Overseas Development Institute
Humanitarian Policy Group

THE CHANGING ROLES OF AGRICULTURAL REHABILITATION:

LINKING RELIEF, DEVELOPMENT AND SUPPORT TO RURAL LIVELIHOODS

July 2004

Ian Christoplos, Catherine Longley and Tom Slaymaker

Table of contents

Acknowledgements

The authors are particularly grateful to Richard China (FAO, Rehabilitation and Humanitarian Policy Unit), Jo Macrae (ODI, Humanitarian Policy Group), Paul Harvey (ODI, Humanitarian Policy Group), and Richard Jones (ICRISAT) for their detailed comments on earlier drafts. The research on which this report is based was funded by DFID through the European Commission's Poverty Reduction Effectiveness Programme. The views expressed are those of the authors and do not represent those of the organisations mentioned above.

Acronyms

ALNAP	Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Assistance
AREU	Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit
CC&PC	chronic conflict and post-conflict
CPRC	Chronic Poverty Research Centre
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (OECD)
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
EC	European Commission
ECHO	European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus / Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
IARC	International agricultural research centre
ICARDA	International Center for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas
ICRISAT	International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
LRRD	Linking relief rehabilitation and development
MT	Metric tonne
NARC	National agricultural research centre
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN)
ODA	Official development assistance
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
TCER	Rehabilitation and Humanitarian Policies Unit (FAO)
UN	United Nations
UNDG/ECHA	United Nations Development Group / Executive Committee on Humanitarian Assistance
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WFP	World Food Programme (UN)
WSP	War-torn Societies Project

Executive Summary

Rehabilitation is often regarded as the process that links relief and development, but persistent challenges in the so-called 'transition' from relief to development indicate the need to develop greater clarity as to what rehabilitation ought to be about, particularly in chronic conflict and post-conflict (CC&PC) situations. This paper – the result of an initial scoping study undertaken prior to more detailed, empirical research – examines the key issues necessary to develop a greater conceptual understanding of agricultural rehabilitation, and highlights some of the practical challenges in planning and implementing agricultural rehabilitation in CC&PC situations.

The paper begins by contextualising the research in relation to broad, on-going conceptual debates on linking relief and development, and describes the terms that form the focus of the project. The role of agriculture in food security and rural livelihoods is then examined, highlighting the remarkable resilience of agricultural systems in chronic conflict, yet emphasising the importance of livelihood diversification, and the fact that not all rural people are necessarily 'yeoman farmers' striving to develop their small-holdings. Current programming approaches to agricultural rehabilitation are reviewed, and the issues of rights, accountability and sustainability are considered. The paper draws attention to the many unresolved challenges involved in institutional capacity building for the provision of agricultural services. Recent developments and efforts within the aid sector to address the 'grey area' of linking relief and development (LRRD) are described, and the interface between the humanitarian agenda and the social protection aspects of development is presented as a similar 'grey area' that can be charted to develop a clearer understanding of agricultural rehabilitation. Yet agricultural rehabilitation policies – and in particular the narratives that support and influence them – have proved to be stubbornly hardy in the face of a growing critique of conventional programming.

The central finding of the study is that the agricultural rehabilitation discourse has been unduly constrained by an unproductive debate on outdated policy narratives, and by programme categories and definitions that lead to semantic cul-de-sacs. Policy narratives, despite the lack of empirical evidence to support them, provide aid actors with a simple 'story' that can be used to justify chosen courses of action. In the practice of agricultural rehabilitation, most operational agencies and donors have chosen to go about their business, usually distributing seeds and tools in a supply-driven humanitarian mode, with limited analysis of the impact of these interventions on disaster-affected people in rural areas. The 'grey areas' noted in this report represent areas of uncertainty and threatened legitimacy, where a new narrative has yet to take form. It is therefore also a space for learning. It is suggested that the 'grey area' represented by the interface between humanitarianism and social protection can begin to be charted by two intersecting axes: a contextual axis which examines chronic vulnerability as opposed to temporary crises; and a programmatic axis with safety nets at one end (to prevent human suffering and destitution) and safety ladders (or cargo nets) at the other (to provide opportunities to accumulate assets and build more resilient livelihoods for those affected by a livelihood shock).

Changes in the way in which development – and particularly agricultural development – is defined have effectively shifted the goalposts that frame the 'grey area' of LRRD. Diversification out of agriculture has led to increasing complexity in rural livelihood strategies. Consequently, agricultural development is no longer simply about increasing crop yields; greater attention is being placed on stimulating market activity, enhancing labour productivity and addressing vulnerability and access to resources. If previous critiques of LRRD hinge on conceptualisations of development (and particularly agricultural development) that have since become out-dated, this inevitably has important implications for research into the role of agricultural rehabilitation in protecting and promoting livelihoods.

But there remain a number of challenges in reformulating the questions that need to be asked in order to establish a more appropriate framework for linking agricultural rehabilitation policies and programmes to the real livelihoods of people living in CC&PC contexts. A major unresolved question in situating rehabilitation in relief and/or development paradigms is what to do about humanitarian principles. Developmental approaches are increasingly influencing agricultural rehabilitation programming, but will this limit efforts to targeting those groups that are easily rehabilitated? Will the humanitarian imperative continue to permeate rehabilitation efforts, or will a large proportion of the rural population be written off as not capable of being rehabilitated? Humanitarian assistance is not about poverty alleviation. Nonetheless, a coherent policy framework for agricultural rehabilitation must be cognisant of the context of past and potential future trajectories in poverty and rural development.

Agricultural rehabilitation is a very blunt tool with which to induce structural changes in rural development, but its relative effectiveness relies on awareness of the forces that create poverty.

1. Background

This paper provides a preliminary review[1] of key issues to be explored through the ODI-led research project on 'The changing roles of agricultural rehabilitation: linking relief, development and support to rural livelihoods', focusing on chronic conflict and post-conflict situations.[2] The project aims to develop a greater level of conceptual clarity and identify practical strategies around how changing agricultural rehabilitation policies and practice can contribute to linking humanitarian assistance and longer-term development through the provision of effective, principled support to rural livelihoods in chronic conflict and post-conflict (CC&PC) situations. Rehabilitation is often regarded as the process that links relief and development, but persistent challenges (both practical and conceptual) in the so-called 'transition' from relief to development indicate the need to develop greater clarity as to what rehabilitation ought to be about. This transition is particularly problematic where 'durable disorder' prevails in the form of continuing violence, the weakness or absence of formal and informal institutions, the lack of political legitimacy, large-scale population displacement, and high risks associated with economic investment.

1.1 Organisation of the paper

This background section contextualises the research in relation to broad, on-going conceptual debates on linking relief and development, and describes the terms that form the focus of the project. Section 2 examines the role of agriculture in food security and rural livelihoods, highlighting the remarkable resilience of agricultural systems in chronic conflict, yet emphasising that not all rural people are necessarily 'yeoman' small-holder farmers.[3] Current programming approaches to agricultural rehabilitation are reviewed in Section 3, which also raises the issues of rights, accountability and sustainability. Section 4 focuses on the institutions involved in the provision of agricultural services, and notes the many unresolved challenges involved in institutional capacity-building. Recent developments and efforts within the aid sector to address the 'grey area' of linking relief and development are described in Section 5. The interface between the humanitarian agenda and the social protection aspects of development is presented as a similar 'grey area' that can be charted to develop a clearer understanding of agricultural rehabilitation. Yet, as Section 6 shows, agricultural rehabilitation policies – and in particular the narratives that support and influence them – have proved to be stubbornly hardy in the face of a growing critique of conventional programming. Section 7 summarises the challenges in reformulating the questions that need to be asked in order to establish a more appropriate framework for linking agricultural rehabilitation policies and programmes to the livelihoods of people in chronic conflict and post-conflict situations.

1.2 Relevance to existing research

This research project relates closely to a number of recent and ongoing debates surrounding the linkages between relief and development interventions. A central objective of this research is to improve agency understanding of the role and relative impact of different types of agriculture interventions in the context of relief and rehabilitation, and in support of food security and wider poverty reduction objectives in CC&PC situations.

As such, it relates *inter alia* to conceptual debates over the relief-to-development continuum (or contiguum), the 'crisis' of existing forms of relief and development aid as appropriate means for dealing with contemporary conflicts and their aftermath, and the dilemmas associated with the search

[1] We wish to emphasis the preliminary nature of this paper in that it was drafted on the basis of a literature review and informal discussions with project partners and key informants. It must be recognised that much of the literature consulted is not necessarily based on field evidence, and some of the opinions of the informants are perhaps impressionistic. The views and issues presented here will be substantiated by more detailed fieldwork to be undertaken as part of the research project.

[2] This 13-month project is being undertaken in collaboration with the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT) and the Rehabilitation and Humanitarian Policies Unit (TCER) of FAO, funded by the EC Poverty Reduction Effectiveness Programme. The specific objectives of the project are provided in Annex 1.

[3] The 'yeoman farmer fallacy' refers to a mistaken confidence among agricultural development institutions that, given support, virtually all rural people can and wish to become own-account (especially subsistence) farmers (Farrington, 1998).

for ‘new humanitarianisms’ (Macrae, 2002). Each of these reflects a broader concern to achieve greater coherence or synergy between relief and development interventions (DFID, 1997), to bridge the ‘gap’ (Scott and Bannon, 2003) and to link relief, rehabilitation and development more effectively (EC, 1996; EC, 2001). In particular, this project builds on a growing body of recent work examining the potential of livelihoods-based approaches to support improved relief and rehabilitation interventions in chronic conflict and post-conflict situations (Schafer, 2002; Collinson, 2003; Longley and Maxwell, 2003). It also seeks to address ongoing debates over how to ensure approaches to relief are both principled and according to need (Darcy and Hofmann, 2003), while at the same time providing the basis for rehabilitation and sustainable recovery in the longer term.

Despite continued debate within the academic community, agencies operating on the ground are forced to confront the practical day-to-day problem of linking or reconciling relief, rehabilitation and development activities. It is therefore important to distinguish between theoretical and academic discourses, and populist and practice-oriented discourses (Galperin, 2002). The challenge is to develop practical policy recommendations which build upon experience and combine those aspects of existing approaches that work best in practice.

1.3 The nature and dynamics of chronic conflict and post-conflict situations

The specific focus of this project is agricultural rehabilitation in chronic conflict and post-conflict situations. Increasing attention has been given to ‘complex emergencies’ in recent years. OCHA defines a ‘complex emergency’ as ‘a humanitarian crisis in a country, region or society where there is total or considerable breakdown of authority resulting from internal or external conflict and which requires an international response that goes beyond the mandate or capacity of any single agency and/or the ongoing UN country programme’ (Inter-Agency Standing Committee Tenth Meeting, 9 December 1994). Our use of the term ‘chronic conflict and post-conflict’ implicitly accepts that such situations are not only ‘complex’ but also protracted. Despite ceasefire agreements or negotiated peace deals, such conflicts tend to persist over several years or even decades; pockets of apparent stability (either geographical or temporal) may revert to insecurity, and it is often difficult to know whether or when the conflict is truly over. Common usage of the term ‘post-conflict’ does not necessarily imply absolute peace. The distinction between ‘conflict’ and ‘post-conflict’ is therefore often very unclear. Such situations exist or have existed in Afghanistan, Angola, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Southern Sudan and Sri Lanka.

Kaldor (1999) has examined the concept of ‘new wars’, noting that the majority of contemporary conflicts are internal and associated with a dramatic rise in numbers of non-military deaths. Problems of state formation, changing geopolitics and economics, together with declines in ODA (and military aid) have arguably resulted in weakened states and a shift away from state-sponsored conflict towards decentralised self-financing conflicts (de Waal, 1997; Duffield, 1998). Others have documented the increased involvement of armies or militias in illicit commercial activities (e.g. Keen, 1998 on Sierra Leone) and highlight the extra-legal or violent means by which powerful groups actively and deliberately undermine the entitlements of marginalised groups. It is further argued that internal wars help to sustain ‘alternative’ political and economic systems and ‘forced’, ‘parallel’ markets with restricted entry controlled by elite groups. An emerging concept is that of ‘conflict entrepreneurs’ – individuals or groups who seek to manipulate conflict situations to serve specific political (and economic) objectives, often manipulating historical constructions of identity in order to mobilise others (Eide, 1997). Goodhand and Hulme (1999) define five characteristic features used to denote conflicts as ‘complex political emergencies’: conflict within and across state boundaries; political origins; protracted duration; social cleavages; and predatory social formations.

The legacy of such conflicts clearly has important implications for rehabilitation efforts. Maintaining and rebuilding the human, social and physical capital of societies emerging from conflict is a key concern (see Holtzmann, 1999) if means are to be found to establish viable institutional alternatives to warlords and prevent a return to conflict. An understanding of the political economy of conflict and the nature and dynamics of vulnerability is an important prerequisite for intervention (Le Billion, 2000; Collinson et al., 2003). There is increasing awareness of the need to understand the impact of chronic conflict as part of longer-term processes of change that affect livelihood strategies (Longley and Maxwell, 2003). If negative cycles are to be broken, there is a need to transcend mere directives promoting institutional capacity-building to develop a more nuanced understanding of the roles and motivations of different institutions involved in agricultural rehabilitation. This research will set out some of the dilemmas and

opportunities of intervening in such areas, and the case for developing frameworks for 'principled support'.

1.4 What do we mean by agricultural rehabilitation?

Although there are relatively well established (albeit still disputed and changing) definitions of humanitarian assistance and development, there is as yet little conceptual clarity regarding just what 'rehabilitation' refers to (Macrae, 2001; Christoplos, 1998; Christoplos, 2000). Rehabilitation tends to be freely applied to a multiplicity of interventions and strategies, and the distinction between an intervention which rehabilitates and an intervention which takes place during a rehabilitation or recovery phase is frequently blurred (FAO, 1997). Box 1 offers various different definitions of rehabilitation, the first of which also overlaps with 'reconstruction' and the 'resumption of sustainable development' (EC, 1996). The problem with all 're' words (reconstruction, recovery, revitalisation, among others) is an implicit assumption of a re-turn to a former, supposedly stable and desirable state of affairs. An imagined past takes centre stage, distracting attention from prevailing field-level realities. Critiques of the relief-to-development continuum have questioned this assumption, but the lack of alternative vocabulary has made it difficult to describe rehabilitation programmes without unintentional connotations related to the continuum.

Box 1: Definitions of 'rehabilitation'

'Rehabilitation may be defined as an overall, dynamic and intermediate strategy of institutional reform and reinforcement, of reconstruction and improvement of infrastructure and services, supporting the initiatives and actions of the populations concerned, in the political, economic and social domains, and aimed towards the resumption of sustainable development' (EC, 1996).

'Rehabilitation focuses on restoring access to basic services and to household livelihoods and to state and enterprise as well as social, community and local infrastructure necessary to those ends' (Green, 2000: 343).

Brigaldino (1995) suggests a provisional inventory of rehabilitation approaches including:

- Institutional rehabilitation (i.e. civil service, local government)
- Infrastructural rehabilitation (i.e. roads, power and water supply systems)
- Productive and distributional rehabilitation (i.e. farming, rural credit and marketing systems)
- Other rehabilitation areas and themes (i.e. returnees integration, support to disabled and unaccompanied minors).

Rehabilitation may also be defined as 'bringing the need for relief to an end, establishing sustainability in agricultural livelihoods and production, processing and marketing systems and helping prevent and preparing for the possibility of further disasters and emergencies' (White, 1999).

Brigaldino (1995) notes that rehabilitation is a 'hybrid' concept, and seeks to define how it is different from other aid modalities. He notes that rehabilitation displays a multitude of characteristics and attributes and exhibits most of the typical features of relief aid, as well as some of those associated with conventional development aid. As such, it overlaps with both relief and development interventions and contains elements of each. Green (2000) notes that rehabilitation rarely takes place in isolation from other types of aid: instead, relief, rehabilitation and development often happen simultaneously and in parallel. Rehabilitation can therefore be regarded as both an approach in its own right, and as a 'bridging' instrument (Brigaldino, 1995). Macrae (various) argues that rehabilitation constitutes more of a *gap* than a *link* between two kinds of aid with very different objectives, mandates and operating rules. This inherent conceptual ambiguity and the lack of an agreed working definition of rehabilitation remains unresolved, but the essential challenge is to ensure relief, rehabilitation and development activities, however defined, are not only complementary but also, wherever possible, mutually reinforcing.

Rehabilitation does not imply starting from a *tabula rasa*, although it is often seen as an opportunity to introduce policy changes and institutional reforms that may be necessary to sustain recovery and development processes. It generally takes place in policy arenas where a number of new and old agendas are being touted. Some see rehabilitation as a chance to try something new. Others see it as a chance to pick up where things left off before the conflict, perhaps many years before. In many contexts the 'rehabilitation phase' is a period where donors are simply unprepared to invest in 'developing' a given country due to concerns about the legitimacy, transparency or capacity of the

regime in power. A challenge is to 'strike a judicious balance between taking advantage of "clean slate" opportunities … ensuring continuity with existing farming and livelihood systems, and to achieve a high degree of participation based on existing community and civil society structures and systems of authority where these are conducive to overall programme objectives' (White, 1999:8). Rehabilitation activities may be short-term or medium- to long-term depending on the context. Nor is there any clear cut-off point where rehabilitation and reconstruction ceases and 'normal' development begins (or resumes).

A broad range of different agencies are currently involved in rehabilitation activities, although few are dedicated only to rehabilitation. In operational terms, agency interpretations of rehabilitation vary. Rather than actual field-level realities, rehabilitation structures often reflect internal organisational structures and responsibilities, or are opportunistically adapted to donor funding windows. It is important therefore to distinguish between the various activities and approaches undertaken by different agencies in the context of 'rehabilitation'. Adaptation to funding and internal institutional structures is often made through the effective distinction between 'early rehabilitation', which is generally short-term and funded from humanitarian resources, and other forms of rehabilitation, that take a longer perspective and require more long-term funding. Definitions are often used to make initial task assignments, which are then finalised through a process of determining who has the best capacity to undertake a given responsibility (see, e.g. Hultgren, 2003).

The fuzzy and often misleading definitions of rehabilitation are thus generally dealt with in a pragmatic manner. More strategically important, however, is to understand how actors at the front line interpret their responsibilities and define the range of possible actions. For the time being, therefore, this study will continue to use the term rehabilitation, while acknowledging its inadequacy. The various working definitions used in programming by different agencies are taken at face value, without undue attention to dissecting the specific conceptual connotations of different terms.

Although the term rehabilitation is particularly contentious, the word 'agricultural' is also not without problems. This is explored in Section 2, which shows that, for agricultural rehabilitation to be relevant to 'post'-conflict livelihoods, it may require going beyond what might otherwise be considered agricultural in a strict sense. Addressing the issue of agricultural rehabilitation has broader implications in terms of aid architecture and coordination (Section 5), and important management and capacity questions also arise, for instance what kinds of institutions are most appropriate to manage rehabilitation and how can relevant capacities be fostered (Section 4)?

1.5 Monitoring of agricultural rehabilitation for evidence-based livelihood analysis

If a cornerstone in the elusive 'link' between relief and development is that of rebuilding livelihoods, and as the majority of disaster-affected people are significantly dependent on agriculture for their livelihoods, this would implicitly suggest that agriculture interventions (specifically those designed to reduce food insecurity) may hold important lessons for interventions in other sectors: see for example EuronAid (2002), which looks at the potential and implications of using food security as the guiding concept and common thread linking relief, rehabilitation and development interventions. In effect, understanding if and how people are accessing the assets that they need to maintain their nutritional status may yield important clues as to how the system as a whole is functioning. The food economy approach builds on such assumptions.

Food economy analysis can be regarded as a livelihoods-based approach in that it is concerned with poverty and the impact of economic changes or shocks on the ability of different groups of people to access food and non-food goods and services (Boudreau and Coutts, 2002). Food security forms the starting point of enquiry, and the data collected by the approach ranges from household-level food and cash income and expenditure patterns (quantified in terms of calorific equivalents) to national-level patterns of agro-ecology, ethnicity, production and market access. Food economy analysis has been applied to identify appropriate relief interventions, as well as recommendations relating to livelihood support strategies (e.g. providing credit and access to education, or reforming land tenure systems) (Boudreau and Coutts, 2002). More commonly, however, in areas where the food economy approach is the basis of regular monitoring or assessment systems, it tends to be used in a very limited way to inform relief interventions, i.e. whether or not food aid is required, and how it can be targeted (Jaspars and Shoham, 2002). A number of agencies are engaged in trying to formulate other practical methodologies for livelihoods needs assessment and monitoring; Box 2 provides one example.

Box 2: FAO's guidelines for emergency needs assessment

An evaluation of FAO's Strategic Objective A3 'Preparedness for, and effective and sustainable response to, Food and Agricultural Emergencies' recommended strengthening needs assessment and impact monitoring capacity. A key initiative under Priority Areas for Interdisciplinary Action on Disaster Prevention, Mitigation and Preparedness and Post-Emergency Relief and Rehabilitation (PAIA-REHAB) is the development of guidelines for emergency needs assessment.

FAO's broad mandate to support food, nutrition and agriculture, and the desire for people-centred assessments, make it necessary to use an approach grounded in understanding local population's livelihoods. Livelihoods analysis is based on understanding people's assets, capacities and the activities they use to live. It differs from previous approaches, for instance basic needs approaches, which started from the other end by trying to understand what people need. It goes beyond sectoral analysis, and therefore better reflects people's realities, and is more helpful for planning holistic programmes, and ones that support rehabilitation and recovery after disasters.

Source: Coutts, Draft Guide on Emergency Needs Assessment, 27 February 2003.

While this use of access to food as a proxy indicator for livelihood resilience is conceptually attractive, it is important to examine the practical implications of implementing such an approach from both humanitarian and development perspectives. Much of the growth in agricultural rehabilitation has come from a desire among humanitarian actors (especially donors) to find alternatives to long-term food aid. Increased local food production is seen as a way to reduce dependence on food aid. A key problem is that analysis of the actual impact of rehabilitation interventions on disaster-affected people is still rare. Evaluations tend to measure outputs rather than impacts (ALNAP, 2002; ALNAP, 2003). One can compare amounts of food distributed to food produced, but this is a poor proxy for understanding the ultimate impact on livelihoods and nutritional status (Sauvinet-Bedouin and Erikson, 2001). Limited empirical analysis of the relationship between increased food production and enhanced livelihoods risks creating blind spots regarding who benefits from increased food production and who does not due to land tenure issues (Alden Wily, 2003; Korf, 2002b), insecurity (Goodhand, 2001), dysfunctional markets, deagrarianisation (Bryceson, 2000) and other factors that create large vulnerable rural and urban populations that are no longer *directly* dependent on agriculture to access food.

2. The role of agriculture in food security and livelihoods in chronic conflict

The recent emergence, or at least recognition of, new forms of chronic conflict such as those in Sudan, Somalia, Angola and Afghanistan has prompted a re-examination of the basic concepts underpinning conventional approaches to relief and development interventions, and the relations between them. Central to all the various debates on food security, livelihoods and poverty reduction in situations of chronic conflict is the role and importance of agricultural production.

Conceptions of food security are changing and moving beyond the supply of food at national level. Three main concepts are now well established – availability, access and use – but a fourth is also increasingly accepted, namely risk, which can disrupt any of the first three. Understanding risk, uncertainty and insecurity have emerged as central cross-cutting issues (Christoplos et al., 2001a; Sparrow, 2001) which in situations of chronic conflict have come to be regarded as the norm, rather than just the result of a periodic lapse in development.

The focus of recent debates has moved beyond issues of production and supply towards an understanding of poverty and vulnerability. There is a growing body of livelihoods thinking which emphasises asset vulnerability and the capacities of different groups to manage risk and cope with various types of livelihood shock. The changing understanding of disasters as more than short-term crises has shifted the focus from saving lives (a focus on production and consumption) to include the need to save livelihoods (a focus on vulnerability and capacities). Supporting rural producers affected by disaster requires going beyond the economics of production and exchange to look at political dimensions of vulnerability. Webb and Rogers (2003) focus on the 'In' in Food Insecurity and argue the need for a conceptual shift that explicitly acknowledges the *risks* that constrain progress towards

enhanced food security, and addresses directly the vulnerability of food insecure households and communities.

2.1 Production, consumption and markets amidst chronic conflict

Agricultural production is inevitably affected by conflict, for example:

- insecurity may prevent access to farms and markets for the timely implementation of key tasks;
- expanding urban populations due to displacement may affect market demands and may lead to intensified peri-urban production that competes with rural producers;
- changing household composition (due to death, abduction, displacement or migration) may reduce family labour;
- the loss or depletion of financial assets may limit access to agricultural inputs;
- displacement may force farmers to abandon their farms and/or production output altogether;
- access to land, labour and other inputs may be limited in places of refuge;
- agricultural outputs may be forcibly extorted by warlords or local militia;
- formal input delivery systems may cease to function;
- changes in the local economy (either related to conflict or relief food supply) may render staple food production unprofitable (though other crops may become very profitable); and
- over-exploitation of land may have long-term negative consequences for the natural resource base.

Despite these possible negative effects, agricultural systems display remarkable resilience in chronic conflict, often providing a range of important coping strategies to rural populations. Identifying ways to enhance this resilience and coping capacity is key to the design of appropriate food security interventions and early agricultural rehabilitation.

Even if livelihood diversification means that a shrinking proportion of the rural population in most countries is engaged in farming their own plots (see Box 3), the majority of those affected by conflict are still dependent on a functioning agricultural sector for their earnings through their own production, as hired workers, or indirectly in sectors which derive their existence from farming (IFAD, 2001). Productivity factors (notably in post-conflict rather than chronic conflict situations) therefore do not simply relate to yields per area of land cultivated. Input costs; shifts in labour markets; changing demands for output quality and reliability; and local agricultural service markets all affect whether production increases lead to increased wellbeing for rural populations.

Box 3: Diversification

The last two decades of the 20th century stand out as a period of momentous change for sub-Saharan African economies. Amidst high levels of material uncertainty and risk, rural populations have become more occupationally flexible, spatially mobile and increasingly dependent on non-agricultural income-generating activities.

Policy conclusions

- Largely as a result of structural adjustment, diversification out of agriculture has become the norm among rural African populations.
- Diversification takes many different forms, including migration among (especially younger) men, and the sale of home-making skills among women.
- Diversification offers many opportunities, but also brings high levels of financial and personal risk, and threatens traditional agrarian and family values.

Policy implications

If it is to support diversification efforts, policy must:

- promote the development of human capital, equipping people with the skills to work in new environments;
- continue the search for appropriate, low-cost ways of enhancing agricultural productivity;
- undertake participatory assessments of spatially-based comparative advantage and provide services for this to be exploited.

Source: Bryceson (2000)

Most agricultural development programmes are premised on the idea that increasing farmers' incomes will indirectly improve nutrition and food security, but many commentators have argued that increasing incomes is not enough (Marek, 1992), and that interventions need to address consumption concerns more directly. Hunger has substantial economic costs for individuals, families and whole societies. Labour, often the only asset of the poor, is devalued for the hungry. Mental and physical health is compromised by lack of food, cutting productivity, output and the wages that people earn. Chronically hungry people cannot accumulate the financial or human capital which would allow them to escape poverty, and hunger has an inter-generational dimension, with undernourished mothers giving birth to underweight children (IFAD, 2001; WFP, 1998; FAO, 2002). Arguably, nutrition (as the engine of labour productivity and creativity) is just as important as technical inputs (Bonnard, 2001). The challenge therefore is to balance those interventions designed to increase resilience and enhance the coping capacity of rural producers with those designed to improve productivity and efficiency through improved technical inputs and market interventions.

In the past it was assumed that conflict merely disrupted markets. Today it is generally acknowledged that conflict has a much more complex impact on production, subsistence and markets, whereby some markets (seeds, for example) remain surprisingly resilient, and other 'obnoxious markets' (Kanbur, 2001) such as narcotics and other contraband actually thrive. There may be surprisingly little impact on food markets at all, as has been shown by the extraordinary stability of local wheat prices relative to urban wages and international market prices in Afghanistan (Maletta, 2002). Some producers may retreat to subsistence production, while others may invest in illicit crops that can more easily be grown in the absence of formal authority. Furthermore, changing markets and market opportunities do not always follow conventional assumptions about the stage of conflict in a given country. The massive expansion of poppy production after the fall of the Taliban is a clear example.

Food aid is a significant factor affecting consumption markets in many conflict situations. The dangers of food aid distorting local food markets are well rehearsed (WFP, 1998), but this partly assumes that the market is functioning properly in the first place. Another common argument is that it creates so-called 'dependency' on hand outs (a different form of vulnerability) and a disincentive to invest in agricultural rehabilitation. Duffield (1997) and Bradbury (1998) find limited evidence for relief-induced dependency, but this 'narrative' (see Section 5) has nevertheless remained well established. In some cases, donor or implementing agencies' concerns over dependency may provide an excuse to cut food aid rations as part of a premature push towards self-reliance, with possibly disastrous consequences for the most vulnerable.

2.2 Transcending the 'yeoman farmer fallacy': lessons from agricultural development

The 'yeoman farmer fallacy' – a mistaken confidence among agricultural development institutions that, given support, virtually all rural people can and wish to become own-account (especially subsistence) farmers (Farrington, 1998) – permeates current agricultural rehabilitation policy and programming. Food security interventions are particularly prone to an implicit reliance on this fallacy, as production is (often falsely) assumed to have a direct impact on consumption among vulnerable people. Conventional seeds and tools distributions, for example, implicitly assume that agricultural rehabilitation for disaster-affected rural populations is synonymous with helping small, own-account farmers to re-establish their family farms. Whilst these 'yeoman farmers' are certainly a major target group, they are not the only – or necessarily the most vulnerable – group of rural people reliant on agricultural production. This narrow 'yeoman farmer' perspective is perhaps due to the isolation of many humanitarian researchers and planners from the current rural development discourse, together with the driving influence of media images of starving 'farmers'. A livelihoods approach to agricultural rehabilitation requires transcending the yeoman farmer fallacy and addressing the complexity of how rural people hustle to survive.

As mentioned above, livelihood diversification has been found to be a preferred strategy for many rural poor as it may both generate wealth and smooth consumption. This has led development agencies to promote income and asset diversification in areas facing repeated income and consumption shocks (Barrett et al., 2001). However, the commitment to diversification as an objective within livelihood development strategies assumes not only that diversification will reduce vulnerability and improve levels of consumption, but that food-insecure households in risky environments can in fact diversify. This is not always the case; see, for example, Deng's account of the lack of opportunities/incentives for diversification in Sudan (2001). There are real entry barriers to more diverse, higher-earning rural

activities. These relate to a lack of capital, lack of access to credit for those without collateral, lack of information, lack of expertise and the high opportunity costs of participation in any new (and therefore uncertain) endeavour with unknown returns (Bryceson, 2000). This means that interventions that overcome at least some of these constraints are critical.[4] As Start notes, rural planners should not see rural policy as a choice between agricultural or non-agricultural investment: between an agricultural-led development strategy on the one hand and a non-agricultural approach on the other. Both sectors feed from each other; the balance of investment will be determined by the type of rural area and its stage of development (Start, 2002).

2.3 Coping strategies and the preservation/recovery of assets: lessons from the livestock sector

Perhaps the most commonly recognised aspect of rural livelihood diversification is livestock production. Indeed, great attention has been focused on veterinary services and restocking as ways of moving beyond the 'seeds and tools treadmill' (Remington et al., 2002) in agricultural rehabilitation programming. This has partly been driven by the commonly observed correlation between livelihood stress at the interface between pastoralist and settled farming populations and chronic conflict. Livestock production may be an arena wherein local-level conflicts can be mitigated (Green, 2000), while poorly designed livestock interventions risk aggravating underlying tensions (Ahmed et al., 2001).

Evidence shows that increased livestock production is also perceived as being a relatively viable livelihood strategy by households for whom mobility is important in coping with conflict. Ahmed et al. (ibid) provide a useful review of pastoralist coping mechanisms in response to conflict and natural disaster in the Horn of Africa (Box 4).

Box 4: Coping mechanisms of pastoral households in the Horn of Africa

- movement to places where the availability of pasture and water are relatively better;
- herd diversification in favour of resilience to drought;
- herd splitting;
- herd expansion and dispersal;
- dispersal of resources and assistance from relatives;
- forage supplementation;
- generation of food stores;
- sale of non-livestock assets;
- income generation from non-pastoral activities; and
- reduction of food intake and change in diet composition.

Source: Ahmed et al. (2001)

It is important to look at the coping strategies of affected populations as the basis for understanding the extent to which different agency interventions may aggravate or help mitigate the risks faced by poor households. In livestock interventions, households combine short- and long-term coping strategies and struggle to limit the erosion of social and political capital due to what is often increased competition and degradation of the resource base. Deng (2002), for example, draws attention to the differing dynamics among households exposed to *endogenous* and *exogenous* forms of counter-insurgency warfare.[5] In the case of Sudan, this may be more important than initial asset wealth in determining coping capacity and the prospects for effective relief and rehabilitation. In particular, it is

[4] Although current programming for IDPs and refugees to promote livelihood diversification through skills training is a positive step in this direction, it is often subsequently contradicted by reintegration and rehabilitation strategies that appear to assume that these groups will necessarily take up farming when they eventually return home. The reluctance of many former farmers / rural dwellers to return to the rural areas and/or take up farming has been observed in Sierra Leone and is considered by some as a major impediment to efforts to increase national food production.

[5] While *endogenous* counterinsurgency warfare tends to divide communities and erode social capital, communities exposed to *exogenous* counterinsurgency tend to be more cohesive with strong community-based risk sharing arrangements. Also contrary to the prevailing assets-vulnerability argument, the study found a significant positive correlation between famine mortality and initial wealth, particularly among households exposed to the risk of endogenous counterinsurgency warfare.

necessary to understand customary systems of lending, giving and exchanging assets, especially livestock. It is important to note that, while crop production levels may often recover relatively rapidly, the same is not true for livestock.

Credit markets can be crucial for the speed with which households restock, but repayment periods for large stock must be long. The short timeframe of most rehabilitation programmes and the temporary presence of many implementing agencies constrains opportunities to establish sustainable programmes. Fledgling extension structures may also be drawn into credit provision, but this also carries dangers as duties to collect loans from near-destitute farmers can weaken the trust that extension agents are struggling to rebuild with their clients.

3. Emergency and rehabilitation programming

This section provides a broad overview of current programming approaches to agricultural rehabilitation, focusing particularly on seeds and tools interventions, shifts towards livelihoods- and rights-based approaches, and other emerging trends. At a more general level, a number of issues relating to rehabilitation programming arise from existing research and evaluations, including: (i) discrepancies between academic rhetoric and programming reality; (ii) conceptualising transitions in programming modes; (iii) constraints on donor funding; and (iv) the need for additional analytical capacity for rehabilitation programming. The section closes with a consideration of the controversial notion of sustainability. As described in the previous section, agriculture remains at the core of rural livelihoods, but a rapidly increasing proportion of rural people derive a major proportion of their livelihoods from the service sector and on- and off-farm labour markets. Questions thus need to be asked about if and how agricultural rehabilitation programming could or should be developed into rural livelihoods programming. Furthermore, analysis is needed of whether the current narrow focus of most agricultural rehabilitation programming may even be counter-productive if the requirements for related services, such as credit or transport, are ignored, or if the potential markets for micro-entrepreneurs are undermined. This section seeks to provide a broad overview of the aid discourse and structures that relate to these issues. Conclusions will require further empirical work, and will be addressed in subsequent studies.

3.1 Existing research and evaluations

Research on agricultural rehabilitation in particular, and on livelihood support in chronic conflict more generally, have pointed to the dangers of a hurried and poorly informed shift to what some have referred to as the ‘new humanitarianism’, i.e. policies that go beyond conventional attention to basic needs to engage in the politically charged territory of rights and advocacy. Evaluations have shown that this has, as yet, made little headway in terms of livelihood support (ALNAP, 2003). Despite an ever-increasing proportion of funding going to ‘rehabilitation’, field-level programming is out of sync with headquarters rhetoric, with limited and patchy attention given to how interventions may impact on either conflict or longer-term survival (ALNAP, 2003). The supply-side dynamics of the humanitarian system appear to be stronger than either the traditional humanitarian focus on needs or the new humanitarian focus on conflict, rights and livelihoods. A renewed interest in linking relief, rehabilitation and development is emerging, but there remains a severe capacity gap in reforming these links, particularly among humanitarian agencies.

Some interventions focus on the transition from food aid to poverty reduction, i.e. stabilising consumption and then moving towards supplementary feeding, take-home rations, employment generation and other activities that rebuild the asset base and enhance productivity. One of the most common ways in which agencies intervene to enhance productivity among farmers is through the provision of seeds and tools, as described in Section 3.2. But a smooth transition from food aid towards sustainable, poverty-reducing development is rarely achievable in post-war rehabilitation contexts. White and Cliffe (2000) argue that categories such as ‘relief’, ‘rehabilitation’, ‘development’ and ‘peace-building’ are better conceived as outcomes rather than modes of aid intervention. If so, the political distinctions are not (and need not be) as sharp as they have been portrayed by critics of the relief–development continuum.

Failures to live up to the aims of linking relief, rehabilitation and development are not just a reflection of weaknesses in conceptual frameworks and the absence of consensus on ethical frameworks. Neither

of these discourses is central to the task environments of the individuals who design most field-level programming. Agronomists who work with agricultural rehabilitation programming focus on pragmatic concerns of getting a simple, digestible message across to donors, squeezing interventions into inappropriately short-term funding windows and working within the limited institutional capacity of implementing partners. Narrow technical approaches distract from the need for careful political judgement in aid programming amidst conflict, but may also be a product of a much broader system that lacks capacity to handle more complex programmes than mere seeds and tools distributions.

While there is good cause for caution regarding rehabilitation investments in chronic conflict situations, it is impossible to accurately predict just how chronic any given conflict will be. This is particularly true in agricultural rehabilitation, where most forms of intervention (especially those that transcend input distribution) demand some form of investment in local institutions. A choice not to engage in strengthening agricultural services (whether based in the government, civil society or private sector) implies an assumption that the conflict will remain chronic. With hindsight, one can criticise the overoptimistic expectations over the past decade that Southern Sudan or Somalia would enter on a 'development path', but disorder has not proven inherently durable in countries such as Nicaragua, Cambodia and Mozambique. A failure to invest in rehabilitation might very well have prevented the emergence of such success stories (Christoplos, 2000). Many danger signs remain in Angola, Afghanistan and Sierra Leone, but a failure to encourage the strengthening of rural service structures in these countries could discourage those working to rebuild confidence in the future.

In policy statements and programme documents, emergencies, and the rehabilitation efforts that follow them, are often said to provide a window of opportunity for establishing a more 'risk-aware' development process. Rehabilitation is not meant to imply reconstruction of pre-existing systems, but rather the establishment of rural livelihoods and institutions that are better at dealing with risk. Evidence indicates that, in large-scale rehabilitation initiatives, this purported opportunity is rarely capitalised upon (Frühling, 2000; Rocha and Christoplos, 2001). A primary obstacle in taking advantage of such opportunities is the short-lived political will and donor interest in the emergency per se. Development planners are eager to get on with more 'sustainable' approaches, where investment will show a quick and measurable impact. Populations experiencing continued high levels of risk are ignored as not being ready for 'sustainable development'. Media attention and pipeline pressures promote biases towards easily accessible populations. This may exclude investment in isolated areas, where alienation festers due to frequent glaring discrepancies between need and aid provision.

'Effective transition from crisis towards reconstruction … requires considerably more analytical strength in relation to market and livelihoods analysis' (Webb and Rogers, 2003:10). A key question is where that analytical strength may be found. 'Developmental relief' efforts usually imply that humanitarian actors can muster these capacities. Evaluations are showing this to be an overoptimistic assumption (ALNAP, 2003). Agencies with a primary humanitarian focus frequently lack the human resources, experience and ability to maintain the continuity that is required for quality development work. Humanitarian donors are often not interested in protracted emergencies, and short-term funding modalities discourage efforts to build such capacities and recruit more appropriate personnel. The increasing engagement of multilateral and other large development actors in rehabilitation will require different forms of adaptability. These agencies – with (presumably) more experience in livelihood and

Box 5. Agricultural rehabilitation and 'alternative development': should the agendas be linked?

Many of the areas where production of opium and coca are greatest are also places that are plagued with chronic conflict and humanitarian emergencies. In Colombia and Afghanistan agricultural rehabilitation is being supported alongside schemes to promote so-called 'alternative development' - efforts to encourage and help farmers to shift away from producing illicit crops. It is notable, however, that discussions of the two types of programming have rarely been brought together, even where they are being implemented in the same areas at the same time.

Some have suggested that the correlation between chronic conflict and illicit drug production represents an unpleasant but inherent aspect of modern globalisation. Duffield (2000) writes that transnational trading networks and local warlords are interconnected and interdependent. Given the glaring impact of such trading networks on the streets of donor countries themselves, those working with alternative development have been more attuned to these links than their colleagues dealing with rehabilitation. Alternative development policies stress political and economic challenges and the need for coherent approaches to conflict reduction, such as the need for great care in combining policing measures with efforts to promote 'empowerment' (see, e.g., Feldafing Declaration, 2002; Gebert and Rerkasem, 2001). It is widely recognised that alternative development must confront deeply rooted patron client relations and complex agricultural labour markets (Mansfield, 1999).

Another related reason that alternative development programming tends to take a wider perspective is that the failures of earlier programmes in the 1980s have been visible in the form of continued production of illicit crops. The limited impact of failed rehabilitation initiatives attracts far less attention and analysis. Agricultural rehabilitation might therefore have much to gain from looking closer at the impact analyses and research into the political economy of opium and coca production in CC&PC contexts.

market analysis – will need to adapt their conceptual models to understanding livelihoods amid extreme vulnerability and a variety of 'obnoxious markets' (see Box 5 for an example).

3.2 Seed aid as an alternative to food aid: current debates

The 'phasing out' of food aid through its replacement with seed aid tends to be regarded by relief agencies as a necessary step in the transition towards more developmental programming for food security. Seed aid is generally regarded as being more cost-effective than food aid due to the smaller quantities of inputs supposedly required.[6] Not only is seed aid cheaper than food aid, it is also thought to reduce dependency, thus providing the basis for longer-term rehabilitation and sustainability. Based on these justifications, what are commonly referred to as 'seeds and tools' interventions have become preponderant over the last decade (Remington et al., 2002).

Conventional approaches to seeds and tools interventions tended to involve the distribution of seed of improved varieties of staple food crops procured from outside the country. However, conventional seed aid is no longer the norm for seed interventions. Joint WFP-FAO programming, for example, has coordinated the distribution of seed aid with food aid (known as seed protection) in order to try to prevent beneficiary farmers from eating the seed supplied. Rather than staple grain crops, seed distributions often involve vegetable and other crops (such as legumes) that tend not to be so easily multiplied and stored by farmers. Large-scale procurement of seed from commercial seed companies in neighbouring countries is giving way to procurement within the country (for those crops that are available), often involving the establishment of farmer seed multiplication schemes and training in seed production. Rather than just the straightforward distribution of seed, seed projects implemented in more stable situations often involve the construction of drying floors and seed stores, and/or the establishment of community seed banks (though the positive impacts of such approaches have yet to be clearly demonstrated). Finally, rather than providing seed itself, vouchers (or in some cases cash) are increasingly being used to allow farmers to access seed and other locally available agricultural inputs (see also Section 3.3).[7]

As with other relief interventions, the monitoring and evaluation of relief seed projects has tended to look only at the type and quantity of inputs distributed and the number of beneficiaries or the area planted, together with estimates of the expected grain output. Although the logistical aspects of relief seed distribution have improved considerably over the years, with more timely distributions of better-quality seeds of more appropriate varieties and in more appropriate quantities, it is only relatively recently that researchers have examined the actual impacts of emergency seed distribution projects. In general, the impacts of conventional seed relief programmes have been rather less than might be assumed, particularly in chronic emergency contexts where seed aid is distributed on a repeated basis (Longley and Sperling, 2002).

Researchers, practitioners and policy-makers are currently questioning whether emergency seed aid provides the best form of support: particular attention is focusing on the development of methodologies to assess the needs of farmers in disaster situations, and on the implementation and impact assessment of alternative programming options. Increased understanding about how farmers manage their seed resources suggests that areas which are food insecure are not necessarily also seed insecure. Farmers tend to prioritise seed over food, and when food stocks become depleted they seek food from alternative sources in preference to consuming their seed stocks. The widely held assumption that farmers eat their seed and have nothing to plant has thus been challenged, placing greater emphasis on the importance of detailed needs assessment prior to intervention. Given that seed systems form part of agricultural systems, which in turn form part of wider livelihood systems, it is recognised that seed assessments should ideally be integrated into a broader livelihoods assessments such as that recently developed by FAO's emergency division (Box 2).

[6] In the case of maize, for example, it is theoretically possible for farmers to produce about 100 MT of grain from 1 MT of seed; it is clearly cheaper to supply 1 MT of seed than 100 MT of food.

[7] The British Red Cross, for example, supported a programme to distribute cash following Hurricane Mitch in Honduras, and Catholic Relief Services have, over the past three years, developed voucher systems together with seed fairs to allow farmers a greater choice in acquiring seed and other inputs more efficiently than the conventional seeds and tools approach (Remington et al, 2002). Seed fairs and seed vouchers are now growing in popularity among various different agencies. Results of detailed impact assessments, however, have yet to be made available.

A number of recurrent themes have emerged from impact assessments and research undertaken to date. Various studies in different disaster contexts have repeatedly shown that farmers' seed systems are more resilient than might be assumed (see Longley and Richards, 1999 for references). Seed (or grain suitable for planting) is often locally available in emergency contexts, and seed insecurity tends to relate more to problems of access (Remington et al., 2002). It is therefore necessary to address problems of poverty and vulnerability within farming communities. Different types of disaster situations may lead to different types of stresses on local seed systems, and it can be helpful to differentiate between chronic and acute stresses (Sperling, 2002). Seed aid may be appropriate for acute situations, but long-term interventions may be needed to address chronic problems. At an ecological level, the problem of genetic erosion – in which it is assumed that conflict or other disaster situations lead to a loss of biodiversity (one of the natural assets on which crop production depends) – has yet to be demonstrated. On the other hand, the widespread and repeated supply of improved varieties threatens to promote the loss or genetic erosion of local varieties. There remains considerable difference of opinion as to whether emergency seed distribution efforts are the right instrument for promoting the use of improved, high-yielding varieties (Longley, 2004).

Despite these criticisms and concerns, at a political level seed aid remains attractive to those involved.[8] For such interventions to have greater impact (particularly in the longer term), they must look beyond the provision of seed aid by providing support to seed systems, agricultural systems and broader livelihood systems. As noted above, many of the problems faced by farmers in emergency situations relate more to poverty, vulnerability and the disposal of agricultural assets (land, livestock, labour) rather than to seed per se. In this regard, perhaps more of a livelihoods approach should be taken, not only in relation to needs assessments but also in relation to interventions.

At an institutional level, there has been an expansion in the types of organisations taking part in seeds and tools programmes and analysis, most notably a growing involvement of agricultural researchers, particularly international agricultural research centres (IARCs).[9] With little prior experience in working in conflict or emergency contexts, these IARCs have played differing roles and have interacted in different ways with relief and coordinating agencies, with varying degrees of success. Given the general institutional weakness of national agricultural research centres (NARCs) in conflict and post-conflict situations, it is often individual NARC scientists rather than the institutions themselves who play a role in seed and agricultural interventions in such situations – generally either as consultants hired by relief agencies or as private seed multiplication or procurement contractors. Although it has been demonstrated that there is a role for agricultural researchers in seeds and tools programming, IARCs and NARCs (where the latter exist) have yet to clarify their mandates in CC&PC situations vis-à-vis humanitarian actors and coordinating bodies.

3.3 Market-based and demand-driven modalities

Market-based approaches stem partly from neo-liberal ideas promoting free-market solutions to crisis. These methods put resources (cash or vouchers) in the hands of *beneficiaries*, in the hope that they will then become *clients* or even *customers* of emerging service providers. The market is expected to ensure that enterprises selling food, seeds or agricultural advice become accountable to their customers and provide services that are more in tune with the needs of their clients. These private service providers are expected to be inherently more accountable to those they serve than aid agencies, which are by nature primarily accountable to donors.

Market-based interventions are said to provide incentives for populations to invest in peaceful, durable solutions to their problems. Their growing popularity mirrors concerns that aid handouts can in some cases weaken economic networks and undermine local producers, and in some cases even fuel

[8] Seed aid provides an effective way for donors to spend their money and to be seen to be assisting rural populations more sustainably; implementing agencies benefit from contracts to deliver the seed; seed companies profit from seed sales; and farmers are unlikely to complain from receiving free inputs, particularly since the seed can be exchanged or eaten if it is not planted.

[9] For example, the International Centre for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT) played a pivotal role in Rwanda's Seeds of Hope project; the International Plant Genetic Resources Institute (IPGRI) provided substantial inputs to a project in Somalia; the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT) initiated a project to develop methodological tools for more appropriate seed interventions following the floods in Mozambique, and the International Centre for Agricultural Research in Dryland Areas (ICARDA) is currently leading a consortium of IARCs and other research institutes in implementing a seed and agricultural rehabilitation project in Afghanistan.

conflicts. The new emphasis on livelihood strategies in conflict settings tries to address this issue by generating virtuous cycles of economic growth (Schafer, 2002). However, the use of markets and their potential for improving the response to complex emergencies remain under-researched and inadequately understood. Hopes that the power of the market can be harnessed to solve humanitarian crises and support livelihoods amidst chronic conflict have sometimes superceded empirical analyses of what works and what does not. At worst, the promotion of market-based modalities may give legitimacy to a hasty withdrawal of the state from rural service provision (or a failure to ensure that the state returns in post-conflict contexts), without due attention to whether or not other actors are appearing to fill the gap (Rocha and Christoplos, 2001; Pearce, 1999). There are, however, a number of pilot efforts that may show some direction for the future. Strategies include income-generating programmes such as micro-finance; livestock loan schemes that help local populations protect and build on their assets; the use of cash grants or vouchers; barter shops; and insurance.

Numerous issues surround the impact of micro-finance in post-conflict situations (see Wilson, 2002) and its relative merits versus food and cash transfers (Peppiatt et al., 2001). Evidence suggests that the judicious combination of several different approaches is the best way to achieve multiple objectives at the micro-level. Pure market-based solutions are unlikely to be appropriate in many CC&PC cases due to the massive dysfunctional or 'obnoxious' nature of markets in conflict situations (Kanbur, 2001), and the lack of regulation that would otherwise be provided by the state. Assumptions that cash assistance gives producers a chance to choose their service provider may be exaggerated where local power structures exert a monopoly over the private sector. Economic analysis centres upon 'effective demand', but this does not reflect needs and is thus arguably inadequate, especially in a humanitarian crisis. Instead of simply seeking to respond to demand there is a need to think also about stimulating the 'voice' of those making demands. Livelihoods analyses often over-emphasise the 'provider perspective' and fail to pay sufficient attention to the potential for empowering users to draw down services.

3.4 Livelihoods-based programming: assessment, participation and capacity building

Despite increasing interest in the relevance of livelihoods analysis to conflict situations, there has been limited practical programming experience to date in applying livelihoods approaches to relief and rehabilitation in chronic conflict situations. Given the highly context-specific nature of livelihoods and chronic conflict, there is no blueprint approach to providing livelihood support, but detailed assessment, flexibility, participation and capacity-building are all essential elements. A recent review draws particular attention to three issues: (i) the importance of prior needs assessment and a clear project rationale that help to define modes of programming and delivery; (ii) the degree to which participatory approaches are possible in situations of chronic conflict; and (iii) what is meant by 'capacity-building' within a livelihoods approach (Longley and Maxwell, 2003). In shifting from supply-driven modalities of relief to longer-term rehabilitation interventions, it is essential that these are designed according to actual needs, and that programming decisions support a well-defined goal (Aubee and Hussein, 2002). Beneficiary participation has been shown to be crucial for the success of any socio-economic development interventions, yet does not necessarily feature as part of relief programming (Global Study, 2003). In moving from relief to development, one would expect to see increasing levels of participation, provided that this is possible in the local context. The European Commission considers participation to be a challenging key element for linking relief rehabilitation and development that requires a strong institutional commitment; in this respect, the November 2002 Communication from the European Commission on 'the participation of non-state actors'[10] is promising (Viciani, 2003).

Capacity-building has been defined as 'any intervention designed to reinforce or create strengths upon which communities can draw to offset disaster-related vulnerability' (Lautze, 1997:14). Whilst capacity-building within communities is certainly important, there is also a need to build capacity within operational agencies (Montani and Majid, 2002), not least local service providers (Christoplos, 1998). The table in Annex 2 summarises various different forms of livelihoods projects in terms of their aim or rationale, their needs assessment method, and the way in which they are being implemented, focusing particularly on participation and capacity-building. In terms of capacity-building, what emerges is a wide array of different approaches: building productive capacity through enhancing specific assets; building capacity among individuals and local communities through skills training and the development

[10] 'Non-state actors' presumably refers to NGOs and the private sector in this case (not warlords).

of committees; building capacity within implementing agencies through information-sharing and staff training; and awareness-raising at national and international levels. Section 4 examines capacity-building at an institutional level.

3.5 Rights and accountability

This study has emphasised the relationship between agricultural rehabilitation programming and livelihoods. It should be stressed that many aid agencies do not see livelihood support as an end in itself. It is primarily promoted as a means by which to achieve the ultimate objective of protecting human, social and economic rights. Among humanitarian agencies, a focus on rights is increasingly seen to be the key to moving beyond supply-side programming. 'Providing' a livelihood is seen to be little better than providing a sack of food. The objective should instead be to live up to an ethical obligation to ensure that people can survive with dignity. Sen takes this concept further when he proclaims that development is not simply about growth, but also the ability to choose one's livelihood strategy (1999).

There are also practical reasons for the shift towards human rights. The incorporation of a human rights agenda into relief work represents a concrete attempt to address the manipulation of aid by explicitly acknowledging that agencies need to do more than simply supply basic needs. It is also seen as a way to regain legitimacy when the humanitarian sector is increasingly seen as becoming little more than a group of service contactors, chasing donor money. There is considerable interest in the potential of rights-based approaches to inform the development of new responses to CC&PC situations but – as yet – there is no shared understanding of what a rights-based approach means in practice (Darcy and Hofmann, 2003).

Whilst an increasing number of agencies have formally proclaimed their adherence to rights-based approaches, there is as yet little indication that this has resulted in significant change in operational methods, priorities or goals. There is a gap between mission statements and programming realities. It is important, therefore, to consider what a rights-based approach could mean for agricultural rehabilitation, and its implications for other trajectories in the humanitarian and development discourses. In order to establish an effective basis for assessing what is feasible and desirable in applying rights-based approaches, there is a need to look at field-level learning. A CARE project in Sierra Leone, for example, has been experimenting with a rights-based approach to agricultural rehabilitation (Archibald and Richards, 2002). Findings emphasise that this is indeed a highly political approach, which entails confronting powerful local elites. One of the central questions arising from this experience is if and how humanitarian agencies in the field have the capacity to understand and actively address such micropolitical factors. Humanitarian agencies increasingly recognise that the promotion of human rights may require that they themselves become political and economic actors. It has been argued that a political economy approach should be used to assess, anticipate and monitor vulnerable people's assistance and protection needs more effectively so that agencies are better equipped to plan and refine appropriate responses (Collinson et al., 2002). A project to help agencies integrate political economy analysis into programming concludes that: 'The most significant challenge is an institutional one – how to integrate political economy analysis into the mainstream of agencies' activities at all levels, and how to ensure that this analysis is linked effectively to – and informed by – operations at field level' (Collinson et al., 2002: 30).

In the field of humanitarian assistance, rights have in recent years been increasingly associated with 'standards'. The underlying assumption is that beneficiaries can best defend their rights if they and the humanitarian agencies have a benchmark standard regarding what level of service provision is expected. Standards are seen as a way that humanitarian agencies can be 'held to account', in much the same way that other sectors have been drawn into an 'auditing culture' where ethical and quantitative measures are merged (Strathern, 2000). The Sphere standards are the most broadly recognised set of such standards. In some sectors this has resulted in clear, quantitative recommendations, regarding litres of water per capita and households per latrine. Some agencies have rejected the Sphere approach as promoting an undue focus on outputs, at the expense of encouraging agencies to look at the outcomes of their work. It is feared that, rather than being a rights-based approach, Sphere easily turns into a 'rites-based approach', whereby the ritualistic delivery of set service packages distracts from consideration of impacts on either survival or livelihoods. Sphere is currently finalising standards for food security, of which primary food production (crops, fish and livestock) is a significant component. However, the Sphere standards for food security are primarily

methodologically focused and qualitative and will therefore be more difficult to use as a basis for strict accountability.

The key link between declarations of a commitment to rights-based approaches and their eventual field-level implementation involves building consensus regarding who bears the obligations of ensuring that a given set of rights is upheld. International humanitarian law is based on the assumption that sovereign states are the ultimate duty bearers. Since they are usually not able to uphold these duties in acute conflict situations, there is therefore a clear mandate for others to act as duty holders in humanitarian response. There is, however, no 'international rehabilitation law', or even norms to guide decisions about who should or could assume responsibilities when food aid is no longer appropriate, but where states remain weak and international agencies can at best muster only a limited and uneven collection of basic services for assistance and protection.[11]

Research from development contexts has shown that, even in 'normal' situations, there are difficult political choices to be made regarding how to prioritise among an array of unmet 'rights' when resources are scarce (Conway and Norton, 2002). Unpleasant trade-offs between short-term access to resources and long-term resource use mean that the relationship between rights and sustainability is highly ambiguous.[12] In addition, rights-based approaches have been found to favour those who have the capacity to claim their rights (Moser and Norton, 2001). Aid agencies may have programmes to strengthen the voice of those who are unable to do this, but their efforts are inevitably temporally bound and patchy.[13] A rights perspective is certainly useful for drawing attention to such disparities, but given limited resources it remains necessary to prioritise and sequence different rights-based interventions according to the nature and combination of prevailing risks. This arguably requires moving beyond the current focus of relief on the right to food (Box 6) and towards a new broader focus on the 'right to a sustainable livelihood'. Oxfam, for example, is attempting to reconcile rights- and livelihood-based approaches by promoting the 'right to a sustainable livelihood', but seeks to do this by delivering against specific objectives/outcomes on food, income, and employment security (Hussein, 2002).

Box 6: The right to food

FAO promotes a rights-based approach to food security which holds that people have a fundamental right to be free from hunger. This places primary responsibility on the state do everything possible to ensure that people have physical and economic access at all times to enough nutritious, safe food to lead healthy and active lives. A common misunderstanding is that the right to food requires the state to feed its people. This is not necessarily the case; rather, the state must respect and protect the rights of individuals to feed themselves. Direct assistance may be necessary for vulnerable groups as a last resort. Sen and Drèze (1989) argued that famines are much less likely to occur when basic civil and political rights are upheld. Violations of the right to food include blocking access on the grounds of race, sex, language, age, religion or political belief, or in order to exert political or economic pressure. Armed conflict also violates the right to food by destroying crops, food stocks, livestock and farm equipment. When a country cannot meet its food needs through its own resources the state must request international assistance. The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) is charged with monitoring the realisation – and violation – of the right to adequate food, while development agencies and financing institutions including the FAO provide technical, financial and food assistance.

Source: www.fao.org

3.6 Sustainability

Sustainability is a controversial issue which goes right to the heart of debates on LRRD. The term essentially refers both to the capacity of a project or programme to function effectively over time with

[11] The Good Humanitarian Donorship initiative is in the process of developing a voluntary code or set of norms to which donor countries might aspire and adhere to. Among the challenges of this initiative are the identification of appropriate indicators against which donors' performance can be measured, and the capacities needed to implement all aspects of the agenda.

[12] For example, environmental sustainability may be threatened if access to land is provided without an institutional structure in place to prevent, for example, ploughing of fragile hillsides. Similarly, programmes may be established that are designed to live up to a commitment to a right that disregard viable levels of public expenditure.

[13] Significant progress has been made in strengthening the voice of women, but children and the disabled, for example, still have little opportunity to defend their rights.

minimum external input, and for the outcomes of the project to be self-sustaining in the long term. This is a key programming objective of development interventions, but is by definition largely incompatible with relief. If the stated objective of rehabilitation aid is to bridge the gap between the two and establish the foundations for sustainable development, then agencies are faced with a dilemma over how sustainability objectives should be introduced and addressed. Important questions surround timing, scale and compatibility with different aid modalities. Certain types of intervention have shown surprising levels of sustainability in very harsh environments; the privatisation of veterinary services, for example, has been surprisingly successful in Tajikistan (Sauvinet-Bedouin and Erikson, 2001), although the collapsed economy and lack of regulation of technical standards have proved problematic in Southern Sudan (Fox et al., 2001).

In addition to financing, organisational capacity is a key determinant of sustainability. The capacity of state institutions in many CC&PC areas is extremely weak. Sustainable improvements in welfare service provision are therefore dependent not only on donor support for financing, but also on genuine donor commitment to strengthening the capacity of state structures and local civil society. The search for strong local government or non-governmental partners to ensure greater sustainability may also lead to a preference for easily accessible areas. Favoured local NGOs may be supported beyond their operational capacities, and other agencies struggling in less accessible or visible areas may be ignored.

The generally accepted development programming concepts of sustainability, return on investment, risk assessment, technical standards, phasing out, institutional take-over capacity and criteria for monitoring and evaluation clearly need to be adapted to fit the actual conditions of crisis and recovery in specific locations.[14] WFP explicitly recognises that, given that recovery is an intermediary step meeting transitional needs, it will be nearly impossible to apply standard development criteria for sustainability. Sustainability in recovery is related to three main considerations:

a) the primary emphasis on restoring the self-reliance of affected groups and helping women and men rebuild their livelihoods with more independence and resilience to future crisis;
b) the need to programme for set-backs and reversals in certain situations and thus trying to minimise resource inputs to reduce risk; and
c) the process nature of sustainability in recovery. There will be a gradual incorporation of sustainability concerns, integrating social, economic, technical and environmental elements as appropriate. Social sustainability is an essential concern early in the transition process, as it is a strengthening of social structures that will allow people to emerge from and rebuild after a crisis.

(WFP, 1998)

Sustainability is multi-faceted and should not be regarded as an end in itself. Furthermore, it is too often confused with efficiency. Efficiency and sustainable effectiveness are not the same thing. Economic rates of return are greater where there is some residual institutional capacity, and where a relatively large target population can be reached without security risks and major logistical investments. The search for financial sustainability frequently leads to 'tarmac biases' and the further marginalisation of those areas considered non-viable or weakly integrated. Yet these are precisely the areas where relief and rehabilitation interventions supposedly are usually most needed. There is a danger that sustainability concerns can undermine the effectiveness and equitable nature of rehabilitation aid.

Perhaps the greatest danger in raising sustainability to a central goal is that is inevitably carries with it an element of triage (Matin and Hulme, 2003; Christoplos, 2003). Research into chronic poverty has shown that there is no 'sustainable' solution on the horizon for chronically vulnerable people (Wood, 2003). 'Sustainable' programmes may do much for those with land and labour, but may exclude a large and growing proportion of the rural poor who can be expected to remain at least partially dependent on what are conventionally assumed to be 'unsustainable' social protection programmes. HIV/AIDS is creating a large and rapidly growing population that lacks the resources for 'sustainable' development, and is contributing to a critical re-examination of aid priorities.

[14] For example, a rural road built during recovery may be less sophisticated than one built as part of a rural road development project with a major technical assistance component. Nevertheless, the road may serve the immediate needs of a community and lay the base for a better road in the future.

4. Institutions

The question of institutional capacity-building in post-conflict situations tends to focus primarily on state institutions. However, it is important to realise that agricultural development activities are increasingly undertaken by non-state actors (private sector and NGOs, including local NGOs). Important questions therefore arise as to how such organisations, and the institutions promoted by their activities, can best be supported for the effective rehabilitation of agricultural services, i.e. input delivery systems (for seed, veterinary, fertiliser, extension and credit services), market institutions and related information systems, and agricultural research systems.

4.1 Challenges and trade-offs in institutional capacity-building

Decisions regarding investment in institutional capacity in chronic conflict generally involve a series of choices. Expatriate-led teams can be trained and equipped in advance, which facilitates rapid deployment. They are also sometimes presumed to have an advantage in having an inherently neutral and impartial stance in the conflict. However, it has been argued that weak engagement with local institutions actively undermines any remaining local capacity in public service provision. There are advantages in working with the local and national institutions that can be expected to eventually assume responsibility for the tasks at hand (Juma and Surkhe, 2002). If these institutions are ignored or bypassed, they may become alienated and disempowered. Ignoring them is not a neutral stance, yet there is a real problem around how agencies can or should engage with state institutions.

Channels for aid are changing. NGOs are now the primary 'sub-contractors' of government-funded programmes at the operational end of a process of 'bilateralisation' (Macrae, 2002). The extent to which NGO structures supplement, parallel or bypass those of the government relates to the local legitimacy of government institutions and their presence. Frequently NGOs 'set up shop' in the virtually abandoned offices of state service providers, employ what staff remain in the vicinity, and temporarily offer services that the state is unable to provide. However, the quality of NGO–state relations may be limited due to the weak capacity of NGO staff in dealing with complex bureaucracies, or may be affected by past antagonisms and jealousy over aid flows.

Crisis states, in which institutions of government and markets are thought to have collapsed, clearly pose special problems. Many critics (see Keen, 1994; Addison, 2001) claim that channelling aid through government 'intermediaries' rarely empowers those public servants interested in acting in an accountable manner towards their clients, but instead usually contributes to authoritarian and military power structures. The political and economic weaknesses of states themselves act as obstacles to achieving legitimacy (Macrae, 2001). Proponents of rights-based approaches stress that a solution must be found for re-establishing the 'social contract' (Addison and Mursheed, 2001) between governments and their constituency, as this is the only sustainable guarantee of a right to survival.

The issue of capacity-building has attracted much debate. There are those who blame the international humanitarian system for the decline in local capacity (Juma and Suhrke, 2002). Smillie (2001) finds that normative theories regarding capacity-building are well-established in agency strategies, but that there are problems in 'making the reality fit the words'. However, a number of examples have been identified of how to provide effective support to local institutions in difficult situations (see Anderson, 1996). Christoplos (1998) points out that, despite the gap between rhetoric and reality, there remains a need (and ample opportunity) to support imperfect local institutions operating in turbulent environments.

There are important linkages between rehabilitation and wider processes of reconciliation and the re-legitimising of state structures. The legitimacy of regimes is in part determined by the willingness and ability of states to provide and maintain basic services (Macrae, 2001). Tendler (1997) describes how, by responding to drought in Brazil, agricultural extension agencies were able to re-establish trust with their clients. Wilson (1998) relates how school teachers in post-conflict Peru play a difficult but central role in reconstituting relations between the state and its citizens in isolated rural communities. Stepputat (1998) is critical of the naïve and ahistorical rehabilitation efforts in post-conflict Guatemala, but shows that they are nonetheless resulting in indigenous communities for the first time seeing the state as more than an urban phenomenon with a terrifying army.

Improved services can form the basis of local government revival, but unrealistic expectations and disillusionment may be created if short-term aid inputs are used to establish structures that cannot be maintained over time. The capacity-building and institutional support issue is not just a yes or no question (as it is often portrayed). There is a dearth of models for how it should be done. In many post-conflict contexts, large levels of resources are channelled through local NGOs for agricultural support. The lack of strong government capacity to monitor these programmes has led to significant levels of corruption (as in Sierra Leone). Rapid expansion of operations without an institutional infrastructure to ensure quality governance may not add up to genuine 'capacity-building'.

Important issues surround prioritising and selecting the most appropriate institutions to work with. For example, re-establishing credible institutions capable of resolving land tenure/reform issues is often a high priority in post-conflict situations (see Korf, 2002b on Sri Lanka; Alden Wily, 2003 on Afghanistan). Different institutions may be more or less susceptible to being subverted within the war economy, or associated with the conflict in other ways. The dilemma of working with imperfect pre-existing institutions versus creating new ones, either from scratch or through reforms, is closely related to the complex issue of rebuilding trust and reconciliation. In Somalia, mistrust among the Somali people for government institutions has been one of the major obstacles to the restoration of administration at any level. People are simply too afraid that real authority bestowed upon any power structure may be abused or used against them (WSP, 1999). Much of this is highly context-specific and relies on a good understanding of culturally derived perceptions of the role of the state, the political economy of the conflict and the livelihood/coping strategies employed by individuals and institutions (Collinson, 2003).

Some of the most important questions surround the financing strategies for rehabilitation. How realistic are expectations that rehabilitated services can become self-financing in a short period of time? Evidence is growing that relatively symbolic user fees for extension may in many cases create greater accountability among service providers, but that public (or aid) resources will be required to cover the bulk of the costs for a long period (Neuchâtel Initiative, 2002). The level of viable cost recovery will vary according to the nature of the service provided, especially whether or not it is a public good. For example, farmers are usually capable of, and willing to, finance a great proportion of veterinary services, even in conflict situations (Ostrom, 1997), but are more hesitant about paying for information. Input provision presents a mixed picture, with some states having withdrawn entirely from public financing while others retain a level of subsidies. Some multilateral actors, notably the World Bank, are vigorously promoting a greater role for the private sector in rehabilitation programming (Collier, 2000). Private input suppliers and extension services may be publicly financed in early stages, but usually such financing is withdrawn relatively rapidly. As agricultural rehabilitation programming is usually primarily focused on input supply, it is particularly important to situate plans within past experience and future visions regarding the role of the state in financing input supply.

4.2 The role of agricultural services in chronic conflict

In the debate on rebuilding institutional capacities in the midst of complex political emergencies, the role of agricultural services has generally focused on the relevance of specific project interventions. There are anecdotal accounts of relatively positive experiences regarding para-veterinary services (Ostrom, 1997; Sauvinet-Bedouin and Erikson, 2001) and seed supply.[15] Recommendations for rehabilitation priorities frequently cite the importance of strengthened extension services (e.g. Sphere). There has been more analysis of the potential and pitfalls in introducing microfinance in CC&PC contexts (Wilson, 2002). Some evaluations of specific service support have found that impact is related to the availability of other services. The ultimate measure of the quality of service provision cannot be found in individual credit, input or extension interventions. It is in how farmers can access the mix of services that they need to produce and access markets. It is perhaps here where a livelihoods perspective has the greatest potential to widen perspectives on how a given service intervention may be expected to have genuine impact on agricultural systems. There are, however, very few analyses of how rural people use the piecemeal interventions that inevitably characterise rehabilitation programming within their wider livelihood strategies. Rarely have the challenges been analysed in terms of the broader service packages that farmers need, and how producers strive to draw down the services that they need in the midst of conflict.

[15] See http://www.icarda.org/Afghanistan/Res_Security.htm for details of efforts undertaken by the ICARDA-led Future Harvest Consortium to Rebuild Agriculture in Afghanistan

The failure to take a broad perspective on agricultural services is perhaps due to the difference from other sectors such as health or education, where a limited array of service providers can be expected to become engaged and where the state can be expected to eventually play a major role in regulating, financing and (perhaps) delivering public services. The role of the state is far more contentious in agricultural services, where a greater proportion of the services in question relate to private goods. There are therefore strong hypothetical arguments against investing in developing state service capacity in order to retain space for the private sector to develop. This assumes, however, that in the absence of a strong public sector, private capital will be attracted to the resulting market opportunities. Such assumptions are questionable in most CC&PC contexts, where the risks for private investment are great. 'Competition' from the public sector may be the least of the risks facing potential private service providers.

Nonetheless, the need for agricultural services in conflict situations is enormous, not only for recovery, but also for transformation. If there is anywhere that organised support to technological change is needed, it is in places where former livelihood strategies are no longer viable. Re-establishment of agricultural services is best perceived of as a two-fold agenda: first, to ensure that services are provided; and second, to transform pre-existing structures to address new (and massive) tasks. Herein lies the crux of the challenge in rebuilding agricultural services. In most cases public sector service bureaucracies have not disappeared during the conflict. Structures that existed before the crisis have frequently been found to be far more resilient than expected. Staff may be sitting idly in what is left of their offices, without operational resources or salaries. In some countries political leaders from past governments may return to power with intentions of simply picking up where they left off a decade or more ago. Models for extension services and marketing boards from the 1970s are dusted off and presented to donors without the benefit of learning that has occurred in the intervening decades. The challenge in designing strategies for agricultural rehabilitation is not just one of *if* or *how*, but also in creating a consensus regarding *what* it is that should be rehabilitated (Christoplos, 2000). A policy discussion on these fundamental questions is essential, but difficult to establish in contexts where quick disbursement and simple conceptual frameworks are often rewarded more generously than contextually anchored and forward-looking programming.

4.3 Current experience, success and weaknesses

Ex-post evaluation and research on post-conflict situations have stressed the need to look at the impact of actual programmes. The overall picture is mixed. Whereas there are numerous examples of effective and innovative micro-level projects, there has been a broad failure to anchor the choice of priorities and methods in an understanding of wider social, political and economic processes. Dependency, weak local/national ownership and the inability of state institutions to take over fiscal and administrative responsibilities are common, with aid often displacing rather than strengthening the contract between states and their citizens (Pearce, 1999; Macrae, 2001).

Important issues surround data, improving needs assessment and responding to the demands of affected populations (FAO, 2002). The importance of a historical perspective and background knowledge (livelihoods analysis; water and land rights practices) is increasingly recognised (see for example, Coutts, 2003). Critical issues surround timing: 'seizing the opportunity' (WSP, 1999); building trust through a focus on actions with rapid visible pay-off, whilst at the same time demonstrating long-term commitment; accepting trade-offs; and maintaining flexibility for emergency response to minimise losses and maintain forward momentum (Green, 2000). There is also the need to consider broader-based livelihood extension according to degree of vulnerability and production prospects (Farrington, et al., 2002).

Perhaps the clearest finding in evaluations of agricultural rehabilitation programming is the tendency for national programmes to be collections of projects without clear exit strategies or links to longer-term visions for agricultural reconstruction, a problem that is exacerbated by unclear relations with institutional counterparts. Projectised approaches are severely limited by their small scale, and the difficulties that they present for achieving effective coordination and sectoral balance. Ultimately, 'micro-approaches have serious limitations, not least because rehabilitation is inherently linked to sustaining reconciliation and rebuilding state legitimacy on the political front, and resilience of household livelihoods, markets, overall growth (regionally and nationally), export levels, fiscal balance (local government revenues) and food security on the macro- and regional as well as the micro-

economic fronts' (Green, 2000:360). The goal of holistic planning towards more coherent and coordinated interventions, however, remains largely elusive.

5. Aid architecture

This section reviews recent developments and changes within the aid sector and emerging discourses on the 'grey area' of linking relief and development, together with an examination of the existing constraints in coordination and funding. Section 5.3 explores the interface between social protection and humanitarian action, suggesting that this comprises a second 'grey area' of relevance to agricultural rehabilitation that requires considerably detailed examination.

5.1 Current status of relief–development linkages

The LRRD problematic, and in particular the gap between theory and practice, has remained a recurring theme both in the academic literature (see for instance *Disasters* journal) and relief and development agencies' strategic documents. Many major aid agencies produced policy discussion papers in the mid-1990s:

- the UN agencies developed and adopted a *Relief-Rehabilitation-Development Continuum* model (UNDP, UNHCR);
- the European Commission produced a discussion paper suggesting that the concept of a contiguum may be more appropriate than continuum in conflict settings (EC, 1996; see also Box 7);
- USAID focused on the idea of 'transition' from conflict through peace, reconciliation and reconstruction; and
- DAC guidelines (OECD, 1997) stressed the need for a more holistic approach to relief and development in support of the overall goal of 'human security'.

Lindahl (1996) provides useful background on the evolution of thinking on LRD or LRRD. Despite the discrediting of continuum thinking in the academic discourse of the 1990s, it has persisted in practice, and the debate is currently showing signs of a re-emergence at policy level (see Boxes 7 and 8).

Box 7: The EC Communication on LRRD and on-going EC debates

The 2001 Communication reiterates the basic rationale for LRRD as developed by the Commission in 1996, and reviews the experience of subsequent initiatives. Regarding post-conflict situations, the Communication proposes that the broader economic, social and political context must be taken into consideration in different phases and areas of intervention. Various proposals are also put forward relating to more effective coordination, increased flexibility in implementation, and more effective internal procedures within the EC.

With the EC, some progress has been made on LRRD in recent years, including:

- reaffirmation of the value of LRRD;
- recognition of the contribution of disaster preparedness;
- recognition of LRRD as an issue of strategy and planning rather than simply financial resources and administrative procedures;
- clarification of ECHO's general criteria for phase-outs and handovers;
- acknowledgement of LRRD as one of ECHO's priorities in the 2003 Global Plan;
- plans to set up an LRRD toolkit to ensure successful handovers; and
- plans to issue country strategy papers mainly focusing on LRRD.

Despite this progress, however, the nature and extent of these improvements vary between different EC services. Moreover, while examples of successful LRRD exist, they depend more on personal commitment than on EU policy. As a consequence, there is a clear need to continue thinking about and debating LRRD.

Future debates are likely to focus around those elements that are thought to be either lacking or unclear in the 2001 Communication, including:

- local ownership, local capacities and participation: participation is a challenging key element to ensure a successful LRRD, needing a strong institutional commitment;
- rehabilitation: this remains something of a 'missing middle', lost in a grey area between relief and

development, inadequately planned, poorly documented and imperfectly implemented; and

- coordination and the clarification of mandates within different EC services: greater attention needs to be given to entry strategies since these are considered to be the institutional feature of the contiguum approach.

Sources: Viciani, 2003; EC, 2001.

Box 8: FAO and the Rehabilitation and Humanitarian Policy Unit

FAO has become a major player in emergency agricultural response. A review of roles, responsibilities and operational capacities following the 1995 UN Resolution on 'Strengthening of the Coordination of Emergency Humanitarian Assistance' noted that FAO is the only UN agency that covers the full disaster cycle for the food and agriculture sector (see White, 1999). As such, it has the potential to provide a holistic approach to humanitarian assistance and facilitate the transition from emergency relief to longer-term rehabilitation and development. FAO has subsequently gained support for a more substantial role in emergencies. The value of FAO's emergency relief activities rose from $23 million in 1997 to $58m in 2002, and $191m in 2003. The Division for Emergency Operations and Rehabilitation (TCE) was established in 2002 to strengthen the organisation's capacity to respond to emergencies. TCE has overall responsibility for the emergency field programme and for the elaboration of rehabilitation and humanitarian policies. A major problem faced by TCE, however, is that it relies largely on extra-budgetary resources provided by donors to implement specific interventions in selected countries. This precludes the effective long-term engagement which is often required in protracted emergencies.

The need to address the gap between emergency operations and development assistance is clearly recognised in FAO strategy documents. FAO distinguishes between various types of emergency, including both slow and rapid onset, but is also increasingly forced to deal with complex emergencies. The recent creation of the Rehabilitation and Humanitarian Policy Unit (TCER) represents a significant institutional response to tackling the LRRD issue. TCER reports directly to the director of TCE, and is responsible for developing rehabilitation and humanitarian policies and formulating projects and programmes in cooperation with the two emergency operation services of the Division (TCEO and TCES).

Sources: www.fao.org/reliefoperations; White, 1999; FAO, 2002.

It is important to emphasise that the current debate on LRRD has increasingly focused on complex emergencies. Recent concerns over the potential negative or distorting effects of relief in conflict situations have begun to be addressed through greater attention to the complex political and economic dynamics of the 'new wars'. Similarly, the observation that humanitarian relief has little impact in helping people to re-establish their lives has prompted growing interest in livelihoods approaches in situations of chronic conflict. Important questions surround the extent to which different relief and development activities themselves impact on risk, vulnerability and conflict. A further notable recent trend is the incorporation of peace-building objectives (Goodhand and Hulme, 1999) based upon the logic that development can itself help prevent or resolve conflict and sustain peace. Although these various strands of debate remain poorly understood, they are used to justify the pursuit of more 'developmental' forms of relief.

Macrae (various) and others have criticised this trend towards 'loading relief with development objectives' on the grounds that it is unrealistic and ultimately compromises core humanitarian principles. Bradbury (1998) argues that it amounts to a naïve attempt to 'normalise crisis'. Duffield (1994) presents an even more profound critique of the whole notion of LRRD, which he argues does not recognise the more-or-less permanent nature of many emergency situations which is itself symptomatic of the 'failure of developmentalism'.[16]

Despite these criticisms, the simultaneous pursuit of both relief and development objectives has become a dominant paradigm among international agencies operating in complex emergency situations. This has led to a quest for 'better' relief interventions, which neither perpetuate nor fuel disasters, and 'better' development, which reduces both the risk of and vulnerability to disaster. But the extent to which simply 'better adapted' relief and development activities can lead to actual synergistic forward and backward linkages remains debatable (Lindahl, 1996).

Certainly, best practice examples of 'developmental relief' are relatively few and tend to be small-scale, carried out primarily by NGOs. Anderson and Woodrow (1989) famously sought to define development as the process by which vulnerabilities are reduced and capacity increased, but

[16] This failure has begun to be addressed within development policies through increased attention to governance on the one hand and remote or weakly integrated areas on the other (see section 5.4).

emphasised local solutions and warned that large-scale interventions tend to create long-term dependencies and 'short circuit' local capacities. However, the focus of current LRRD debates has shifted to large-scale complex disasters (Rwanda, Sudan, Afghanistan, Sierra Leone), and it remains difficult to find examples of developmental relief carried out at scale. A huge challenge remains in designing programmes which effectively 'secure livelihoods and efficient safety nets, mitigate the frequency and impact of shocks and ease rehabilitation' (Buchanan-Smith and Maxwell, 1994:3), while at the same time ensuring support programmes are 'conflict proofed' so that they can cope with and adapt to the ebb and flow of violent conflict (Goodhand, 2001).

There is yet to emerge a consensus on approaches, but thinking on LRRD has nevertheless evolved from 'gap' to 'synergy' and 'contiguum'. It is increasingly recognised that the idea of 'linking' does not necessarily imply a smooth or meaningful linear transition, but rather greater integration and coherence in terms of overall objectives, so that relief and development can 'mutually reinforce' each other. However, translating this conceptual understanding into effective multi-agency responses requires analysis of the capacity of different agencies to respond, and the various obstacles they face (Box 9). It also demands greater inter- and intra-agency coordination, the development of flexible, adaptable instruments and procedures (including funding instruments) and rapid decision-making.

Box 9: Impediments to LRRD Implementation

- Lack of donor consultation, weak coordination, declining interest
- Competition between field actors (UN as well as NGOs and local institutions)
- Institutional disintegration in recipient countries
- Incoherent, inflexible funding systems
- Inadequate, inflexible operational tools and instruments
- Lack of suitable, competent implementing partners

Sources: EuronAid, 2002; ActionAid Alliance, 2003.

5.2 Funding, coordination and efficiency in agricultural rehabilitation

Part of the rationale for linking relief and development is to increase efficiency. This is particularly important in the context of declining total aid flows. However, humanitarian relief as a share of total aid flows is increasing (Macrae and Leader, 2000). In this context, debates over division of labour among aid agencies relate on one hand to technical questions of comparative advantage, and on the other to issues relating to the political economy of aid and the competition for resources within the aid business (Duffield, 1994).

Certainly the LRRD problem is as much an organisational issue as it is a technical one. It is further arguable that there are no optimal models for LRRD; instead, aid organisations ultimately need to seek compromises between different objectives (Lindahl, 1996). How can agencies organise themselves to address multiple objectives simultaneously, whilst maintaining sufficient flexibility to adapt the response according to ever-changing situations on the ground? (see Hultgren, 2003). A flexible mix of single-mandate organisations, or fewer multi-mandate organisations? (White, 1999). Either way, coordination remains a key issue. Organisational and operational reform is, however, ultimately constrained by funding arrangements. NGOs identify a common funding 'gap' immediately following a disaster, when relief funds suddenly dry up but essential funds for rehabilitation and development are unavailable or delayed (EuronAid, 2002). In the food security/agricultural sector, food aid tends to attract the bulk of the funds allocated to humanitarian relief; non-food items are traditionally under-funded, as are activities aimed at early rehabilitation. This 'gap' is a major concern, particularly in terms of the apparent lack of long-term donor commitment in the agricultural sector. Funding changes are beginning to take place in the UN Consolidated Appeal Process (CAP) with the introduction of 'transitional appeals' in a number of post-conflict countries (see below), yet it remains to be seen whether these changes will be sufficient to address the 'gap'.

Lindahl (1996) observes a process of 'selective integration of relief and development activities' in the donor community during the 1990s. Relief agencies incorporated certain development activities, and development organisations sought greater inclusion of reconstruction and rehabilitation issues within their mandates. Thus, WFP and UNHCR introduced Quick Impact Projects for returnees. NGOs with dual relief and development mandates (such as CARE and Oxfam) embraced the linking idea. On the other hand, UNDP and FAO (Box 8) assumed leading roles in relief and rehabilitation as well as development (White, 1999). This has amounted to a 'blurring' of the division of labour between

humanitarian relief and development agencies, and thus of the distinction between relief and other objectives. While this trend may well make 'coordination' *between* agencies more difficult (Lindahl, 1996), it arguably improves the prospects for 'integration' and 'synergy' between relief and development activities *within* agencies.

The introduction by the UN[17] of 'transitional appeals' places particular emphasis on the coordination needed to plan and implement a transition programme, noting that the government should have the capacity or capacity-building support required to play an effective role in coordination. At the organisational level, it is proposed that the planning process used to devise the transitional strategy should be broadly inclusive, and the participation of NGOs is particularly encouraged. This strategy is expected to cover any remaining humanitarian priorities, as well as rehabilitation, recovery, reconstruction and return/reintegration priorities, organised by sector and geographic area, not by agency-specific mandates. Such organisation should theoretically enhance coordination between agencies. Yet the recommendation that transitional appeals should categorise project activities for which funds are requested into 'relief', 'transition' and 'recovery' (the precise understanding of these terms is defined according to the country context) may do little to improve the prospects for linking the different objectives of these project categories.

Despite the proposed changes in coordination under transitional appeals, the conventional assumption in most CC&PC contexts is that the UN is tasked with the coordination of relief aid, while national governments are responsible for the coordination of development aid. In practice, however, bilateral donor actions undermine UN coordination activities in the humanitarian sector, and both the UN and the international financial institutions play important roles in the coordination of development (Reindorp and Schmidt, 2002). Political expediency favours the highly decentralised, often privatised and projectised forms of decision-making that characterise relief operations. While agencies such as the UN might often be given a role in coordination at field level, these often exert very little influence over decisions regarding aid allocations in donor capitals (Macrae, 2003:4). Alternative, donor-financed coordination structures, such as the Somalia Aid Coordination Body (SACB) or the Afghanistan Aid Coordination Authority (AACA), have the potential to play an important role in the coordination of rehabilitation assistance.

The many difficulties of coordination are particularly evident in agricultural rehabilitation because the activities that generally fall under initiatives for food security and agricultural support tend to cut across several sectors and government ministries. There is a clear need for improved inter-sectoral balance and intra-sectoral coordination, but important questions (practical and conceptual) surround whether and how this might be achieved. For example, the idea of focusing on food (or livelihood) security as the common thread running through relief, rehabilitation and development (Eurocon, 2002) is conceptually attractive, but difficult to operationalise.

FAO is the UN agency tasked with coordinating agricultural rehabilitation (see Box 8). It has both a 'normative' (information and technical support for needs assessment, policy/strategy formulation and planning, monitoring and evaluation) and 'operational' role (coordination and distribution of essential agricultural inputs and rehabilitation of agricultural structures and systems). Both are carried out in close collaboration with other humanitarian actors (UN, NGOs, recipient governments and donors). White (1999) notes a range of institutional and procedural obstacles to coherent multi-agency humanitarian response, which apply across the UN system in general. A key question therefore concerns the extent to which FAO can assume an effective coordinating role for agricultural rehabilitation, i.e. one which responds to need in an intelligent manner, which identifies interactions between different types of interventions and which is capable of identifying priorities and efficient temporal sequences (Green, 2000), whilst remaining sufficiently flexible to deal with rapidly changing post-conflict situations. Is coordination a matter of damage control, or can it aspire to highlighting normative frameworks related to the right to food?

Recent agency strategy documents show that many of these problems are well-recognised. Despite the inherent restrictions of existing aid modalities, agency responses are becoming increasingly sophisticated. Furthermore, many of the problems identified are by no means unique to 'rehabilitation'.

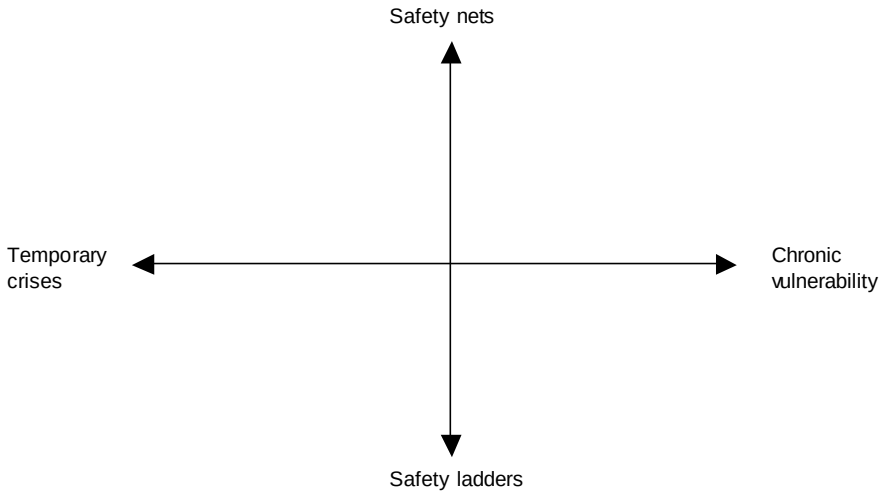
[17] The UNDG/ECHA Working Group on Transition Issues was set up at the end of 2002 to review the UN's role in post-conflict transitional situations and to propose an action plan for integrated approaches to planning, implementation and resource mobilisation for transition. The countries selected for transitional appeals in 2004 were Angola, Eritrea, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Tajikistan.

The programming of all aid interventions arguably requires a better understanding of the political economy of vulnerability and conflict. In the absence of progress in improving inter-agency coordination, many agencies are seeking greater internal flexibility to enable them to adjust to rapidly changing situations.

5.3 Agriculture and the interface between social protection and humanitarian agendas

Humanitarianism and the social protection aspects of development differ in their legal frameworks, but overlap with respect to ethical commitments. The interface between social protection[18] and humanitarian action is currently relatively uncharted territory. It suggests uncomfortable questions regarding the efficacy of maintaining a strict division between politics and saving lives, and implicitly acknowledges the ethical imperative for development programmes to sometimes support 'unsustainable' investments. The aforementioned lack of clarity in terminology related to rehabilitation, recovery or reconstruction (Section 1.4) stems partially from a failure to define how humanitarianism, social protection and growth relate to one another with respect to values and operational priorities.

Two axes can be used to begin charting this grey zone. Some measures are intended to deal with chronic vulnerability, and others with temporary crises. In addition, some programmes are designed to provide a safety net to prevent human suffering and destitution, whilst others are intended to provide a safety ladder (or cargo net) that provides opportunities to accumulate assets and build more resilient livelihoods for those affected by a livelihood shock (Kabeer, 2002; Barrett, et al., 2002).



Although these dichotomies may appear self-evident, the nature of many humanitarian crises and rehabilitation contexts means that programming is scattered across these two axes, and may even float around according to changing needs, funding levels and agency objectives. Chronic conflict and HIV/AIDS are examples of crises that can and should be addressed through a mix of approaches (Box 10). Vulnerability to conflict is chronic (Goodhand, 2001), but most people in affected areas experience episodes of acute need. HIV/AIDS sufferers require ongoing safety net support, but orphans need to adopt agricultural production methods that can pull them out of chronic food deficit. Microfinance programmes are often designed with the intent of providing a safety ladder, whilst those receiving loans have been found to use the cash provided as safety nets to smooth consumption and pay for medical expenses (Matin et al., 1999).

Box 10: HIV/AIDS

The massive impact of HIV/AIDS – a major cause of poverty and food insecurity, which spans both relief and development settings – constitutes an important consideration in strategies for rehabilitation. An understanding of

[18] The public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability, risk and deprivation which are deemed socially unacceptable in a given polity or society' (Conway & Norton, 2002)

the complex and diverse ways in which the epidemic affects livelihoods is necessary to begin to map the ways in which it is potentially contributing to emergencies, and the implications for appropriate responses. What the literature on food security and AIDS suggests is the possibility of substantially increased vulnerability to other shocks, such as drought or conflict, the emergence of new types of vulnerability, the erosion of some capacities and skills for coping with shocks and adaptation and the emergence of new capacities in response to these threats. Harvey (2004) highlights four main arguments regarding the role of relief and other aid responses, none of which is necessarily mutually exclusive:

1. The argument that HIV/AIDS in and of itself should be seen as an emergency issue worthy of a relief response due to the devastating impact it is having on mortality, morbidity and livelihoods.
2. The argument that the HIV/AIDS epidemic undermines livelihoods and greatly increases food insecurity, making people more vulnerable to other shocks. There is therefore a possibility that natural and complex disasters could start earlier, last longer and be triggered more easily. The aid community will need to adjust its way of working to take this hugely increased vulnerability to shocks into account.
3. The impact of HIV/AIDS on livelihoods means that some form of safety net or welfare system will be needed for those worst affected. At the same time, development processes will need to mainstream HIV/AIDS issues in devising appropriate mitigation strategies. Relief will be needed as a long-term safety net in conjunction with other, more development-oriented interventions.
4. The argument that HIV/AIDS threatens a descent into crisis in which underlying vulnerability is so great that there is a permanent or chronic emergency, similar to that previously only seen in long-running conflicts. This is the argument put forward by De Waal: that the HIV/AIDS epidemic is causing or will cause 'new variant famines'. The impacts of HIV/AIDS are so devastating that we are facing 'a new kind of acute food crisis in which there is no expectation of a return to either sustainable livelihoods or a demographic equilibrium'.

Source: Harvey, 2004

Even if it is difficult to categorise the nature of the crisis as being chronic or transitory, this does not suggest that it is unimportant to clearly define what a programme is expected to achieve, and how it is expected to do so. Social protection assumes the desire to provide safety nets that will prove viable in the long term. Humanitarian programming does not. Competition for donor funding may encourage a certain conflation of agency objectives.

In research on the impact of poverty reduction efforts, a differentiation is being increasingly made between growth-oriented strategies and those needed for remote or weakly integrated areas where chronic poverty is far more entrenched, where earlier assumptions about the 'benefits of growth' are proving false (Bebbington, 1999) and where risk, social exclusion and poor governance are virtually endemic (CPRC, 2002). It has been suggested (Farrington et al., 2002) that a twin-track approach to agricultural development is required, which recognises that there are some areas where market forces cannot be expected to play a significant role, but where a failure to intervene will inevitably carry even higher costs, both ethically (through social exclusion) and economically (through the emergence of chronic conflict, violence and illicit activities). Targeted (and subsidised) agriculture interventions can potentially provide an important source of social protection for those living in these marginal areas. Indeed, a call for this is made in the UNHCHR draft guidelines for 'A Human Rights Approach to Poverty Alleviation', which state that 'Wherever the market fails to serve poor farmers or consumers – because of remoteness of their location, thinness of the market, or for whatever reason – the State should provide the necessary services to the extent possible. The fiscal resources that are likely be required (*sic*) in order to operate this policy ought to be accorded high priority in the allocation of public resources' (UNHCHR, 2002:21).

This leads to another grey area. How far are CC&PC situations simply an extreme case of a 'weakly integrated area', and how are they different? Are different strategies required for dealing with agriculture in the face of the chronic violence that has taken hold in many post-conflict areas (as in Central America), and the chronic conflict of Somalia or Southern Sudan? Where do countries such as Sierra Leone or Angola fit within such dichotomies?

6. Policy formation

Agricultural rehabilitation policies (formal or *de facto*) have proven remarkably resilient in the face of a growing critique of conventional priorities and methods. An understanding of how disaster-affected

people are struggling to rebuild their livelihoods is showing initial signs of percolating[19] into aid priorities (Section 3). Nonetheless, preset assumptions that seeds and tools are the solution have precluded efforts to better understand the problem. In order to constructively influence agricultural rehabilitation policies, it is important to start with an understanding of why and how these policies have retained their power. Levers for change need to be found in an understanding of what may 'make sense' for field staff who, under great time pressure and with little hard data, must prepare viable proposals. If relevance to the livelihoods of disaster-affected people is to gain greater prominence in policy formation, attention must be paid to the relevance of programming alternatives for the agencies that are tasked with their design and implementation.

6.1 The narrative process

Observers of development cooperation have noted the extraordinary resilience of certain 'development narratives', consisting of notions that are generally recognised as 'common sense' despite being disputed by extensive empirical research. The 'tragedy of the commons' has been cited as a clear example (Roe, 1991), as have related assumptions regarding increasing deforestation (Fairhead and Leach, 1998). Aid staff, planners, local politicians and bureaucrats need a simple 'story' that they can use to justify their chosen courses of action to their different constituencies. These stories are heavily influenced by the structures and activities of the organisations involved. Particularly within aid structures, there are pressures for apolitical and technocratic stories that portray a given intervention as not interfering with national sovereignty or local power struggles.

The power of humanitarian or rehabilitation narratives in CC&PC contexts is at least as strong as development narratives, given the dearth of empirical analysis and pressures to move large quantities of resources quickly. Despite its ethical underpinnings, the humanitarian imperative does not automatically encourage critical reflection on broadly accepted assumptions, even if they are based on false correlations with other contexts. Set-piece programming and supply-side pressures displace the need to learn about the local context (ALNAP, 2003). Local leaders who master the use of aid narratives are often able to manage and manipulate how stories are constructed about supposed rehabilitation processes for the benefit of their followers or themselves. Others, who have had less direct experience with aid bureaucracies, can be marginalised due to a lack of capacity to portray their needs within stories that make sense to those in control of resources. Some capacity-building efforts may actually encourage local service providers to 'tell us what we want to hear', rather than improving actual performance. Awareness of the power of the narrative process is important for identifying how ostensibly neutral, impartial and independent humanitarian assistance programming inevitably becomes part of a local and international political process.

An understanding of the nature of the narrative process in aid programming need not lead to assumptions that the status quo is impervious to change. Narratives are not written in stone, and field managers mix and match these stories as they search for plausible approaches to dealing with the tasks at hand. It has been noted that 'most of us live with several narratives' (White and Adams, 1994:8). This is how people learn, and how the evidence included in research, evaluation, monitoring and day-to-day scanning of the operational environment all percolate into policies and programmes. The grey areas noted in this report represent areas of uncertainty and threatened legitimacy, where a new narrative has yet to take form. It is therefore also a space for learning. There is thus no contradiction between a focus on narratives and the growing calls for evidence-based policy formation. Narratives are rather the bridge between the production of evidence and the socio-political processes through which policies are formed. A familiarity with the narrative process is part of being able to recognise where space exists for policy change, both at central levels and among street-level bureaucrats. It is part of knowing where and how evidence may have greatest impact.

6.2 Policy narratives in agricultural rehabilitation

The set of narratives that have the greatest impact on agricultural rehabilitation programming are those that describe what approaches are considered viable paths to development and food security. 'Stories' that profoundly influence programming decisions reflect the ideologies from which they gain sustenance. Neo-liberal stories may assume a rapid and steady expansion of the market to fill post-

[19] Research has often been described as 'percolating' into development policy (Walt, 1994), as opposed to the more direct 'rational model' (Berridge and Thom, 1996).

conflict service provision gaps. Counter-narratives attribute virtually all disaster risk to the weakening of the state and community in the face of capitalism and globalisation (Wisner, 2003). Development projects are frequently built on high hopes that civil society has the capacity to provide a host of post-conflict services (Harvey, 1997). Evidence-based policies can emerge when these stories are contrasted with those that rural people tell of if, how, when and why they have been able to benefit from the market, the family farm (theirs or someone else's) and their community.

The paragraphs that follow provide some examples of humanitarian/rehabilitation narratives of relevance for agricultural rehabilitation programming:

1. The 'dependency syndrome' emerged in the mid-1990s as a concern over the likelihood that beneficiaries of relief aid would become dependent upon the receipt of regular hand-outs of food and other inputs, thus preventing them from becoming self-reliant. There is little documented evidence of dependency among aid beneficiaries; rather, it has been suggested that it is perhaps the aid agencies themselves that become dependent on the repeated distribution of relief aid to maintain their operational programmes (Duffield, 1997; Bradbury, 1998). Nevertheless, the narrative of the dependency syndrome has since become enshrined in DAC guidelines (OECD, 1997) and has influenced other donor strategies that aim to promote self-reliance, such as through food production.
2. The 'relief fuels war' narrative has waxed and waned in the debate. Experience in the Great Lakes in the mid-1990s brought these concerns to a peak, when humanitarian operations were criticised for providing refuge and sustenance to the perpetrators of the Rwanda genocide. The lively debate around the relevance of the 'do no harm' methods (Anderson, 1996) has frequently been driven more by pre-existing beliefs regarding this narrative than the empirical analyses that these methods are designed to encourage.
3. The 'yeoman farmer fallacy', described above in Section 2.2, assumes that family farming is the desired livelihood strategy for the vast majority of the rural poor. This narrative appears to inform much food security and agricultural rehabilitation programming, particularly among the many humanitarian agencies that may not necessarily be aware of current research into changing rural development trajectories. In most programme documents there is little evidence that the potential impacts of different types of agricultural interventions on beneficiaries have been considered.
4. A number of different narratives are used to justify seeds and tools interventions, including the 'dependency syndrome' and the 'yeoman farmer fallacy' listed above. It is commonly assumed that farmers affected by disaster have either lost or eaten their seed; that existing local seed is not of high physiological quality; that varietal integrity and seed quality deteriorate over time; and that commercial (formal sector) seed is of higher quality than farmer-saved seed. None of these 'stories' is necessarily true, yet these form the common misperceptions on which seeds and tools interventions are based (Jones et al., 2002).
5. The assumption that local administrative structures are inevitably non-existent or non-functional in CC&PC situations has often led to the development of a myriad of bypass structures. Recent research on local government in Afghanistan, however, has found that surprisingly strong institutions exist, with functional (albeit highly centralised) administrative structures (AREU, 2003).

7. Reformulating the challenges in agricultural rehabilitation

The central finding of this scoping study has been that the agricultural rehabilitation discourse has been unduly constrained by an unproductive debate on outdated policy narratives and by programme categories and definitions that lead to semantic cul-de-sacs. Most operational agencies and donors have chosen to go about their business, usually distributing seeds and tools in a supply-driven humanitarian mode, with limited analysis of the impact of these interventions on disaster-affected people in rural areas. This section summarises the challenges in reformulating the questions that need to be asked in order to establish a more appropriate framework for linking agricultural rehabilitation policies and programmes to the real livelihoods of people living in CC&PC contexts.

7.1 New goalposts in agricultural development

Despite a growing interest in the need to support livelihoods in chronic emergencies, the practice of humanitarianism is still essentially about saving and protecting lives. Development is concerned with

building more durable and diverse livelihoods and increasing productivity. In terms of their respective modes of delivery, it has been argued that relief aid has evolved to bypass the state, whereas development aid is dependent on the existence of the state (Macrae, 2001). It would seem, perhaps, that the two concepts are fundamentally different. But since the 1980s, disappointment in the performance of the state has meant that increasing amounts of development aid are channelled through the private sector and NGOs. Moreover, in recent years it has been increasingly acknowledged that inclusive development demands a broader perspective than that encompassed by traditional theories of economic development. Genuine development is being reconceptualised as including social protection for those who are unlikely to benefit, in the short or medium term, from economic growth and increased productivity. Those suffering from HIV/AIDS, the disabled, the elderly and many of the rural destitute have a right to a dignified livelihood, even if 'their development' is unlikely to contribute to overall economic growth. In many respects, the humanitarian imperative is creeping into development thinking, even if few development planners would refer to their values in such terms.

These changes have been particularly apparent in the reconceptualisation of agricultural development. Increasing production and productivity is now broadly acknowledged as being an insufficient strategy for attaining inclusive development in high-risk areas. A thorough understanding of the recent trends in agricultural development in marginal areas is therefore particularly pertinent to understanding agricultural rehabilitation. Section 2 of this report, for example, described the ways in which the diversification out of agriculture has led to increasing complexity in rural livelihood strategies. In recognition of this, agricultural development is no longer simply about increasing crop yields; more attention is being placed on stimulating market activity, enhancing labour productivity, and addressing vulnerability and access to resources. Section 4 touched on the declining role of the state in the search for new mechanisms of service delivery. Section 5 has shown that market-led growth is not necessarily a viable strategy in weakly integrated areas where subsidised agricultural interventions are needed as a source of social protection for the chronically poor. If previous critiques of LRRD hinge on conceptualisations of development (and particularly agricultural development) that have since become outdated, this inevitably has important implications for research into the role of agricultural rehabilitation in protecting and promoting livelihoods.

7.2 Situating rehabilitation in humanitarianism and development

What then is the potential of linking humanitarianism and development in the agricultural sector? An understanding of the limits to both forms of engagement is vital, but not cause for disengagement. Even without a 'paradigm' to guide their efforts, rural people are nonetheless rehabilitating their livelihoods all the time. What can be done to support their struggles in a principled manner? Answers may lie in seeing how rehabilitation programming can shift from a focus on restoring the 'pre-disaster' situation to a focus on reducing vulnerability to disaster and addressing the causes of vulnerability. In addition to the need to understand and reduce vulnerability, it is perhaps through an examination of the concept of resilience that ways of supporting local efforts for rehabilitation can be found. The negativity inherent in the concept of vulnerability – as something that must be reduced or alleviated – potentially makes it difficult to identify positive entry points for intervention. Although resilience might also include negative aspects (e.g. when coping strategies are erosive), people's actions frequently prioritise the safeguarding of their livelihoods and the assets upon which these are based. Long-lasting impacts can be achieved where intervention strategies enhance resilience through strengthening local livelihoods and preserving or enhancing assets. In this context, the importance of an ethical framework to ensure principled support, whereby positive outcomes are maximised and negative outcomes minimised, assumes an even greater importance than ever before.

A major unresolved question in situating rehabilitation in relief and/or development paradigms is what to do about humanitarian principles. For better or worse, most operational humanitarian staff experience 'principles' through the lens of their agency's preferred solutions. The intertwined acute and chronic vulnerabilities faced by people affected by chronic conflict have meant that agricultural rehabilitation calls for a more creative interpretation. The 'seeds and tools treadmill' shows that this has not yet taken root. Developmental approaches are increasingly influencing agricultural rehabilitation programming. The key question is whether this will confine efforts to target groups that are easily rehabilitated. Will the humanitarian imperative continue to permeate rehabilitation efforts, or will a large proportion of the rural population be written off as not capable of being rehabilitated? The

dangers of applying triage in supposedly pro-poor agricultural services have been duly noted (Christoplos et al., 2001b). An alternative agenda is not yet clear.

Humanitarian assistance is not about poverty alleviation. Nonetheless, a coherent policy framework for agricultural rehabilitation must be cognisant of the context of past and potential future trajectories in poverty and rural development. Agricultural rehabilitation is a very blunt tool with which to induce structural changes in rural development (Section 4), but its relative effectiveness relies on awareness of the forces that create poverty. Land reform, for example, is a long-term, structural task that cannot be implemented within agricultural rehabilitation modalities. Nonetheless, effective agricultural rehabilitation requires an understanding of land tenure. Furthermore, although rehabilitation need not necessarily directly target the poorest of the poor, if programmes are to alleviate human suffering and contribute to long-term development, a system is needed for predicting the likely indirect effects of rehabilitation interventions on rural society as a whole.

Support for agricultural rehabilitation may not be the greatest priority for disaster-affected people. Most are accustomed to being left to their own devices. With respect to farming, few would survive if they had relied in the past on either the state or the aid community to provide basic agricultural services. Agricultural rehabilitation is, however, a sentinel indicator of the challenges and opportunities of supporting livelihoods in chronic conflict situations (Section 1.5). If people dare to plough fields and plant crops, then this indicates that they feel secure enough to invest in rebuilding their livelihoods. It can raise attention to fundamental concerns where people have lost control of their land, or fallen into debt bondage in the course of the conflict. The ability of state institutions to support food security and act on local perceptions of the right to food is an indicator of whether or not a social contract is re-emerging between the state and its citizens. In sum, the challenges of agricultural rehabilitation can reveal if, where and how a new ‘post’-conflict order is emerging, and how the political economy of that new order is impacting on the survival and dignity of rural people.

Annex 1. Summary profile of the research project

Project title: The changing roles of agricultural rehabilitation: linking relief, development and support to rural livelihoods

Collaborating organisations:

- Overseas Development Institute, London
- FAO Rehabilitation and Humanitarian Policies Unit, Rome
- International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics, Nairobi

Overall research aim: to develop a greater level of conceptual clarity and identify practical strategies on how changing agricultural rehabilitation policies can contribute to linking humanitarian assistance and longer-term development through the provision of effective, principled support to rural livelihoods in chronic conflict and post-conflict (CC&PC) situations.

Specific objectives:

1. To develop a detailed empirical and conceptual understanding of the complex nature of how agricultural rehabilitation efforts impact on, and relate to, poverty, vulnerability and institutional configurations in CC&PC situations, based on an understanding of the ways in which rural people access resources and the role that local institutions and political factors play in the adaptation of local livelihood strategies.
2. To analyse critically the relationship between food security strategies, agricultural rehabilitation and poverty reduction in contexts where the roles of relief and development programming are shifting. Particular attention will be placed on reviewing how aid to agricultural services can be adapted in post-conflict and politically unstable environments to ensure that investments support effective, accountable and legitimate institutions, so protecting humanitarian principles and promoting sustainability.
3. To develop greater conceptual clarity and policy/institutional/programming options for donors and operational agencies to support the rural livelihoods of poor and vulnerable groups through agricultural rehabilitation in CC&PC situations.

Proposed project outputs:

- relevant programming information for targeted agricultural rehabilitation interventions;
- better-informed policy recommendations for agricultural rehabilitation in chronic conflict and post-conflict situations that do not simply focus on polarised notions of relief or development; and
- unique understanding of the potentials and pitfalls in efforts to find synergy between relief and development programming.

Annex 2. Features of sample livelihoods-based interventions (Longley and Maxwell, 2002)

Intervention	Aim/rationale/approach	Needs assessment	Level of participation	Type of capacity-building
ICRC Cash for Work, Somalia	Mitigate future need for food aid by enhancing productive assets over a limited time period. Contribute to longer-term solution to problem of recurrent water availability and food production problems	Mainly secondary source information focused at household level, combined with feasibility assessment	Participation in planning and implementation: communities identify structures in need of rehabilitation and decide between food or cash payment; communities identify labourers who provide labour for payment	Builds productive capacity through enhancing productive assets
SC-UK Agricultural Support Programme, Somalia	Improve food security through agricultural extension, canal rehabilitation, provision of water pumps and seed multiplication. Long-term approach with flexible programming allows for emergency seed distribution when necessary	Survey based on Household Economy Approach. Ad hoc learning by project staff through engaging with local communities	Community-driven approach in which project staff have, over time, established good links with most villages in the project area and good understanding of the population. Special emphasis on women's participation	Community training and agricultural demonstrations. Community organisation through local cooperation and village management committees. Enhanced capacity of women to contribute to community development. Particular attention also given to staff development and internal capacity-building
Community-based animal health services, South Sudan	Rinderpest eradication and control/prevention/treatment of a limited range of locally-prioritised animal health problems	Participatory baseline surveys; community dialogue to identify local priorities	Based on principles of participation and on-going community dialogue. Activities include regular contact with all sections of the community; participatory baseline surveys; community dialogue to identify local priorities; participatory monitoring and evaluation	Training of community-based animal health workers, animal health auxiliaries and stockpersons, development of veterinary coordination committees
Monitoring livelihoods in Liberia (SC-UK)	Empower communities to become self-reliant and reduce 'dependency syndrome' through building people's analytical skills	Participatory assessment based on Household Economy Approach	Participatory assessments and facilitated group discussions for planning at community level	Strengthening local people's ability to analyse their livelihoods and identify activities to promote self-reliance. Information-sharing among partner agencies for improved livelihoods understanding, and awareness-raising at national, regional and international levels
Oxfam International advocacy campaign against Israeli policy of closure in the West Bank	Recommendations to the international community, to the government of Israel, to the Palestinian Authority, and to international donors, local and international aid agencies	Research to document the social and economic impact of closure on rural Palestinian communities	Experiences of particular households and individuals are documented as part of the campaign's publicity materials	Awareness-raising at international levels

References

ActionAid Alliance (2003) Improving European Development Cooperation: The Link Between Relief, Rehabilitation and Development. ActionAid, January 2003.

Addison, T. (2001) Reconstruction from War in Africa: Communities, Entrepreneurs and States. Discussion Paper No. 2001/18. World Institute for Development Economics Research, June 2001.

Addison, T. and SM. Murshed (2001) From Conflict to Reconstruction: Reviving the Social Contract. Discussion Paper No. 2001/48. World Institute for Development Economics Research, August 2001.

Ahmed, AGM., Azeze, A., Babiker, M. and D. Tesagye (2001) Post-drought Recovery Strategies Among Pastoral Households in the Horn of Africa: A Review. Development Research Report No. 3. Organisation for Social Science Research in East and Southern Africa, Addis Ababa.

ALNAP (2002) Humanitarian Action: improving performance through improved learning. ALNAP Annual Review, April 2002. The Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action, ALNAP Secretariat, London.

ALNAP (2003) Humanitarian Action: improving monitoring to enhance accountability and learning. ALNAP Annual Review, June 2003. ODI, London. The Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action, ALNAP Secretariat, London

Alden Wily, L. (2003) Land Rights in Crisis: Restoring Tenure Security in Afghanistan. Issues Paper Series. Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit. Kabul: AREU.

Anderson, M. (1996) Do No Harm: Supporting Local Capacities for Peace, Cambridge, MA: Local Capacities for Peace Project, the Collaborative for Development Action Inc.

Anderson, M. and Woodrow, P. (1989) Rising from the Ashes - Developmental Strategies in Times of Disasters. UNESCO, Paris, 1989.

Archibald, S. and Richards, P. (2002) 'Seeds and Rights: New approaches to post-war agricultural rehabilitation in Sierra Leone' *Disasters* 26 (4): 356-367.

AREU (2003) How the Government Works in Afghanistan: A Study of Sun-national Administration, AREU, Kabul, http://www.areu.org.pk/publications/sub-national%20admin/How%20the%20Government%20Works%20in%20Afghanistan_english.pdf.

Ashley, C. and Maxwell, S. (2002) 'Rethinking rural development' Development Policy Review 19 (4): 395-425.

Aubee, E. and Hussein, K. (2002) 'Emergency Relief, Crop Diversification and Capacity Building: the case of sesame in the Gambia' *Disasters* 26 (4): 368-379.

Barrett, C., T. Reardon and P. Webb (2001) 'Non-farm income diversification and household livelihood strategies in rural Africa: Concepts, dynamics and policy implications.' Food Policy 26.4 (2001) : 315-32.

Bebbington, Anthony (1999) 'Capitals and capabilities: A framework for analysing peasant viability, rural livelihoods and poverty', *World Development* 10(1): 17–34.

Berridge, V. and Thom, B. (1996) Research and Policy: What Determines the Relationship, *Policy Studies*, 17/1

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

Bonnard, P. (2001) Increasing the Nutritional Impacts of Agricultural Interventions. Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance (FANTA) Project Paper. Academy for Educational Development, Washington DC. www.fantaproject.org

Bradbury, M. (1998) 'Normalising the Crisis in Africa'. Journal of Humanitarian Assistance. February 1998

Brigaldino, G. (1995) Using rehabilitation to bridge the institutional gap between relief and development. ECDPM Working Paper 95-4. Maastricht, the Netherlands, European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM).

Bryceson, D. (2000) Rural Africa at the crossroads: livelihood practices and policies, Natural Resource Perspectives, 52, April 2000, Overseas Development Institute.

Buchanan-Smith, M. and Maxwell, S. (1994) Linking Relief and Development: an introduction and an overview. IDS Bulletin Volume 24, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, 1994.

Christoplos, I., (1998) Public Services, Complex Emergencies and the Humanitarian Imperative: Perspectives from Angola, in M.Minogue, C.Polidano, and D.Hulme, (eds.) *Beyond the New Public Management: Changing Ideas and Practices in Governance*, Elgar, London.

Christoplos, I. (2000) Natural Disasters, Complex Emergencies and Public Services: Rejuxtaposing the Narratives after Hurricane Mitch, in Paul Collins (ed.), *Applying Public Administration in Development: Guideposts to the future*, John Wiley and Sons, Chichester.

Christoplos, I., A. Liljelund and J. Mitchell (2001a) 'Re-framing Risk: The Changing Context of Disaster Mitigation and Preparedness.' Disasters 25 (3):185-98.

Christoplos, Ian, John Farrington and Andrew Kidd (2001b) *Extension, Poverty and Vulnerability: Inception Report of a Study for the Neuchâtel Initiative*, ODI Working Paper, 144. Overseas Development Institute.

Christoplos, I. (2001) *Extension, Poverty and Vulnerability in Nicaragua*, ODI Working Paper No. 150. Overseas Development Institute.

Christoplos, I. (2003a) Actors in Risk, In Mark Pelling (ed), *Natural Disaster and Development in a Globalizing World*, Routledge, London

Christoplos, I. (2003b) *Common Framework for Supporting Pro-Poor Extension*, Neuchâtel Group, LBL, Lindau, www.neuchatelinitiative.net.

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

Collinson, S. (ed.) (2003) Power, livelihoods and conflict: case studies in political economy analysis for humanitarian action. Humanitarian Policy Group Report No.13, Overseas Development Institute, February 2003.

Conway, T. and A. Norton (eds.) (2002) Poverty, Risk and Rights: New Directions in Social Protection. Development Policy Review 20 (5), November 2002. Overseas Development Institute.

Coutts, P. (2003 draft) Guidelines on Emergency Needs Assessment. Priority Areas for Interdisciplinary Action on Disaster Prevention, Mitigation and Preparedness and Post-Emergency Relief and Rehabilitation (PAIA-REHAB). First draft prepared for FAO, 27th February, 2003.

CPRC (2002) Chronic Poverty Newsletter, July 2002. Chronic Poverty Research Centre, Institute of Development Policy Management, Manchester, UK.

Darcy and Hofmann, 2003 Rights-based approaches to humanitarian action: a challenge to humanitarian principles? HPG Briefing, Humanitarian Policy Group, London: ODI.

Deng, L.B. (2002) Confronting Civil War: a comparative study of household assets management in southern Sudan. IDS Discussion Paper 381, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton, September 2002.

DFID (1997) Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the 21st century. White Paper on International Development, UK Department for International Development, London. November 1997.

Duffield, M. (1994) Complex Emergencies and the Crisis of Developmentalism. IDS Bulletin Volume 25. Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, 1994.

Duffield, M. (1997) *NGO Relief in War Zones: Toward an Analysis of the New Aid Paradigm.* Third World Quarterly 18(3): 527-42.

Duffield, M. (1998) 'Aid Policy and Post-Modern Conflict: A Critical Review' Occasional Paper 19, University of Birmingham School of Public Policy.

Duffield, M. (2000) The emerging development-security complex, in Paul Collins (ed.), *Applying Public Administration in Development: Guideposts to the future*, John Wiley and Sons, Chichester.

EC(1996) Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development (LRRD) Communication from the Commisssion of 30 April 1996, European Commission Humanitarian Office, Brussels.

EC (2001) Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development - An assessment. Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament. COM (2001) 153 final. Brussels.

Eide, E.B. (1997) Conflict Entrepreneurship: On the 'Art' of Waging Civil War In McDermott, A (ed.): Humanitarian Force. PRIO report 4/97 pp. 41-70. International Peace Research Institute, Oslo.

Farrington, 1998 on yeoman farmer fallacy.

Farrington, John, Ian Christoplos and Andrew Kidd, with Malin Beckman, 2002, *Extension, Poverty and Vulnerability: The Scope for Policy Reform -Final Report*, ODI Working Paper, 155

Fox, J., Kajume, J., and Ombai, M. (2001) 'Rinderpest prevention and surveillance within the frame of the household food security programme in south Sudan: A review'. Nairobi: UNICEF-OLS.

Frühling, Pierre (2000) *After Mitch*, Stockholm, Sweden: Swedish International Development Agency (Sida).Eurocon (2002)

EuronAid (2002) Food Security: The Ideal Link Between Relief, Rehabilitation and Development? Chances and Challenges. A Reader Compiled for EuronAid by Birgit Dederichs-Bain, Rome, November 2002.

Fairhead, J. and M. Leach (1998) *Reframing Deforestation: Global analyses and local realities – studies in West Africa*. London: Routledge.

FAO (1997) FAO's Emergency Activities. FAO, Rome
FAO (2002) *Thematic Evaluation of Strategy A.3: Preparedness for, and effective and sustainable response to, Food and Agricultural Emergencies* (Report prepared by the Evaluation Service). Food and Agricultural Organisation of the UN, 9-13th September, 2002, Rome.
Feldafing Declaration (2002) Declaration of the Feldafing Conference on the Role of Alternative Development in Drug Control and Development Cooperation, January 2002.
Galperin, A. (2002) Discourses of Disasters, Discourses of Relief and DFID's Humanitarian Aid Policy. A diagnostic snapshot of the crisis of relief as a legitimate and universal instrument in contemporary conflict. DESTIN Working Paper No. 02-28, London School of Economics, London, April 2002.
Gebert, R., and K Rerkasem (2002) Community empowerment in alternative development: prerequisite for success or mutually exclusive concepts?, paper presented at the Feldafing Conference on the Role of Alternative Development in Drug Control and Development Cooperation, January 2002.
Global Study (2003) http://globalstudyparticipation.urd.org/.
Goodhand, J. and D. Hulme (1999) From Wars to Complex Political Emergencies: understanding conflict and peace-building in the new world disorder. Third World Quarterly 20 (1): 13-26
Goodhand, J. (2001) Violent Conflict , Poverty and Chronic Poverty. CPRC Working Paper 6. Chronic Poverty Research Centre, University of Birmingham, May 2001.
Green, R. (2000) 'Rehabilitation: Strategic, Proactive, Flexible, Risky?' Disasters 24 (4): 343-362.
Harvey, P. (1997) Rehabilitation in Complex Political Emergencies: Is Rebuilding Civil Society the Answer? IDS Working Paper 60. Institute of Development Studies, Brighton, UK,
Harvey, P. (2004) HIV/IADS and Humanitarian Action. Humanitarian Policy Group Research Report 16. London: ODI.
Holtzman, S. (1999) Rethinking 'relief' and 'development' in transitions from conflict. An Occasional Paper. The Brookings Institution Project on Internal Displacement, Washington DC, January 1999.
Hultgren, M. (2003) Bridging the Gap? Experience analysis of Sida's support in transtion periods between humanitarian assistance and development co-operation. By Matilda Hultgren, Institute of Public Management AB, October 2002.
Hussein, K. (2002) Livelihoods Approaches Compared: a multi-agency review of current practice. Study Commissioned by DFID. Overseas Development Institute, London.
IFAD (2001) Rural Poverty Report 2001 – the challenge of ending rural poverty. International Fund for Agricultural Development, Rome.
IFAD/WFP/FAO (2002) Reducing Poverty and Hunger: The Critical Role of Financing for Food and Agricultural Development. Paper prepared for the International Conference on Financing for Development, Monterey, Mexico, 12-22 March, 2002.
Jaspars, S. and Shoham, J. (2002) A Critical Review of Approaches to Assessing and Monitoring Livelihoods in Situations of Chronic Conflict and Political Instability. Working Paper 191. Overseas Development Institute. London: ODI.
Jones, R.B., Bramel, P., Longley, C., and Remington, T. (2002). 'The need to look beyond the production and provision of relief seed: experiences from southern Sudan' *Disasters* 26 (4): 302-315.
Juma, M. K., and A Suhrke (eds) (2002) Eroding Local Capacity: International Humanitarian Action in Africa, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala.
Kabeer, N. (2002) Safety Nets and Opportunity Ladders: Addressing Vulnerability and Enhancing Productivity in South Asia, Development Policy Review 20/5 569-588.
Kaldor, M. (1999) New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era. Cambridge: Polity Press
Kanbur, R. (2001) Obnoxious Markets. Working Paper 2001-08. Department of Applied Economics and Management, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, July 2001.
Keen, D. and Wilson, K. (1994) Engaging with Violence: A Reassessment of Relief in Wartime, In: Macrae, J. and Zwi, Anthony, *War and Hunger. Rethinking International Responses to Complex Emergencies,* London, Zed Books, 1994.
Keen, D. (1998) The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars, Adelphi Paper 320, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Oxford University Press.
Korf, B. (2002) Livelihoods at Risk: Land Use and Coping Strategies of War-Affected Communities in Trincomalee District. *Working Paper 45*. November 2001. Integrated Food Security Programme (IFSP), Trincomalee, Sri Lanka
Korf, B. (2002b) *Ethnicised Entitlements in Land Tenure of Protracted Conflicts: The Case of Sri Lanka*. Paper presented to the 9th Biennial IASCP Conference 'The Commons in an Age of Globalisation', Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, 17-21 June, 2002

Lautze, S. (1997) Saving Lives and Livelihoods: the fundamentals of a livelihoods strategy. Feinstein International Famine Centre, Tufts University, USA.
Le Billon, P. (2000) The Political Economy of War: What Relief Agencies Need to Know. HPN Network Paper No. 33. London: ODI
Lindahl, C. (1996) Developmental Relief?: An issues paper and annotated bibliography on linking relief and development. SIDA Studies in Evaluation 96/3. SIDA Department for Evaluation and Internal Audit, Stockholm.
Longley, C. (2004) 'Relief or agricultural development? Emergency seed projects and the dissemination of modern varieties' in C. Longley (ed.) Relief or Agricultural Development? Emergency Seed Projects, Farmer Seed Systems and the Dissemination of Modern Varieties in Mali and Niger. ICRISAT Working Paper. ICRISAT, Patancheru, India.
Longley, C. and Maxwell, D. (2003) Livelihoods, Chronic Conflict and Humanitarian Response: A Synthesis of Current Practice. ODI Working Paper No. 182. Overseas Development Institute, London, April 2003.
Longley, C. and Richards, P. (1999) 'Farmer seed systems and disaster' in Restoring Farmers' Seed Systems in Disaster Situations. FAO Plant Production and Protection Paper 150.
Longley, C. and Sperling, L. (guest editors) (2002) Beyond Seeds and Tools: Effective Support to Farmers in Emergencies. Special issue of *Disasters* 26 (4).
Macrae, J. and N. Leader (2000) 'Shifting Sands: The Search for Coherence Between Political and Humanitarian Responses to Complex Political Emergencies' HPG Report No 8. London, ODI
Macrae, J. (2001) Aiding Recovery? The Crisis of Aid in Chronic Political Emergencies. Overseas Development Institute. Zed Books, London.
Macrae, J. (ed.) (2002) The New Humanitarianisms: A Review of Global Trends in Humanitarian Action. Humanitarian Policy Group Report No. 11, April 2002. Overseas Development Institute, London.
Maletta, H. (2002) The wages of war: food prices and labour pay in Afghanistan, 1996-2002, FAO Kabul, October 24, 2002, http://www.fao.org/world/afghanistan/wages.pdf.
Mansfield, D. (1999) Alternative development: the modern thrust of supply-side policy, Bulletin on Narcotics, 51(1-2).
Matin, I., D. Hulme, and S. Rutherford (1999) ' Financial Services for the Poor and Poorest: Deepening Understanding to Improve Service Provision', *Finance and Development Research Programme Working Paper* 9, Manchester,UK: Institute of Development Policy and Management (IDPM), University of Manchester.
Matin I, and D. Hulme (2003) Programs for the poorest: learning from the IGVGD Program in Bangladesh, World Development, 31(3) pp. 647-665.
Marek, (1992) *Ending Malnutrition: Why Increasing Income is Not Enough*. Africa Technical Department Working Paper No. 5. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1992.
Montani, A. and Majid, N. (2002) Conducive Conditions: Livelihood Interventions in Somalia. Working Paper 193. Overseas Development Institute. London: ODI.
Moser, C. and Norton, A. (2001) To Claim Our Rights: Livelihood security, human rights and sustainable development. Overseas Development Institute, London
Neuchâtel Initiative (2002) Common framework on financing agriculture and rural extension, Neuchâtel Group, 2002, Lindau.
OECD (1997) DAC Guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation. Development Assistance Committee, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris.
Ostrom, Kjell (1997) Self-sustainability of Veterinary Field Units, AFG/96/007, Integrated Livestock Programme Afghanistan, FAO (mimeo)
Pearce, J. (1999) Peace-building in the periphery: lessons from Central America, Third World Quarterly, 20(1), pp 51-68.
Peppiatt, D., Mitchell, J. and P. Holzmann (2001) Cash Transfers in Emergencies: evaluating benefits and assessing risks. HPN Paper No. 35. Humanitarian Policy Network, Overseas Development Institute, London, June 2001.
Reindorp, N. and Schmidt, A. (2002) 'Coordination humanitarian action: the changing role of official donors' HPG Briefing Paper 7. London: ODI.
Remington, T. et al, (2002). 'Getting off the Seeds and Tools Treadmill with CRS Seed Vouchers and Fairs'. Disasters 26(4): .
Rocha, J. L., and I. Christoplos (2001) 'Disaster Mitigation and Preparedness in the Nicaraguan Post-Mitch Agenda', *Disasters,* 25(3).
Roe, E., 1991, '"Development narratives" or making the best of blueprint development', *World Development* 19 (4), 287-300.

Sauvinet-Bedouin, R. and J. Erikson (2001) Evaluation of Sida supported projects: synthesis report by joint FAO-Sida mission, FAO Emergency Operations, August 30, 2001.
Schafer, J. (2002) 'Supporting Livelihoods in Situations of chronic conflict: Overview of Conceptual Issues', Working Paper 183, London, UK: Overseas Development Institute (ODI)
Scott, C. and I. Bannon (2003) 'Mind the Gap', the World Bank, Humanitarian Action and Development - A Personal Account. Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit Dissemination Notes No. 10, March 2003. Social Development Department, World Bank.
Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Sen, A. And J. Drèze (1989) *Hunger and Public Action*. Oxford: Clarendon.
Slim, H. (1998) Sharing a Universal Ethic: Spreading the Principle of Humanity Beyond Humanitarianism, paper presented at ECHO/ODI Conference 'Principles Aid in an Unprincipled World: Relief, War and Humanitarian Principles', London April 7, 1998.
Slim, H. (2000) Fidelity and Variation: Discerning the Development and Evolution of the Humanitarian Idea, *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, 24 (1): 5 -22.
Slim, H. (2001) Not Philanthropy but Right: Rights-based Humanitarianism and the Proper Politicisation of Humanitarian Philosophy, paper presented at Seminar on Politics and Humanitarian Aid: Debates, Dilemmas and Dissension, Commonwealth Institute, London February 1, 2001.
Smillie, I. (2001) Patronage or partnership: Local capacity building in humanitarian crises. The Humanitarianism and War Project, International Development Research Centre, 2001.
Sparrow, J. (2001) 'Relief, Recovery and Root Causes.' In World Disasters Report: Focus on Recovery, 9-33. International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRCRCS). Geneva: IFRCRCS, 2001.
Sperling, L. (2002) Emergency seed aid in Kenya: Some case study insights on lessons learned during the 1990's' Disasters 26 (4): 329-343.
SPHERE Project. The Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Disaster Response. Handbook. Geneva: SPHERE, 2000.
Start, D. (2002) 'The rise and fall of the rural non-farm economy: poverty impacts and policy options' Development Policy Review 19 (4): 491-506.
Stepputat, F. (1998) 'Urbanizing the countryside': armed conflict, community and state formation in contemporary Guatemala, conference paper presented at 'States of Imagination' Copenhagen February 13-15, 1998.
Strathern, M. (ed) (2000) Audit Cultures, Routledge, London.
Tendler, J. (1997) *Good Government in the Tropics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
UNHCHR (2002) Draft Guidelines: A Human Rights Approach to Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers. Office of the United Nations High Commisioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR), Geneva, September 2002.
Viciani, I. (2003) EU Reform could make or break LRRD. Open Forum: Humanitarian Affairs Review, Spring 2003. http://www.humanitarian-review.org/
de Waal, A (1997) 'Contemporary warfare in Africa' In: Kaldor, M. and Vashee, B. (ed.s) (1997) Restructuring the Global Military Sector: New Wars, Pinter, London.
De Waal (2003) 'New Variant Famine': hypothesis, evidence and implications. Practice and policy notes, Humanitarian Exchange (23):20-22. Humanitarian Policy Network, ODI London.
Webb, P and Rogers, B (2003) Addressing the 'In' in Food Insecurity. USAID Office for Food and Peace, Occaisional Paper No. 1, February 2003. United States Agency for International Development, Office for Food and Peace.
WFP (1998) From Crisis to Recovery. Policy Issues, Agenda Item 4. Executive Board Annual Session, 18-21st May, 1998. World Food Programme, Rome.
White, P. (1999) The role of UN Specialised Agencies in complex emergencies - a case study of FAO. Third World Quarterly 20 (1): 223-238, 1999.
White, P. and Cliffe, L. (2000) 'Matching response to context in complex emergencies: 'relief', 'development', 'peacebuilding', or something in –between?' Disasters 24 (4): 314-342.
White, J. D. and Adams, G. B. (1994) Making Sense with Diversity: The Context of Research, Theory, and Knowledge Development in Public Administration, in White, Jay D., and Guy B. Adams (eds.), *Research in Public Administration: Reflections on Theory and Practice*, Sage, Thousand Oaks
Wilson, F. (1998) Imagining the state - imagining the citizen: rural teachers in post-conflict Peru, conference paper presented at 'States of Imagination' Copenhagen February 13-15, 1998.
Wilson, T. (2002) Microfinance during and after armed conflict: Lessons from Angola, Cambodia, Mozambique and Rwanda. Durham: Mountjoy Research Centre.

Wisner, B. (2003) Changes in capitalism and global shifts in the distribution of hazards and vulnerability, In Mark Pelling (ed), *Natural Disaster and Development in a Globalizing World*, Routledge, London.
Wood, G. (2003) Staying Secure, Staying Poor: the 'Faustian Bargain', *World Development*, 31/3 455-471.
WSP (1999) Rebuilding After War: Lessons from the War-Torn Societies Project (WSP). Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland.