



LIVELIHOODS & CONFLICT



A TOOLKIT FOR INTERVENTION

Key Issues

Lessons Learned

Program Options

Resources



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Conflict arises due to a complex set of variables coming together and reinforcing each other at multiple levels and at critical junctures of a country or region's development. It leaves in its aftermath significant development and humanitarian challenges. USAID recognizes that conflict is an inherent and legitimate part of social and political life, and is often a precursor to positive change. Yet the consequences of conflict can also be alarmingly high. Therefore, USAID has adopted a new policy by which it will aggressively expand its development and implementation of programs mitigating the causes and consequences of conflict, instability, fragility and extremism. Since development and humanitarian assistance programs are increasingly implemented in situations of open or latent violence, USAID must explicitly incorporate sensitivity to the dynamics of conflict and instability in their design or execution.

The Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation in the Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA/CMM) of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) was established to provide technical leadership on conflict, instability, extremism and now fragility to

FROM THE DIRECTOR

USAID Missions and our Washington bureaus. The vast majority of our field missions and staff are currently working in areas that are either in conflict, coming out of conflict, are at high-risk for violence and instability, or are facing growing extremist threats. A central objective of the office is to integrate or "mainstream" best practices in conflict management and mitigation into more traditional development sectors such as agriculture, economic growth, democracy, education, and health. Increasingly, DCHA/CMM is also working with missions to help them understand how to work in countries experiencing growing fragility, instability and in some cases insurgencies. Where appropriate, DCHA/CMM will be an advocate for stable change.

As Director of DCHA/CMM, I am pleased to introduce this document on livelihoods and conflict. This toolkit identifies the key issues and methods for understanding the common impact of conflict on livelihoods and some of the creative ways that USAID can respond to address the most vital needs of those affected by conflict. I hope that readers will find this information thoughtful, innovative, and useful. From Ethiopia to Afghanistan, Niger to Haiti, USAID is looking more closely at how we, together with our partners, must focus on strengthening or re-building livelihoods and preventing destitution. We owe much of our thinking, which continues to evolve, to the unique research undertaken by Tufts University Feinstein International Famine Center, among others and the ground-breaking work of Sue Lautze in particular.

We will release additional toolkits in the near future, and I trust that each one will bring its own unique value to discussions about development and conflict. We consider these toolkits to be "living documents" and welcome your comments and observations to help us improve future iterations.

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LIVELIHOODS AND CONFLICT: A TOOLKIT FOR PROGRAMMING

This toolkit is part of a series that explores how development assistance can address key risk factors associated with conflict. It shows how violent conflict can affect individual and community access to essential resources and how an approach that focuses on strengthening that access can help people survive and recover from conflict. Livelihoods, or individuals' or households' access to resources, is often a primary factor in motivating violence. In some cases, if livelihood support is offered early enough, conflict may be avoided.

This document is intended to provide USAID mission staff, their partners, and others working in countries affected by conflict and instability with: 1) an examination of the relationship between conflict and people's livelihoods; 2) lessons in developing livelihoods programs-- including an introduction to livelihood analysis; 3) a range of program options designed to reduce livelihood vulnerability, strengthen resiliency, and help people manage conflict-related shocks; and 4) listings of relevant USAID mechanisms, implementing partners, and contact information.

The toolkits in this series explore individual risk factors in depth. They are designed to serve as companion pieces to conflict assessments. Conflict assessments provide a broad overview of destabilizing patterns and trends in a society. They sift through the many potential causes of conflict and focus in on those that are most likely to lead to violence (or renewed violence) in a particular context. While conflict assessments provide recommendations about how to make development and humanitarian assistance more responsive to conflict dynamics, they do not provide detailed guidance on how to design specific activities. The toolkits in this series are intended to fill that gap by moving from a diagnosis of the problem to a more detailed discussion of potential interventions. Together, the assessment framework and toolkits help missions gain a deeper understanding of the forces driving violence and develop more strategic, focused, and effective interventions.

This toolkit was initially authored by Laura Hammond, Assistant Professor of International Development at Clark University and consultant for the Food Economy Group, and by Stephen Anderson, Julius Holt, and Waddington Chinogwenya, all of the Food Economy Group.

It was subsequently revised with substantial input from James Derleth of the Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation at USAID, officers in USAID Missions, bilateral and multilateral donor agencies, academic experts, and members of the NGO community. Comments, questions, and requests for additional information should be directed to the Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation at conflict@usaid.gov.

Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation (CMM)

Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance

United States Agency for International Development

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KEY ISSUES



PHOTO: PANOSLEIVA

Children shepherding their sheep through a pond in Niger.

Livelihoods are the means by which households obtain and maintain access to the resources necessary to ensure their immediate and long-term survival. These essential resources can be categorized into six categories: physical, natural, human, financial, social, and political. Households use these assets to increase their ability to withstand shocks and to manage risks that threaten their well-being.¹

Livelihood failure can contribute to the emergence of conflict by weakening the social fabric of a society, making people resort to violence to obtain necessary resources, and increasing individuals'

vulnerability to those with an interest in promoting conflict for political or economic gain.

At the same time, conflict is a major threat to livelihoods. Conflict restricts

1. This general definition of livelihoods is adapted from work by several authors supported by the UK Department for International Development (DfID). For further information on livelihoods analysis resources, refer to the Resources section.

or blocks access to one or more of these assets. When this happens, people try to find other ways of obtaining those resources, or compensate for the loss of one resource by intensifying their efforts to secure another. Understanding this dynamic is essential for managing and minimizing conflict's impact on civilians.

While livelihood strategies change in response to shifts in a household's access to assets, their effectiveness depends on many external factors. Policies and institutions, both formal and informal, are powerful forces that either help or hinder access to assets. These include systems of governance, gender roles, ownership systems, religious doctrine, and cultural mores (Lautze 1997; Tufts 2004). State regimes and powerful individuals working within those regimes may actively block access to essential assets, just as they may facilitate access to others. When the state deliberately marginalizes particular groups, livelihoods are constrained and the likelihood of conflict increases. In such cases, support to institutions may not be effective - it may be more important to support non-state actors in order to reduce vulnerability and

improve access. When policies and institutions are a positive, but weak force, providing support to strengthen state institutions and the policy environment can be an effective approach.

LINKS BETWEEN LIVELIHOODS AND CONFLICT

Conflict can result from a wide range of factors, including competition for scarce resources, ethnic or religious tensions, competition over political power, dissatisfaction or desperation on the part of marginalized groups, or deliberate attempts by the state to subjugate particular groups or extract resources from areas where there are competing claims.²

TRIGGERS OF CONFLICT

Many conflicts are directly caused by competition for essential livelihood resources. Triggers may include natural hazards, such as droughts, and economic shocks, such as collapses of banking systems, sharp increases in unemployment, or major fluctuations in food prices. Even where there are other primary causes of an escalation of tensions, livelihood failure can contribute to the emergence of conflict by weakening the social fabric, making people resort to desperate means to obtain resources, and

As the effects of conflict are increasingly felt at the community and individual levels, the original causes of a conflict will frequently be supplanted by others linked to protection or restoration of livelihoods.

2. For more detail on the causes of conflict, see USAID's Conflict Assessment Framework (2005). For a discussion of state failure, see USAID's Fragile States Strategy (2005).

Chart 1: Examples of Livelihood Assets, Conflict Shocks, and Potential Responses

Livelihood assets		Conflict shocks	Appropriate
Physical assets	• Farm equipment, seeds, tools, sewing machines, vehicles, livestock, houses	• Looting or destruction	• Increase security, distribute seeds/tools/livestock, provide housing support
Natural assets	• Agricultural and grazing land, water resources, food, timber, fish	• Burning, displacement, loss of access to grazing land	• Negotiate access, provide alternative resources, redistribute land
Human assets	• Labor power within a household, education, skills, vocational training	• Death, loss of productivity, disability; school & workplace closures	• Emergency education, employment schemes
Financial assets	• Wages, access to credit, savings	• Collapse of banking system, displacement causing unemployment	• Micro-credit, cash/food for work, Peace Markets
Social assets	• Kinship structures, religious groups, neighborhoods	• Displacement, fighting between groups	• Conflict resolution support; support to religious, neighborhood, and other groups
Political assets	• Citizenship, access to political leaders, recourse to a functioning legal system	• Deterioration of state, loss of legal system	• Constitutional reform, police/judicial/human rights training, election support

deepening vulnerability to exploitation by those with an interest in promoting conflict for political or economic gain.

The combination of discontent among people whose livelihoods are failing and mobilization efforts by those intent on toppling the state can lead to the emergence of grave security threats. In Afghanistan, for example, the Taliban emerged out of the chaos that followed the Soviet withdrawal from the country at the end of the 1980s. The promise of a system of law and order was so attractive that people were willing to give up other civil liberties. This led to state weakness of a new sort; many sectors of Afghan society were denied access to essential basic services.

People whose livelihoods are damaged by conflict may be motivated to continue to fight or join the fighting in order to seek revenge or restitution for what they have lost. As the effects of conflict are increasingly felt at the community and individual levels, the original ideological causes of a conflict will frequently be supplanted by others linked to protection or restoration of livelihoods. Motivations for continuing to fight become more personalized and closely tied to livelihood protection. In addition, shifting power alliances between parties to the conflict may alter individual access to essential resources. For programming in conflict situations, it is necessary to first understand - and then to address - these changes in political and economic dynamics. Providing support to help stabilize livelihoods can help people move away from conflict.

Insecurity puts added pressure on people to maintain their livelihoods. Where assistance can support livelihoods through periods of crisis, communities may be more able to move towards eventual peace. Livelihood programs can help insulate communities from emerging conflicts, mitigate the impact of conflict on civilians' lives, and hasten post-conflict social reintegration.

SUDDEN AND PROTRACTED CONFLICT

During conflict, civilians are not only at risk of being killed or injured, but also of having their livelihoods deliberately undermined. Livelihood destruction can be quick: a village may be burned to the ground in minutes, destroying food stores, property,

and productive equipment. In situations of chronic conflict and political instability livelihood damage may be protracted, with repeated shocks gradually breaking down resilience, eventually causing destitution and large-scale human suffering. Some of the more common types of shocks that conflict brings include:

- Interrupting food access or production
- Restricting access to agricultural or grazing land
- Restricting access to water and other natural resources
- Causing the labor market to collapse
- Preventing markets from operating, causing price spikes, or destroying or blocking market and trade routes
- Disrupting banking systems and government services, either as a result of capacity failure or deliberate action
- Stripping, burning or looting assets of marginalized or targeted groups
- Displacing civilians
- Destroying infrastructure
- Encouraging or enabling sexual violence against women and girls
- The breakdown of law and order

Each of these shocks has a direct impact on livelihoods. Understanding the impact of these losses and the ways in which people respond to these challenges should be the basis of appropriate support mechanisms.

CONSEQUENCES OF CONFLICT

People affected by conflict have two overriding concerns: surviving immediate physical threats and overcoming long-term threats to their livelihoods. This view of livelihoods also includes political participation, good governance, housing, and reproductive choice (Tufts 2004). Whether the disruption to livelihoods is quick or protracted, households respond by adapting their strategies to ensure the survival of the household (Young et. al. 2001, Jaspers and Shoham 2002). Households often show remarkable resilience and, even in extremely acute situ-



PHOTO: C. REINTSMAN, AFRICA BUREAU

ations, pursue a mixed strategy of balancing short term needs with longer term survival concerns (de Waal 2005; Lautze 1997). This has programming implications: specifically, that relief assistance will rarely be the only type of intervention needed and that livelihood restoration must begin even during the emergency phase.

LIVELIHOODS AND WAR ECONOMIES

Populations adjust their livelihood strategies to mitigate the effects of conflict, even if the adjustments themselves involve a violent response, such as fighting over access to natural resources. Livelihood strategies may be creative and positive, such as when people find new ways of trading with each other, make new alliances to negotiate use of another group's grazing areas, or diversify their economic base. Other livelihood strategies may be negative, involving criminal activity or activities that may be unsustainable or harmful in the long term despite their apparent short-term benefits.

Negative livelihood strategies are often key elements of war economies. Out of desperation and a lack of alternatives, people

are involved in activities that fuel conflict and are ultimately destructive. Examples include the production of opium (Afghanistan) or coca (Colombia), looting (Sudan and Bosnia), trade in valuable natural resources (Democratic Republic of Congo), or trafficking in women and children (many parts of the world).

Other destructive livelihood strategies are large-scale exploitation of natural resources, e.g. forest products, minerals, and other resources. As the natural resource base is depleted, options for pursuing productive livelihood strategies are further reduced, creating a circular effect which is difficult to break.

Commercial sex work is one of the most notorious activities that flourish under the conditions of conflict. Although it provides income for both women and men, it carries heavy long-term costs in terms of health and mortality. Conflict areas provide a thriving market for commercial sex workers; soldiers have both disposable income and plenty of time as they wait in garrison towns for the next round of fighting. The spread of HIV/AIDS is a major problem in such settings with the risk

Young Sudanese girls transporting water.



Opium poppy fields in Afghanistan.

Relief assistance will rarely be the only type of intervention needed.

transmitted back to soldiers' and sex workers' families and local communities at the end of the conflict.

Most people turn away from destructive activities if they are presented with better alternatives. Merely cracking down on these activities without providing alternatives denies people access to basic resources and only fuels conflict. Livelihood analysis can help illuminate the activities that people engage in to mitigate and manage risks, and can point to appropriate actions that can be taken to support the development of positive livelihood strategies.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PHASED ASSISTANCE

Livelihood interventions are important throughout all stages of a conflict but become critical at specific junctures. An understanding of how livelihoods are affected at different stages of a conflict can help channel resources. Chart 2 shows a range of livelihood interventions that can be implemented at different stages of a crisis, depending on the degree and nature of the livelihood deterioration. The emphasis moves from protection of livelihoods prior

to the outbreak of conflict to emergency relief during the acute stage of the crisis. Yet even at this stage, livelihood support is critical. Distributing food aid to rural areas to help prevent people from having to sell off their last remaining productive assets and migrating in search of relief can help speed recovery. As the crisis subsides, emphasis shifts to rehabilitation of livelihoods.

COUNTERING STATE WEAKNESS

For people at the local level, the state, if it exists at all, is primarily evaluated in terms of whether or not it provides basic services, with the most important service being the provision of human security. A state unable or unwilling to provide those services loses legitimacy, heightening the risk of conflict or outright collapse. Strong civil society, local NGOs, and other grass-roots community development groups may help provide essential services that the state cannot or will not provide. However, this is also a time when opportunistic or extremist groups may enter to provide their own alternatives. Such groups tend to establish their presence by offering

Chart 2: Conflict and Livelihood Interventions

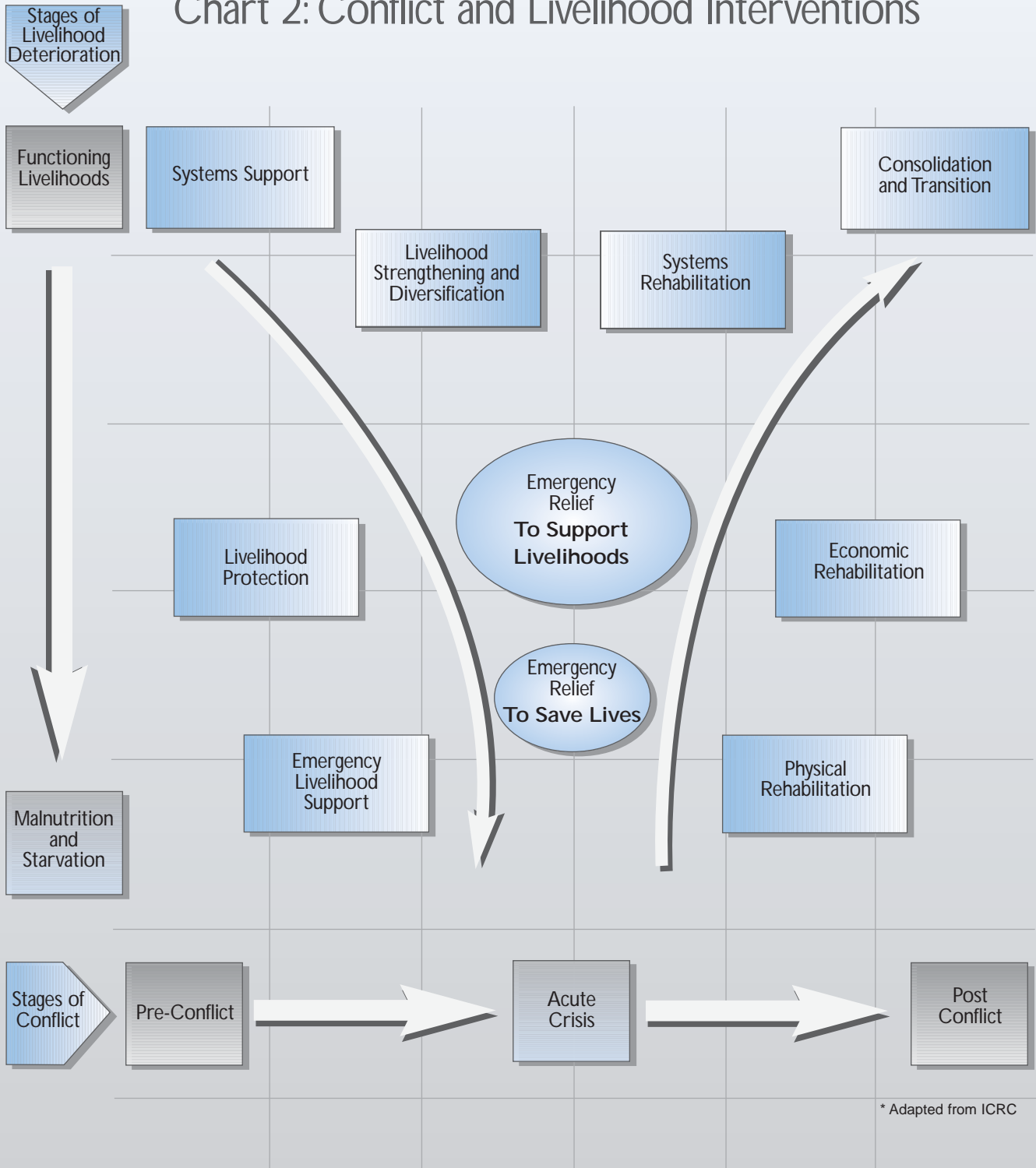


Chart 2 shows the major categories of livelihood intervention that can be implemented as conflict develops, in the midst of conflict, and as people move to a post-conflict scenario. The emphasis shifts from protection of livelihoods prior to the outbreak of acute conflict to emergency relief during the acute stage of the crisis. Yet even at this stage livelihood support is critical. As the crisis subsides, emphasis is placed on rehabilitation of livelihoods.

support to local communities who are desperate, without options, and willing to seize any opportunity to protect their livelihoods.

In Somalia, for example, externally-funded groups have been able to establish a presence by opening kindergartens and bakeries, and offering employment opportunities. This assistance, offered in the absence of alternatives from the state, international agencies, or Somali civil society, was welcomed. However, as a result of their assistance, these externally-backed groups have amassed increased political, economic, and religious influence. Increasingly, many Somalis see this as a threat to local control and peace. Yet without meaningful alternatives, they feel compelled to accept the assistance. Livelihood support that provides such alternatives can help communities resist extremist influences while building local capacities for self-help.

RESTORING PEACE

Since conflict damages livelihoods, helping restore access to resources can build a foundation for peace and reconciliation. Livelihood support should not be seen as a substitute for the important tasks of conflict resolution and peace-building, but it may resolve some of the tension and urgency surrounding the conflict. Therefore, it can be an important tool for ending hostilities.

In local conflicts, livelihood support is an important mechanism for encouraging people to cooperate with each other and also serves as an entry point for building trust between combatants.

Where conflicts are caused or exacerbated by disputes between two or more states, or where international interests fuel tensions (as with the influence of diamond markets in Sierra Leone, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo, or oil markets in parts of Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East), effective conflict resolution and peace-building should be carried out in tandem with livelihood support. Although livelihood support on its own is not likely to bring about a resolution to the conflict, it can mitigate the effect of the conflict on the lives of civilians and facilitate peace-building activities.

Applying a livelihoods approach to programming in conflict situations requires flexibility, creativity, and a commitment to supporting efforts at the local level to safeguard access to resources. The lessons presented in the next section can be used as a guide to effective livelihood support programming.

WHAT IS LIVELIHOODS ANALYSIS?

An essential first step to developing livelihood-sensitive programming is to identify the basic components of civilian livelihoods and the impact the conflict has had or could have on them. A range of livelihoods analysis tools have been developed, albeit largely in the context of food security and rural development. Save the Children-UK and the Food Economy Group have developed an approach known as Household Economy Analysis (HEA), which can be adapted for situations of chronic conflict and political instability.

Household Economy Analysis is a four-step process:

1. Baseline assessment:

Identify the essential components that make up the livelihood of a particular group during a "normal" (i.e. non-conflict) time. This information can be collected quickly in a variety of ways: through the use of baseline information where it exists, review of historical market and food production data, and interviews with civilians including traders, farmers, the displaced, and their hosts.

2. Impact of shocks: Estimate the impact of the conflict on livelihoods (e.g. disruption in agricultural production due to displacement, loss of employment, and destruction of assets) in terms of income, food consumption, and other critical benchmarks.

In situations where insecurity blocks access to the affected area, it is possible to estimate the impact of shocks with secondary data such as historical evidence from baseline and previous shock periods, interviews with displaced persons or hosts, collection and analysis of local and national-level market and

production data, and remote sensing. Where no baseline data exist, zones may be defined by levels of risk, or by the nature of the threats directed against the population.

3. Identification of livelihood strategies:

Determine the ways in which households modify their livelihood strategies to minimize the impact of the conflict shocks.

4. Program support: Identify appropriate forms of support aimed at minimizing the impact of the shocks.

Livelihood analysis can uncover important programming dynamics. For example, livelihoods analysis in Zimbabwe, Angola, Sudan, and Serbia/Montenegro has shown that those who are most at risk of livelihood disruption as a result of conflict may not necessarily be the poorest people. Very often it is those who have something to lose who face the greatest risk. For example, groups living in government-held or rebel-held areas, the displaced, or members of a particular ethnic group - may be disproportionately affected and may even be singled out as targets for attack.

In Southern Sudan in 1991, Nuer attacks on the Bor Dinka had a much more devastating impact on rich households than poor. Relying almost exclusively on cattle, rich households had a less diversified set of livelihood strategies than the poor. When the cattle were killed, not only were the psychological effects more profound for rich households (who had far more to lose) but they did not have the skills to fish or to collect wild foods, which were part of the regular livelihood strategies of the poor.

A good example of how livelihoods analysis helped to clarify the effects of an increasingly precarious situation can be seen in Zimbabwe during 2001-02. An assessment of the livelihood strategies of urban residents revealed that macro economic shocks, budget deficits, devaluation of hard currency, and land distribution had specific effects at the local level. These included acute maize price and bus fare increases, and increased competition for informal sector employment in the capital. In turn, these local level effects changed household expenditure patterns and exposed households to threats of homelessness and food insecurity. The analysis showed how different income groups dealt with the difficult decisions that they faced. This information helped to identify areas for providing assistance at an early stage, before the problems of homelessness and mass urban food insecurity developed.

In situations of conflict or mass displacement under emergency conditions, it may be necessary to conduct rapid assessments which identify household resource flows (sources of income and expenses) as soon as access is possible. This can be done in only a few days by small teams with adequate training. Teams should combine this information with an abbreviated checklist of questions to help identify threats to livelihoods, detect efforts to recover resilience, and identify areas where targeted assistance may strengthen those efforts.

LESSONS LEARNED



PHOTO: PANOS/BRUSSEL

Human beings can be strikingly resilient in their pursuit of livelihoods.

Effective livelihood programming in pre-conflict, conflict, and post-conflict situations requires creative thinking, flexibility, an understanding of the dynamics of the particular conflict, and a recognition of its local impact. The following initiatives offer important lessons for future action on what does and does not work in promoting

1 PROMOTE RESILIENCE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

While conflict has an enormously destructive impact on both life and livelihoods, more people survive than perish. Survival is rooted in action: people under threat cannot afford to wait for help. They must actively seek ways to survive in the face of

constantly changing risks. Livelihood diversification becomes key: people adopt multiple and varied livelihood strategies, including opportunity-seeking migration.

The challenge is to find ways of supporting these strategies before households become destitute. Livelihood analysis is essential to understanding the makeup of

1. The lessons in this section were identified through a consultative process involving staff of donor and UN and other international agencies, as well as members of the NGO community in the United States and Europe.

resilience, its limits, and its opportunities. Failure to consider basic livelihood dynamics can lead to poor and even damaging programming. For example, in Angola in the mid-1990s, emphasis was placed on convincing families to return to rural areas from the enclave towns. However, it was not understood that households had developed new ways of accessing food and income, combining relief food aid with a modest harvest and sales of charcoal. Relief food and charcoal sales tied families economically to urban centers. Rehabilitation projects that did not take this into account did not convince people to return to the rural areas. In fact, some programs were even a threat to the resilience that people had developed in response to the conflict.

When providing support in times of conflict, a great deal can be learned by analyzing current and past household and community responses to livelihood threats. Livelihood interventions are most effective when they build on existing efforts at the local level, before moving up to wider levels of support and cooperation. For example, provision of seeds and tools to help farmers start cultivating their land after the end of conflict is most appropriate in the short-term. Later, once the immediate planting needs of the target group have been met, support to productivity can be scaled up to include the design of an agricultural credit package for farmers, land reform, regulation of market prices, or development of a training and capacity building strategy.

Resilience does have its limits. It is necessary to provide relief when people have exhausted their ability to manage the disruption caused by conflict, or when conflict overwhelms their ability to cope and causes total livelihood breakdown. In these circumstances, people may lose the ability to provide for their own basic needs and humanitarian assistance is urgently required in order to save lives. Livelihood support can be provided to the most vulnerable once (and sometimes at the same time that) their short-term survival needs are met.

Resilience-based programming to support livelihoods at the local level should consider the following:

- How livelihoods are being affected by conflict;

- People's responses to livelihood threats;
- Assistance to support resilience efforts and to provide alternatives to opportunists' and extremists' options.

2 PROMOTE PEACE BUILDING AND RECONCILIATION

Building on people's own efforts to protect and strengthen their livelihoods can complement conflict resolution efforts. For example, in Bosnia in the mid-1990s, the first people who were able to contemplate reconciliation were traders who formed economic linkages with others on the opposite side of the conflict. These "patterns of pragmatic cooperation" typically start on a very modest scale. Traders are often the first to venture across front lines, selling goods or trading with the perceived enemies. People also negotiate across battle lines to get access to basic services. With shared economic interest comes an increased confidence between actors and greater willingness to take investment risks or to build up savings. In South Africa and Sri Lanka, business communities have progressed beyond these first steps to mobilize for peace at the national level (International Alert 2002).

Reconciliation and peace building efforts are more likely to succeed if built on a platform of shared interest and pragmatic cooperation. People may be more willing to reconcile if they see that continuing the conflict has a high economic cost. With help from a Mercy Corps project funded by the State Department's Bureau of Populations, Refugees, and Migration (BPRM), Serb and Albanian farmers in Kosovo have found common ground by trading their products with each other.

Because conflict breaks down trust between people, some forms of support and collaboration will only be possible when basic elements of trust are restored. Livelihood support can help strengthen those ties, but can inflame tensions if this basic willingness is absent. Thus, in designing assistance programs to support resilience, timing is critical. Support that is well-conceived but provided before people are ready to begin collaborating with each other will likely fail. On the other hand, if people are ready to start working together and assistance providers are not ready to act, important opportunities may be lost.

Reconciliation and peace building efforts are more likely to succeed if built on a platform of shared interest and pragmatic cooperation.

Photo opposite page: In Angola, a woman and her child search for water, facing scarcity and impoverishment as a result of continued conflict over natural resources.

Providing support in areas where institutions and services are not functioning or are absent can help prevent extremist groups and 'conflict entrepreneurs' from fomenting violence and instability.

The best way to determine what type of support is appropriate and the best time to begin implementation is to watch for patterns of pragmatic cooperation and to build on them (Stiefel 1999).

To promote reconciliation and peace building through livelihoods assistance, programs should:

- Ask local people which forms of trust and cooperation have been broken by conflict and what it would take for people to be ready to work together again;
- Identify entrepreneurs who are willing to be among the first to forge links with people on the other side of the conflict. Pay particular attention to the role women play in informal economic activity;
- Provide support that will promote pragmatic cooperation at a pace and on a scale that is manageable (i.e. avoid pushing too fast or providing too much assistance all at once, but be ready to provide assistance as soon as the parties to the conflict signal that they are ready to begin collaborating).

3 USE LIVELIHOOD SUPPORT TO IDENTIFY AND COUNTERACT STATE WEAKNESS

Livelihoods analysis can reveal areas where institutions and services are not functioning or are absent. Providing support in these areas can help prevent opportunistic groups from establishing a foothold and fomenting violence. However, effective support must be provided on a scale sufficient to address the needs that are of highest priority to local people. This can be difficult, as states may either monopolize the provision of essential services to the affected communities or resent the provision of services to people outside of their control, particularly if they are part of an armed or organized opposition.

In the highly politicized, volatile context of conflict and state failure, providing livelihoods support - or any other kind of assistance - has the potential to change the dynamics of the conflict and be perceived as being partial, and can even make beneficiaries more vulnerable. When assistance is perceived as favoring one group over another, its programs, staff, and beneficiar-

ies are exposed to greater levels of risk. Humanitarian aid workers are increasingly targeted when they are perceived to be partisan. Therefore providers of assistance need to be sensitive to the dynamics of the conflict and to the livelihood strategies that people are revising to respond to changing threats (Le Billion 2003).

Nevertheless livelihood support in a violent or fragile environment can be effective if the following points are kept in mind:

- Determine where state control is most precarious, i.e. where government services and law and order are most likely to break down;
- Identify ways in which access to resources are threatened by state weakness;
- Prioritize assistance to fill essential livelihoods service gaps. Create viable alternatives to the opportunistic support that extremist groups may provide. This includes responding to real needs on a meaningful scale and on a prolonged basis.

4 WHERE STATE LEGITIMACY IS ABSENT, WORK WITH TRUSTED LOCAL ACTORS

Where the state has no legitimacy, assistance may be better invested with non-state actors who are more widely supported and trusted. Religious groups, parent-teacher associations, women's associations, local chambers of commerce or producers' cooperatives, local NGOs, or more informal groupings may be better vehicles for livelihood support than state institutions.

In Cambodia, CARE recognized the need to promote savings. But at the local level, state "cooperatives" and "credit unions" were associated with terror and forced collectivism of the Khmer Rouge. In developing a savings project, CARE worked with respected village heads to create local "savings banks" rather than follow a traditional cooperative model. In Iraq, Community Habitat Finance (CHF) learned that religious leaders offered the greatest support and assistance in entering local communities.

The choice of partners is critical in all



PHOTO: PANOS/ROBINSON

phases of conflict. Choosing the wrong counterparts will have disastrous consequences as assistance could be perceived as support for an illegitimate, ineffective, or hostile organization. Understanding the basis upon which people give their support to a particular group and the kinds of services they rely on or expect from it, can help form the basis for effective collaboration.

Appropriate partners can be identified through the following steps:

- Determine whether the government has the widespread support of the people; this can be done through a participatory process involving diverse community voices.
- If the government is legitimate, but weak, help strengthen it so that it can better provide services and help people obtain access to essential resources.
- If government is seen as predatory, look to civil society groups, and in some cases opposition movements, or other bodies with legitimate support as alternative channels for service delivery.

5 DEVELOP GENDER-FOCUSED PROGRAMMING

In conflict, challenges to livelihoods often lead to dramatic shifts in gender relations and roles. Men may leave the household to fight, take the family's animals and other assets to more secure areas, or seek employment in urban centers. In cases of forced displacement, there are often a disproportionate number of female-headed households. When women assume the role of primary breadwinner, even temporarily, they take on new economic and political roles. In some situations, women's roles revert to more traditional forms when the conflict is over. In others, women maintain their new position as primary breadwinners. Such changes may generate tension between men and women, particularly in the aftermath of conflict.

Within new roles lie new opportunities. For example, urban and peri-urban women in Somalia, who traditionally helped support the family through sale of agricultural products, expanded their sales to include livestock and khaat. When men returned at the end of the conflict, they continued to

Women cooking traditional flat breads in a bakery in Afghanistan.



A girl works at a sewing machine, part of a skills training workshop in Uganda.

depend on women since many were not able to resume income-generating activities either because they suffered from disabilities or because institutions that had employed them had collapsed during the war (Gardner and El Bushra 2004). Women's central involvement in livelihood protection makes them key participants in both assisted and unassisted recovery strategies. Appropriate assistance can be targeted for women to help maximize the effectiveness of their livelihood strategies and create employment opportunities for men so that they are able to contribute to the welfare of the household.

Gender-sensitive programming seeks to build on the strategies of men and women without creating unnecessary burdens. This can be done by:

- Determining where changes in gender roles and responsibilities brought about by conflict have resulted in new livelihood strategies. Identifying the constraints and opportunities these changes bring.
- Determining whether individuals have time or employment. If they have time, focus on income-generation schemes

and training. If they are employed, focus on finding ways to make their work more profitable.

- Identifying the often innovative role women play in the formal and informal sector. Build on successful strategies and programs to counteract negative ones.

6 BUILD ECONOMIC LINKAGES THROUGH THE INFORMAL ECONOMY

Conflict and pervasive instability often creates a situation where official markets collapse or are captured by warring parties. When this happens, local people may turn to or create informal markets in a bid to survive. This was the case in Mozambique, where the war and displacement accelerated the transformation of peasants into 'barefoot' entrepreneurs by forcing them to become innovative and flexible in pursuing economic opportunities (Chingono 1996). Informal markets continue to operate even when conventional wisdom suggests that the economy has collapsed. Women are

often critical traders in these markets.

It is important to understand and support economic activity that has emerged in unstable settings wherever it constructively promotes livelihoods. Such support may be the best means of assisting people to cope, as it builds on their own efforts and strategies. Market support can be directed at ensuring that essential supplies are available and that people have cash or tradable goods to access the market. Local authorities are often eager to promote effective markets as they reflect favorably on those who are perceived as stimulating business and bringing essential goods and services to the community.

Support to formal and informal markets can be a powerful programming tool. Effective programs should:

- Engage with local business leaders, chambers of commerce, local administrative structures and consumers to understand the strengths and weaknesses of local markets.
- Identify items or skills that might be in demand and could thus generate employment and foster trading activity.
- Look for ways of translating cooperation in markets between "enemies" into collaborative action in other sectors to promote economic development and reconciliation.

7 SUPPORT LIVELIHOOD EFFORTS FOR POPULATIONS DISPLACED BY CONFLICT

Conflict often causes civilians to flee their homes, either to save their own lives or to protect their assets. If the threat is highly localized, the number of displaced and the distance they travel to reach safety is usually relatively low. But when waves of refugees pour over a border into makeshift refugee camps - as was seen with Rwandans in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Tanzania in 1994, Kosovar refugees in Macedonia in 1999, and Sudanese in Chad in 2004 - there is a need for immediate humanitarian relief. Assistance for refugees and internally displaced persons is often based on the assumption that they

will soon be able to return to their homes. Little if any effort is made to provide livelihood support in the weeks and months after the initial influx. Yet return may not be possible for months or years, and many refugee camps become holding centers: 7.4 million of the world's 12 million refugees have been living in camps or settlements for more than a decade.¹

UNHCR has recently begun to devote more attention to the issue of promoting refugee livelihoods. In addition, the US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants has launched an anti-warehousing campaign that explicitly calls for promotion of refugee livelihoods by allowing people to move freely in and out of camps, providing them with access to employment and productive assets, including education and training.²

Some host governments are opposed to promoting refugee livelihoods out of fear that refugees will become economically "comfortable" and will not want to return to their homes. However, research has shown that refugees who have been educated, developed useful skills, and acquired resources that they can bring back may fare better upon return than those who have lived for years in camps dependent upon humanitarian assistance (Crisp 2003).

An essential element of supporting the livelihoods of the displaced is to make sure that hosts are also assisted. Providing livelihood support to hosts can help mitigate tensions between the displaced and local communities. It may also enable hosts to share their resources more readily with the displaced. Livelihood analysis among host populations can reveal areas where hosts are willing or unwilling, able or unable, to share resources with the displaced.

Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are often less visible than refugees. They face many of the same problems, but are not protected by specific international laws. While some IDPs are assisted in camps, the vast majority settle into local communities. They may do this to escape the attention of the government, particularly if it has been responsible for displacing them. The displaced are thus able to maintain social ties and mobility, making it easier to protect their livelihoods.

Livelihood support to refugees and IDPs should be targeted to ensure that the displaced are able to maintain the same

1. See www.refugeesusa.org

2. See the UNHCR and USCRI websites referenced on page 17.



Dinka boys with their cattle.

standard of living as the host community without depleting the (often scarce) resources of the hosts. This may require a "cross-mandate" approach where similar assistance is offered to groups who might not be included in an agency's traditional focus. The community-based assistance approach was tried with considerable success in Central America during the 1980s, and during the early 1990s in Cambodia and Ethiopia.

Benchmarks for defining adequate and appropriate assistance can be developed based on an understanding of the local and household economies in areas hosting the displaced. In refugee and IDP return contexts, information on the livelihood strategies of local people living in and around return areas can be used to establish baselines for measuring self-sufficiency and progress towards integration. By considering the cost of living and the resource flows of local people in return areas, it is possible to anticipate the sources of income and types of costs that returnees will face, and to develop effective integration assistance.

Support for the displaced can effectively discourage dependency and promote resilience by:

- Planning for livelihood support as soon as people are displaced;
- Considering community-based assistance that addresses the vulnerability of both displaced and host communities;
- Using livelihoods analysis based on living conditions of local populations in areas of displacement to develop benchmarks for measuring self-sufficiency and integration.

BUILD FLEXIBILITY INTO THE PLANNING AND BUDGETING PROCESS

More than other forms of development assistance where project timelines are set in advance, working in conflict situations requires a great deal of flexibility in terms of scheduling and budgeting. Normal project-based approaches are not designed to respond quickly to rapidly changing environments, and are not strategically oriented to support livelihoods that are constantly adjusting to shocks. Some of the most innovative and successful responses have come from people who have challenged

the bureaucratic status quo.

Therefore, flexibility must be built into the programming cycle itself. To do this:

- Be sensitive to political timing. Be prepared to act quickly...or to wait until the time is right to act. This may mean planning programs on a results-based rather than a time-based schedule, so that the results of the first phase are known before the second phase can begin. For instance, separate but parallel programs to support people living on opposing sides of the front line may be necessary until enough trust has been established between them so that assistance can be provided at a central location, accessible to both sides.
- Assess the livelihood strategies of program participants regularly to adapt to shifting strategies.

Emergency funding often carries time and sector limitations that work against flexibility. Flexible funding mechanisms are critical to allow quick responses to opportunities in a constantly evolving transition environment.

- Devolve responsibility to the local level as soon as possible, working to minimize institutional barriers which may prevent the flow of resources to villages. The most informed decisions are likely to be taken closest to the conflict. Empower field staff to identify opportunities and make implementation decisions.
- Create a "budgetary lock box" so that funds for future phases of a program cannot be diverted during the initial phases - this requires support from headquarters level, but is essential to ensure that the long-term investment in

WANT TO KNOW MORE?

The Food Economy Group specializes in the analysis of food security and livelihoods. Their approach focuses on the household as the primary context for understanding poverty, access to food resources, and individual capacity to cope with high levels of stress. FEG is responsible for the livelihoods work being done by the FEWSNet program. www.foodeconomy.com

USAID's Famine Early Warning System Network (FEWSNet) uses a livelihoods framework to provide essential baseline information for evaluating the impact of early warning indicators. Livelihoods analysis is a central element in early warning reporting, emergency needs assessments, and special studies of affected populations throughout Africa, Central America, Afghanistan and Haiti. Many of these countries are also affected by conflict, which is included in the analyses. www.fews.net/livelihoods

Save the Children's Food Security and Livelihoods Unit supports the establishment of national food security and vulnerability assessment systems. They developed a methodology for famine prediction, assessment, and monitoring called the Household Economy Approach (HEA). It serves as the basis for several national and global systems, including USAID's Famine Early Warning System Network (FEWSNet). www.savethechildren.org.uk

Livelihoods Connect collects and organizes information relevant to the United Kingdom's Department for International Development's (DFID) work on sustainable livelihoods, including key documents, training materials, organizational links, and events information. www.livelihoods.org

The Refugee Livelihoods Project, established by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, seeks to understand refugee livelihoods and assess the effectiveness of relevant interventions. It does this through a series of case studies on self-reliance, as well as through thematic papers on the promotion of livelihoods in situations of displacement and instability. The project also created the Refugee Livelihoods Network, an interactive electronic network on refugee livelihoods which facilitates information exchange among UNHCR staff, consultants, and the staff of other agencies, as well as academic and research institutes. www.unhcr.ch

The US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI)'s works for the promotion of refugee livelihoods by providing opportunities for employment, fostering their mobility in and out of camps, and supporting education and training. Their anti-warehousing website contains links to other documents and information on this subject. www.refugees.org/warehousing

PROGRAM OPTIONS



PHOTO: IRC

PHOTO: PATRICIA ORLOWITZ, USAID/KOSOVO

Kosovar women bringing their milk to market.

The following program options have been implemented in conflict situations to protect or enhance household assets. Emphasis has been placed on demonstrating innovative assistance that supports household livelihood-coping strategies in conflict environments. While these interventions represent good starting points for developing new programs, each initiative must be tailored to a region or country's specific economic, political, and

1 UTILIZING LOCAL RESILIENCE-BASED STRATEGIES

- *Bolstering the Informal Sector:* The Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) at USAID has supported livelihoods in conflict environments in a

number of ways. During the siege of Sarajevo in Bosnia, rather than focusing solely on providing humanitarian assistance, OFDA helped local businesses restock inventories which were caused by severe supply problems. As part of this project, they built on the success of the informal economy to fund importa-

tion of fertilized eggs, lowering the price of chickens and eggs. Similarly, the provision of small livestock in the midst of war (such as guinea pigs given to residents of Freetown, Sierra Leone and Malanje, Angola) brought a rapidly multiplying and easily transportable source of protein and income to vulnerable residents, helping to stabilize the local economy.

<http://www.usaid.gov>

- *Promoting Alternative Livelihoods:* In **Colombia**, the drug economy is a key cause of continuing conflict. ACIDI/VOCA seeks to improve the quality of life for Colombian small-scale coffee farmers by increasing the quality - and thus the selling price - of their product. This has helped increase household incomes while providing a sustainable alternative to illicit crop production. The program assists farmers in accessing high-value markets by identifying appropriate domestic coffee exporters and external clients. The program is designed to increase food production, provide coffee production and processing training, improve infrastructure, provide business and marketing technical assistance, and create trade linkages.

<http://www.acdivocacolombianspecialtycoffee.org/>

2 PROMOTING PEACE BUILDING AND RECONCILIATION

- *Integrating Peace and Development through Dialogue:* In **Kosovo**, Mercy Corps hosted workshops for Serb and Albanian farmers to promote shared livelihood development in order to foster inter-ethnic cooperation. The workshops supported peace and cooperation by promoting dialogue on agribusiness. The first workshop established a commitment by senior decision makers from regional organizations to assist Kosovo's development through establishing a central market for products and removing regional trade barriers. A second conference brought together players in the business sectors of Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia, to encourage a regional outlook. An action plan was developed for financing business to increase income and skills development. Three other conferences

fostered inter-ethnic agribusiness linkages. Out of discussions on business opportunities, contentious security and political concerns were able to be addressed for the first time. Participants credited the workshops with bringing them together across ethnic divides and fostering partnerships.

<http://www.mercycorps.org>

- *Using Shared Economic Interest to Build Trust:* In **Somalia**, Save the Children (SC-UK) worked to improve food security through an agricultural support project in the town of Belet Weyn. Returnees were trying to rebuild their livelihoods by creating new economic opportunities, but faced competition from townspeople. The program used a multi-sectoral approach of agricultural extension, canal rehabilitation, water and sanitation, and education interventions. One of the key innovations was to encourage interaction between communities through community training workshops and agricultural demonstrations that brought together different villages and clans. Water pumps were introduced at points of intersection between clans; this assisted communities to improve their food security without selling livestock and allowed them to buy back livestock they had sold earlier to cope with hardship. The shared water access encouraged broader integration and eased the transition of the returnees.

<http://www.savethechildren.org.uk>

3 COUNTERACTING STATE WEAKNESS THROUGH LIVELIHOODS SUPPORT

- *Providing Essential Services to Displaced Communities:* In **Colombia**, United Nation's Children's Fund (UNICEF) has supported displaced communities by restoring and invigorating primary health care services, water and sanitation, and pre-primary and primary schools. The program also monitors and encourages the recruitment of new teachers and health workers. The integrated assistance programs have reached over 50 municipalities that have been seriously affected by the conflict. This programming prevented other

potentially destabilizing forces from establishing competing services.

<http://www.unicef.org>

4 WORKING WITH LEGITIMATE LOCAL ACTORS

- *Rehabilitation and Livelihoods Development through Strengthened Local Governance:* In **Tajikistan**, the UNDP initiated the Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Development Program (RRDP) as the country was emerging from a bloody civil war. The project attempts to promote peace and reconciliation and reduce poverty in target areas. RRDP encourages the establishment of District Development Advisory Committees (DDAC) to provide local representation to augment the local government and prioritize needs of the area. Activities focus on rehabilitation of destroyed physical infrastructure, particularly schools, clinics, drinking water systems, and water canals. Substantial job creation has been realized though projects subcontracted to local public and private firms. Short term employment has also been provided for ex-combatants.
<http://www.undp.org>

5 ADDRESSING SHIFTS IN GENDER ROLES & RELATIONS

- *Supporting Women's Efforts to Build Livelihoods and Peaceful Communities:* In **Rwanda**, CARE International designed the "Strengthening New Communities Program." The goal was to improve the economic and social viability of new communities in a post-conflict / post-genocide era. Women have been the active force in peace building and it is envisioned they will be instrumental in rebuilding new communities because of their central role in livelihood provision for their families. Women's groups and councils are involved in the process of assessing the communities' needs from the initial stages of project development, to subsequent planning, implementation, and evaluation of sub-projects. Project assistance is given to female group members, associations, and councils in

the form of capacity building, skills development, and material inputs.

<http://www.careusa.org>

- *Creating Emergency Livelihood Entry Points for Women:* In war-torn parts of **Colombia**, the American Jewish World Service (AJWS) helps women leaders promote human rights and address threats to food, income, and personal security. The entry point is emergency relief and food assistance to families who have lost cash and food crops because of aerial herbicide spraying. Women study accounting and administration and learn how to implement income-generation projects. They also receive training in non-violent methods of social change, enabling them to promote their rights while deepening their community's ability to counter the effects of Colombia's civil war.
<http://www.ajws.org>

6 BUILDING ECONOMIC AND MARKET LINKAGES

- *Improving Food Security through Market Support:* In **Southern Sudan**, a project supported seed production, reconstruction of market roads, and marketing assistance in order to increase food availability and economic security. Surplus crops generated through the program were sold in local markets, fostering a shift from barter to a cash economy. Because local authorities were able to mobilize local food resources, refugees returning from the Democratic Republic of Congo and Central African Republic have been able to resettle in the area with no external food aid. Increased productivity and income has led to an upsurge in imported products like salt, sugar, soap, textiles, and footwear. There have also been increases in imported building materials and durable items, an indication of increased confidence in the return of peace.
<http://www.careusa.org>

7 PROVIDING LIVELIHOOD SUPPORT TO DISPLACED POPULATIONS

- *Filling Service Voids:* In **Colombia**, Action Against Hunger (AAH) is supporting interventions in conflict areas that the government is unable to effectively reach in order to prevent further displacement of isolated populations. Programs include the provision of food aid, shelter, nutritional support for children in health centers, and water and sanitation infrastructure. AAH is promoting income generation projects through production activities with particular attention to farming initiatives. AAH is also involved with education and training programs, including social centers and "schools for peace" programs.
<http://www.accioncontraelhambre.org>
- *Encouraging Settlement through Livelihood Support:* Settlement incentives are central to most relocation and shelter repair projects, such as the reconstruction of Kurdish villages in **Northern Iraq** and the restoration of electrical systems and infrastructure in **Kosovo**. Efforts to improve the economic conditions of displaced populations encourage resettlement or allow households to build an asset base sufficient for returning home. For example, in Indonesia, USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) provided income-generating kits and micro loans to internally displaced populations in urban areas.

8 CREATING FLEXIBILITY IN PLANNING AND BUDGETING

- *Helping Governments Respond to Crises:* **Ethiopia's** recurrent experiences of drought, frequent localized conflicts, grinding poverty, and weak social service systems make it chronically food insecure and prone to man-made and natural disasters. This high risk environment requires close monitoring to famine and conflict early warning indicators. It also requires flexible mechanisms that allow development programs

to be shifted if emergency conditions emerge. The USAID Mission included an element in its strategic plan that provided a template for improved crisis management and coordination among all programs (e.g. health, economic growth) in the event of an emergency. This includes efforts to strengthen the Ethiopian government's ability to respond to crises.

http://www.dec.org/pdf_docs/PDACA400.pdf

RESOURCES



USAID CONTRACTING MECHANISMS FOR LIVELIHOODS AND CONFLICT PROGRAMMING

EQUIP3 YOUTH TRUST (EGAT/ED)

This cooperative agreement helps to prepare and engage out-of-school children, youth, and young adults for their roles at work, civil society, and family life. Youth Trust designs and implements activities to support youth livelihoods, including building entrepreneurial skills, developing employability, improving youth access to microfinance, and engaging the private sector to help foster youth success in the workforce. <http://www.equip123.net/>

Prime Recipient: Education Development Center

Contact: Clare Ignatowski, cignatowski@usaid.gov

VOLUNTEERS FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH ALLIANCE (VEGA) (EGAT/EG)

VEGA is designed to provide Missions with a broad range of volunteers in a variety of economic growth specializations. These volunteers can help design livelihoods

programs and/or assess program impact, among other growth activities. This mechanism supports entrepreneurial and other livelihoods programs and trainings in a number of post-conflict countries.
<http://www.vegaalliance.org/>

Prime Recipients: The member organizations of VEGA currently number seventeen and include the following: ACDI/VOCA, Citizens Development Corps (CDC)/MBA Enterprise Corps, CNFA, Coffee Quality Institute/Coffee Corps, Enterprise Works/VITA, Financial Services Voluntary Corps (FSVC), Florida Association for Voluntary Action in the Caribbean and the Americas (FAVACA), Institute for International Education (IIE), International City/County Management Association (ICMA), International Executive Service Corps (IESC), International Real Property Foundation (IRFP), International Senior Lawyers Project (ISLP), Land-O-Lakes (LOL), Opportunities Industrial Center International (OIC), Partners of the Americas, Winrock International, World Council of Credit Unions (WOCCU)

*Contact: Steve Silcox,
ssilcox@usaid.gov*

ACCELERATED MICRO-ENTERPRISE ADVANCEMENT PROJECT (AMAP) (EGAT/PR)

AMAP helps Missions access technical assistance in designing financial services programs that support micro-enterprise and small business activities. AMAP-supported projects include: lending programs to assist economic recovery following conflict and civil strife; services to help families retain productive assets and savings in areas affected by HIV/AIDS; rural finance efforts, such as micro-credit programs that stimulate rural economic growth; and youth initiatives, such as financial services for young entrepreneurs.
<http://www.usaidmicro.org/amap/>

Contact: Scott Kleinberg, skleinberg@usaid.gov

RURAL AND AGRICULTURAL INCOMES WITH A SUSTAINABLE ENVIRONMENT PLUS (RAISE PLUS) (EGAT/AG)

RAISE PLUS provides field support to stimulate environmentally sustainable, market-driven agricultural development that increases rural family incomes. Its activities help agricultural producers and enterprises, and community natural resource managers, to do business profitably and competitively on domestic and world markets. Activities that contribute to rural and agricultural incomes in an environmentally sustainable way can receive technical support under RAISE PLUS. Its predecessor, RAISE, was used in a number of conflict and post-conflict countries.

Prime Recipients: Abt Associates, Associates in Rural Development, Development Alternatives, Fintrac, and Weidemann Associates (small business set aside)

*Contact: David Soroko,
dsoroko@usaid.gov*

Photo opposite page: Fruit sellers in their shop in the city center in Sana'a, Yemen.

US GOVERNMENT AND DONOR CONTACTS

The following section provides a partial list of U.S. Government agencies and donor contacts with expertise relevant to livelihoods and violent conflict. For information on NGOs which implement these types of activities, please contact conflict@usaid.gov

U.S. GOVERNMENT

U.S. Agency for International Development

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Borany Penh
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Timothy Shortley
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Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade
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U.S. Department of Agriculture

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U.S. Department of State

Margaret McKelvey
Office of Refugee Assistance for Africa
Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration
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INTERNATIONAL MULTILATERAL AGENCIES

European Union

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Global Commission for International Migration

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**International Committee of
the Red Cross/Red Crescent**

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**United Nations
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**United Nations
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**War Torn Societies
Project International**

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World Bank

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