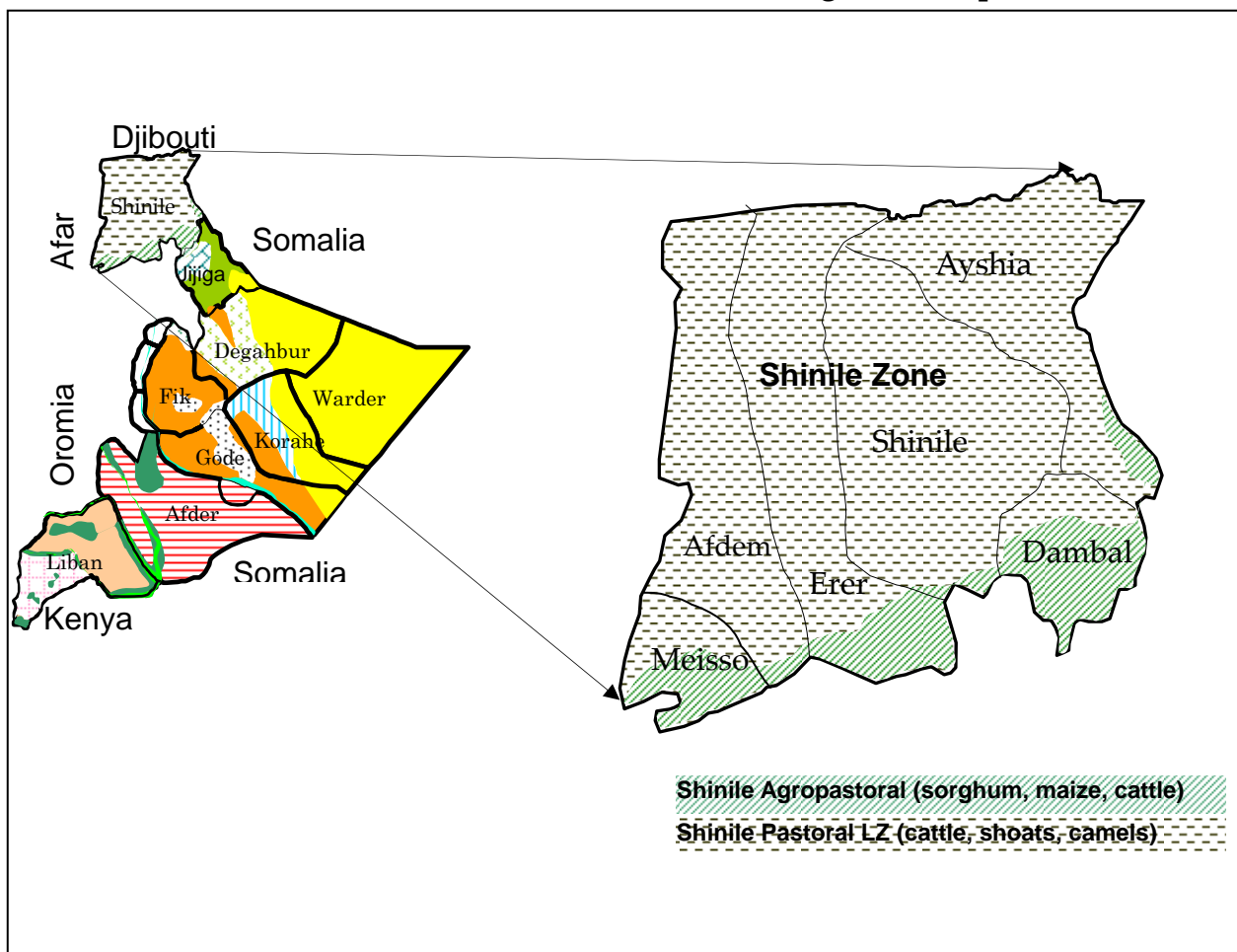


Shinile Pastoral Livelihood Zone

(Shoats, Cattle, Camel)

Shinile Administrative Zone, Somali Region, Ethiopia



An HEA Baseline Study
 By SC-UK, DPPB and Partners
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Assessment Team

Yasin Mohamed	SC-UK, Shinile Zone
Ahmed Abdirahman Mohamed	SC-UK, Jijiga Zone
Mohamed Dahir Abdulkadir	SC-UK, Warder Zone
Bilaal Tahir	Regional DPPB
Mohamed Abdi	DPPD, Shinile Zone
Said Muse Abtidoon	WFP, Diredawa
Assefa Sewalih	HCS, Diredawa
Ahmed Sayid Abdirahman	OWDA
Hassan Abdalah	OWS, Shinile Zone
Suleiman S. Mohamed	SC-UK, Trainer

Table of Contents

Assessment Team	i
Table of Contents.....	ii
Figures, Tables & Maps	iii
Terms and Acronyms	iv
1. Executive Summary	5
2. Introduction	7
2.1 Purpose of the study	7
2.2 Methodology	7
3. Background	9
3.1 Shinile Zone.....	9
3.2 Agro Ecology, Geology, & Water	9
3.3 Population	9
3.4 Infrastructure & Social Services.....	11
3.5 Other Activities in the Zone	11
3.6 Livelihood Zones in the Administrative District	12
4. Food Economies.....	14
4.1 Shinile Pastoral Livelihood Zone	14
4.2 Historical Timeline.....	15
4.3 Seasonal Calendar	18
4.4 Other information particular to the LZ	19
4.5 Wealth Breakdown.....	21
4.6 Food Sources in the Reference Year	24
4.7 Income Sources in the Reference Year	26
4.8 Expenditure Patterns in the Reference Year	29
5. Vulnerabilities, Risks & Coping.....	32
6. Recommendations.....	34
6.1. Recommendations	34
7. References.....	35
8. Appendices.....	36
8.1. HEA Methodology	36
8.2. Note on Somali Traditional Calendar.....	39

Figures, Tables & Maps

Figure 1 - Map of the LZ in relation to other LZs	13
Figure 2 - Seasonal Calendar for Shinile Pastoral LZ	18
Figure 3 - Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ.....	21
Figure 4 - Food Sources for all Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ.....	24
Figure 5 - Food Basket for all Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ.....	25
Figure 6 - Bar Chart of Income Totals for all Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ	26
Figure 7 - Bar Chart of Income Sources for all Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ	27
Figure 8 - Bar Chart of Expenditure Totals for all Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ	29
Figure 9 - Bar Chart of Expenditure Pattern for all Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ	29
Figure 10 - Bar Chart of Proportional Expenditure on Food for all Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ	30
Table 1 - Urban and Rural Population figures in Shinile Zone.....	10
Table 2 - Livelihood Zones in Shinile Administrative Zone.....	13
Table 3 - Historical Timeline Shinile Pastoral LZ	16
Table 4 - Milk production in a normal year.....	20
Table 5 - Wealth Characteristics.....	22

Terms and Acronyms

ACF	Action Contra le Faim
<i>Aqal</i>	Literally 'a house' – a mother, father, children and dependant, if any
<i>Bagaash</i>	Non-food household items
<i>Cadey</i>	Camel browse plant
<i>Deyr</i>	Rainy season between October and December
<i>Dhaworto</i>	Milk contribution for the needy and travellers
<i>Diraa'</i>	Rainy season from late March to late May
DPPB/D	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau/Department
ECHO	European Commission Humanitarian Office
LZ	Livelihood Zone
FS/EW	Food Security Monitoring/Early Warning
<i>Gaadiid</i>	Literally 'vehicles', referring to pack-camels
<i>Gaadiid ceshi</i>	Borrowing of pack camels
<i>Gu</i>	Rainy season between early April and June
<i>Hadhuudin/Safar</i>	Trips by head of household (father) or eldest son to market
<i>Hagaa</i>	Dry season between July and September
<i>Hais</i>	2 – 5 rainy days between December and January (unreliable)
HCS	Hararghe Catholic Secretariat
<i>Irmaan</i>	animal in milk;
<i>Irmaansi/maal</i>	gift of an animal in milk, usually to a poor relative (until it dries up)
<i>Jilaal/Qoraxeed</i>	Hot dry season between late December and March
<i>Karan</i>	Rainy season between late July and late September
<i>Odayaasha</i>	The elders (the elder system that is responsible for clan decision making)
OFDA	USAID Office for Foreign Disaster Assistance
OWDA	Ogaden Welfare and Development Association
<i>Owr raray</i>	Pack camels
OWS	Ogaden Welfare Society
PCAE	Pastoralist Concern Association Ethiopia
<i>Sahan</i>	Pasture surveying or reconnaissance
SC-UK	Save the Children-UK
SC-USA	Save the Children-USA
<i>Shida</i>	Slaughter of at least one shoat per household (in some dry seasons)
SNRS	Somali National Regional State
TOT	Terms of Trade
WFP	UN-World Food Programme
<i>Zakat</i>	Religious gift (Obligation) by rich to poor (e.g. 10% of rainfall harvest)

1. Executive Summary

Shinile Zone is one of the nine administrative zones of Somali National Regional State. Lying in the northernmost tip of the Region, it borders with Djibouti in the North, Somalia (Somaliland) on the Northeast, Jijiga Zone on the southeast, Direedawa and Oromia Regions on the south and Afar Region on the west. The Zonal population's livelihood mainly depends on livestock production. There is also a significant amount of trade activity and a small amount of crop production in the southern part – in livestock and imported goods.

The Pastoral Livelihood Zone covers the largest area in Shinile Zone, where pastoralists make up about 75-85% of the population. In Dambal district pastoralists make up about 40% of the population; in Meisso district about 80%; in Erer district about 80%, in Shinile about 90% and in Ayshia and Afdem districts 95-100% are pastoralists. The rest of the population are mainly involved in Agropastoralism (see the Agropastoral LZ study), while a small minority (less than 5%) are involved in commercial activities in urban or trading centres.

The Issa pastoralists keep the full range of livestock – sheep, cattle, goats and camels, but cattle and sheep are more predominant. The predominance of cattle over camels and sheep over goats depends, a good deal on the ecological conditions and in particular on the ratio of browse to grazing and the proximity of permanent water sources. Camels and goats are more dominant in the mountainous/rugged parts of all districts, mainly around the southern foothills, eastern parts of Ayshia district and around Millo in Shinile district. Overall, the camel-goat areas comprise less than 15% of the total area of the Zone. Every pastoral household keeps at least one pack camel, even if they do not have a camel herd; the pack camels are considered as gaadiid (vehicles), rather than productive animals.

In the dry season, the herd is divided into smaller groups, with sheep and milking animals staying with the core family (xaas) near villages, while harder animals (camels, cattle, goats) are driven to further areas for water and pasture. In the rainy season all livestock remain around homes.

When milk is abundant in the wet seasons, more is left for the calves and kids to suckle and the rest is consumed. There are also more milk gifts in such seasons. This is mainly because there is little market demand for milk due to poor physical access to the few urban and market centres. Most cattle milk is used for making ghee, but the proportion depends on the wealth group.

The Population of the Pastoral Livelihood Zone (LZ) can be divided into three wealth groups – Poor, Middle and Better off (or Rich). These are divided based mainly on their livestock asset holdings (The most important in most areas being cattle and sheep; goat and camel are also found but are only more common in fewer areas – mountainous and rugged areas.

Milk and milk products are a very important source of food (providing about 50% of energy for the richer households); most of the other foods are purchased and comprises of mainly and sugar (mostly in the dry seasons). Most income is from livestock sales, but camel renting is also very significant as an income source. Ghee sales among the rich and middle wealth groups are also very important. Expenditures are mainly on food purchase (sorghum and sugar) but a significant amount of income is also spent on clothing. Household items and livestock purchase (re-stocking) is also important expenditure items for the richer groups.

Pastoralists are faced with a variety of risk factors mainly to do with rainfall and market failures and conflict. Coping strategies include migration, controlling mating, increased livestock sales, increased unskilled labour seeking, etc.

Main recommendations for long-term pastoral development are based on a recognition of indigenous knowledge in formulating pastoral-friendly development strategies and policies. They also focus on improvement of social services like health, education, roads and the removal of trade barriers for both livestock and other commodity trade.

2. Introduction

2.1 *Purpose of the study*

In the past there has been a chronic scarcity of socio-economic baseline information in Somali Region, which has made it very difficult for decision makers (Government, aid agencies and donors) to make decision on both short-term and long-term interventions. On occasions, such as the 1999/2000 drought, this inability to make quick decisions has had catastrophic consequences for the people of the Region. In an attempt to prevent such occurrences in the future, a project aimed at improving the Food Security Monitoring and Early Warning (FS/EW) capacity of the Region was established. This project is a joint effort by Save the Children–UK (SC-UK) and the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau (DPPB) of Somali National Regional State (SNRS), Ethiopia¹. The objective of the pilot phase of the project was to collect baseline information on livelihoods and develop a workable model for food security monitoring that will be built into government structures throughout the Region in Phase II

This report is one of 13 other Household Economy baseline assessment reports that have been produced by the project, during the periods of September-October 2001 and January-March 2002. Participating organisations in these baseline assessments included: DPPB (together with all DPPD offices), SC-UK, WFP, SC-USA, ACF, HCS, PCAE, OWS, OWDA and Al-Najah Charity. The baseline exercise comprised of classroom training, three weeks of fieldwork and one week of analysis and write-up.

Based on a reference or typical year, baseline reports were compiled for households belonging to the specific Livelihood Zone (LZ). The reports provide both qualitative and quantitative information on the normal mode of survival and the vulnerabilities of the different livelihood groups found in the Region, as well as information on how they respond to crises. These reports supply decision makers with useful information to make informed decisions, which will facilitate timely and appropriate responses and prevent possible disasters. The information also sheds light on longer-term food security issues and can therefore help in the planning of development initiatives.

2.2 *Methodology*

The Household Economy Approach (HEA) has been used as the assessment and analysis tool for the baseline studies. This Approach provides a rapid food security assessment technique and has been used by SC-UK for a number of years in parts of Africa and Asia. For a brief introduction to the Household Economy Approach please refer to Appendix 8.1. For further details refer to “The Household Economy Approach: A resource manual for practitioners” by John Seaman, Paul Clarke, Tanya Boudreau, and Julius Holt.

¹ The Food Security Monitoring and Early Warning (FS/EW) Project, in Somali Region, Ethiopia, is a joint undertaking by Save the Children – UK and the Regional Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau. USAID/OFDA and ECHO fund the pilot phase (Year 1) of the project. Additional financial support was received from SC-Canada and WFP. Partners in the baseline exercise included: WFP, ACF, SC-USA, HCS, PCAE, Al-Nejah Charity, OWDA, LVIA, and the Government Bureau of Livestock Environment and Crop Development.

3. Background

3.1 *Shinile Zone*

Shinile Zone is located at the northernmost tip of the Somali Regional State. It is bordered by Somalia's Awdal Region to the east; Dire Dawa and Jijiga Zones to the southeast; Oromia Region to the Southwest, and Afar Region to the west.

3.2 *Agro Ecology, Geology, & Water*

Altitude & Climate

The altitude of the Zone ranges between 950-1350metres above sea level. The zone consists of undulating hilly parts interspersed with expansive plains.

Rainfall & Water Sources

There are two rainy seasons in the Zone – *Gu* and *karan*, both of which are almost equally important. The *gu* falls between late March and late May while the *karan* season is between late July to late September. In recent years, the *karan* has shown better reliability. The *hais* rains (usually 2-5 rainy days) occurs between December and January but is unreliable. Annual rainfall is between 500-700mm. Rainfall is higher in the southern foothills and much lower in the north-central plains. In extreme north and northwest rainfall is much below this range.

There are three rivers (Erer, Hurso and Chow) in the Zone. But these rivers become seasonal (flowing only in the rainy season) as they flow to the northern plains. There are also several dry riverbeds that flow northwards across the entire zone. Shallow wells, dug in these riverbeds provide most of the water for the pastoralists in Shinile zone.

Soil/Vegetation

- A rugged undulating area covered by bushes and seasonal farming is found around the foot of the Chercher mountains in neighbouring E.Hararghe (to the south). This area is dissected by gullies and dry riverbeds due to runoff rainwater from these mountains. This ecological type stretches from Meisso district in the west to Dambal district to the east.
- A lowland hill area neighbouring these foothills that is used for irrigated farming and other agropastoralism – found in Meisso, Erer, Shinile and Dambal districts.
- A low-lying flat semi-arid area to the north-central area of the Zone, with loose soils and covered by bush and woody grasses. These vast flat areas provide grazing areas for cattle and sheep.
- Hilly, stony and undulating areas that interrupt these plains and that are found in parts of Ayshia, northern Erer and Afdem districts, which are used for goat and camel herding.
- A semi-desert area to the northwest around Gawane area joins the Denakil desert of Afar Region.

3.3 *Population*

The inhabitants of Shinile Zone are Somali peoples, most of who are from the Issa clan. Other Somali groups, Gurgura, Gadabursi and Hawiye groups also occupy the Zone. The Issa are mainly pastoralists while the other groups are mainly agropastoralists. A small group of each of

these groups is involved in commercial activities in urban and market centres. Pastoralists make about 80% of the population

Table 1 - Urban and Rural Population figures in Shinile Zone

Region/Zone/Wereda	Total	Urban ²	Rural	% Rural
Somali Region	3439860	492710	2947150	86%
Shinile Zone	358703	53374	305329	85%
Ayshia District	46605	6577	40028	86%
Dambal District	72168	9756	62412	86%
Shinile District	89116	18218	70898	80%
Erer District	77960	10637	67323	86%
Meisso	44009		44009	100%
Afdem	28845	8186	20659	72%

Source: Latest population census, Ethiopia

The family system, like in all Somali rural areas is the 'extended family' system – the different generation of family together or in neighbouring homes (satellite camps). This family system means that resources are freely shared among the extended family. Indeed an Issa saying '*iisuhu sahay loomaqaato*' (you do not need to carry your own food when journeying through Issa land), underscores Issa generosity and spirit of sharing. Families, especially the Issa pastoralists, are largely polygamous (with two wives being more common), except for young and poor families who are not in a position to support extra families. The father is the head of the family and clan/sub-clan authority is vested on clan elders (*Odayaasha*), who handle all disputes and other clan/sub-clan decisions. The Issa and Gurgura still today have a traditional and powerful authority system based on *Odayaasha*.

²The Urban population given in the census results is not necessarily the same as the Urban LZ. According to HEA, families living in town for whom livestock or livestock/crop is the main source of sustenance are considered pastoralists or agropastoralists respectively and not Urban.

3.4 *Infrastructure & Social Services*

Marketing

Main Markets for Shinile Pastoral LZ

The main markets for the pastoral community in Shinile Zone are: Meisso, Beki, Dire Dawa and Djibouti. Other secondary markets are Bardode and Gadamaito (Garba Issa) in Shinile/Afar Zone border.

Meisso market is a relatively major market for livestock sale. Tuesday and Thursday are the main camel and cattle market day and shoats are sold every day. Traders from Addis Ababa and Djibouti buy all three species of livestock from Meisso market. Oromo farmers also buy young oxen for ploughing purposes. Traders are not able to buy livestock from Dire Dawa and take to Shinile Zone, as this is considered contraband. Traders therefore opt to buy livestock from Meisso and Beki for sale to other destinations including Djibouti. Beki market days are the same as Meisso market days. Beki market mainly sells cattle, shoats, camel and donkeys in that order. Traders buy livestock from this market and take them to Djibouti, Addis Ababa, and Dire Dawa. Dire Dawa is a major shoat market but not for cattle and camel.

Djibouti market takes all three species – shoats, cattle and camels. The main source for Djibouti market is traders who purchase their livestock from Meisso, Beki, and other markets in the Zone. These traders have a double-advantage by selling in Djibouti - first from currency exchange (which favours traders who purchased in Ethiopian birr), and, second, by investing in relatively cheaper goods from Djibouti (mainly second-hand clothes, and foodstuffs and other goods) for exchange with other traders in Shinile Zone. These goods are considered contraband and therefore come through unofficial channels. When there is no ban on international livestock export, the main livestock market becomes Djibouti, which will absorb all species. However, this market is considered illegal and traders use unofficial means to export livestock. Main markets for foodstuffs and clothing are Meisso and Dire Dawa. The pastoralists mainly buy sorghum, sugar, tea, salt and other household goods, including clothing.

Livestock export is important to the community, but it is not clear which form of livestock ban is more important – the lack of exports via Djibouti (with higher tax rates), or the lack of exports to the gulf countries, which is imposed on all horn of Africa countries. Because of the ban, livestock fetch low prices and terms of trade are generally poorer than before the ban.

3.5 *Other Activities in the Zone*

The Informal Trade

There is a significant traffic of unofficial cross-border trade going on in Shinile Zone. This trade is locally referred to as contraband – implying that it is unlicensed by the government of Ethiopia. This is mainly trade in clothing – both used and new – but also non-food household items (known as *bagaash*), electronics and food items may be imported in this way. The main source for such goods is Djibouti, transiting through Dikhil in Djibouti, Abdulqadir and Harirat in Somalia, and the destination is in Shinile Zone, mainly Afdem district. A significant amount of these ‘contraband’ items are also transited through other parts of Shinile Zone, destined for neighbouring Regions/Zones of Ethiopia. Whether it is transhipped or expressly passed through the Shinile Zone, goods imported in this way would then get to several markets outside the Zone

(Afar, Oromia, Amhara, Addis Ababa etc), using different means of transport including pack camels, donkeys, trucks and even the train. Other means of contraband transport is trucks (known as TM). But usually trucks and pack camel routes are different. The informal traders are very skilful in passing goods through seemingly impassable routes and therefore evade customs.

In the period before the mid-1990s, the contraband trade was very lucrative, because then, pack camels were about the only means of transportation for this trade. Pastoralists and agropastoralists used to rent their pack camels to the traders (importers) and demand was always high. In fact in peak seasons, the Pastoralists, mainly Issa, used to call for the participation of their Meisso agropastoral tribesmen (the Hawiye) to the trade. These days, more and more traders are resorting to the use of trucks, which have much higher payload capability and are more efficient. This is increasingly reducing the importance of pack camels to transport the 'contraband', hence affecting pastoral incomes negatively. Nevertheless, pack camel rent is still an important source of income, with households in all wealth groups being able to raise 30-40% of their incomes in this way. Their importance is likely to be maintained because there are some routes that trucks cannot operate in, especially to the northwest.

The fact that this trade is illegal makes the lives of the traders very difficult. The pack camels have to traverse difficult terrain in their many days' journey, while all the time being on the lookout for customs officials and police (locally known just as 'the finance') that are working to stop such trade. If goods are captured, they will be confiscated and the trader makes a major loss. As the trucks try to avoid the 'finance', they make tracks all across the Shinile terrain (mainly in the central-eastern half of the Zone). Such tracks worsen the situation of rainwater runoff, which is already a major complaint of the pastoral community. Surveillance by the 'finance' was evidently more intense in the north-eastern part of Shinile Zone, where pastoralists report that some among them are collaborators with the 'finance'. As a result, pack camel rent is much lower in this area; it was found that pack camel rent as an income source was much lower in Las Xaraadh, Biyo Qaboobe, Ayshia, and Hadagala areas - all of which are located in eastern Shinile Zone - compared to the central-western areas.

3.6 *Livelihood Zones in the Administrative District*

Defining Livelihood Zones

Central to the Household Economy Approach is the concept of Livelihood Zones (LZ). Different populations live by very different means depending on their ecological environment, their assets, culture, skills etc. Some may depend primarily on livestock or fishing, others on agricultural production. Because of rainfall, soil type or marketing possibilities, some areas will be suitable for cash crops (such as cotton or tobacco) and others will produce only cereal staples. As a result of these different circumstances different population groups will adopt different approaches for survival. A group or population that obtains its food and income sources from a broadly similar combination of means and that have similar response to shocks is known as a Livelihood Zone (LZ).

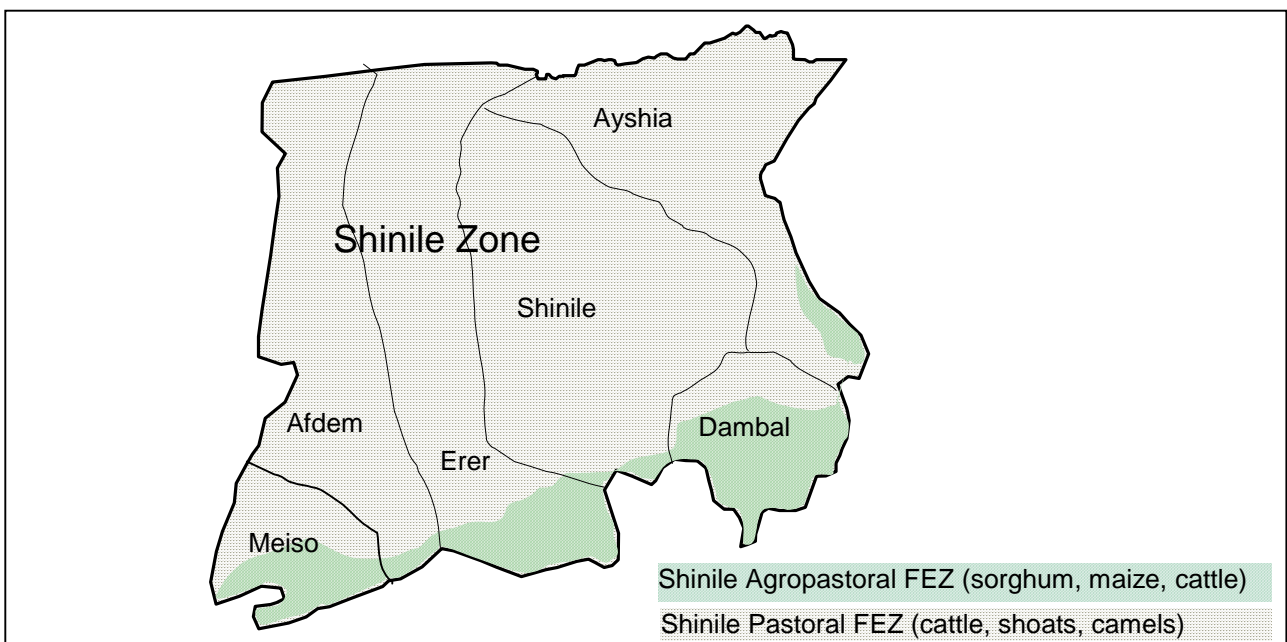
In Shinile administrative Zone there are two major LZs. The largest is the pastoral LZ, which occupies most of the central and northern parts of the Zone. Pastoralists make up about 75-85% of all the households in Shinile administrative Zone. There are also Agropastoralists who are found at the in the southern foothills of the Zone, in most districts. Agropastoralists form the most of the

remaining population of about 15-25%. The urban population is estimated at less than 5%. There are also groups that make a living by getting involved in the informal trade but most are either from pastoral or agropastoral groups. Those that are full time involved in this trade and not involved in ether pastoralism or agropastoralism are insignificant in number. The table below shows the districts for each LZ in the administrative zone:

Table 2 - Livelihood Zones in Shinile Administrative Zone

Name of LZ	Districts covered in LZ	% of Administrative Zone's population
Pastoral	Ayshia, Dembel, Shinile, Erer, Afdem, Meisso	75 - 85
Agro-pastoral	Dembel, Shinile, Erer, Meisso	15 - 25
Urban	Ayshia, Dembel, Shinile, Erer, Afdem, Meisso	0 - 5
TOTAL		100

Figure 1 - Map of the LZ in relation to other LZs



4. Food Economies

4.1 *Shinile Pastoral Livelihood Zone*

Variations within the LZ

Resource Sharing among households

The Issa pastoralists have a traditionally determined way of distributing wealth among the different wives ('households'). A wife and her children and any other permanent member represent the occupants of a single 'house' known as *aqal*. The first wife has at her disposal all the livestock the man can raise, but as a condition, the man should provide 25 units of livestock (known as *shan iyo labaaatan cad*) on marrying the woman. One head of cattle or one camel or 10 shoats represent one unit or *cad*. If the livestock increase, the man may marry a second wife, who will be given half of the animals the first wife holds. If a third wife were married, she would get 25 *cad* only (similar to the first wife).

In normal years and seasons, each *aqal* (or household), is independent in terms of accessing their food and income from their allocated livestock. The husband would be counted as a member of the last wife's *aqal* (although he is in charge of all and ensures that no household is disadvantaged because of a reduction in their herd size). In some rare occasions the man may keep some livestock for himself, to use at his discretion to support any *aqal* that may be disadvantaged by reduced livestock production. In normal years, the father would sustain each h/hold from their own herds and that no h/hold would feed from another family's livestock. Women may sell livestock only with permission from the father and if he is away, they can only sell shoats, to raise just enough money to keep the family going. They cannot sell larger stock. In bad years, the husband would take charge and has the discretion to sell any of the *aqals'* livestock to keep the family going and he will be in charge of all distribution of food and income to all the *aqals*. In recent years, the situation in the dry seasons has increasingly been getting similar to that of bad years (pastoralists say that nowadays, dry seasons were frequently 'having' drought characteristics) and this calls for the intervention of the father to take charge of family support more frequently.

If any of the families' children stay away and send remittance, the father would receive it and distribute it according to the need, no matter from which mother the child who sent the money came from. This would always be the case unless the son/daughter clandestinely sent the remittance directly to his/her mother.

In bad years, the women and young children would stay in the settlements with the goats and the sheep; camel and cattle would be split and driven to different destinations, depending on the availability of the appropriate feed for each species. The different sons or helpers (who will be given a cow or camel, depending on which species he helped to drive), would then go with each species. The father would co-ordinate the movement of each species and ensures that food supplies for each section of the split families reach them on time.

The study found that whereas there is considerable independence among *aqals* within a family, in terms of livestock ownership, income and expenditure, it is not certain what the current status of assets per *aqal* would be, except the first time a woman is married. The livestock may increase or

decrease for each household and they are not evened out. The father will help out the unfortunate households (whose livestock cannot sustain them), by taking some from the other *aqal* and from other sources (relatives, etc). But this does not mean distributing the livestock equally. Another complicating factor is that it is very difficult to get disaggregated information (by household) during interviews from household heads. Furthermore, the frequent intervention by the father for equitable distribution of food and income for all 'households' makes nonsense of any attempts to disaggregate. Therefore, in this study the family (father, wives and children) has been used to represent the household.

Household labour organisation

There is a clear division of labour for members of the family, depending on gender and age. Men are largely responsible for long-distance herding of larger stock (cattle and camels), building and repairing of livestock enclosures, marketing of livestock, gathering information, participation in clan meetings, conflict resolution and pasture surveying or assessment (known as *sahan*). Women are responsible for herding small stock (sheep and goats). In addition women perform all domestic tasks including ghee processing, cooking, cleaning, washing, sewing and fetching firewood and water. Other tasks for women include, milking (mainly goats and cattle), supervising suckling lambs, and building and/or repairing the temporary shelters. This pattern of gender-based labour division is common and all households would adopt it, given a suitable gender composition within the household and sufficient labour. Younger children would help in looking after calves and kids. They would also help their parents in their various tasks. Older children play the role of the women or men depending on their gender. The gender division in labour organisation is dictated by the nature of the livelihood system, generally providing lighter and home-based tasks for women and heavier and long-distance based tasks for men. Women's tasks are usually those close to the physical location of the *aqal*.

4.2 Historical Timeline

Selection of the Reference Year

Household food economy analysis considers many different ways of recalling years. There are "traditional" years, "production" years and "consumption" years and the "reference" year.

In coming up with Historical timelines, the *deyr* season (which starts in October) is used as the start of the Somali traditional year. The traditional Somali year therefore spans across two Gregorian calendar years, starting with the *deyr* (October) and ending with the *hagaa* (September).

Household food economy analysis ranks years using the traditional system of recall (the *deyr* season followed by the *gu* season for each traditional year) – since this is how people recall the past – but focuses on a "consumption year" for discussions with communities on how they lived during the year. This year is taken as the "reference year". It runs for 12 months from the time of major food production (the *gu* rains) through to just before the following *gu* rains (i.e. the end of the long, dry *jilaal/qorahxeed* or *jilaal* season). The "consumption" year therefore covers two Gregorian calendar years. Household economy interviews (with representatives from each wealth group) gather information about a specific year, and this provides a "benchmark" or set of reference values and behaviours against which to compare any other year.

The “reference” year chosen for review is one which is within recent memory (since production and prices will have to be remembered) and which was neither very good nor very bad (extremes can be misleading when we are trying to describe a livelihood system). For convenience we will call this year the “normal” year, but this should not be interpreted necessarily as being either “frequently-occurring” or “typical” as is often the case in agricultural societies. A “normal” year from a pastoral perspective might be a year where there is adequate rainfall in terms of intensity and distribution, livestock production is adequate in both seasons, animals and milk fetch good prices and grain is not too expensive. There is little migration or little insecurity. It could be argued that this description represents a “good” year than an “average” year. For this reason it is often more useful to talk of a “reference year” which allows us to describe typical households in a particular year.

Longer term food security trends and in particular the nature of the different seasons and years in the last 10 years were investigated during the baseline assessment. This is summarised in Table 4. 1998/99 was determined as the reference year (baseline year) for this study.

For information on the Traditional Somali Calendar System please refer to Appendix 9.2.

Table 3 - Historical Timeline Shinile Pastoral LZ

Year	Year name	Karan	Diraa'	Comments
2001 to 2002	Sunday Axad	3		Good <i>karan</i> rains and livestock production. Livestock ban continues. Low purchasing power for pastoralists, low income, no migration
2000 to 2001	Saturday Sabti	2	1	Bad year - Livestock ban in place (imposed in Sept 2000), fair to poor pasture, but good livestock condition - <i>maud kuyaab</i>
1999 to 2000	Friday Jimca	1	0	Very bad year - Poor rains, migration to Oromiya, Afar and Jijiga Zone, low livestock trade, high livestock mortality, - <i>soo dhaaf</i> – don't waste your time on it (meaning weak animals), just leave it.
1999 to 1998	Thursday Khamis	3	2	Normal year - Livestock diseases - <i>Cabeeb</i> and <i>Caal</i> , No migration. Nothing abnormal or emergency
1998 to 1997	Wednesday Arbaca	5	1	Normal year - Very good rains & l/stock production (Elnino) this lasted until 1998, but high cereal prices because Oromiya crops were destroyed; nicknames <i>budug</i> , <i>qoojiye</i> , or <i>laba tanagle</i> (many goats fetched only two tanags - 40Kg – of cereal)
1997 to 1996	Tuesday Salasa	3	2	Normal year - <i>Fadhi ku gaadh</i> year very poor <i>karan</i> rains , Year was near normal, migration to the foothills within the Zone (normal).
1996 to 1995	Monday Isniin	4	3	Good year - <i>Siin</i> disease was seen in camels
1995 to 1994	Sunday Axad	2	3	Below normal year - poor livestock production and poor markets
1994 to 1993	Saturday Sabti	2	1	Bad year - <i>masalo tuur-'no time for prayers'</i> - people running around with livestock, but no diseases, migration to <i>qiiqle</i> . There were good prices for livestock. Security problem associated with fall of <i>dergue</i> regime; migration to <i>Cundhufo</i> in Afar; livestock diseases (cattle), known as <i>dabakarub</i> , and <i>shuban</i> (diarrhoea)
1993 to 1992	Friday Jimca	2	3	Below normal year - Low cereal prices, locust infestation, security problem after fall of the <i>Derg</i> ; livestock disease (<i>gubulo</i>) <i>cagodil soo gudub</i>

Migration Patterns

Normal Year Migration

In a year when the *karan* is normal and the *diraa'* is normal to near normal, it is considered a normal year. In such years, all movement of livestock is restricted to within the Zone, but can cross over to neighbouring/adjacent districts.

Camel cattle and goats in the Southern half of the Zone - Move to the foothills along the Shinile Zone/ Oromia borders, mainly during the *jilaal* seasons, to escape the cold and wind. Camel and goats also find browse, while cattle get graze. Water is available for all. In general during the *jilaal* season, livestock (except sheep and some cattle and milk animals), move away from the interior plains to the southern foothills.

In the *Jilaal*, the livestock in the northwestern areas of the Zone – Northern Erer, Afdem and parts of northern Shinile Wereda, move to the west towards Cadaytu and Cundufo areas towards the Afar season, as these are less windy and warm. The species moved are mainly camel, cattle and goats.

The camel/goat pastoralists in Ayshia districts and northern Shinile Zone move to the sub-coastal areas of Awdal Region of Somaliland (Somalia) during the *jilaal* season. This is mainly due to the *hais* rains (a very brief rainfall, usually just a few rainy days, but to which a lot of benefit is associated as it comes in the middle of the *jilaal* season). The *hais* normally occurs in the coastal and sub-coastal areas of Awdal Region of Somaliland and parts of Shinile Zone in the first parts of the *Jilaal* season (De ember-January).

During the *jilaal* season, when livestock split and part go to the southern foothills, families split - women and children stay in the settlements with the sheep and milking (*irmaan*) cattle. The stronger members of the family (mainly men) – take the other livestock to pastures and water sources further from home areas.

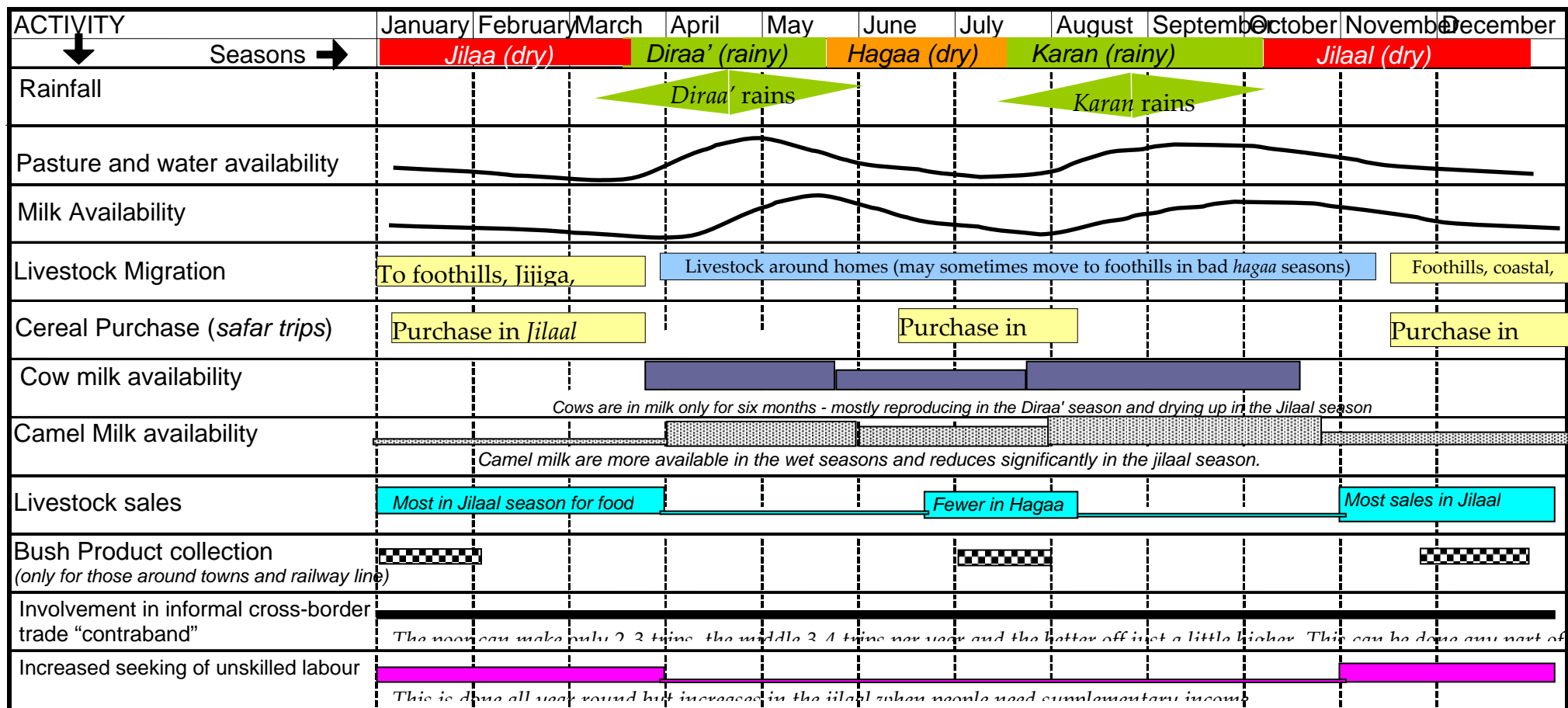
During the *diraa'*, *hagaa* and *karan* seasons, livestock come back to their original places especially to the plain areas of the interior in the districts of Afdem, Erer, Shinile. All other livestock would normally stay in their home areas and most households get back together.

Bad Year migration

When the both *karan* and *diraa'* rains fail or nearly fail, it is considered a bad year. During these years, all pastoralists will split the herds in a similar way as in the *jilaal* season. However, longer distances will be travelled depending on the availability of pastures and water. In bad years camels and cattle may go as far as Afar to the west, Oromiya mountains to the south and to Daakhato, Erer and Faafan valleys in Jijiga Zone. In such times, elders usually seek the assistance of government authorities to enable their communities them to graze in the pastures of the neighbouring Zones of Oromia and Afar in order to prevent possible conflict over resources.

4.3 Seasonal Calendar

Figure 2 - Seasonal Calendar for Shinile Pastoral LZ



Milk selling is a rare practice among Shinile pastoralists. This is mainly because the pastoralists are far from trading centres. Only those pastoralists living in the 'cactus belt' near the southern foothills and those living around villages and along the railway may sell some milk in some of the seasons. The proportion of milk sold increases during the *jilaal*, when livestock move closer the foothills south (to escape the cold and to find better pasture). However these sales are still too little to contribute significantly to household income.

Gifts and Social Support

A small amount of camel milk (about half of one camels milk) is contributed, by the better off and most of the middle households, as gift to the needy and guests every morning in normal wet seasons. This milk contribution, known as *dhawrto*, is placed in a common pool immediately after a milking session, to be distributed afterwards. Better off relatives also keep one or more children of the poorer relatives in order to support them. They also have other support system like providing *maal/irmansi* animals (gift of milking animal). These are in addition to the obligatory *zakat* payments to the poorer of society.

Hadhuudhin or Safar trips

Hadhuudhin or *safar* are names given to the trip made by the household head (father) or elder son to the market to sell livestock and purchase sorghum and other items with the proceeds. *Hadhuudin* comes from the local name for sorghum (*hadhuudh*), while *safar* means journey. Most of these trips take place in the dry seasons. During the *safar*, groups of pastoral neighbourhoods would combine their animals (mainly shoats) for sale and drive them to the to the main markets. With the income received, the heads of households would then buy foodstuffs (mainly sorghum, sugar, tealeaves) to bring back to their families

4.4 Other information particular to the LZ

Livestock

Herd Composition and milk production

Shinile pastoralists rear the four major livestock species found in the Horn of Africa – sheep, goats, cattle and camels. Cattle and Sheep are the most dominant species since the area is mostly flat, water is less of a problem and the *jilaal* is usually cold, which is a problem for goats and camels. Camels and goats are less dominant and are common in the mountainous ranges in the southern border with Oromia and the hilly ranges in Ayshia district, and the area around Milo where the *cadey* plants (used for camel browse) are common. Cattle need less herding labour compared to the other species.

It is common among Shinile pastoralists to milk all species of livestock, including sheep. Camel milk is the most important for consumption, although it is consumed mostly by adult members of the family. Children would normally be fed with milk from shoats and cattle, unless it is *jilaal* and milk is scarce. Camel milk in its raw form is the most commonly used for gift. Cattle milk is more important for ghee production, while shoat milk is almost entirely consumed.

Pack animals

In the community, pack animals are mainly camels (*owr raray*), and donkeys. The pack camels are mainly for transporting the family and its belongings during movements. The pack camels are also used for long distance water transportation. They are also rented out traders carrying out unofficial business (commonly called contraband), where goods, mainly clothes (both second-hand and new), cigarettes and less frequently other imported commodities. Pack camels are also used to transport foodstuffs, mainly sorghum after sale of livestock in main trading areas of Erer, Beki or Meisso. Donkeys are also used for most short-distance transport, the most important being water transportation.

Normally all pastoral households – poor or rich - try very hard to own a pack camel. This is because it is difficult to survive without a pack camel in the countryside. Therefore, if a man were married to three wives he would try to ensure that each wife has a pack camel. If they cannot afford, pack camels would be borrowed from relatives (or neighbours if no relatives), who have more than one pack camel. This borrowing of pack camels is known as *gaadiid ceshi*.

Description of a 'Normal Year'

In a normal year

- One of the rains (*diraa'* or *karan*) is good or average, while the other rain is near normal.
- Terms of trade: Shoats are the most important species of livestock exchanged for sorghum. Normally 1-2 shoats could exchange for one quintal (100kg) of sorghum). The *jilaal* terms of trade is normally worse with two shoats exchanging for one quintal of sorghum, while in the wet season terms of trade is about three shoats to two quintals of sorghum (3shoats: 200kg sorghum).
- No livestock migration outside the Zone, except to adjacent foothills along the border with Oromia, Afar and Coastal and sub-coastal areas of NW Somalia during the *jilaal* and parts of Jijiga and Awabarre districts in Jijiga Zone.
- Livestock condition and production is good and there are no outbreaks of diseases.
- Security is stable and there are no displacements.
- Milk production in a normal year has been assessed as shown in the table below:

Table 4 - Milk production in a normal year

Species	No. months milked/year	wet months milked/year	dry months milked/year	Yield in (lit)	
				Wet season	dry season
One goat/sheep (average)	2	2	0	0.2	0
One cow	5	2	3.5	2.5	1.5
One camel	12	6	6	3.5	1.5

The interview year (July 2001/June 2002) could not yet be completely determined, as it was only 7 months into the year, but as *karan* and *hais* rains were received in most parts, the year was expected to be near-normal to normal. There was however poor livestock prices as well as low cereal prices – due to harvests in Oromia and food aid distribution – as a result the terms of trade for pastoralists, were near normal (somewhat less

favourable). There was food aid distribution in the first four months of the year (July-October) of the year, which is not normally the case.

Relationship with other LZs

- An economic relationship exists with Djibouti and Dire Dawa and the railway line, in the form of market exchange and job opportunities. It is common for young women from pastoral households to go to Djibouti to seek unskilled labour as housemaids, and send back some remittance. Young men may go to Djibouti, Dire Dawa or the trading centres, to seek casual labour, like working on the railway lines.
- Agropastoral community in Shinile provides alternative grazing opportunities and a small market for milk.
- Neighbouring Zones of Afar, Oromia and Jijiga also provide alternative grazing opportunities, especially when there is no conflict between the neighbouring populations (particularly a problem in Afar and Oromia). These areas also provide market for livestock.

Pack camel rent opportunity is provided by the commercial and urban communities, who trade in the informal cross-border trade or 'contraband'.

4.5 Wealth Breakdown

Wealth among the pastoral communities of Shinile Zone is measured by the number of shoats, cattle and pack animals a household has. Camels are not as important, both in number and benefit. Cattle are considered the most important by most pastoralists because they can produce milk and ghee, which can be sold in exchange for sorghum, sugar and tea/coffee. Shoats are considered equally or next in importance as they are considered as 'liquid cash'.

Figure 3 - Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ

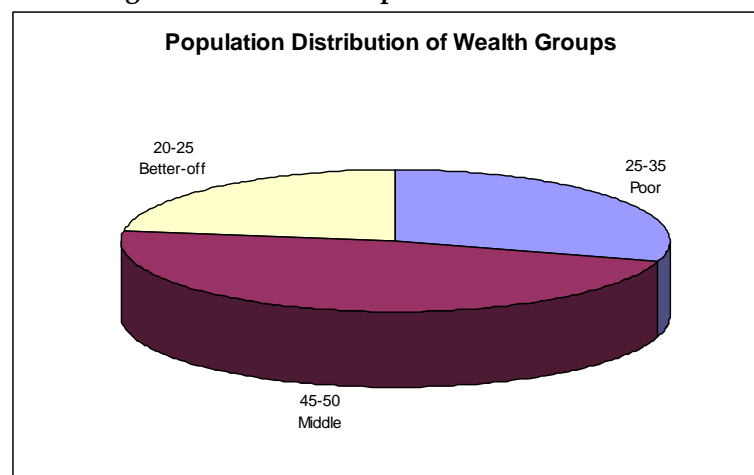


Table 5 - Wealth Characteristics

Wealth Group name & vernacular name	Very Poor	Poor	Middle	Better off
Characteristics				
number of wives				
Household size	4 – 6	6 – 8	9 – 11	15 - 17
Number of members living away & where	2 – 3	1 – 2	1 – 3	3 – 4
Number of members from other family(ies)	0	0	1	2 - 3
Number of members earning income & who (in order of importance)				
LIVESTOCK				
Owned Shoats	20 - 25	35 - 55	80 – 90	160 - 180
Borrowed Shoats				
Female Shoats				
Male Shoats				
Lactating Shoats				
Owned Cattle	0 – 5	8 – 12	20 – 30	50 - 70
Borrowed Cattle				
Female Cattle				
Male Cattle				
Ox(en)				
Lactating Cow(s)				
Owned Camel(s)	0 – 1	4 – 6	10 – 15	30 - 45
Borrowed Camel(s)				
Female Camel(s)				
Male Camel(s)				
Lactating Camel(s)				
Pack Camel(s)	0	1	2 – 3	3 - 4
Donkey(s)/Ass(s)	1	2	3	3
Mule(s)/Horse(s)				

Family Structure

Family size is closely related to wealth status. Families in the pastoral LZ are generally polygamous. Number of wives generally increase with increase in resources, such that the richer household heads (the father) have more than one wife while the poorer ones have one wife. In fact among pastoralists in the western plains of Afdem and Erer, who were relatively richer than those in the eastern districts, richer households with up to four wives were found, while for those to the east, two wives were more common although those with more could be found. Some of the middle and the poor were found to have two wives, but most of poor (in all sites) had one wife.

Family size, which includes all wives, their children and other permanent dependants, is used for all computations as opposed to household size (wife and children) – see explanation above. Whereas there are variations in wealth and therefore family size in the Zone, family sizes within the different wealth groups are generally similar.

There are members of families staying away in all wealth groups, while the rich and middle have other members staying with them. The rich may have 3-4 members staying away mostly in Djibouti and Dire Dawa. They also always have 2-3 members as

permanent guests (mostly children from poorer relatives either within or without the LZ; or employed herdsmen). The middle may have 1-3 children staying away, either working or living in the towns; they may also have one permanent 'guest'. Among the poor and very poor households those staying away are 1-2 and 2-3 members respectively, but they have no members staying with them. The net family sizes therefore are: rich 15-17 members, middle 9-11, poor 6-8 and the very poor 4-6 members.

The Very Poor Wealth Group

This is the poorest of the wealth groups and constitutes a very small percentage of the pastoralists community. They are not discussed in detail, but some information about them is presented here.

The very poor wealth group (WG) constitutes about 2-5% of the population and to a big extent depends on middle and better off relatives. They mostly constitute of the father, mother and about five children – totalling about 7 family members. 2-3 family members would be away staying with relatives out of which one may be carrying out unskilled labour in trading centres, towns, or in Djibouti. This leaves a net family size of 4-5 persons. This wealth group mostly stays near villages and may carry out other activities to get food and income, so it may sometimes be difficult to distinguish from the poor in the rural villages.

They have 20-25 shoats, 0-3 cattle, 0-1 camels and one donkey. This implies their main livestock are shoats. They can have about 6 shoats in milk in a normal year. Whereas some may have a cow in milk, a similar proportion may not have any large ruminants in milk at all. They would normally get a milk animal usually a cow, to milk in the rainy seasons (*maal*). One of the children staying away may occasionally send some remittance if he/her secures any unskilled labour work. The other two children will be staying with richer relatives, mostly within the LZ, where they may be helping with the animals, or other domestic work.

The Poor Wealth Group

The Poor Wealth Group (WG) constitutes a larger proportion compared to the very poor. They comprise about 25-35% of the pastoral population in Shinile Zone. The poor households are generally monogamous, with very few having more than one wife (mostly those who grew poorer after being in a higher wealth group). Their family sizes are normally 7-9 with 1-2 family members staying away, either because they got married or have gone to look for employment or self-employment opportunities in Djibouti, Dire Dawa and other trading centres. This leaves a net family size of 6-8 who will be with the family and the herds.

Asset holdings for these groups include about 35-55 shoats, 8-12 cattle and 4-6 camels. Such households may have up to one pack camel and two donkeys. The poor households would have livestock and livestock products that are sufficient to meet about one third of their food needs. The pack camel is used for all long distance transportation, while donkeys are used for short distance transportation, like fetching water.

The Middle Wealth Group

The Middle wealth group constitutes 45-50% of the pastoral population. They own 80-90 shoats, (of which 70-80% are sheep). In addition they have 20-30 cattle and 10-15 camels. Whereas every middle household may have shoats and cattle, some may have just a few or no camels and usually make up the wealth difference by owning more cattle. Middle households may have 2-3 pack camels and 2-3 donkeys as beasts of burden. The pack camels are used for long distance or 'heavy-duty' transportation (like in *hadhuudhin* trips) and for income generating activities if available, while the donkeys are used for short distance transportation (like fetching water from nearby water points)

Households in the Middle wealth group may have 1-2 wives with family size ranging between 9 and 11. About two family members may be staying away while such households would always have one 'guest' – mostly a relative. One of the family members staying away, may be involved in labour activities in Dire Dawa or Djibouti and may send some remittance, although the amount of remittance is small and irregular.

The Better off Wealth Group

Households in the Better off WG, have 160-180 shoats excluding kids, which may number another 40-50. Out of these shoats, up to 45-55 shoats in milk (75% of which are sheep). They may have up to 13-17 cattle and 10-13 milking camels. The Better off also have 55-65 cattle and 35-40 camels of which about 15 and 11 may be in milk every year. Although sheep milking is a common practice across the LZ, the better off wealth group do not milk sheep.

4.6 Food Sources in the Reference Year

Figure 4 - Food Sources for all Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ

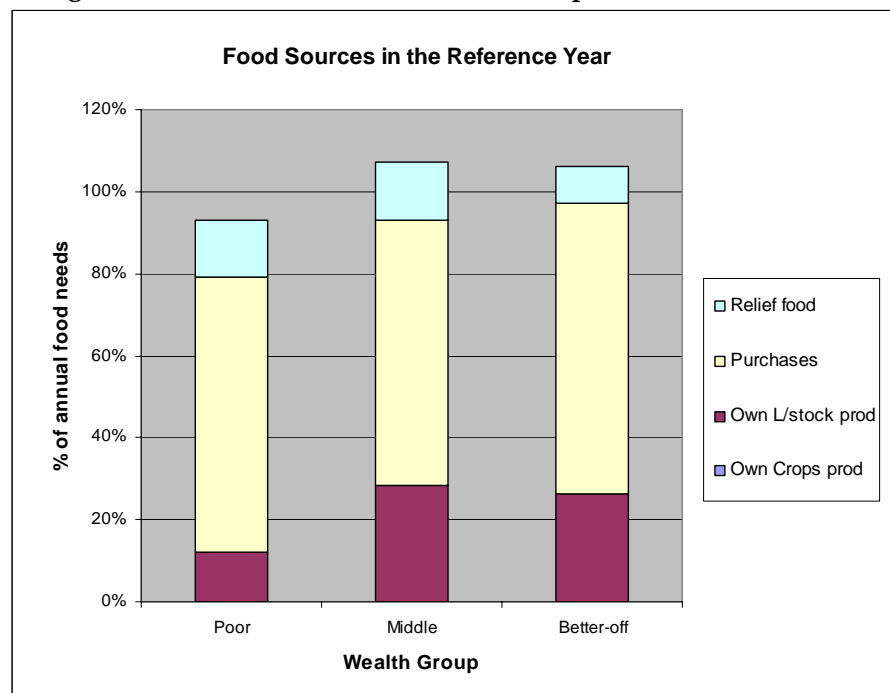
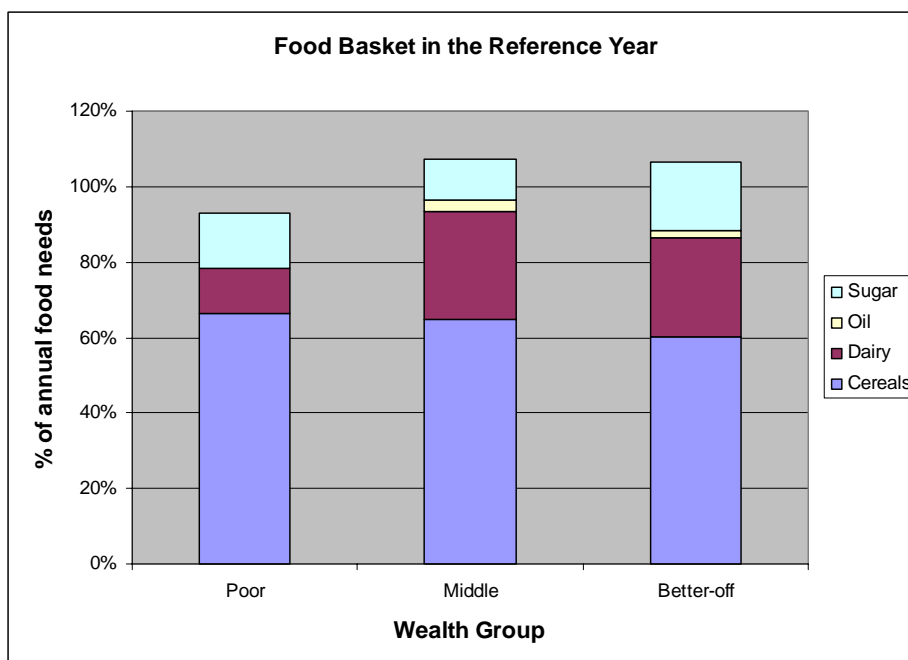


Figure 5 - Food Basket for all Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ



Food Sources, Poor WG

The poor WG can normally raise 100-110% of minimum kcal needs per person day (pppd) based on 1900kcal pppd. The major source of food for the poor wealth group is from exchange. They purchase mainly sorghum and sugar. This is followed by livestock products, which is mainly milk consumed in its raw form. All of the skimmed milk, if any, is also consumed. Households have 1-2 camels, 3-4 cattle and 13-17 shoats in milk in a normal year. Sorghum and sugar consumption increases twofold in the *jilaal* season. This is because milk production decreases sharply, because most cattle and shoats dry up, while camel milk reduces. During the wet season, poor households meet most of their food needs from own milk

Production in addition to gift milk (either from raw milk gift or from gift in the form of cow in milk). Ghee is rarely consumed and is reserved for sale to generate income during the *jilaal*. In the dry season, cattle and shoats are usually dry and of no milking value. Families will therefore stay with their milk camel.

Food Sources, Middle WG

The Middle WG can normally raise 110-115% of minimum kcal needs per person day (pppd) based on 1900kcal pppd. The main food sources for the middle households are milk, and purchased cereals and sugar. Meat consumption is insignificant. Most of the milk is consumed raw and camel milk constitutes about 25% of all food consumed in a normal year. Shoaat and cattle milk is less important for drinking. 50% of the cattle milk is used for ghee production, while mainly children consume all goat milk, directly or as complements to other foods.

In the wet season and the *hagaa* season, all the milk animals remain with the family and around settlements, while in the *jilaal* season, when livestock move away, the milk

camels would remain behind with the family. Cattle and shoats are normally dry in the dry season.

Food Sources, Better-off WG.

Better off, unlike other wealth groups, have milk and milk products as the most important food source, while cereal purchases (sorghum) is the second most important food source. They earn 45-55% of their annual food requirements from milk and milk products (ghee) and 35-40% from cereal purchases (mainly sorghum). Sugar contribution is considerable (7-12%) while meat is not significant as food source since they slaughter very few of their shoats annually. In some dry seasons, elders may declare a *shida* (slaughter of at least one shoat per household) to boost nutrition status of households. In such occasions meat is not shared as every household slaughters.

4.7 *Income Sources in the Reference Year*

Figure 6 - Bar Chart of Income Totals for all Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ

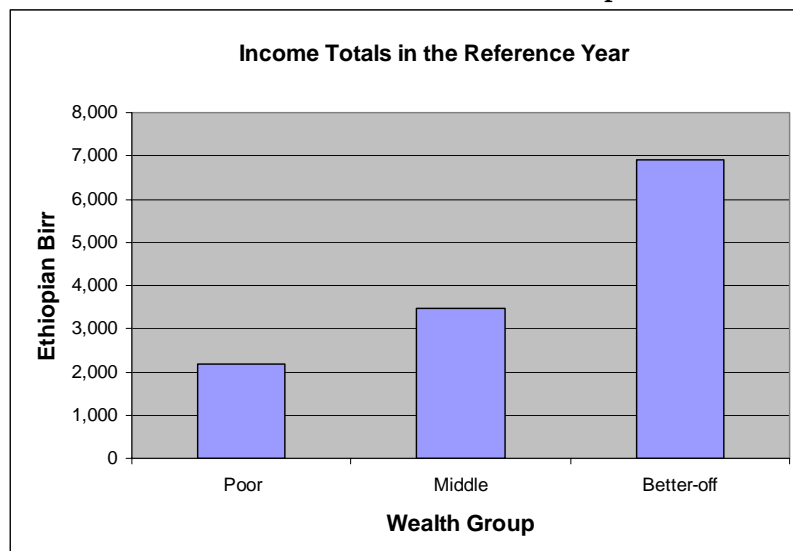
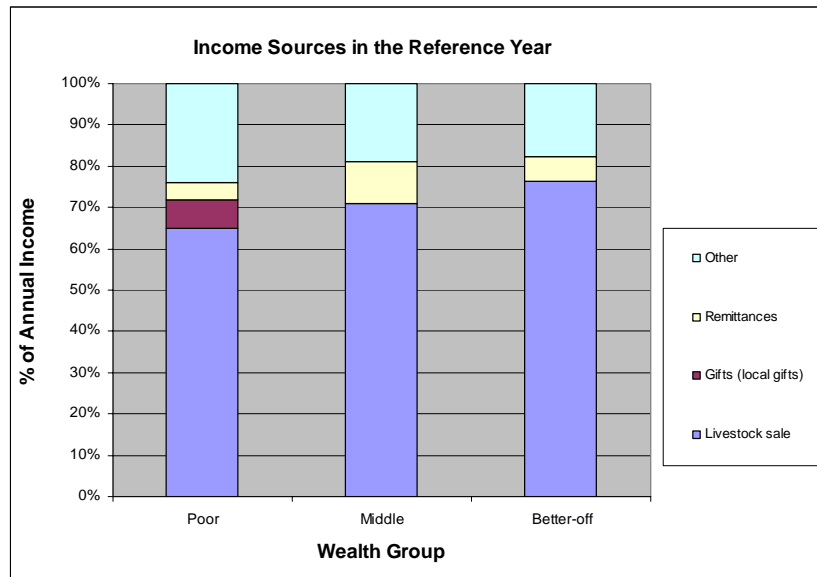


Figure 7 - Bar Chart of Income Sources for all Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ



Income Sources: Poor Households

Poor pastoralists depend almost entirely on their livestock to get income - directly or indirectly. They sell livestock – mainly sheep and goats (shoats), from which they get about one-third of their income. 5-7 shoats may be sold in the dry season at 70 birr each & 2-4 shoats in the wet season at 80 birr/shoat. Most shoats are sold during the high grain demand season of *jilaal*, when household milk supplies reduce sharply. Once in two years poor pastoralists may sell one head of cattle at about 500 birr/yr. When this is done, fewer shoats may be sold. Live animal income is mostly used to purchase sorghum, sugar, clothing and tealeaves.

They may also get some remittance from one son/daughter staying away in Djibouti, Dire Dawa or other towns. The remittance usually contributes to less than 10% of the family income.

Some income is obtained from ghee sales. Almost all ghee produced (about 85%) is sold. Whereas wealthier households usually sell their ghee in the dry season when prices are high, poor households sell them whenever the need arises and therefore generally get lower prices for their ghee. Ghee-income is usually used to buy sugar and tea.

The poor also rent their pack camel, but since they have only one camel, they only manage to make 3-4 trips in a year. The income from each trip is between 250-350 birr. Normally the father drives the camel and the activity is not usually season-dependent, although it would be difficult to make such trips when livestock need more herding labour, such as the dry seasons. Total income is about equal to the expenditure, since the poor only engage in income generating activities in order to meet cash needs – for food, clothing and other needs.

Poor households in Shinile district, and those close to the main roads to Djibouti and the railway line, reported firewood and charcoal sales. This is however, not a common practice among Shinile pastoral LZ. Also milk selling is not common across the Zone, except in the areas close to urban or trading centres. Total annual income for the poor households amounts to ETB 2250-2500 (US\$ 260-300).

Income Sources, Middle WG

About half of the annual income of the middle households comes from the sales of livestock, which is the most important source of income. 15-20 shoats may be sold annually at the prices of ETB 70 in dry seasons and 80 in the wet seasons. Most of the shoats (about $\frac{3}{4}$) would be sold in the dry *jilaal* season while the rest would be sold in the wet seasons. In addition they usually sell one cow/ox per year at about ETB 600/year, also mostly in the dry seasons. This is because in the dry season there would be more purchases of cereals as milk availability is low. Pack camel renting (mainly for the informal cross-border trade) is the second-most important income source. Usually the middle would rent out one pack camel and this would make 4-5 trips annually at the rate of 250-350 birr per trip. The middle may also sell 25-30 kg of ghee every year (almost all processed in the wet season). They sell most of this ghee in the dry season at an average price of ETB 25 per kg. The amount of money received from remittances is small, usually ETB 100-200 sent about 2-3 times in a year from one son or daughter doing unskilled labour in urban centres. Unlike the poor, the middle households get considerable percentage of their annual income from the ghee/milk sales and some money as remittance. The total income for middle households ranges between ETB 4000-4700 (US\$ 470-550).

Better-off Wealth Group: Income Sources

Livestock sales is the leading source of income for this wealth group as well while renting of pack camels is the second important source of income. Better off households earn 30-40% (2400-2700 Birr) and 30-35%(2000-2500 Birr) of their annual income from livestock sales from pack camel rent respectively. The contribution of ghee sales as income source is remarkable for this wealth group (15-25%) while remittance is the least important source of income (10-20%).

4.8 Expenditure Patterns in the Reference Year

Figure 8 - Bar Chart of Expenditure Totals for all Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ

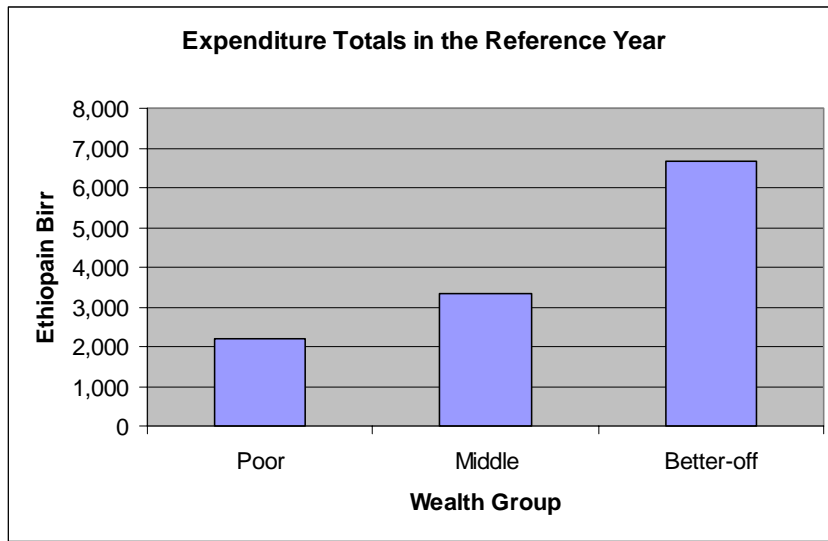


Figure 9 - Bar Chart of Expenditure Pattern for all Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ

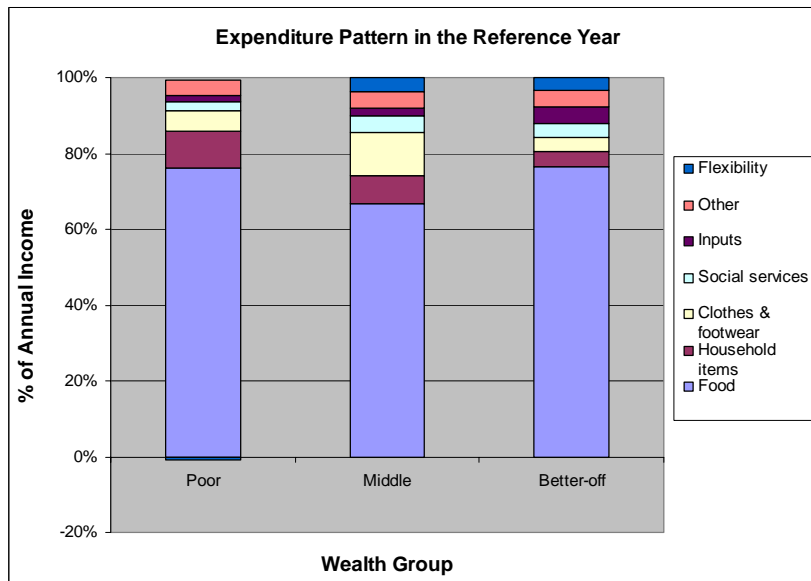
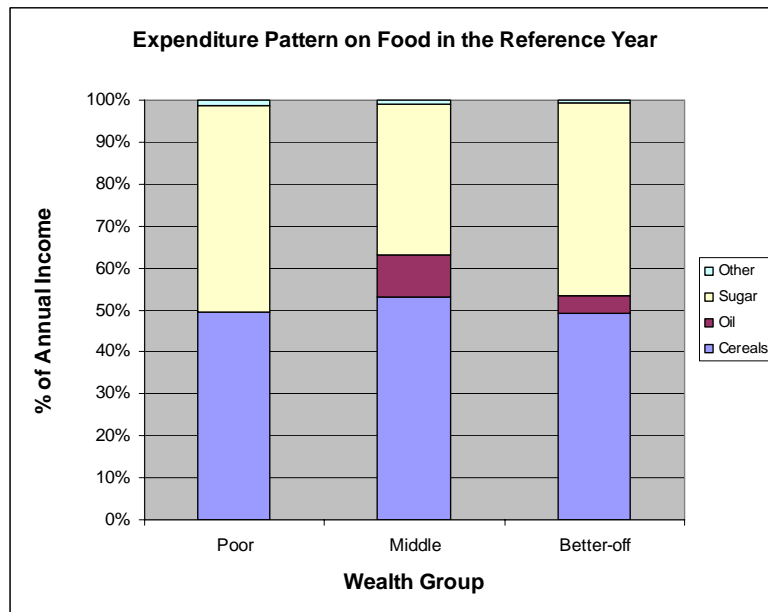


Figure 10 - Bar Chart of Proportional Expenditure on Food for all Wealth Groups in Shinile Pastoral LZ



Expenditure Pattern: Poor Households

The expenditure of the poor is equivalent to their income. They have no flexibility or ‘savings’. The patterns of expenditure are very simple among the poor wealth group. The food items they purchase are mainly sorghum and sugar. Almost all of the cereals and sugar are purchased within the 8 months of the dry season (2 *hagaa* and 6 *Jilaal*) dry season when milk availability is very low. Non food essential (or ‘other’) items commonly purchased include salt, tealeaves and some medicines (although very rarely). The other major items purchased are clothing including footwear. Some households may purchase detergents, kerosene and dry cells, but this constitutes an insignificant percentage.

Expenditure Patterns, Middle WG

Total annual expenditure is about 3250-3600 Birr/year (about \$400) giving households a flexibility or “savings” of about 700-900 Birr (about \$100). Middle households spend nearly half (40-45%) of their annual cash on staple cereal purchases. They spend 1100-1200 Birr on purchasing sorghum annually. Middle households purchase about 10 quintals³ of sorghum in a normal year of which about 7 quintals (70% of total sorghum purchases) is purchased in dry season while the remaining 3 quintals (30%) is purchased during wet seasons. The price of sorghum is normally higher in the dry season (145 Birr per quintal) while it reduces slightly in the wet season to (125 Birr per quintal). This declining shoat prices and increasing cereal prices in the dry season forces pastoralists to sell more livestock. Middle households also spend a considerable amount of money (750-800 birr, which is 25-30% of annual expenditure) on sugar purchases since sugar is an important energy source in the normal year. They purchase about 180 Kg of sugar per year.

³ 1 Quintal equals 100kg

The other categories of expenditure include clothing (10-20%) and other household items (tealeaves, salt, batteries, vet drugs, human medicine, etc) that take up 10-15% of total annual expenditure. Unlike poor groups, the middle households make some replacement for livestock sold. For example they would buy one or two small shoats over the year, in order to replace old ones sold or with the surplus money left after selling livestock. This 'restocking' expenditure makes up 3-7% of annual expenditure.

Better-off Wealth Group: Expenditure

The better off wealth groups spend the highest expenditure on staple cereal purchases and sugar (non-staple). They purchase about 13.5 quintals (8 quintals in dry season at 145 Birr and 5.5 quintals in the wet season at 125 Birr) in a normal year. This means approximately 30-40% of their normal year expenditure.

A household in this wealth group also purchases 280 Kgs of sugar (180 Kgs in dry season and 100 Kgs in wet season) which is equivalent to 25% of their reference year expenditure

Expenditure on clothing is higher for this wealth group compared to previous wealth groups. The better off households also do restocking (livestock purchases), an opportunity which is unaffordable for the poor, and this restocking is equivalent to 5-15% of their yearly expenditure. The remaining amount of the annual cash is spent on other items (e.g. household items, vet drugs, social services-education, medicine, clan taxes).

5. Vulnerabilities, Risks & Coping

There are a number of risk factors that the Shinile Pastoral Livelihood Zone is vulnerable to. These risk factors may be considered as 'shocks' at times when they reach levels that have adverse effects. The risk factors affect households in a variety of ways and include:

- 1) Rainfall failure: The failure (or insufficiency) or delay of either the *karan* or the *diraa'* or both. This will cause:
 - Pasture shortage
 - Water shortage (most Shinile pastoralists do not normally face water shortage)
 - Poor livestock production, causing milk and ghee shortage
- 2) Livestock Market Access: The pastoralists are heavily dependent on livestock marketing (both export and internal demand) for most of their income. The proceeds are normally used to purchase cereals, which form a high percentage of their food source. The shock may be:
 - Export market closure like the import embargo imposed by the Gulf Arab states
 - Malfunction of local market like a reduction in demand, a collapse in prices, etc.
 - Market restriction – restriction of access to both local and international markets.
- 3) Loss of pack camel rent: this is an important source of income for all wealth groups. A number of factors can drastically reduce the use of pack camels for the informal import trade:
 - A tighter control, or a more severe crackdown by the Government on the informal trade;
 - Mechanisation of the informal 'contraband' trade which makes camels redundant;
 - Legalisation of the informal import trade, which makes the use of camels redundant;
- 4) Livestock diseases outbreak. This has the potential to:
 - Cause livestock mortality, which reduces assets and therefore income
 - Reduce livestock body condition and therefore production and market price
- 5) Conflict mainly over resources and land: Particularly with the Afar and sometimes the Oromo. This normally results in substantial loss of human life and looting of livestock.

Coping and Risk minimising Strategies

The following are the main strategies adopted by the Shinile Pastoral LZ to cope with or minimise the effects of the various risk factors:

1. Increased sale of livestock and the sale of larger stock, which would otherwise not have been sold. This is done when milk and ghee are scarce and people have to rely on cereal purchases for prolonged periods. Usually in bad years livestock are weak and fetch low prices.
2. Migration: Both normal and abnormal migration patterns are used by the pastoralists to cope with seasonal and unseasonal fluctuations in pasture and water availability. When the migration is to the Oromo and Afar areas, a conflict with these communities often erupts.
3. Controlling breeding of animals, especially sheep. This would ensure that they deliver just before the *diraa'* season so that the chances of survival for the young ones

are higher while at the same time keeping the mother in good body condition. This is a risk minimising strategy.

4. Pasture surveying (*sahan*) is done in different seasons, especially at the start of the rainy season (if the rains were not good) and in the dry seasons. This is done so that livestock are moved to places with better grazing and water availability.
5. Storage of ghee until the dry season when prices are higher – this is mainly done by the rich and middle wealth groups in order to get better income from ghee and save on sale of shoats.
6. Sending of one or more child to work in towns and urban centres – this is practised by most households and particularly the poor and middle WGs in order to increase income options.
7. Slaughter of the new-born calves or kids if they are borne in the dry season or in a bad rainy season, in order to increase the chances of survival for the mother. This is a distress strategy.
8. Reduction in gifts of milk and milking animals when the season is poor. This may be a coping strategy for the middle and better off, who normally give a *mal* animal but is not good for the poor households.
9. Selling of old/weak animals and replacing with younger ones before the start of dry season.
10. Increased collection and sale of wild products, especially among the poor and some of the middle. Normally these are not collected. The collection is higher among those households who are near the main roads, main villages/towns or along the railway line.
11. Increased seeking of remittance from sons/daughters working as unskilled labourers in towns.

6. Recommendations

6.1. *Recommendations*

1. Formulation of a pastoral development policy is essential to make pastoralism more viable as it is about the only economic activity that can be carried out in this semi arid rangeland;
2. Creating the environment of free trade (lifting of existing restrictions for both livestock and other commodity trade) within and outside the country in order to encourage commercial offtake among pastoralists. This will boost pastoralists incomes while at the same time helping to reduce environmental degradation (by reducing incidences of overstocking);
3. A proper understanding of the pastoral production system and a basic shared vision on its future taking into account local knowledge and experience;
4. Investment and development interventions focusing on improvement of production levels with a holistic approach – improving production and minding the environment;
5. Ensuring that the preconditions for attaining a better livelihood are met for the pastoral peoples, such as assured access to land, improvement of specific production factors such as animal health, water development; and the provision of social services like education, health facilities and roads; Currently these are very poorly developed in Shinile and are hampering income and food opportunities.
6. Developing and implementing conflict prevention and resolution systems and the safeguarding of human rights (assured survival, protection from loss of life or property etc);
7. Development of a sustainable Early Warning systems;
8. Many pastoral groups are constantly struggling to recover from repeated droughts. A carefully thought out, but flexible package of relief, recovery and development measures with adequate contingency and development measures should be the basis for getting out of this repeated emergency-relief-recovery cycle.
9. Effective pastoral development requires interrelated programmes and interventions at different levels - local regional, national and international. This should be based upon jointly agreed on policies and strategies that draw heavily on local needs and knowledge;
10. Establishing a sustainable pastoral development research centres in the pastoral rangelands that will help provide useful direction on pastoral development and other issues related to pastoralism.
11. Reassessment of current interventions (by government, NGOs, UN and other agencies)with the aim of improving ways and means of response to pastoral problems;
12. Implementation of a readily available and if necessary mobile extension and health service for both pastoralists and their livestock;
13. Institutional development - pastoral institutional development should follow a two-sided approach. Strengthening of and building on existing traditional pastoral institutions and complementing these with modern institutions.

7. References

SC (SAVE THE CHILDREN) UK (2000) *The Household Economy Approach: a resource manual for practitioners*. Save the Children, London.

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8. Appendices

8.1. HEA Methodology

The Household Economy Approach⁴

The Household Economy Approach helps to provide a detailed picture of the many ways that households meet their food and income needs in a 'normal' year and the many strategies they employ to lessen the consequences of crises (selling or consuming assets, migration for employment, eating wild foods, etc.). It therefore provides a picture of the household economy and its relationship to markets and employment opportunities.

- produce a coherent picture about how people live and the options open to them in a normal year
- identify the types of risk which households are vulnerable to
- give an estimate of the likely effect of a 'shock/hazard' on household income
- explore the extent to which coping strategies can cover a household's deficit
- identify which population groups are most at risk of not coping with change
- predict the likely impact of a range of intervention options and identify the most effective in reducing short-term and long-term vulnerability

HEA is useful for answering the question "what constraints prevent households from prospering", or "what will be the effect of a "shock" or combination of shocks, on the economy of various types of households in different Livelihood Zones?" It provides analysis that can be used both for prediction and to make more informed interventions. The approach is reproducible and incorporates sufficient mechanisms to cross-check information internally for users to be confident of the validity of findings and subsequent recommendations. It can be used in a rapid or a comprehensive form, depending on the question of study, time and money available.

This approach is participatory in nature and does not follow conventional statistical sampling methodology. The method employs RRA tools such as seasonal calendar, time line, normal year, proportional piling, pair wise ranking and so on. Interviews focus on groups that represent specific Livelihood Zones. Within this zone interviews are held with representative key informants and wealth groups (socio-economic groups). The approach is based on the understanding that it is the quality of the information collected that is important rather than the number of interviews conducted. However, every attempt is made to ensure that the information collected is representative. Thus site selection is done in coordination with technical officials at Regional, Zonal and District levels.

A typical Household economy baseline assessment includes the following steps:

⁴ For any additional questions please contact Suleiman Mohammed the Early Warning and technical coordinator for Save the Children's food security project in Jijiga, Ethiopia. Telephone +251 5 752775/6/7 or send an email to ewtc.jijiga@telecom.net.et. Alternatively visit the Save the Children (UK) website www.savethechildren.org.uk/foodsecurity.

Step 1: Identifying Livelihood Zones (LZ)s and populations

The first step therefore is to identify population groups within which most households obtain their food and cash by broadly similar combinations of means (known as a livelihood zone, food economy area, group or zone). A Livelihood Zone may be at one extreme a refugee camp and at the other a large part of a country.

Step 2: Identifying Wealth Groups and a 'reference' year.

As it is not possible to investigate and generalise across all households, we gain insights into the lives of representatives from the major wealth groups identified by key informants; usually the 'rich', 'middle', 'poor' and 'very poor'. A profile is developed of the distribution of wealth which will relate to land and/ or livestock holdings, household labour availability, income generating activities, asset ownership and so on. These characteristics are identified by the community themselves and thus vary per LZ.

This profile usually portrays the household economy in a 'reference' year. While in reality years vary. In order to allow for comparisons to be made when conditions are significantly different, a 'reference' year is chosen which is relatively 'normal' or 'typical'. This reference year is also referred to as the 'baseline' year⁵.

Step 3: Describing Household access to food and cash income

Within each LZ we need to understand how typical households access their food and other income and how this varies for each wealth group. This information is obtained by interviewing groups of women or men from each wealth group who identify the various options households employ to secure access to food. These will explore all possible sources of food. In order to purchase food and other basic needs such as health & education, income is derived from various sources, and all are explored. Information is also gathered on all household expenditure.

For each of these three areas, food production, cash income & expenditure, the information is displayed in graphs which illustrate the current situation and show us the options available to each wealth group. Estimates are made of the extent to which a household can expand each option in times of stress. All these interviews are about the previously identified 'reference year'.

Multiple interviews are conducted and information is triangulated to ensure internal and external consistency. For instance, payment for labour reported by labourers should tally with payment rates given by employers.

Step 4: Understanding links to markets

Most households in most parts of the world depend in some way on the marketplace to obtain some of their food. The 'better-off' may increase the value of their crops by specialising production or selling when their value is highest, the poor may be obliged to sell crops directly after harvest and purchase later using income from employment.

⁵ The term "baseline" is used differently than how it is understood in monitoring longitudinal change. It is, rather, a set of reference information which can be compared with similar information gathered at a future time.

Without an understanding of 'normal' links between households and markets in procuring both food and cash income it is not possible to understand options open in times of crisis. The interviews clarify which markets are of greatest importance and therefore where observed price changes (e.g. staple food prices) or reduced access (e.g. due to hostility) will have greatest impact on households in a given LZ.

Step 5: Clarifying risk-minimising strategies and potential coping strategies

Poor households are constantly aware of the risks to their livelihoods and income and to a large degree anticipate and prepare for this. When broadly predictable, (such as in semi-arid areas where rainfall and crop production alter greatly from year to year) successful strategies will include storing crops and accumulating livestock in years of surplus production, and increasing use of wild foods and selling livestock and other assets in shortfall years. In years of extreme 'shock' other strategies may be available such as sending members of the household to fish, to find employment further a field, to increase the collection of firewood or claiming customary kinship support. As most of these are an extension of the usual coping mechanisms of the poor, interviewees are able to identify the options most likely to be pursued first.

Understanding these options is crucial to understanding how households will manage in a given change and what kind of support is necessary for them to access their food and cash income.

8.2. Note on Somali Traditional Calendar

Somali communities, mark their traditional years by giving them names that correspond to the days of the week; years are known as Monday year, followed by Tuesday year, etc, and after the seventh year (i.e. Sunday), the cycle begins again with Monday. Years with the same name would be differentiated by a nickname related to a major event (droughts, floods, war, regime change, epidemics, etc), that took place during particular year; for example *Arbaca Shuba* (meaning the “Pouring Wednesday”) referred to the el-nino year of 1997/98, which was a Wednesday year. Whereas year names are the same across all Somali groups, nicknames may be different in the different agro-ecologies and geographic locations, as events affecting them will be different.

In coming up with Historical timelines, the *deyr* season (which starts in October) is used as the start of the Somali traditional year. The traditional Somali year therefore spans across two Gregorian calendar years, starting with the *deyr* (October) and ending with the *hagaa* (September)

The Somalis use two types of calendar years (i.e. two ways of counting years). It is very important for researches studying production, seasonal related areas among the Somali, to distinguish these two calendar types because the Somali community uses them for different purposes⁶.

1. The *nairus* or *naurus* calendar: This calendar is related to the movement of the sun and other celestial bodies and therefore is used to determine seasonal patterns. The calendar year is kept orally with incredible accuracy and followed closely by the rural communities, particularly pastoralists, as it determines when to expect rainfall, and whether or not to move livestock to different location. This type of year is exactly the same as the Gregorian year (i.e. has 365 days) but does not start with January. The beginning of the year is marked by ‘the positioning of some star(s) into specific locations in the sky’, known as *kalawereega nairuuska*. This usually coincides with start of the *deyr* rainy season for most Somali groups and is marked in a variety of ways by some rural communities. The *nairus* year is divided into four main seasons in the most Somali inhabited areas – *deyr*, *jilaal*, *gu*, and *hagaa*. *Deyr* and *gu* are rainy seasons while *hagaa* and *jilaal* are dry seasons.

The number of days in each of the seasons in the *nairus* year are numbered, each about 90, although with some seasons (like the *hagaa*) being a few shorter and others slightly longer. The total number of days would then fit in exactly with the Gregorian calendar days. Therefore the start of the seasons is normally easily identified with a specific Gregorian date like *Gu* (the main rains) starts around 12-14 April in most of the Somali inhabited areas (except the *karan* belt). Similarly the other seasons start at specific dates (*hagaa* in July, *deyr* in October, and *Jilaal* in January).

⁶ The order in which the season will appear in the assessment will depend on how a given community identifies their ‘consumption’ year. Therefore a reference year could start in the *jilaal* season followed by the *gu*, *hagaa* & *deyr* or in the *gu* followed by the *hagaa*, *deyr* & *jilaal* etc.

There are parts of the Somali inhabited areas that have slightly different seasonal patterns, but still use the *nairus* system to keep track of the seasons. These are the northern part of Somali Region (Jijiga and Shinile Zones), the northwestern part of Somalia (mainly Woqooyi Galbeed, Awdal and parts of Sanaag Regions) and Djibouti. These areas do not receive *deyr* rains but instead receive *gu* (or *diraa'*) and *karan* rains.

2. The Islamic Calendar (Lunar Calendar) – This calendar uses the moon's movements instead of the sun's movement. The number of months is 12 but the year is normally around 355 days. This calendar started with the migration of Prophet Mohamed and his followers from Mecca to Madina, which marked a turning point in the history of the Islamic faith, and is therefore known as *Hijriya* (Migration) calendar. The Somali have local names for each of the Islamic months 'or moons' (but this names differ slightly among the different geographic locations) and they use these months for all religious obligations, rites and worship – like fasting, *zakat*⁷ payment, *Hajj*⁸, etc.

⁷ *Zakat* is the obligatory payment by wealthier Muslims to poorer ones, once their wealth (usually savings or assets) reaches a specific threshold known as *nisaab*. *Zakat* is 2.5% of savings; 10% of rainfed crop harvest; 5% of irrigated crop harvest; one shoat for every the first 5 camels owned, etc.

⁸ *Hajj* is a compulsory pilgrimage to the *Ka'ba* (the first house of worship established by prophet Abraham), at least once in a lifetime for Muslim individuals who can afford the journey while still being able to maintain their families.