relief committee was established in the community with the help of woreda, zone GOs and NGOS.

Where NGOs distributed aid they used the listing of HHs obtained from the kebele administration office. The listing is developed by the Targeting Committee for food aid, and the livestock relief committee for livestock feed. Criteria include wealth ranking, female-headed HHs, economically disadvantaged, and with malnourished children.

In order to locate HHs, the master beneficiary list is used. Woreda approves the listing.

NGOs define "HH as a group of family members who dwell in the same hut and who feed from the same pot" (KII-1). Not all HH members receive food aid in a "vulnerable" HH – it depends on the number of individual vulnerable members. As such the way that food aid is distributed means that some HH members are missed and/or if a HH is large and limited in number of "vulnerable members" then they receive less than a HH of the same size but with more vulnerable members. Polygamous HHs are considered as a separate HH (KII-1).

New HHs are registered when young persons become independent or establish a family on their own (KII-1). Livestock feed aid is distributed to HH head only. Wealth of a HH is dependent on livestock species and household assets. There is post- distribution monitoring to identify communities' feedback after every distribution.

In Borana, CARE provided 28,245 bales of hay and 114 quintals of concentrated feed, plus livestock were purchased and slaughtered (60usd for cattle, and 30 usd for shoats) – 179 cattle and 558 shoats.

Arero woreda

Local government believed that the response to the most recent drought was better than previously (KII-20). Around 60,000 people required support (KII-20). Roughly 20,000 sacks of grain were distributed and 45,000 bales of hay (KII-20). Food aid was distributed by government, with assistance of CARE. Hay was distributed directly to the kebele by the government to those that have livestock and are considered poor (KII-20).

There is a Task Force committee in Arero woreda made up of members of the Disaster Prevention, Education, Women and Children's Affairs, Agriculture, Health and woreda administration, who organise aid response and support for drought victims (KII-19, KII-20). The committee assesses the status of the drought, monitors and supervises HH aid distribution (KII-20). A list of HHs is taken from the woreda administration office and used by kebele cabinets and the committee to screen eligible HHs, and who were not receiving aid from other sources, and a list of these is produced. A list of those receiving aid is posted in the kebele and communities can make appeals based on this (KII-20). CARE advised the screening committee to select first those who do not have any livestock, and then those that only have small numbers. CARE provides the Task Force with logistical support (KII-19). Priority for aid is given to those that do not have livestock, large families, the elderly, disabled and female HHH. Wealth is calculated according to number of livestock (KII-20).

The kebele provided a list of beneficiaries to NGOs such as CARE. CARE then prepared a schedule for distributing food aid and the aid is delivered accompanied by a CARE food monitor, and a kebele focal person (Development Agent) to check that the right person is receiving the aid (KII-19). All aid is kept locked in a warehouse until distribution. Household spot-checks are done to make sure HHs received correct aid (KII-19). There is also a Claim Management committee made up of community members who will appeal against any wrong claims or other problems (KII-19). Once distribution is completed, the full list is stamped. It is believed that those targeted receive the aid – one step taken in order to prevent sale on the open market is to get beneficiaries to open the sack immediately (KII-19). It was said that aid was delivered to a HH and not to a specific individual (KII-20).

A CARE respondent said that they do not have a definition of a HH themselves, but because the government decides on the distribution of the aid, they rely on the kebele's definition of a HH. However they do encourage the kebele to consider a HH as "husband, wife plus children" (KII-19). The local government said that they are not in charge of defining HHs. However, generally, reported by the respondent, it is known that HH members are people living together in the same house. People know it and there is no disagreement over this. For instance, if a husband and wife having four children divorce and the children made to live with their mother, the father will get 15 kgs of wheat aid and the other 75kgs (KII-20).

Normally it is the wife/mother who collects the food aid as normally men leave food matters to women. If a beneficiary is not around, then s/he can delegate another person to collect the aid with a stamped delegation letter. If this option is not possible, then CARE will travel to the location of the HH to give the aid using its own transportation (KII-19). In polygamous HHs livestock feed is usually given only to the male HHH as such HHs tend to share livestock in common so only one delivery is necessary (KII-20). If pastoralists have moved to an accessible area then the aid can be taken to them – if not, relatives will take care of it and the delivery will be communicated to him/her. If a person moves to another kebele and wants to remain there and received food aid there then he can only get registered there once he has received a letter of clearance from his previous kebele (KII-20).

In Arero, CARE supported around 7,500 people affected by drought in the first round of aid delivery. The number grew to around 14,000 in the second round and became 40,186 in the final round of food distribution. Each eligible person received 15kg of wheat, ½ litter food oil, 1.5 kg *misir* (red lentils) per month. It distributed to 18 kebele in the woreda. The local government is a key partner for CARE, not only in managing distribution but also for such as

intervening in such as conflict – two kebele were not getting aid for two months because there was conflict there but the government intervened and secured stability so the adi distribution cold proceed (KII-19).

It was said that around 635 HH in Arero did not receive aid even though they had lost all their livestock due to a shortage of available aid. Some of them had a hundred cattle before the drought. They survived through the community's *busa-gonofa* traditional support system. The respondent believed that the HHs who received the aid shared it for this purpose (KII-20).

Monitoring of aid distribution is carried out by the government development agents and extension workers, and CARE personnel who conduct HH spot-check to see if registered HHs have received their aid,and used it for HH purposes. If there are any irregularities such as selling of aid, then the issue is raised with the kebele (KII-19). Sometimes the Disaster Prevention and Response office will prepare questionnaires and carry out a survey (KII-20).

It was suggested that in order to improve aid delivery better preventive measures should be taken before the drought sets in – an earlier assessment could have been made and steps taken to prevent cattle dying. The government needs to make better plans and preparatons ahead of time (KII-20).

Fuldowa kebele

The kebele administrator said that the amount of aid coming into the kebele was much better than before, though there are still some that are not receiving it. Though exact figures were not available he thought that CARE distributed around 400 sacks of wheat per month, plus 275 sacks were distributed by government through the PSNP, plus 300 sacks of teff straw for animal feed and 500 sacks of *furushka* (by-product of linseed and other oil-based crops) were distributed twice by government. Livestock feed was only provided to those that did not have money to buy. Some people also received a small amount of cash aid (KII-21).

Figures from CARE stated:

1. In 2016 CARE supported only two rounds and size of beneficiay pop was 481 . And the total food items transferred was 163.059 Quntal (wheat 15kg, oil 0.45 kg and YSP 1.5KG)

2. In 2017 CARE supported 7 rounds of commodity transfer for all including Fuldowa. The size of beneficiary pop was 967 peoples each for two rounds and 2667 peoples for five rounds each i.e during pick drought period - starting from April 2017.

The total transfered commodity during these 7 rounds for Fuldowa was 2558.10 Quantal (wheat 15kg, YSP 1.5kg and oil 0.45kg per head for all rounds (KII-25).

Kebele cabinet called neighbourhood leaders and representatives of people living in neighbourhood to decide which HHs should receive aid, based on degree of poverty/wealth. HHHs received on behalf of the HH. He thought 1000 HHs out of 2000 got aid [though it would seem from other information that this figure is incorrect including not least the number of the HHs in the kebele]. A similar process was used for identifying HHs for receiving livestock feed, which was delivered.

The kebele administrator said that they called the husband and wife to the kebele office and registered HH members. During registration of household members, every individual is registered in terms of his/her name, age and gender. Those members who can work and cannot are also identified. Food aid depends on the number of household members than gender. The higher the number the more aid the household gets. Again, the higher the numbers of HH who do not work, the higher the aid. They then visited their home to check the number, age and sex. People living together as parents and children are registered as a HH – the definition is individuals living in the same house. This reflects reality (KII-21).

Both for the food aid and livestock feed, representatives of households should come to Fuldowa kebele to receive it. When the aid come,s households are communicated through person to person communication. People inform each other about the arrival of the aid. Then, they come and receive according to their arrival, waiting their turns. If people are away from their HH, messages are sent for the person to come and register. Usually the women come to collect the aid. For livestock one person can take for a few people as there may be cattle in common (KII-21).

UN has distributed supplementary foods for malnourished children ten times but small number of children were given. UN trained two women living in Fuldowa kebele to identify children having malnutrition using MUAC (Measure of Upper Arm Circumference). They used to give aid after they got the number of malnourished children in the area (KII-21).

There are 1-to-5 group leaders who monitor and report whether the aid reaches the household or not. Again, they ask residents during meetings. A person who did not give the aids he/she received to the family, will be penalized with cattle heads or imprisoned or forgiven if s/he appeals and promises not to do so again. [It is understood that it is only a problem if the person sold the aid].

The biggest problem was that only a small number of residents got food aid and livestock feed. As a result, its effect is not significant for the community as the people share what they got. It will be good if it reaches all people (KII-21). Pastoralists need greater awareness on how to withstand droughts (KII-21).

3. Asli kebele, Afdem woreda, Siti zone

Siti zone is amongst a number of high priority zones that was seriously affected by the El Nino droughts in 2015/16 and in some areas is still continuing, with communities losing most of their assets. Humanitarian interventions were undertaken. Afdem woreda was severely affected – it is located on the western part of the zone, almost 130 km from Dire Dawa and it is the only pure pastoralist woreda of the zone.

The whole population are engaged in livestock rearing activities mainly with shoats, camel, cattle and donkeys. The drought caused a large number of animal deaths, low market price of livestock, and lack of and/or shortage of drinking water. During that time there were large numbers of internally displaced people (IDP) within the woreda resulting in the establishment of five IDP Camps in Asli, Alijir, Dankarone, Awenle and Der'ele kebele which settled IDPs of 792, 342, 265, 265 and 210 HHs respectively (KII-22).

According to information from the woreda Asli kebele was the most densely populated IDP site of the woreda and received a significant amount of humanitarian food aid, livestock feed, cash, fresh meat and non-food items from the government and different international NGOs. In addition to these there was food aid distribution donated by clan leaders as a coping mechanism for their community (KII-22).

It was said that the drought response has improved as it was better coordinated with a number of platforms including humanitarian coordinator meetings, thematic clusters, and a command post that is activated during the emergency led by the DPPB (KII-22, KII-23, K-24). The zonal DPPB coordinated the emergency response locally, and distributed food aid (KII-22). It was said to date 5080 quintals of rice, 200 quintals of sugar, and 2000kg of dates have been distributed (KII-23). 8,951 HHs have been reached with food and livestock feed aid in different woreda (KII-23).

Oxfam, working with the woreda government, distributed 2000 quintals of animal feed over the drought period, targeted at HHs that had livestock that had experienced weight loss (KII-22). The government checks whether beneficiaries meet the selection criteria (KII-22). UN Agencies used HRD (Humanitarian Requirements Document) for guiding how food is targeted locally (KII-22). NGOs distribute aid and verify beneficiaries (KII-23). Communities lead beneficiary registration based on pre-agreed criteria. They also assist with aid distribution including livestock feed aid distribution and monitoring this (KII-22).

A HH is described as people that eat together, sleep together, and has one HHH (KII-22, KII-23) or "those that live together with more than two people" (KII-23). It is believed that this reflects reality (KII-22, KII-23).

Asli kebele

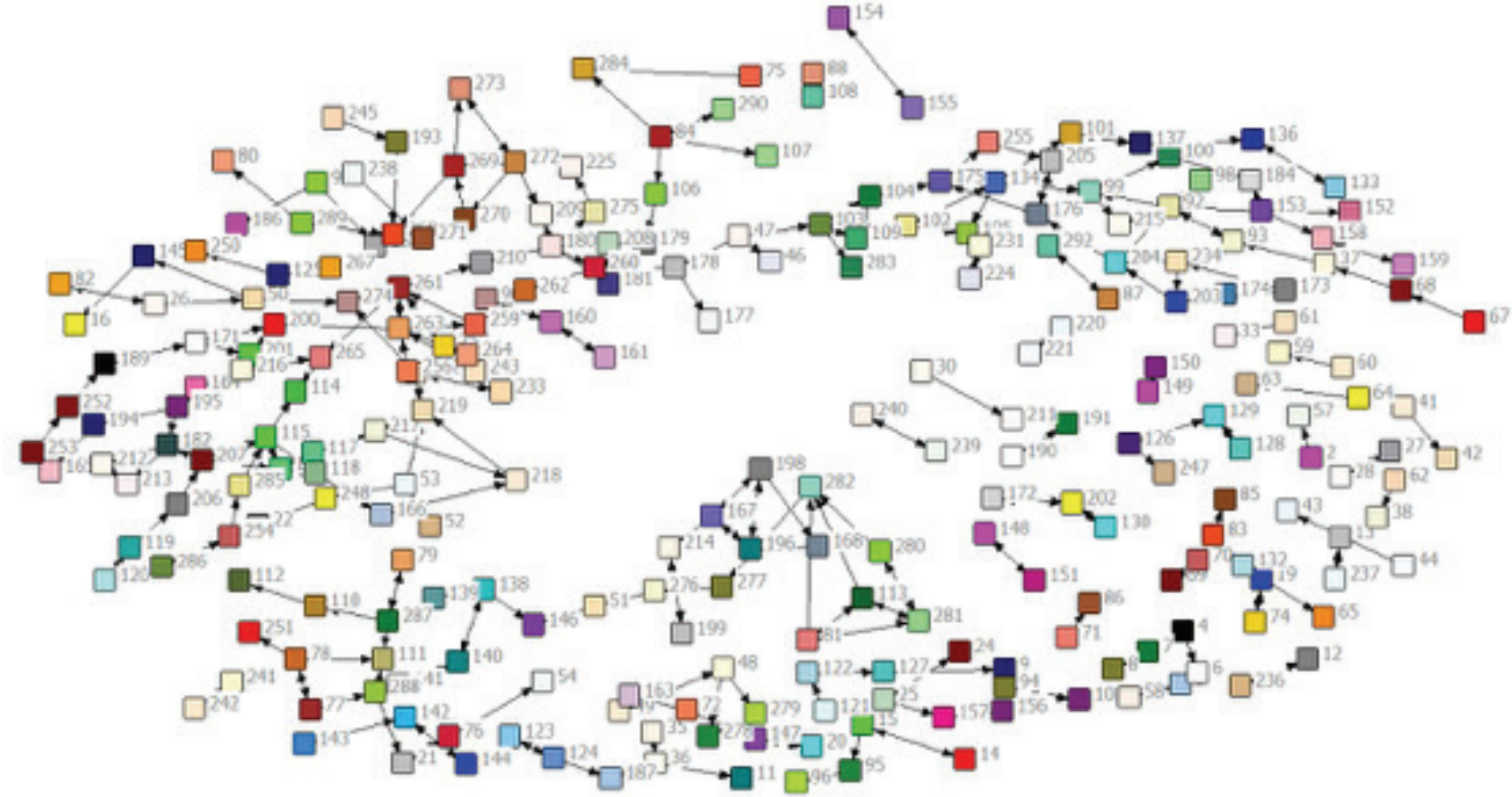
The emergency response in Asli kebele was coordinated by the DPPB and the kebele leader. Around 3,800 quintals of food aid were distributed, and three lorries of hay and 930 quintal of mixed livestock feed. One quintal of the mixed feed was distributed to the HHs that had livestock, with priority given to low income families. A list was provided by the drought committee. However, the livestock feed was distributed late, and most livestock had died by that stage (KII-23). All HHs received the same aid (KII-23).

Food aid was distributed based on wealth/poverty (KII-23). Government reports on and monitors aid distribution (KII-23). NGOs are involved in the selection of beneficiaries (KII-23). It is believed that aid reaches the target beneficiaries. Food aid delivery can be improved by having a mixed committee that contains NGOs, government and community representatives so that all can be informed about the situation (KII-23).

Annex 7: Social network analysis maps

The social network map of food aid received from another HH during 2016/17 drought period in Su'ula kebele, Afar region

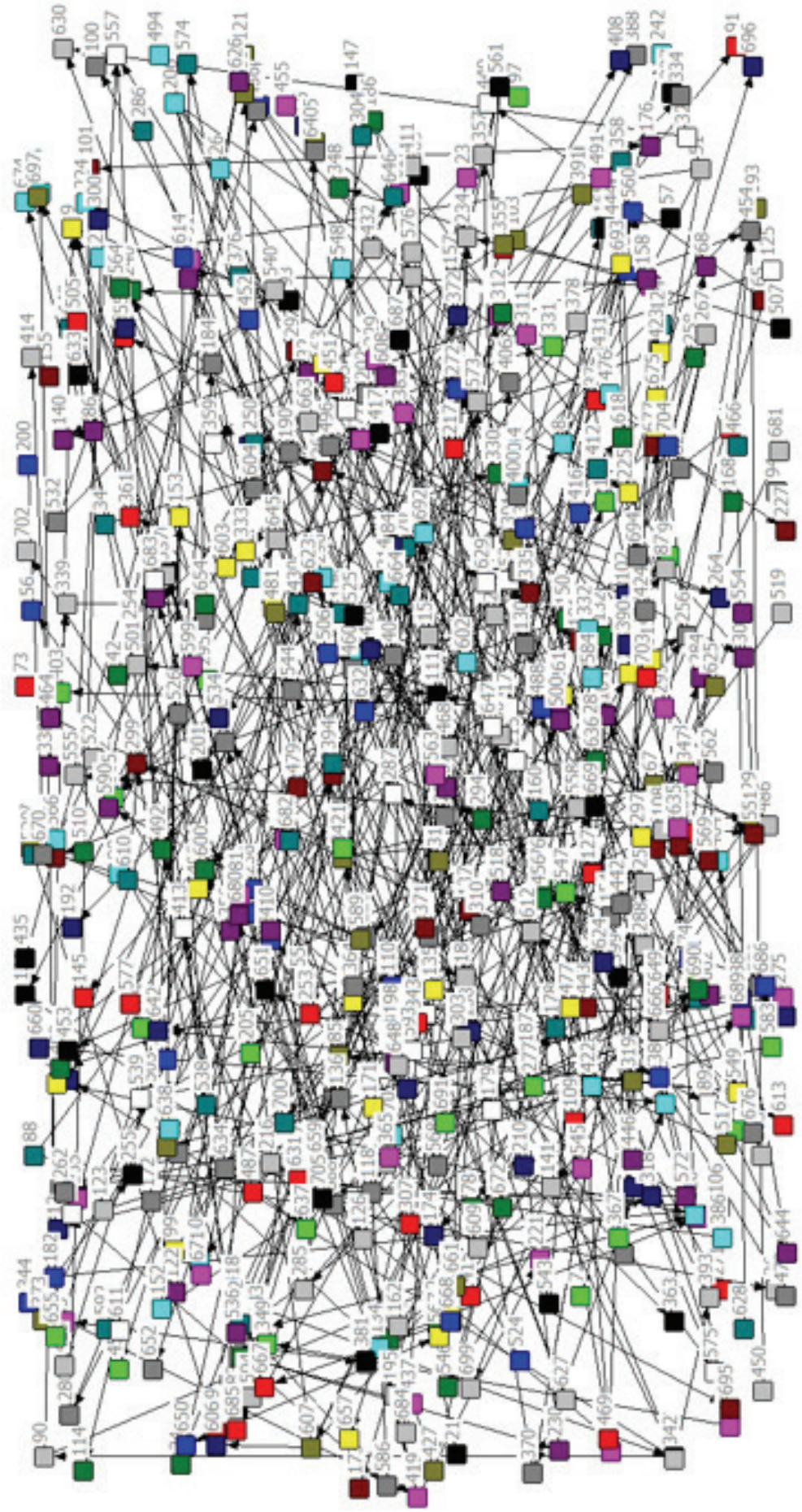
Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving. Colours have no meaning other than to help distinguish one HH from another. As. As can be seen there are a number of two-way transactions, as well as chains of connection i.e. that HH 'X' give to HH 'Y' gives to HH 'Z'. The map also shows that there no HHs that are dominating the network.
Note: colours have no particular relevance and used only to. help differentiate individual HHs.



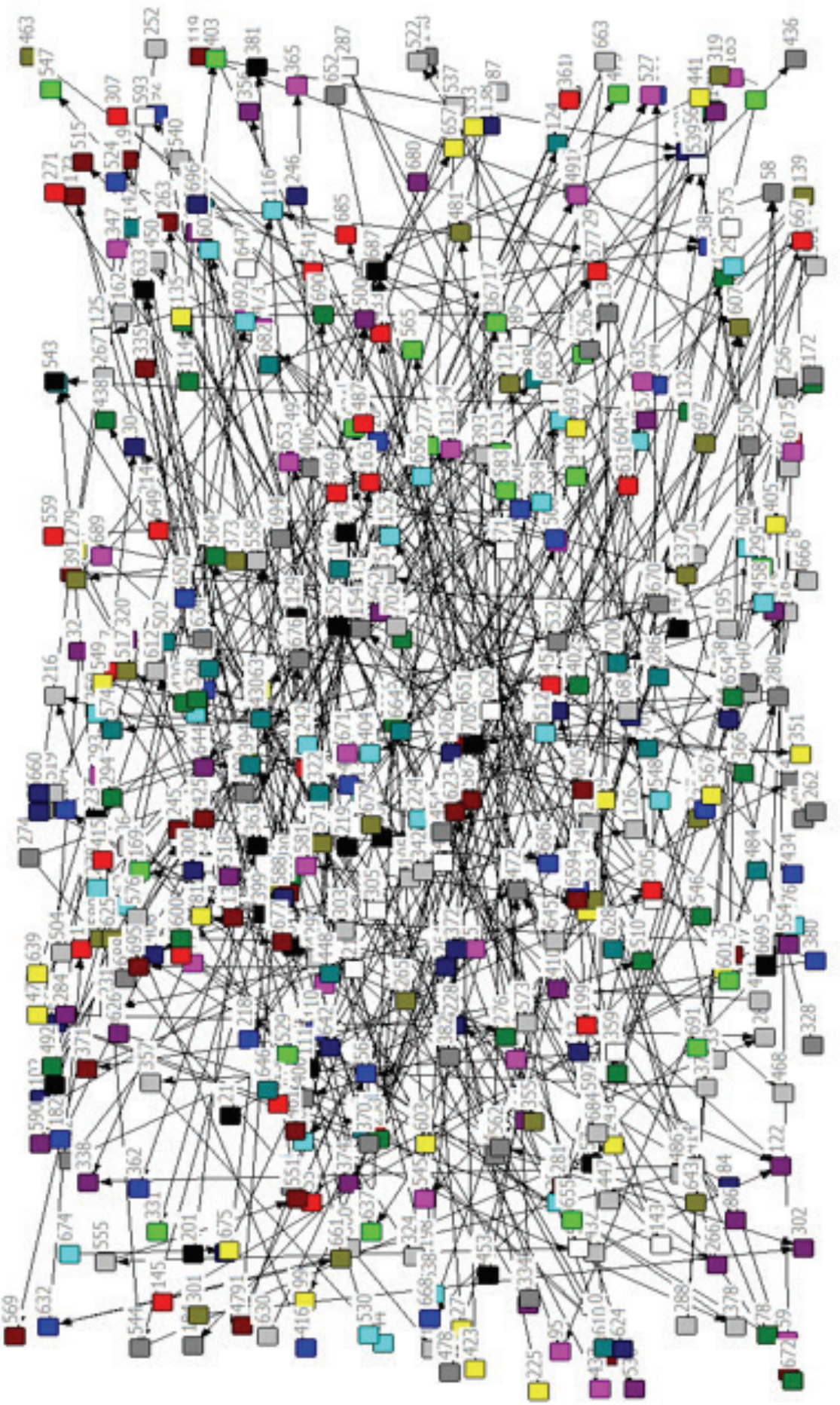
The social network map of food aid given from one HH to another during 2016/17 drought period in Su'ula kebele, Afar region
Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving

The social network map of 'other assistance' received from another HH during 2016/17 drought period in Su'ula kebele, Afar region
Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving

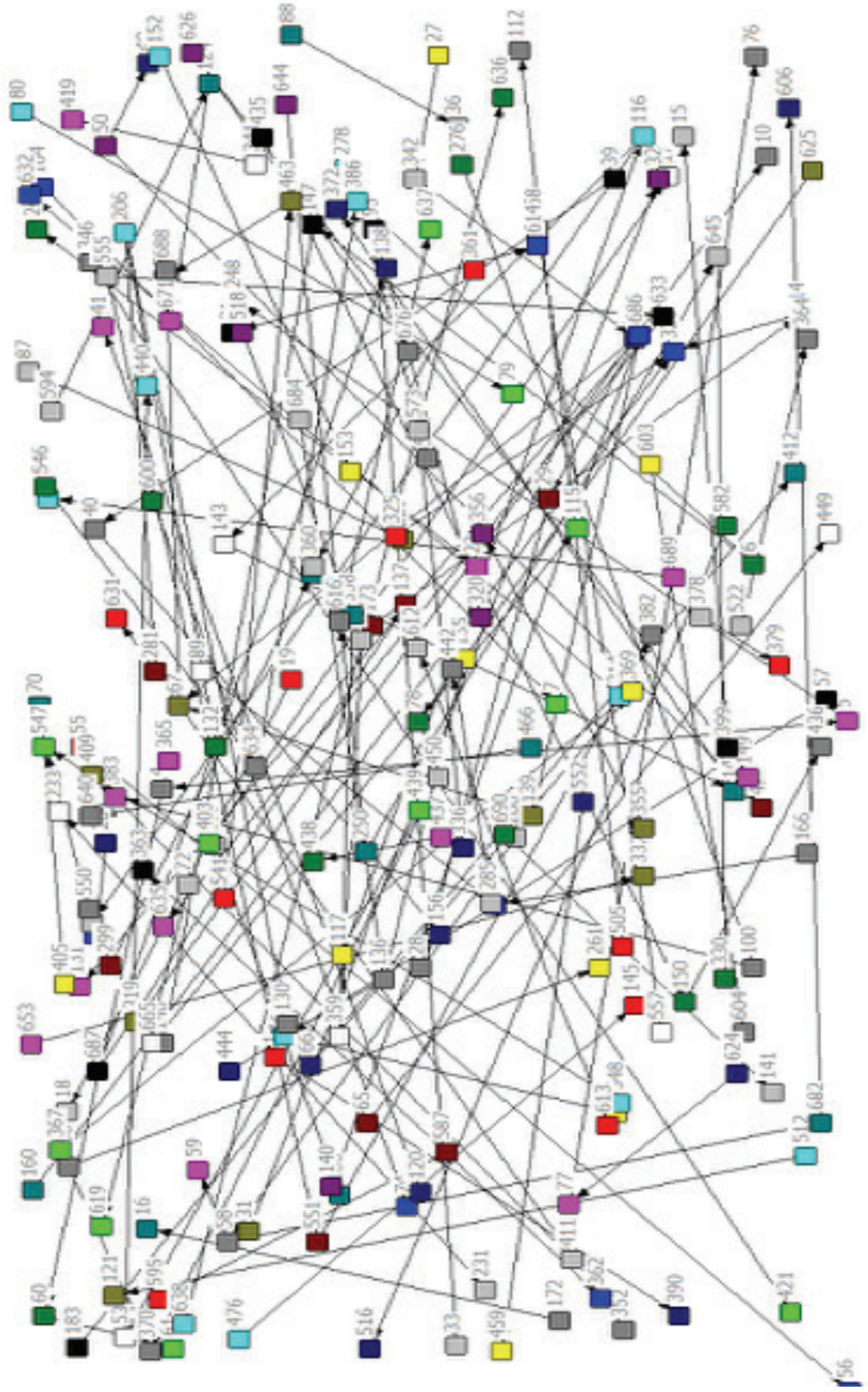
The social network map of 'other assistance' given out from one HH to another during 2016/17 drought period in Su'ula kebele, Afar region
Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving



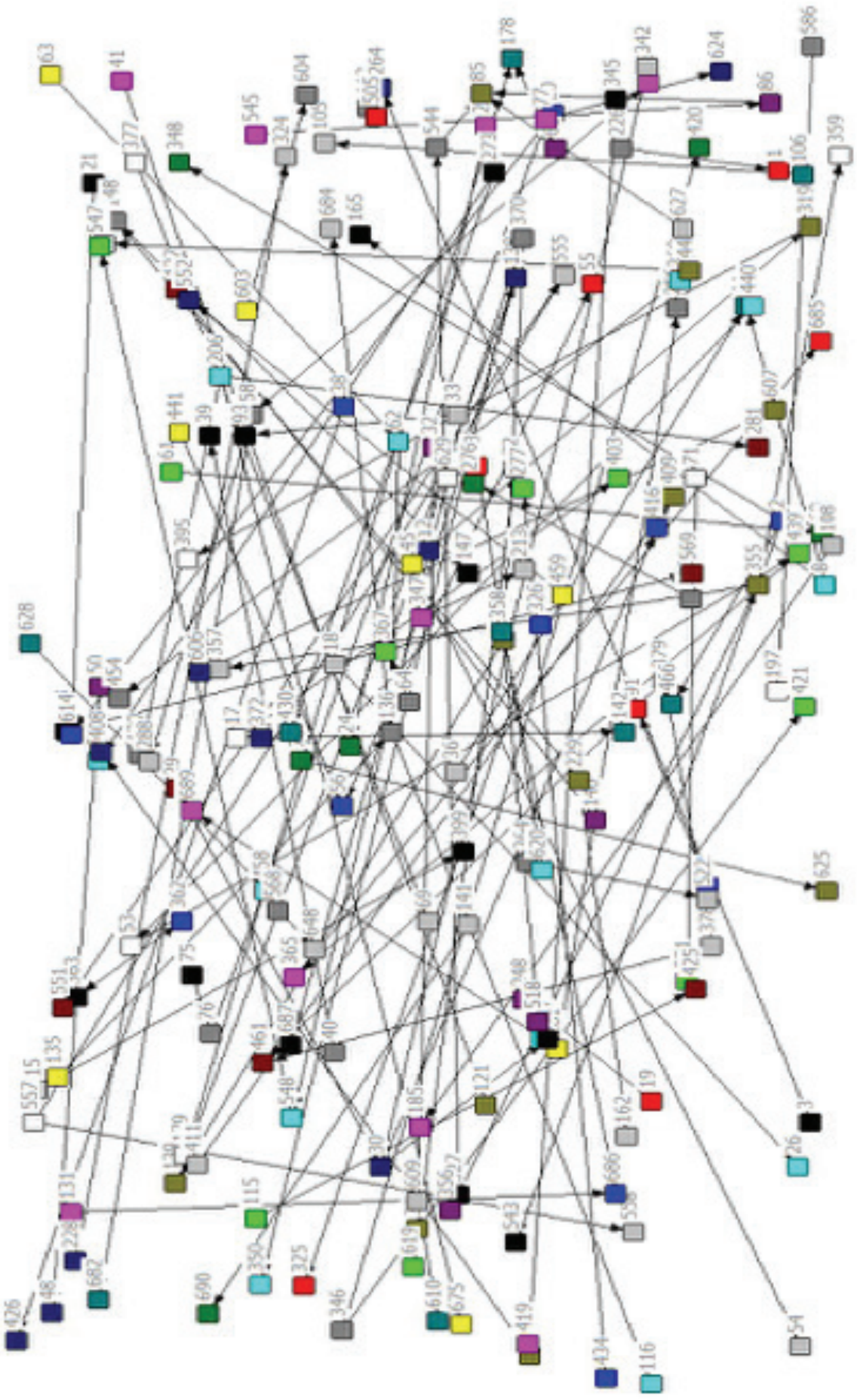
The social network map of food aid received from another HH during 2016/17 drought period in Fuldowa kebele, Oromia region
Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving



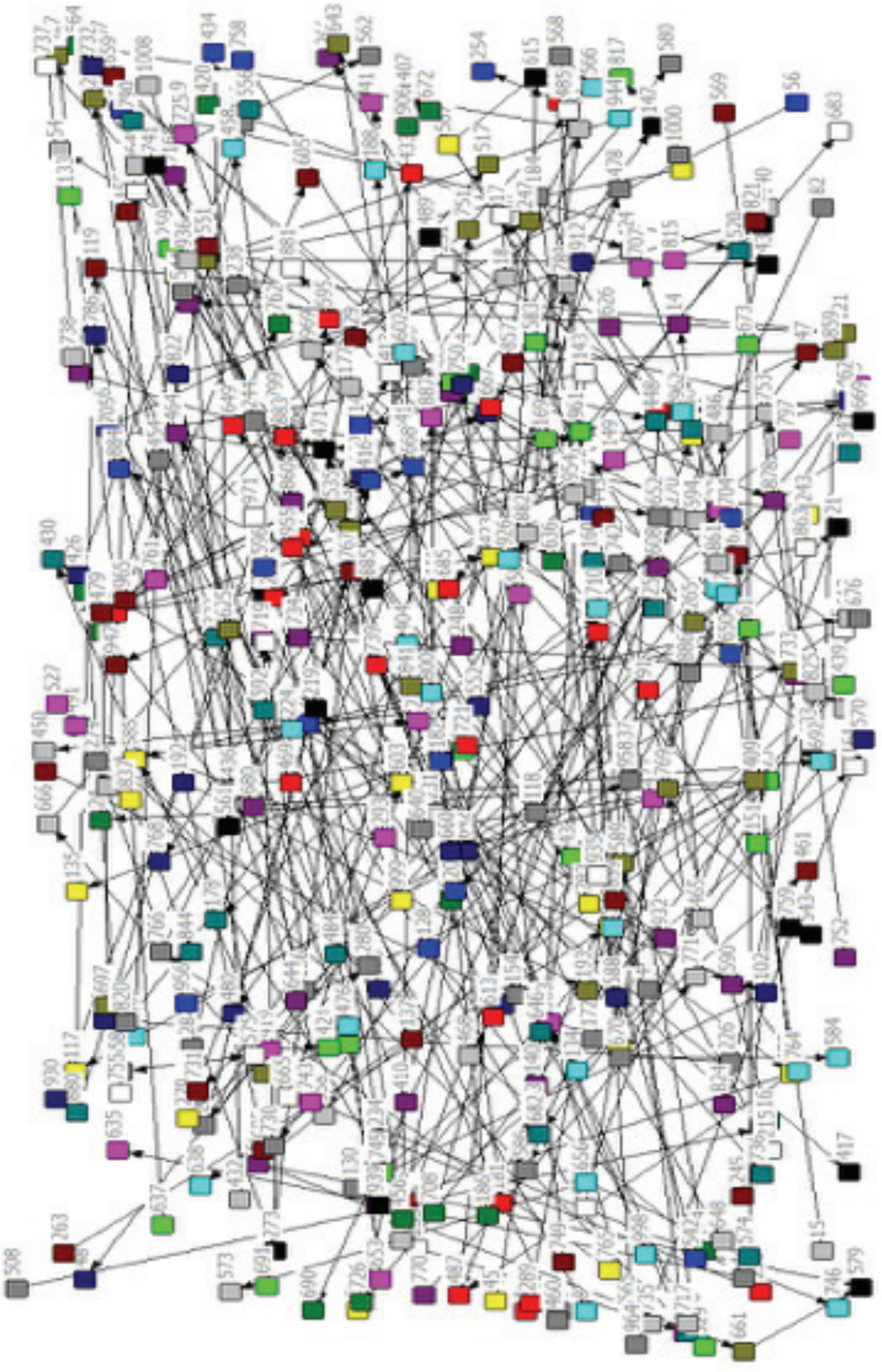
The social network map of food aid given out to another HH during 2016/17 drought period in Fuldowa kebele, Oromia region
Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving



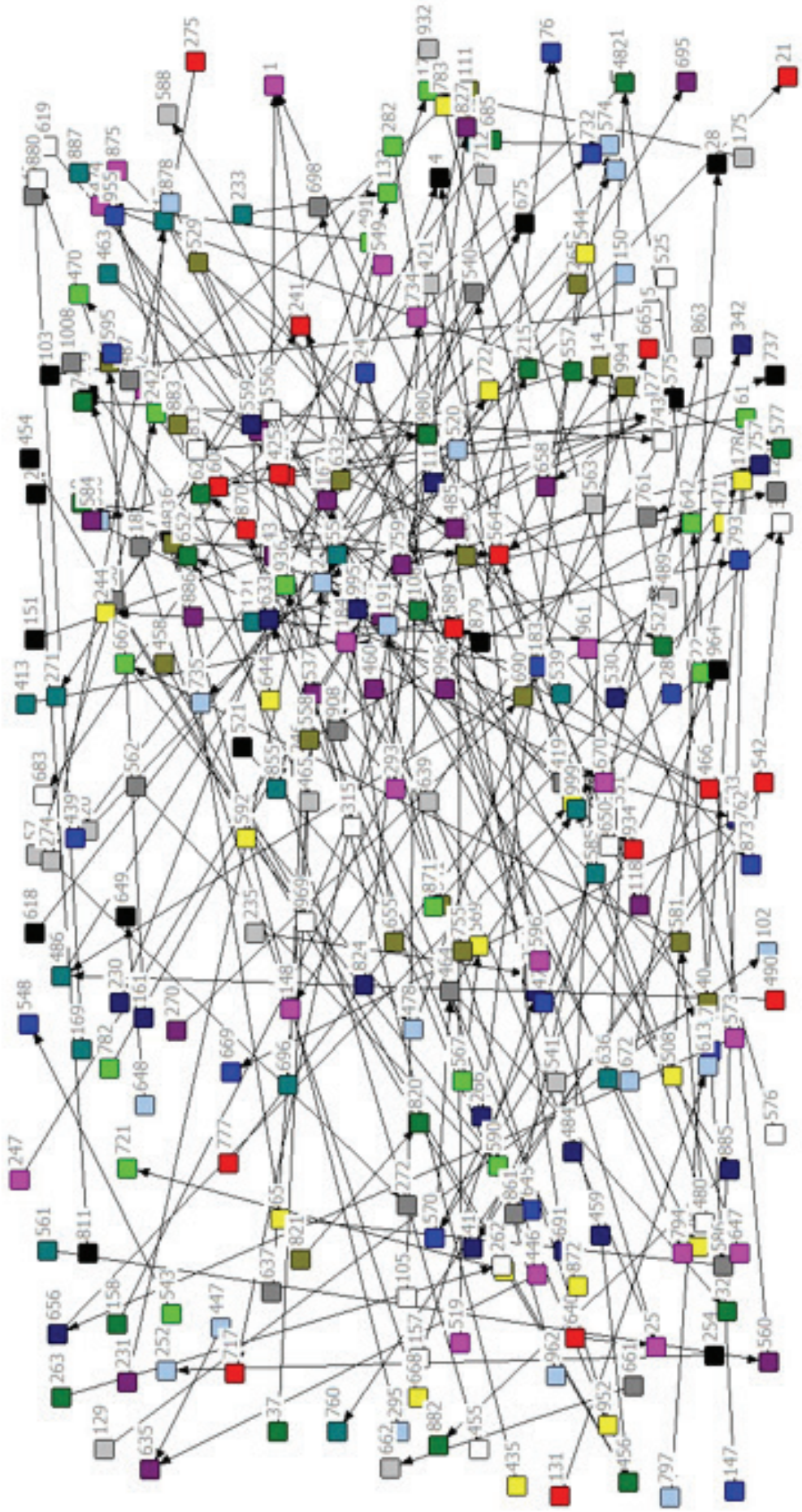
The social network map of 'other assistance' received from another HH during 2016/17 drought period in Fuldowa kebele, Oromia region
Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving



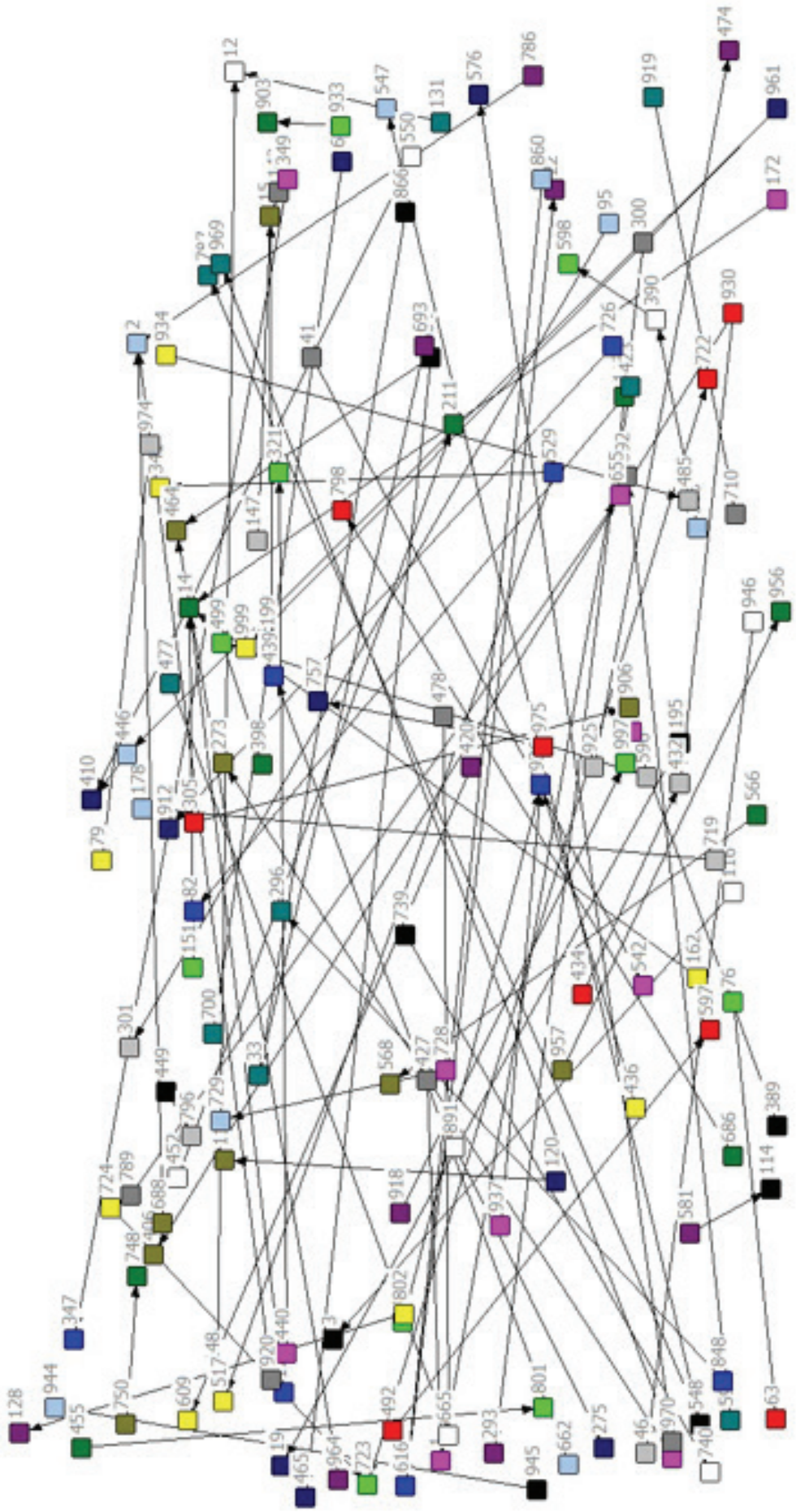
The social network map of 'other assistance' given to another HH during 2016/17 drought period in Fuldowa kebele, Oromia region
Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving. Note: those transactions to outside the kebele have been removed.



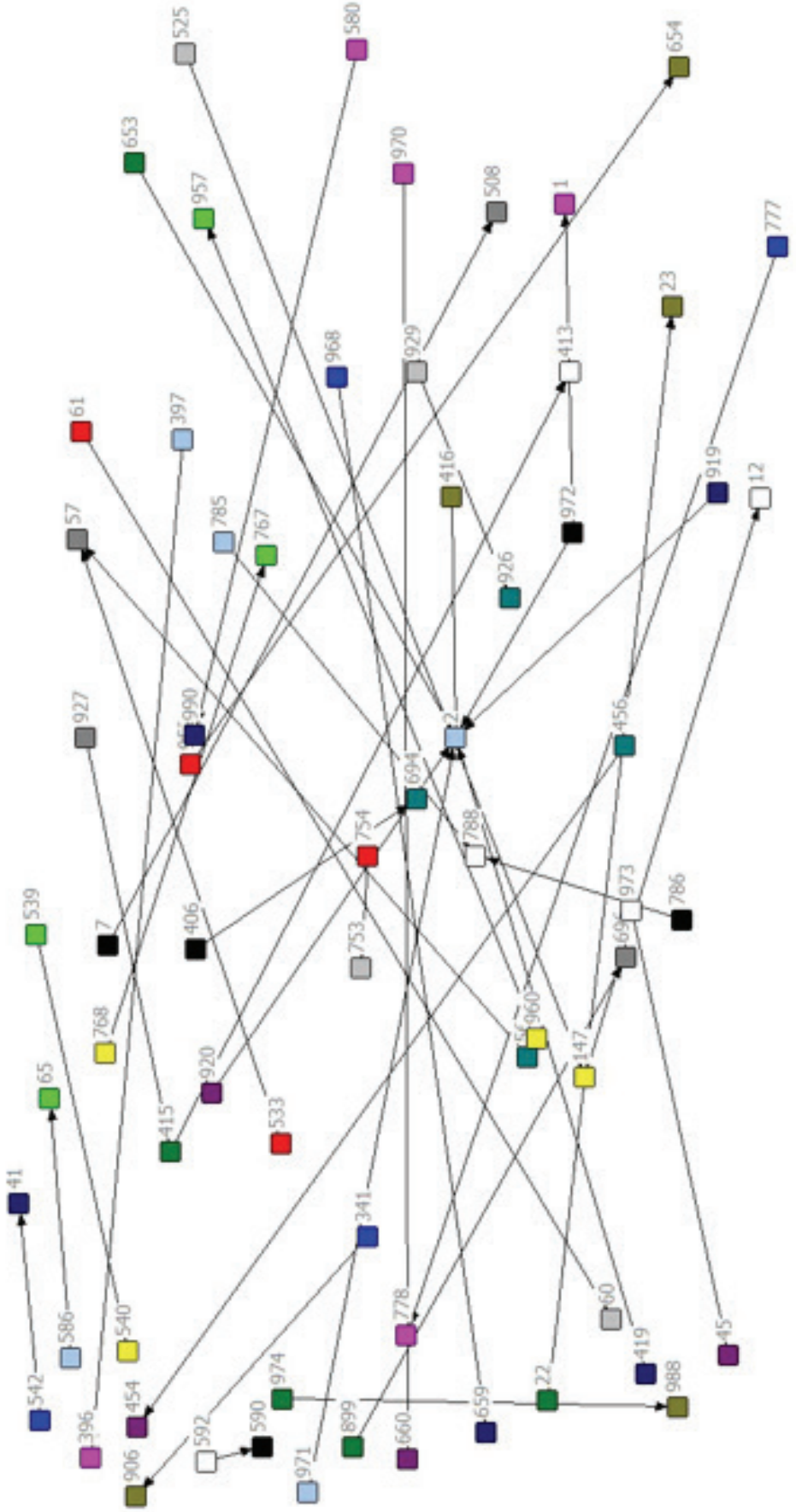
The social network map of food aid received from given another HH during 2016/17 drought period in Asli kebele, Somali region
Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving. Note: those transactions to outside the kebele have been removed.



The social network map of food aid given out to another HH during 2016/17 drought period in Asli kebele, Somali region
Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving. Note: those transactions to outside the kebele have been removed.



The social network map of other assistance received from another HH during 2016/17 drought period in Asli kebele, Somali region
Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving. Note: those transactions to outside the kebele have been removed.



The social network map of other assistance received from another HH during 2016/17 drought period in Asli kebele, Somali region
Arrows flow from the one giving to the one receiving. Note: those transactions to outside the kebele have been removed

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