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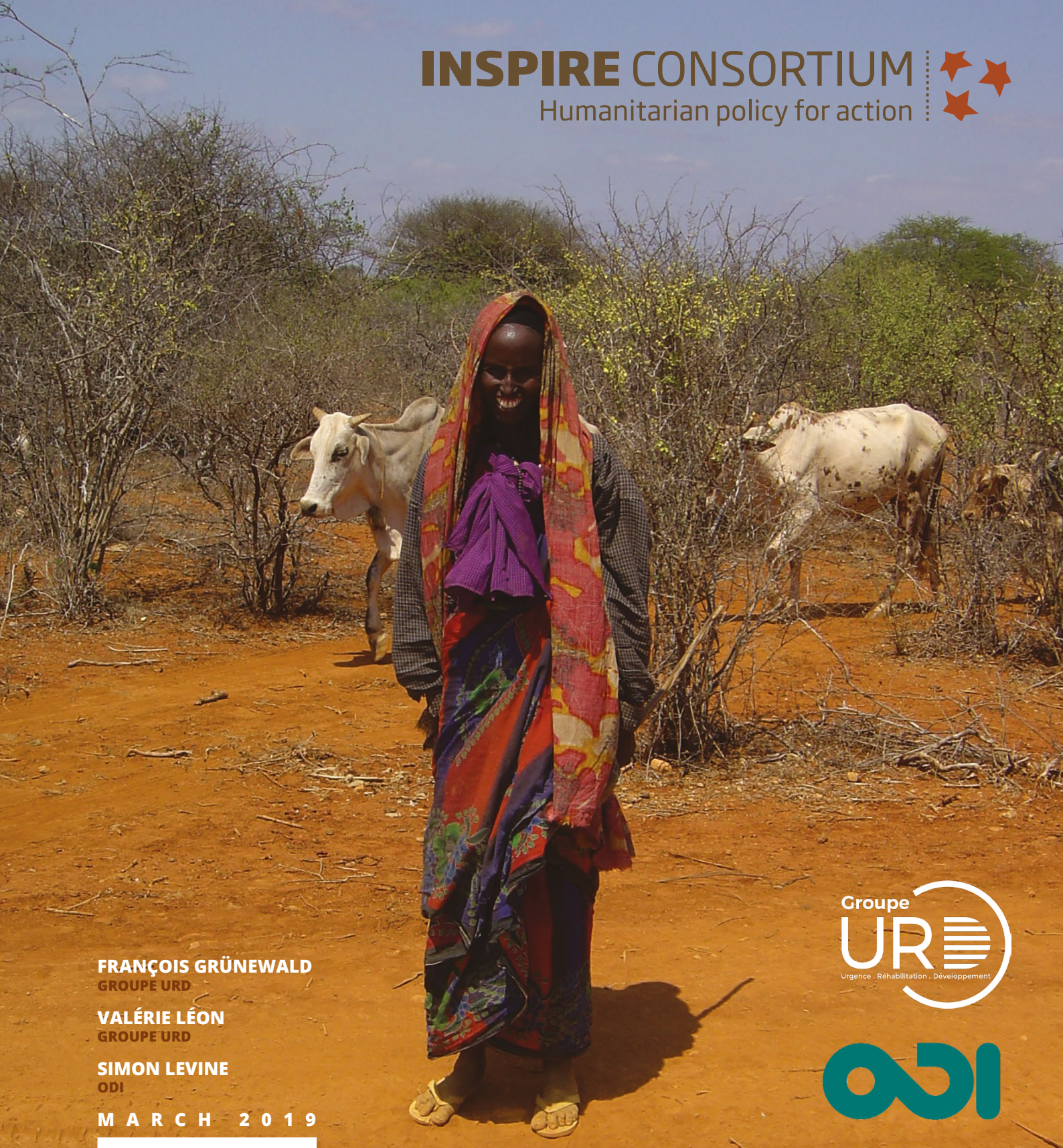

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COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW (CR) OF 2016-17 ECHO HORN OF AFRICA (HoA) DROUGHT RESPONSE

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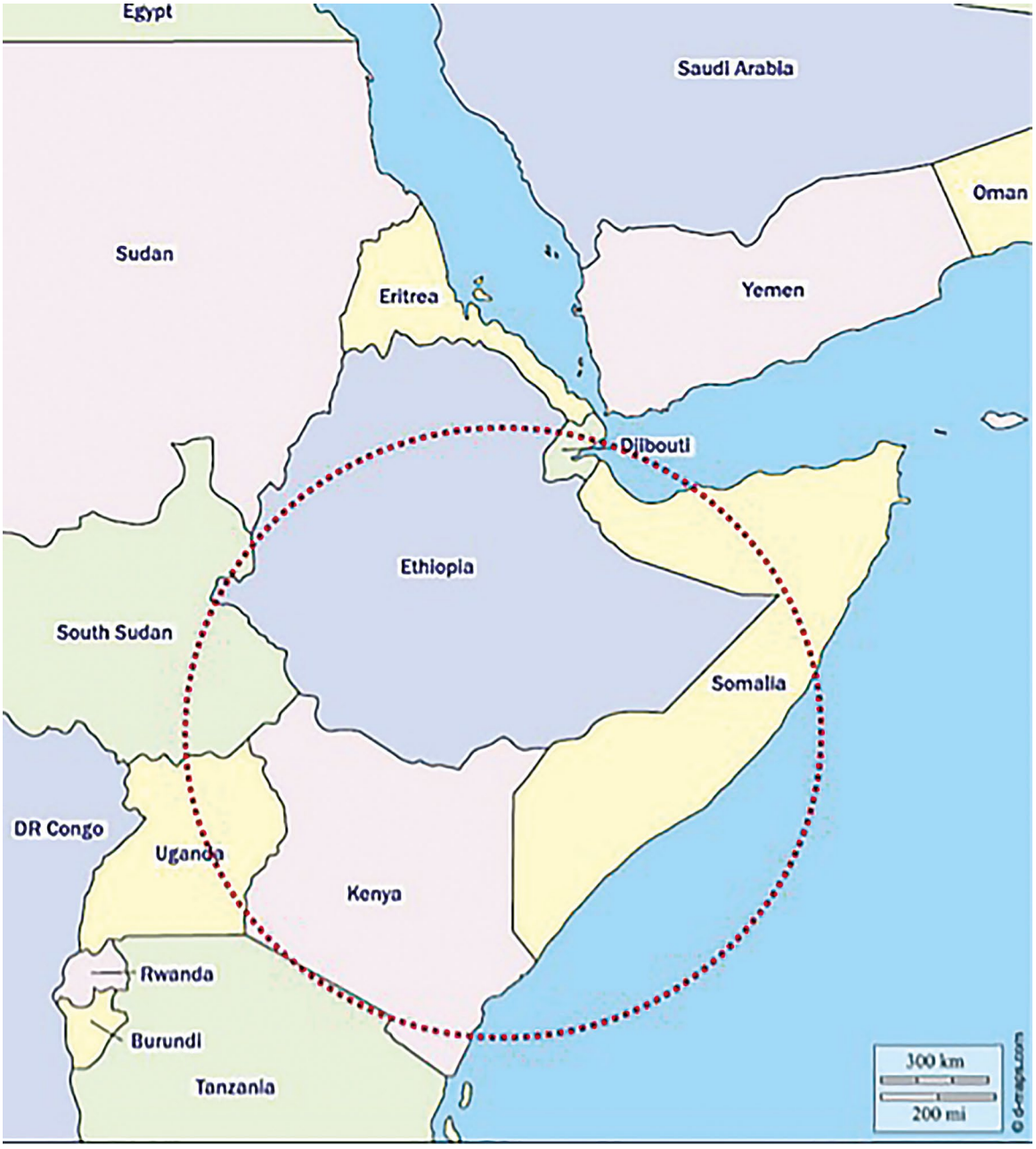
MAP OF THE STUDIED AREA



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Horn of Africa has been affected by a variety of climatic events which have led to several major droughts in the last 15 years. The international aid system has tried to adjust to these events and improve its capacity to respond. The most recent episode of severe drought took place in 2016-17. This led to a huge international relief effort, and despite very high malnutrition rates, enormous loss of livestock assets and a great deal of displacement, mass mortality was avoided across the region, and famine conditions did not ensue.

In 2018, the Directorate-General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO)[1] contracted the INSPIRE consortium to assess how the response by the international humanitarian community as a whole, and ECHO in particular, had changed since the previous droughts in the Horn of Africa (HoA), in 2011-12. The review aimed to analyse the factors that determined the performance of the response, to document improved practices and the challenges in their implementation, and to identify lessons, so that improvements can be made to ECHO's operational procedures, structures and policies.

KEY FINDINGS

CONTEXTUAL CHANGES AND SPECIFIC CRISIS DYNAMICS

Although the crises in 2011-12 and 2016-17 were labelled droughts, it would be misleading to think of them simply as the consequences of rain failure. The interaction between rain shortage, mobility, political crises and conflicts has been widely documented. Throughout the region, the worst indicators were not necessarily in the areas with the greatest anomalies in rainfall, but rather in the areas that had been affected by conflict, or were marginalized and under-developed. In pastoral or agro-pastoral areas, one failed rainy season should only create hardship rather than famine. On the other hand, if several consecutive bad seasons are combined with structural poverty, political marginalisation or conflict, the population may be unable to adopt adaptive population movements and coping mechanisms. Climate change is increasingly affecting the area, with changing rainfall patterns (both in terms of time and geography) and the modification of the vegetation cover. As a result, periods between bad years are becoming shorter and recovery is more difficult.

LEVELS OF RESOURCES ALLOCATED

Between 2011-12 and 2016-17, there was no significant difference in the amount mobilised for the global international response for Somalia, while the amount was somewhat higher for Ethiopia. For Kenya, very little was mobilised in both cases by ECHO, while resources coming from EU funded development programmes were allocated to the drought response. It seems that the main question is not how much money is mobilised but how it is used.

1 - To make the report easier to read, the Directorate-General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations will be referred to simply as 'ECHO'.

UNDERSTANDING WEATHER INFORMATION BETTER AND USING IT MORE EFFICIENTLY

Although weather forecasting is continually improving and becoming more accessible, it is still not playing a significant role in determining how resources should be used. Governments, who have access to the information, are still rarely willing to allocate resources on the basis of forecasts, when they have so many other pressing demands for resources. Unfortunately, the general unwillingness to act on the basis of forecasts is extended, to a certain degree, to preparedness measures. The implications of the unwillingness to allocate resources until indicators of suffering (e.g. GAM) are rising are well recognised: given the time taken to translate funding decisions to assistance on the ground, response will always be late.

TIMELINESS OF THE RESPONSE

There was a significant improvement in terms of alertness and geographic coverage between 2011 and 2016-17, with some variation between the three countries. The quicker triggering of the response in Somalia in 2016, and even more in 2017, was possible due to robust early warning information which was provided more quickly through different formal and informal channels, the presence of more actors in the field and the engagement of key donors who were determined to avoid a repetition of the 2011 famine. In Kenya and Ethiopia, the improvement in timeliness was more limited as most of the early warning systems and response mechanisms are government-led systems which too often react slowly. The humanitarian response was delayed by the same factors in 2015 and in 2016 as it had been in 2011-12, namely: limited willingness to respond to meteorological forecasts, even for heightened preparedness; an insistence on waiting for 'official' early warning (despite the well-known inability of these systems to be timely, see above); an unwillingness to respond based on an analysis of the inevitable trajectory of livelihoods and humanitarian indicators, waiting instead until such indicators (especially child malnutrition) were already critical; an unwillingness to divert development resources to scale up support where critically needed (for livelihoods, water etc.) in the absence of a Government-recognised emergency; slow bureaucratic processes, exacerbated by the centralisation of decision-making; and lack of preparedness by operational agencies, leading to long delays between the decision to act and actually reaching people in need.

Why changes took place: factors influencing timeliness and speed

International political situations: The wars in Syria, Yemen and South Sudan competed with the Horn of Africa for attention and resources.

Aid and local politics: To talk of famine is also highly sensitive politically. The fact that droughts happened in politically sensitive years with electoral processes in Kenya and Ethiopia affected the willingness to declare and call for international assistance.

Changes in local governance: In Somalia, the main structural factors responsible for changes between the response in 2011 and the response in 2016-17 relate to

governance, namely an improved security situation. In Kenya, the state actively took on the central coordination role, and the decentralised governments got more involved in coordination at the local level, although sometimes in a rather confused manner, as coordination capacities and experience are still relatively underdeveloped at the county level. In Ethiopia, the response mechanisms were practically identical between the 2011 and 2016-17 crises.

Field presence: The pre-crisis presence on the ground of agencies who were either direct partners or broadly allied to the humanitarian cause proved crucial. Such agencies are critical in terms of having information on developing crises, and without their active presence before a crisis, an emergency response can be delayed by a month, and will inevitably have a much poorer understanding of the context for many more months. As happened during previous droughts, there were two delays of several months; the first in terms of making the decision that the situation needed emergency aid, and the second to get assistance to the affected people. This shows that lessons on preparedness were not sufficiently taken on board.

Safety nets: Although social safety nets, including the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) in Ethiopia and the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) in Kenya were already functioning in 2011-12, they played a much greater role in 2016-17. With a level of resources that dwarfs that of emergency relief, they were injecting resources into drought-affected populations even as the crises developed, i.e. many months before relief aid arrived. The 2016-17 crises showed that there are still a number of factors that require attention before fully engaging in such an approach (see chapter 4).

CONCLUSIONS

Over the years, the humanitarian system has evolved and has tried hard to improve its capacity to respond better, faster, and in a more coordinated and inclusive way. Significant progress was observed between the responses to two consecutive crises in the Horn of Africa with a complex set of causes, ranging from climatic events to conflict and economic marginalisation: better use of cash transfer programmes, more attention to early-warning signals, and stronger engagement with local institutions. ECHO has played an important role in promoting and supporting these changes. However, despite this progress, the system has not been able to achieve a much higher level of effectiveness. Indeed, this is still being compromised by internal bureaucracy, political choices and risk aversion (see 6.2.7).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Some of these recommendations have previously appeared in several evaluations and research studies concerning not only the Horn of Africa, but also other crisis areas. Their regular occurrence means that they are related to systemic problems that need concerted efforts to be properly addressed – some within the aid system as a whole, some within the humanitarian sector as a whole and others within ECHO.

FOR ALL ACTORS:

Recommendation N°1: Humanitarian agencies, individually and collectively, need to reflect why over the past decades, so many of the same recommendations have been repeated in relation to the need for faster, timelier response, and yet those same recommendations are being repeated here yet again. In addition, development actors need to carefully consider what sectors to invest in and how to support preparedness (e.g. water, health-care, education, etc.) particularly when crises are already threatening.

Recommendation N°2: Humanitarian partners, NGOs & UN agencies also need to improve their speed of reaction and their adaptability to change. Aid actors should ensure that, when money is available, they manage to deploy in areas in need and adjust their methods to the pastoralist / nomadic context, which is very different from the agricultural context.

Recommendation N°3: Systematically recording and analysing delays in aid responses will make it possible to make rapid corrections in a given operation and should allow collective learning and more structural changes for future emergencies. The humanitarian system has found it difficult to put into practice repeated evaluation recommendations about slow response. The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) could develop guidelines for monitoring the speed of each step in an emergency response. It could also develop guidelines to ensure that evaluations systematically analyse the timeliness of responses and the causes of delays, and calculate the additional suffering and loss that the latter bring. **In Ethiopia specifically, there is a need to rethink how the Early Warning System should function.** The current data collection and analysis system is not designed to deliver early warning for humanitarian preparedness or response (see 5.1). Harvest information can inform us that the rainy season did not go well, but it is not early warning information.

Recommendation N°4: Preparedness in contexts where crises are recurrent should be the first priority for both humanitarian and development actors. This will require development actors to be better linked in to Early Warning Systems (EWS). Preparedness should also include mechanisms for the rapid deployment of Emergency Cash Transfer (ECT), linked, where appropriate, to existing safety nets. It is also recommended that the potential of social safety nets or social protection systems should be further explored. Governments are increasingly recognising that certain households are unable to meet their basic needs and that this is a permanent and structural problem. Aid actors, including ECHO, need to continue to advocate in favour of social safety nets and social protection systems.

Recommendation N°5: While existing efforts to increase responsiveness through adaptive management tools should continue, there is a need to increase dialogue between humanitarian and development actors, for joint situational and needs assessments, and joint planning. Crisis modifiers and the ability to reallocate development resources to crisis response (DFID[2], USAID[3], the

2 - DFID: Department for International Development of the United Kingdom government.
3 - DFID: Department for International Development of the United Kingdom government.

RESET[4] programme of the European Union) – as seen in several development programmes in the HoA – are steps in the right direction.

Recommendation N°6: Beyond classical early warning systems, humanitarian actors need real time information systems which can inform them about the impacts of different kinds of interventions. Current real-time information, which concerns the changing severity of a crisis, is vital for the targeting of interventions. However, this is not enough to help steer responses, facilitate adaptation and ensure that the most effective strategies are used.

Recommendation N°7: Systematically ensure that donors and UN agencies are engaging with the right level within national governments to facilitate humanitarian operations and create an enabling environment for effective responses. There is also a need to ensure that agencies have freedom of movement and access to populations to assess humanitarian conditions, and the freedom to report openly on what they find. Ongoing advocacy with different levels of Government should not wait until a crisis is developing. Developing and maintaining rules of engagement for the rapid and sustained response to crises have to be seen as key parts of preparedness.

Recommendation N°8: Ensure that anti-terrorist legislation and other new constraints on humanitarian actors (visa procedures, agency registrations, etc.) do not permanently block the ability to gain access to and operate in difficult areas. In Somalia, antiterrorist legislation means that aid agencies are faced with constraints and costly verification procedures. These were particularly acute in cash transfer operations. In addition, visa procedures have been made more rigid. As the area is likely to remain turbulent in the coming years and the risk of contamination in neighbouring countries is rather high, donors should ensure that they do not create additional difficulties for humanitarian agencies.

FOR ECHO:

Recommendation N°9: Ensure that planning and resource allocation mechanisms are agile and ensure that ECHO is not only a reliable donor, but also a rapid donor. With its current system of financial planning (timeline of the HIPs[5], constraints in the use of the existing reserves, year n budget based on the beginning of year n-1 budget), ECHO is not in a position to respond in a timely fashion to slow-onset crises. It has to make a fundamental choice; either it keeps its current resource allocation procedures and adopts the role of a 'not very fast, but solid donor' (which is very effective for the second phase of an emergency response) or it radically transforms them, including the criteria for making funding decisions.

Recommendation N°10: ECHO should act as a catalyst to address collective information gaps in the humanitarian sector. Without duplicating the efforts of the UN mandated agency for humanitarian coordination and information management (OCHA), ECHO should continue to support the production of robust and independent evidence. Assessing the impact of crises and of humanitarian responses (e.g.

4 - RESET: Resilience Building in Ethiopia.
5 - HIP: Humanitarian Implementation Plan.

recent livelihood protection measures such as cash transfer, safety nets, and livestock interventions) would be particularly useful. ECHO should play a leading role in building a coalition to achieve this, especially in areas where OCHA is not present (Kenya) or is in a complex position vis-à-vis the national authorities (Ethiopia).

Recommendation N°11: ECHO needs to maintain the capacity to respond in underdeveloped and marginalised crisis-prone areas across the region, including maintaining longer-term relationships with a network of agencies (including development NGOs). This will facilitate the flow of information from the ground before crises develop, and will also be the basis for rapid response to changing conditions. Such a network could include partners with longer-term objectives if a collaborative strategy is put in place to deliver emergency relief as and when necessary.

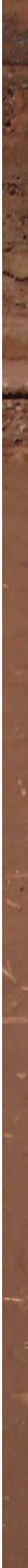
Recommendation N°12: ECHO should use its position as a respected humanitarian organisation with a long-term field presence and a large network of partners in the field to play a bigger role in humanitarian advocacy. Its potential contribution to emergency response goes far beyond the funds that it makes available. As demonstrated by its involvement in the humanitarian debates in the sub-region (on cash, nutrition, WASH, etc.) and more recently at the global level (on education in humanitarian situations), ECHO is a respected donor. The way it coordinates with other key humanitarian donors (DFID, OFDA, SIDA, SDC, etc.) creates additional leverage. ECHO should thus use its weight more in discussions with the Regional Coordinator and the Humanitarian Coordinator about Early Warning, in negotiations with the Authorities and when engaging with non-conventional donors.

Recommendation N°13: Even in disasters caused by natural phenomena, ECHO should continue to… promote humanitarian principles and protection activities. ECHO is right to campaign in favour of the principles of humanity and impartiality.

Recommendation N°14: Though this is not always easy, the possibility of working with and/or through existing state mechanisms should be further explored. There are a number of preconditions to channelling support through state structures: governments should provide clear information about how much of their own resources they are ready to allocate; they should respect humanitarian principles to ensure that all at-risk people are being treated equally; and they should allow full access for external reviews of operations and administrative aspects. ECHO and DEVCO[6] should explore more ways of co-funding when one of the two has some comparative advantage. In the same way that DEVCO transfers the EDF B envelope to ECHO when needed, ECHO should consider transferring either resources or the responsibility to act to DEVCO when it is already engaged in supporting national systems (such as PSNP or HSNP) or strengthening national disaster management mechanisms. This should only be done on the condition that humanitarian principles are properly taken into account and adequate targeting and M&E systems are included. Options to make ECHO's financial regulations more agile to allow operational methods of this kind should be further explored, within the framework of ECHO's mandate.

6 - DG DEVCO (referred to here simply as DEVCO): Commission's Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development.

Recommendation N°15: ECHO needs to continue its efforts to improve the links between humanitarian and development aid. Efforts to establish a new working relationship between ECHO and DEVCO should be actively pursued in order to reduce people's vulnerability to climate change, establish synergy between longer-term investment and emergency response (for instance, providing surge capacity) and find the best ways to design projects and collaborate with state structures (e.g. national disaster management agencies, state services for water, the treatment of malnutrition, etc.). It is recognised that the full implementation of this recommendation depends upon the response of the EU as a whole and cannot be achieved by one DG alone.



FULL REPORT

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND

The Directorate-General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO) contracted the INSPIRE Consortium to conduct a Comprehensive Review (CR) of the 2016-17 Drought Response in the Horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia), comparing this recent response with that of the 2011-12 drought. ECHO wanted to learn whether or not the response of the humanitarian system as a whole, and of ECHO in particular, had improved, and if so, what factors had contributed to that improvement.

1.2. SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES

The terms of reference (see annex 1) were to identify:

- Whether the humanitarian community response to drought [could] be considered better in 2016-17 compared to 2011-12, and if so, in what ways;
- What the role and contribution of ECHO had been in any change.

The main objectives of the present review are threefold:

1. To analyse the factors of performance, to allow all stakeholders involved to reflect on what happened and why, by comparing the two drought responses (2016-17 and 2011-12);

2. To document recommended practices, successes and challenges, with a view to identifying what needs to change in order to sustain organisational strengths and improve ECHO drought response programming;

3. To capture lessons learnt so that improvements can be made in ECHO's operational procedures, structures and policies.

The report begins with a description of the overall humanitarian, political and security context in which the drought responses took place (§2 and 3), then looks at the contribution that resilience building programmes between the two droughts made to people's coping capacity (§4). It then analyses the drought responses themselves (§5), based on the two guiding questions from the ToR, above. The report concludes with a number of conclusions (§6 and 7) and a series of recommendations (§8).

1.3. METHODOLOGY

The comprehensive review is based on a desk review and a series of interviews with key informants, either remotely, in Brussels or in the capital cities of the affected countries.

- **The desk review** examined a wide range of documents related to both drought responses, including evaluations, studies, reviews of lessons learnt and best practices,

financing data (FTS, OCHA, ECHO), early warning and technical reports (e.g. FEWSNet, FAO), as well as programmatic and strategic documentation provided by ECHO (HIP, daily flash, crisis reports). See annex 3 for a full list of documents studied.

- **A series of interviews (112 in total) with key people at different levels:**
  - > **Brussels-based interviews (10)** with key people at ECHO headquarters.
  - > **A few remote interviews (9)** to prepare the field missions.
  - > **Field-based interviews (in total 93 individuals in face-to-face interviews and 64 additional participants in focus group discussions)** were carried out in Hargeisa, Addis Ababa and Nairobi with key interlocutors, from national authorities, NGOs, the UN, donors and regional institutions as well as independent consultants (24 people in Ethiopia, 18 in Kenya, 32 in Somali & Somaliland).

See Annex 2, for the mission itineraries and list of people met.

- **Construction of a timeline of key events** related to the crises of 2011-12 and 2016-17, as identified in interviews and the desk review.
- **Several meetings (4)** were also organised in Nairobi, in order to test some of the issues addressed and to gather ideas from selected groups of stakeholders (including the ECHO regional team, NGOs and donors). 19 additional individuals were met during these meetings at the regional level.

2. DROUGHTS AND FOOD SECURITY CRISES IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

2.1. THE REGIONAL CONTEXT

The Horn of Africa is highly prone to climatic shocks, both rain shortages and floods, including those associated with El Niño and La Niña events. These events seem to affect the rains in different ways in different parts of the Horn of Africa. For example, El Niño events are roughly associated with droughts in the Ethiopian highlands (and enhanced risks of floods in the lowlands), and La Niña events are associated with increased risk of drought across Northern and Eastern Kenya, Somalia and the southern lowlands of Ethiopia. Over the past 15 years, there have been drought-related food crises in different parts of the region in 2002-4, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011-12, 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2017. The international emergency response to these crises has regularly been criticised, in particular the late response to droughts[7], and as a result the humanitarian community has tried to improve its response capacity, investing in various early warning systems and financial mechanisms for speedier release of funds. The most recent episodes of severe drought were an El Niño-type drought in 2015, followed immediately by a La Niña-type drought in 2016[8] and a huge international

7 - E.g. Hillier and Dempsey (2012), Pantuliano and Wekesa (2008), Levine *et al.* (2011) and many others.

8 - These labels are used descriptively to indicate the geographic areas affected by the rain failure. Whether or not the droughts were causally linked to specific conditions that are defined as El Niño or La Niña is irrelevant to this discussion.

relief effort was mounted in response to these in 2016 and in 2017. Despite very high malnutrition rates, substantial loss of livestock assets and a great deal of displacement, mass mortality was avoided across the region, and famine conditions did not ensue – in contrast to the 2011 (La Niña-type) drought which had caused the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people, particularly in Somalia.

Although the crises across the region in 2011-12 and 2016-17 have been labelled as droughts, it would be misleading to think of them simply as the consequence of rain failure. The Somalia famine of 2011-12 (like the Ethiopian famine of 1984) was principally the result of conflict, exacerbated by a lack of rain. The interaction between lack of rain, restricted mobility, price rises, political crises and conflicts in other food security crises in the region has been well documented. The highest malnutrition and mortality rates rarely follow the geography of rainfall anomalies[9], and this was true again in 2016-17. The worst impact takes place in areas that have long been marginalized, under-developed and/or affected by conflict– and often in areas where indicators are permanently above emergency thresholds (e.g. Somali Regional State in Ethiopia, Turkana County in Kenya, and several livelihood zones in Somalia). Beyond political and economic factors, people's ability to make a living from their natural resource base is determined by rapidly increasing population density, deforestation, temperature rises (linked to climate change), the privatisation of collectively owned rangelands, and settlement on drought-reserve rangeland.

Although droughts in the Horn of Africa often affect regions that span national boundaries, the crises and responses in 2011-12 and 2016-17 were not regional in nature. Each country had its specific political context which influenced the nature of both the crisis and the response. The following section (2.2) describes the national contexts and identifies the specific features of the drought episodes and food security crises of 2011-12 and 2016-17 in the three countries. Three contextual differences between 2011-12 and 2016-17, which affected all three countries, should nonetheless be noted here. In 2016, world food prices were 30% lower than in 2011[10]; world crude oil prices in 2016 were less than one third of those in 2012[11]; and the 2016-17 crisis in the Horn of Africa was competing for political and humanitarian attention with severe and high-profile crises in north-east Nigeria, South Sudan and most notably Syria.

2.2. THE CONTEXT OF THE FOOD SECURITY CRISIS IN THE THREE COUNTRIES

In Ethiopia, despite impressive statistics on macro-economic growth, inequality has grown[12] and poverty remains widespread and deep, with over 70% of the population living below the international poverty line[13] (83% using the OPHI Multidimensional Poverty Index (2016)). Apart from being affected regularly by rain failure, the south and

9 - See for example the analysis by Maxwell and Majid (2014) of the link between mortality and ethnicity in Somalia 2011.

10 - Source: FAO food price index, in real terms.

11 - Comparison of January 2016 with January 2012, source: www.macrotrends.net

12 - The Gini coefficient of income inequality rose from 33 in 2010 to 39 in 2016. Source: World Bank data accessed from www.tradingeconomics.com

13 - *Ibid.*

south-eastern regions are also hotspots of violent conflict and competition over land use and livelihood systems (between mobile pastoralists, sedentary agro-pastoralists and investors), exacerbated by the government policy to support the sedentarisation of pastoralists and the commercialisation of irrigated agriculture in pastoral rangelands. This has also contributed to the increasing number of destitute pastoralists and youths searching for employment in expanding towns.

Although the Ethiopian institutions appeared more resilient over the years 2015-2016 and the government showed more willingness to allow access for humanitarian operations - in particular in the field of nutrition - some political and institutional aspects have contributed to delaying the response to droughts. Thus, the government pledged an unprecedented level of federal resources starting from the end of 2015 and the National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC) saw its mandate enlarged (including DRM policy implementation) and was taken under the PM's office. However, it struggled to receive attention from the different ministries and lost its hand on food security issues and resources. This situation did not allow for a smooth transition between two successive phases of PSNP and created significant delays in the payments to beneficiaries over the years 2015 to 2016[14]. The occurrence of national elections in 2015 may also have hampered early recognition of the ongoing crisis and a prompt response of all aid stakeholders.

In Kenya, hunger and malnutrition were caused by a combination of drought impacts and other, non-meteorological, causes. Socio-political instability had its own specific impact. Conflicts between pastoral groups, and between them and farming communities, in part of the drought-affected areas was a contributing factor of the impact of the drought at local level in specific areas. Child malnutrition rates would also have been affected by the nurses' strike which disrupted health services throughout Kenya for over 6 months in 2017[15].

Although the new constitution and decentralisation process made coordination more complicated, it also brought many advantages, discussed further below. The other main institutional change was the creation of a new authority for drought management (NDMA) in November 2011. The previous entity with a similar remit was a World Bank/EU funded project, the Arid Lands Resource Management Project, which closed at the end of 2010. Its closure led to a period of reduced donor funding for the ASAL, and a weakened Government response capacity during the 2011-12 drought.

Since 1991, **Somalia** has remained a dramatically vulnerable country ('a failed state'), with basically no real public service delivery, a dysfunctional economy and huge governance problems at all levels. Thus, the crisis in 2011-12 was largely the result of war exacerbated by poor rainfall. Most of the country was controlled by Al Shabaab (esp. Southern Somalia, see §2.2) and major donors had reduced their funding due to their anti-terrorism legislation. The delivery of humanitarian aid was extremely dangerous and challenging (a number of aid workers were killed). Al Shabaab banned the WFP after the UN declared that there was a 'famine' situation in the country as well as some INGOs who used the term 'famine' in their communication. Political stability and security improved significantly

14 - As further explained in Section 4.2.

15 - Apart from the overall impact on health care for the population, there was a specific drought-related impact, because treatment of acute child malnutrition is undertaken by state health services.

between the two drought events and during the last crisis. Indeed, the 2016-17 drought took place in a period of progressive expansion of territorial control by the federal government and state-level institutions. Al Shabaab nevertheless remained in control of large parts of South and Central Somalia, but its grip on the population seemed to be evolving, allowing more people to move to areas where they were able to receive humanitarian assistance. **Somaliland** remains a much more stable area, although there is concern about the recent re-emergence of the conflict with Puntland on the Sool-Sanaag plateau.

KEY MESSAGES

- ***Crises related to drought occur most often in areas which are characterised by underdevelopment, political marginalisation and rain failure. Understanding the interaction between socio-economic situation prior to an adverse climatic event and the impact of the event itself is essential.***
- ***National governments are more and more keen to control humanitarian response. In situations where a natural phenomenon like drought takes place in a context of conflict or social contestation. Humanitarian actors need a very carefully crafted humanitarian diplomacy approach to find the right modalities to intervene.***
- ***National capacities to respond to crisis are improving in the Horn of Africa since 2010. National authorities are showing more willingness to contribute to the drought response with their own resources (not yet the case for Somalia). This is new parameter to take on board when designing a response plan.***

2.3. INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND SECURITY

Some other political and security factors are worth remembering to complete the description of the regional context, before analysing the aid response (in the following sections).

At the global level, there has always been a competition between humanitarian crises to access funding. In 2011-12, the drought in the Horn was competing with Haiti earthquake and Pakistan floods. The Syria crisis reinforced the competition for mobilising resources, both at the global and regional levels, compared to the years 2011-12. The emergence of major humanitarian crises considerably increased the competition for funding: since 2011 with the conflicts in Middle East (Syria, Yemen) and since 2014-15, with the preoccupation about migratory flows towards Europe, the humanitarian envelop is under extreme political pressure. The EC-Turkey deal over the Syrian refugees and the La Valette Agreement on Migration are drawing significant resources from the aid basket even if additional funding from other sources have also been mobilised outside ECHO budget. Another important element regionally was the declaration of "four famines" (including Somalia, South Sudan, Nigeria and Yemen) which reinforced the competition within the Horn of Africa.

The difficulty to leverage aid resources can be linked to the reluctance of national authorities to recognise the full scope of needs - like in Ethiopia -, but also to some positive trends in economic growth, like in Kenya which reached lower middle-income country status in 2015.

International politics can impact significantly humanitarian aid when the administrative repercussions of political reach the aid activities, as have done the anti-terrorist legisla-

tions on funds movements, recruitments and engagement with partners. As the Horn of Africa is very much under the focus of these legislations, this has a serious impact.

KEY MESSAGES

- *Global competition for funds is politicised. This represents a threat for needs-based and principled response.*
- *International security parameters, have been more and more taken as critical factors and have progressively impacted humanitarian aid by affecting procedures and slowing down, if not preventing, several types of operations. Although mainly felt in the Somali context, it is expected to have trickling down effects in neighbouring countries and beyond and will require due attention from humanitarian donors in the Horn of Africa as well as in many other contexts where anti-terrorism measures are applied.*

3. DROUGHT PATTERNS AND HUMANITARIAN CONSEQUENCES

3.1. A FEW REGIONAL CONSEQUENCES

The climatic events that are resulting from changes in the temperature of the surface of the Indian Ocean are impacting the arid and semi-arid lands of the Horn of Africa across borders. Largely populated by pastoral and agro-pastoral populations, the region is an area were "moving in a search of greener pastures is part of the way of life and a key element of survival mechanisms". Thus, when constraints are imposed on movements, people get stuck or try to escape by crossing international borders. One of the key consequences of the two last "drought related crises" has been population displacements with frequent border crossing. The fact that Al Shabab tried to ban population movements starting from 2010 resulted in dramatic exodus towards Ethiopia and Kenya, creating a regional refugee crisis on top of the "food crisis".

Across the region, the 2016 Deyr season (October to December) brought low levels of rainfall in many parts of the lowlands (across Somalia, in southern and south-eastern Ethiopia, in coastal and northern Kenya). A FEWSNET analysis (July 2017) indicates that large areas of Somalia (mainly centre) and Ethiopia (Somali region) experienced the first (or second) driest episode since 1981.

3.2. ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia suffered two distinct droughts which affected different geographical areas, first the El Niño-type drought in 2015-16, followed immediately by the Indian Ocean Dipole (or IOD associated drought) in 2016-17. Parts of eastern Oromiya/northern Somali Region/southern Afar had already been affected by drought from 2014 and were already in severe crisis before the El Niño-type drought[16].

16 - Livestock began dying in late 2014, and, months before assistance arrived from a Government or international relief operation, in February 2015 a mass relief effort distributing food to Siti Zone, Somali Region, was mobilised and paid for by civil servants and the business community.

Publicly available warnings of a coming El Niño event were clear by April-May 2015[17], by which time there was already concern over the performance of the 2015 belg rains, on which a minority of the country depends for production. Although some actors argued that it was not possible to know that the rains were failing until August 2015, this is in itself a symptom of delayed awareness, related to official information flows. At the end of June 2015, those working on the ground could see that farmers had delayed planting. By early July 2015, the fact that many farmers had still not sown any crops, taken together with the weather forecasts, meant that the likelihood of a crisis should have been clear. By December 2015, the drought was described by FEWSNET as the worst meteorological catastrophe to hit Ethiopia in recorded history.

By May 2016, the probability of a La Niña event was 75%. Such events are often, though not always, accompanied by droughts, mainly in the southern lowlands of Ethiopia (and in Somalia and northern Kenya, see below). Malnutrition was already reported to be rising in August 2016, and by October 2016 it was clear that the Deyr or Hageya rains were failing. Since there would be no further rainy season before March 2017, a serious crisis was already inevitable by October 2016.

3.3. SOMALIA

In 2010, the Deyr season failed after a bad Gu season and large pockets of insufficiently developed pastures developed in the South and Central region while the North (Somaliland and Puntland) was only marginally affected. The 2011 Gu season was also largely insufficient to restore fodder and to ensure a good harvest. What made the situation so drastic was that people were unable to use their traditional coping mechanism of mobility. While the situation deteriorated, Al Shabaab banned movements and tried to prevent the population from gaining access to humanitarian aid. When people managed to escape in mass to seek shelter and assistance in Kenya, Ethiopia and in the suburbs of Mogadishu, they were in a terrible state of destitution. Many died on the way. In addition, restrictions on trade made markets largely dysfunctional in many places of south-central Somalia, inducing significant price disparities and a global increase in the price of food staples in the most affected areas.

The 2016-17 drought initially affected the North before moving southwards. As in 2011-12, the worst affected areas were the main agricultural areas between the Shabelle and Juba rivers, the main Sorghum belt of Somalia, inhabited by low-ranking clans (Rahawhen) and the river banks with marginalised groups living on them (Bantu groups). Movement was much easier and as the deployment of humanitarian actors was much better, most places were within a 100 km radius from a place where they could get assistance. There was much less large-scale and long-distance internal displacement. According to IDMC, up to 874,000 IDPs were identified in Somalia (OCHA). As a comparison, the 2012 Real Time Evaluation was reporting 167,000 IDPs mostly in and around Mogadishu.

17 - See for example http://www.metoffice.gov.uk/research/climate/seasonal-to-decadal/gpc-outlooks/el-Niño-la-nina

3.4 KENYA

The 2016-17 drought developed more quickly than other recent droughts, probably exacerbated by high temperatures. The first signs of the crisis were already evident by late 2016. Conversely, it took much more time to see the 2011-12 drought coming, as rainfall was poor for much of ASAL over most of the seasons from 2009 onwards. While the long rain season in 2016 (from March/April to May/June) was reasonably good in many parts of ASAL, the short rains (in 2016) and the first rains of 2017 were poor. Vegetation imagery showed conditions to be worse in much of the country during the 2016-17 dry season compared to 2011. However, the worst nutritional indicators were not necessarily recorded where rainfall was worst as nutritional problems in Kenya can largely to be attributed to development failure in certain remote and marginal areas or to inter-community conflict over pastoral land and water points.

4. BETWEEN DROUGHTS - WORKING ON RESILIENCE

4.1 OVERALL REGIONAL APPROACH

After yet another drought and food security crisis in the Horn of Africa in 1998-99, the UN launched an action plan in 2000 entitled *"The Elimination of food insecurity in the Horn of Africa: A strategy for concerted government and UN agency action"*. Following further food security crises in 2008-9 and 2011, new initiatives with the same objective were launched, including IGAD's Drought Disaster Resilience and Sustainability Initiative (IDDRSI) in 2011, the Horn of Africa Action Plan (by Oxfam, WFP and FAO) in 2012 and the EU supported Supporting Horn of Africa Resilience (SHARE) initiative in 2012. A few donors (most notably the UK and US Governments and the EU) also increased investment in resilience building in the region. The overall objective of these initiatives and interventions was that in the event of future droughts, as happened in 2015-16 and 2016-17, people would be better able to cope and less in need of urgent and life-saving humanitarian assistance.

There is very little literature on the impact of these programmes, and what little exists has been produced by the agencies involved in the resilience building programmes. There is even less documented evidence of the impact of such resilience programmes on people's ability to cope with the recent droughts. It was beyond the scope of this study to make any independent assessment of their impact.

4.2 ETHIOPIA

The most significant intervention in Ethiopia has been the introduction of a social protection system, the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) in 2005. This has gradually expanded and involves predictable food or cash transfers to millions of households across the country for six months every year, usually in return for a labour contribution. PSNP aims to build resilience in three ways. The household transfer provides a reliable

safety net for those in need, an important constituent of household economic resilience; the programme is intended to enable households to build up their private assets so that they can escape poverty, or at least no longer have to depend on the safety net; and the labour requirement is used to build assets for the communities which are intended to have longer term livelihood benefits, so that over time fewer people in those communities depend on safety net transfers.

Some aspects of PSNP have been well studied. PSNP has brought about small positive changes in household asset holdings, but though significant statistically, these are largely insignificant in terms of resilience. Berhane et al. (2011) found that after five years of support from PSNP, household assets increased only by around US$6. In other areas, household livestock holdings increased by just 0.38 tropical livestock units (TLU), i.e. approx. 4 goats, which makes a contribution of just over 1% towards the herd size needed for resilience[18]. Much of the labour requirement has gone into soil and water conservation measures, and surprisingly no study has been published about the medium-term livelihood benefits of these. (Ludi et al., 2018,), assessing a very small sample of such projects in South Wollo, found that, even based on the most optimistic assumptions, the majority of households were benefiting by less than $5 per annum.

The impact of PSNP on resilience, then, is almost entirely limited to the existence of an actual safety net, making timely – because regular – contributions to household income. In 2011, PSNP included a risk financing component, designed to scale up the safety net at times of heightened need. Broadly, this functioned reasonably well and the ability to depend on state assistance in times of household crisis could be considered an important contribution to economic resilience. In 2015, PSNP III came to an end and all payments were made by mid-year. Despite the fact that the existence of a crisis was clear, funds for PSNP IV were not allowed to be used until the normal systems were re-established in 2016. There were some significant delays in these payments, for a variety of reasons. In the Somali Region, it was reported that food had been available in warehouses but was not distributed, because the regional government were insisting on a cash transfer policy. The contribution of a safety net or social protection mechanism to resilience, in other words, depends not only upon its existence but also on how it functions, and that is the outcome of a complex interplay of both bureaucratic and political factors involving donors, and central and local government.

Another significant contribution by humanitarian and development donors to resilience has been the decade long investment in the state's capacity to identify, diagnose and treat acute malnutrition in children.

There has been a range of other interventions over many years, labelled variously as livelihood, food security, water or resilience interventions, and implemented both by the state and by international agencies. Although there are some reported positive impacts at household level when assessing identified beneficiaries, it is less clear that there have been noticeable impacts at the population level. The EU has implemented its own resilience-building programme in Ethiopia with collaboration and shared responsibility

18 - Little et al. (2008) calculated that a livestock holding of 4.5 TLU per person was needed to meet a minimum welfare threshold in a sustainable way.

between ECHO and DEVCO, known as EU-RESET. However, little is known about the impact of this programme. A recent evaluation of the EU's approach to resilience in Africa's drylands, including in Ethiopia (Maunder et al 2017) did not discuss impact, commenting only that the reliance on resilience measuring tools for monitoring has hampered impact monitoring (op. cit., p 39). A wider review was conducted in 2017 on the impact of resilience building interventions in the drylands of Ethiopia on people's ability to cope with drought (Levine et al, 2019). This concluded that it was impossible to identify significant impacts of the investments (whether labelled as resilience, food security, livelihoods, etc.). There are several reasons for this. In part, these multi-donor (humanitarian and development) investments have been insufficiently coordinated or underpinned by a clear, realistic plan to transform an economy or a service at a local level (e.g. Zone). The biggest limitation has been scale. Coverage has been very limited, especially in the marginalised places most in need of support. It is often difficult to find individuals who have been beneficiaries of investments unless it is known in advance where this has taken place. Levels of investment are tiny in relation to need. For example, the lost asset value from livestock deaths in just one Zone in Somali Region in the 2015-16 drought has been estimated at over €240m[19]. For the sake of comparison, total EU development assistance to Ethiopia between 2009-13 was under €170m p.a., ODA from DFID was just under £200m and from USAID almost US$220m[20] The growing levels of inequality, the depth of poverty and the size of the resilience gap are so great that expectations that the current level of aid investments in resilience will reduce future humanitarian needs is largely unrealistic.

It should be emphasised that this in itself is not a criticism of these resilience-focused interventions or the decisions to invest in them; and nor is it to suggest that the programmes had no beneficial impact on people's lives. It is simply that judging these projects by whether or not they made a distinguishable difference in people's ability to cope with severe crises is to use an unfair standard. It is highly likely that a similar analysis also holds true for Kenya and Somalia.

4.3. SOMALIA

There was a great deal of discussion in the aftermath of the 2011-12 drought about how to address the Somali context, where crisis had become the new normal. These debates in 2012 largely influenced the design of the 2013 OCHA Somalia Humanitarian Response Plan (HRP). The three-year HRP was intended to broaden humanitarian programming to address some of the main root causes of vulnerability. This opened the way for a series of resilience initiatives that represented a significant shift in the aid landscape in Somalia, including the FAO/UNICEF/WFP Joint Resilience Strategy (JRS), the Building Resilient Communities in Somalia (BRCiS) and Somalia Resilience (SOMREP) programmes. Although there have only been a few studies on the impact of these programmes, and the findings remain mostly anecdotal – and, again, mainly from the agencies involved in the programmes - some interesting points are starting to emerge:

19 - Cf. Levine and Kusnierek (2018). An investigation into the impacts of resilience investments on drought-coping in West Hararghe Zone (Oromiya Region) and Sitti Zone (Somali Region), from which much of this argument is drawn.

20 - Source: https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/countries/ethiopia_en

- The regular and predictable injection of cash to communities for a protracted period makes them a little less vulnerable. In fact, in several areas, communities that were not part of the programme took shelter in the "Resilience villages" as there were more resources available there[21].
- Programme areas were better equipped to deal with reduced water availability than other areas in the recent drought (BRICS 2017).

The main impact of these resilience programmes on the impacts of the drought has been that the presence of the agencies on the ground brought about an improvement in the 2016-17 response, as discussed further below (section 5):

- Presence: Aid actors were spread out over a much wider area and this increased presence facilitated the flow of information in a more "real-time manner" than the FSNAU could ensure. The fact they had this experience of "operating inside" for some time created a certain level of confidence on the part of the donors;
- Specific adaptive systems in place: As a result of the adaptive systems that has been established by these different resilience programmes, NGOs were in a much better situation to react to early warning information and respond to the impact of drought in the areas where they were operating by adapting their long-term resilience programming while they were mobilising additional resources;
- Enhanced capacity to scale up fast: With their networks in communities, their existing lists of beneficiaries and their operational procedures in place, these consortiums were in a relatively ideal position to scale up both vertically (more money per beneficiary) and horizontally (more people, larger areas). They were relatively well prepared to launch a massive response.

Wider economic factors have had a greater influence than aid programmes on changes in vulnerability. Regular bans against exporting livestock affect a vital lifeline that brings cash to the country and its communities. The economic returns from the livestock sector are increasingly limited and uncertain. Over the years, the Somalia Diaspora has played a critical role in helping people to survive through remittances. Humanitarian aid to Somalia peaked at around $800m in the 2017 crisis; international development aid was reported at $613m; remittances are estimated at $1.4 bn[22]. Having been hit hard by the economic crisis in the North, and having been constrained in its capacity to transfer money by both reduced resources and anti-terrorist legislation, the Diaspora's capacity has been significantly reduced.

21 - See 2013-2017 DFID Somalia Multi-year Humanitarian Programme (MYHP). Accessible at: iati.dfid.gov.uk/iati_documents/4979329.odt

22 - Federal Government of Somalia (2017), Aid Flows in Somalia. Analysis of aid flow data. April 2017.

4.4. KENYA

As in Ethiopia, a main investment in resilience, especially in the vulnerable arid and semi-arid land (ASAL), has been in the social protection system, the National Safety Net Programme (NSNP) which consists of four cash transfer programmes: the Hunger Safety Net Programme(HSNP), currently working in 4 counties in the ASAL; the Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children Programme (CT-OVC); the Older Person Cash Transfer Programme (OPCT); and the Cash Transfer Programme for People with Severe Disability (CT-PWSD). The last three have national, though not comprehensive, coverage. HSNP has a mechanism for progressive scaling-up in times of enhanced needs, with all registered households classified in one of four levels of vulnerability. HSNP was already operational as a pilot in the 2011 crisis, giving regular transfers to around 69,000 households. By 2017, this had increased to over 100,000 households. The other significant structural investment in resilience has been the decades-long investment in state structures for drought management, beginning with the Arid Lands Resources Management Project (ALRMP) in 1996 and the accompanying EU-funded Drought Management Initiative (DMI) since 2008, which have now become the National Drought Management Authority (NDMA).

Apart from administering the HSNP, NDMA also manages a county-level early warning system and the (EU-funded) National Drought Contingency Fund. These were all operational in 2016-17. In the 2011 drought, no system of this kind was operational, because ARLMP was in between phases, and there was no agreement to prolong phase 3 of ALRMP to allow it to continue to operate, despite the seriousness of the drought. (Note the similarity with the lack of flexibility between phases of PSNP in Ethiopia in 2015).

The main programme with an explicit 'resilience' focus is the Ending Drought Emergencies (EDE) strategy as one of the "foundations for national transformation". The EDE strategy builds on the National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands and commits the government to supporting communities in the 23 most drought-prone counties of Kenya (an estimated 15 million people) to become more resilient to drought and thus end drought emergencies by 2022. Chronic poverty, isolation and lack of economic development are particularly severe in northern and eastern ASAL areas of Kenya, where the vast majority of the population live below the poverty line. The strategy signals an important shift in policy from one that reacts to the effects of droughts as they arise, to one that actively seeks to reduce vulnerability to drought through sustainable development. It does this in two ways: first, by strengthening the foundations for growth and development, which are particularly weak in drought-prone areas, and second, by strengthening the institutional and financing frameworks for drought and climate risk management. It is integrated within IGAD's Drought Disaster Resilience and Sustainability Initiative, and endorsed by development partners as a framework around which to align their assistance. It is being implemented through a Common Programme Framework (CPF) which was developed jointly by the national and county governments and their development partners between October 2013 and August 2014.The EDE CPF has six pillars: peace and security, climate-proofed infrastructure, human capital, sustainable livelihoods, drought risk management, and institutional development and knowledge management. Implementation of the first four is led by the relevant parts of the national and county governments, while implementation of the fifth and sixth is led by the National Drought Management Authority (NDMA), which also has oversight of the EDE as a whole.

KEY MESSAGES

- *There has been important investment over more than a decade in state structures for mitigating some of the impacts of crisis, including social protection, management of (acute) malnutrition and drought response. These investments have come from development funds, taking a long-term perspective, and though they have not usually been categorised as resilience spending, they have played a major role in helping avoid the worst effects of food security crises.*
- *More explicitly labelled resilience investments have been made, but on a small-scale relative to the size of the resilience deficit. This made it difficult to achieve the required changes that need to occur in local economies and service delivery for people to be considered resilient.*
- *There is still very little documented impact assessment of most explicitly labelled resilience programmes, but, given the scale of the recent droughts and depths of pre-existing vulnerability, there is little reason to believe that they played a major role at population level in helping people cope with the crises.*
- *The most important contribution of resilience programmes in some areas appears to have been their presence on the ground, essential for both being aware of problems in real time and for having networks in place for responding to them.*

5. EVOLUTION IN THE DROUGHT RESPONSE

The following section assesses changes that had occurred from 2011 to 2016 in various aspects of the humanitarian response: early warning; timely response; coordination; and the content of the response.

5.1. CHANGES IN EARLY WARNING

One of the significant changes at the regional level is the more systematic reliance of the aid system on the IPC system with its crisis classification system. However, though the IPC system is very valuable, it can hardly be called an "early warning system" as it is a slow-reacting information and consensus reaching system.

Ethiopia

The official Early Warning System in Ethiopia is based on harvest assessments after each of the two rainy seasons (belg and kremt or meher). Even though meteorological warnings existed in April and May 2015, and even though there was good evidence by the end of June 2015 that farmers had not been able to sow their crops, this knowledge all existed outside the official "early warning system". This played a role in stimulating response despite, rather than because of, or with, the official system. In addition to the absurdity of waiting for a failed harvest before sounding the alarm is the fact that the current bureaucratic systems can add 3

months' further delay to collate and analyse the data from the different areas. The subsequent decision-making is widely recognised as being highly political. So, the official assessment that the 2015 meher season had failed was only finalised in October-November 2015. The predicted caseload for assistance was 8.2m people. In August 2015, the revised HRD, the umbrella international humanitarian response plan, had not taken into account the fact - which was already clear - that Ethiopia was facing its severest crisis in decades. It therefore had planned for a caseload of just 4.5m people, well below the real level of needs.

Significantly, the Humanitarian Response Document (HRD) 2016, launched in December 2015, had increased the estimated number of people in need of assistance to 10.5m people, even though no new shock occurred between August and December 2015.

The early warning situation for the IOD drought was somewhat similar. Meteorological forecasts of a likely La Niña were made in April 2016. After the failure of the Belg rains in the southern lowlands, in August 2016 malnutrition was already reported to be rising by agencies on the ground.

It was clear early into the second rainy season that the rains were failing. By September-October 2016 a crisis was thus inevitable. The situation was already critical, and as the next rains were only due in April 2017, it could only get worse. Partners on the ground were aware of this and it was discussed informally by donors and aid agencies. However, as the official reporting of malnutrition is closely controlled, it is not possible to share real-time data (e.g. of admissions into feeding programmes). Instead, it can take up to 3 months to collate and release. As a result, 'official' data which could be used as a trigger to publicly mobilise resources was only published in November 2016. Although the Dollo zone was the most affected, in December 2016 FEWS warned of a likely IPC phase 3 in south eastern Ethiopia (IPC phase 4 in Hararghe, southern Afar, Dire Dawa, etc.). The research team felt that, in addition to the part of the country that was most affected, it was also important to look at the response in places that had been affected by drought since 2014 such as East Hararghe, southern Afar and Shinille Zone in the northern Somali region. It remained difficult to obtain reliable information from some parts of the affected areas. Independent assessments were not allowed in some places until December 2016, which meant that reports were only produced in January 2017, which is several months later than necessary.

This was very similar to what took place in 2011-12. Very little progress was made despite the increased use of more and more sophisticated satellite data, because the limiting factors for early warning in Ethiopia were not technical, either in 2010 or in 2015 and 2016. The cumbersome and time-consuming official EWS structures remained largely unchanged in three key regards:

- They continued to rely on the wrong indicators, i.e. indicators that are late (harvests, malnutrition) rather than indicators that make early warning possible (meteorological forecasts, onset of rains, information on sowing);
- The systems for collating, processing and releasing the information are slow, taking up to three months instead of being disseminated in real time;

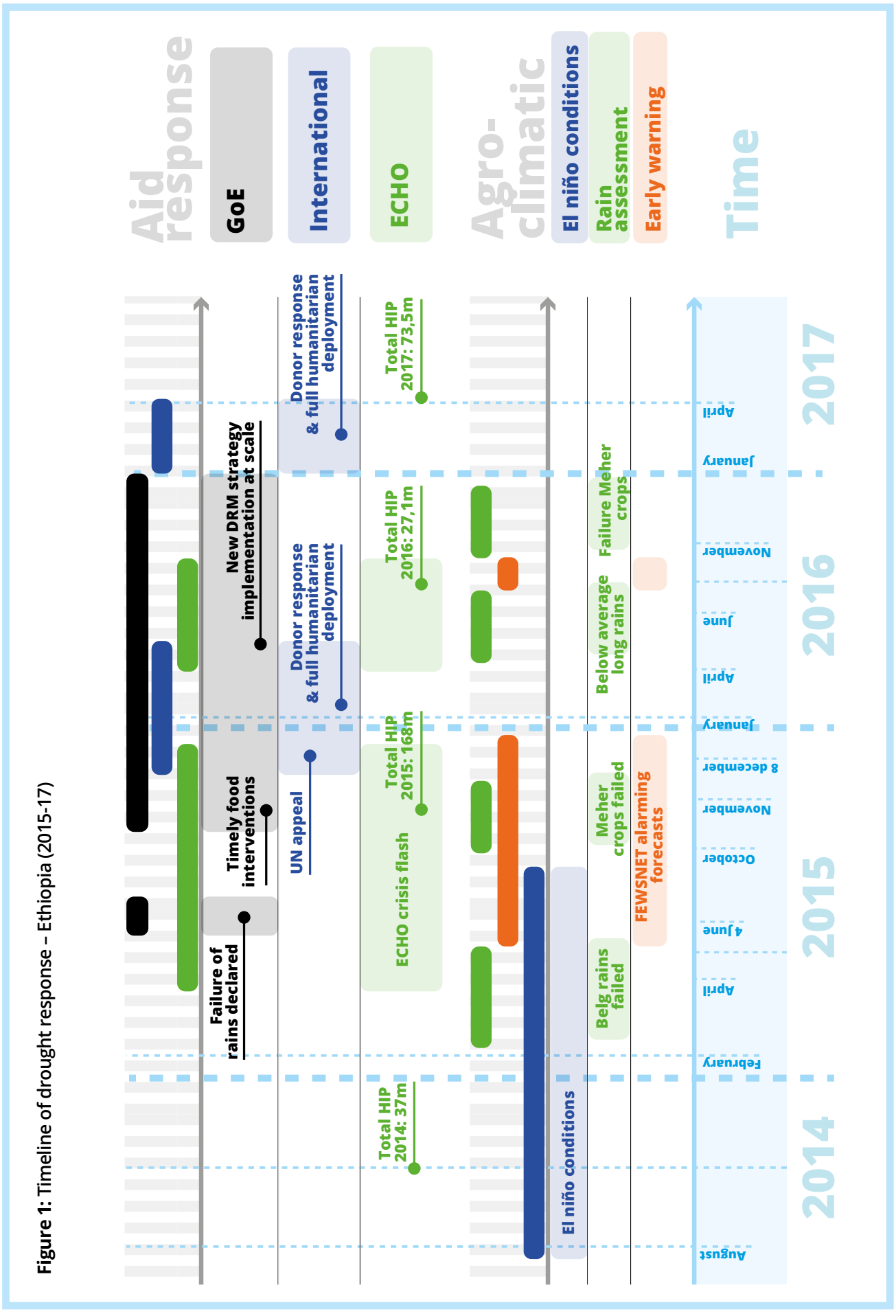


Figure 1: Timeline of drought response – Ethiopia (2015-17)

- They are highly politicised. Many state institutions, including at the regional level and below, are believed to have an interest in downplaying signs of crisis. There are also frequent worries in the international humanitarian sector about politically biased targeting of aid. Both of these issues have led to a degree of mistrust of some official information, which can cause further delays, on top of those already described.

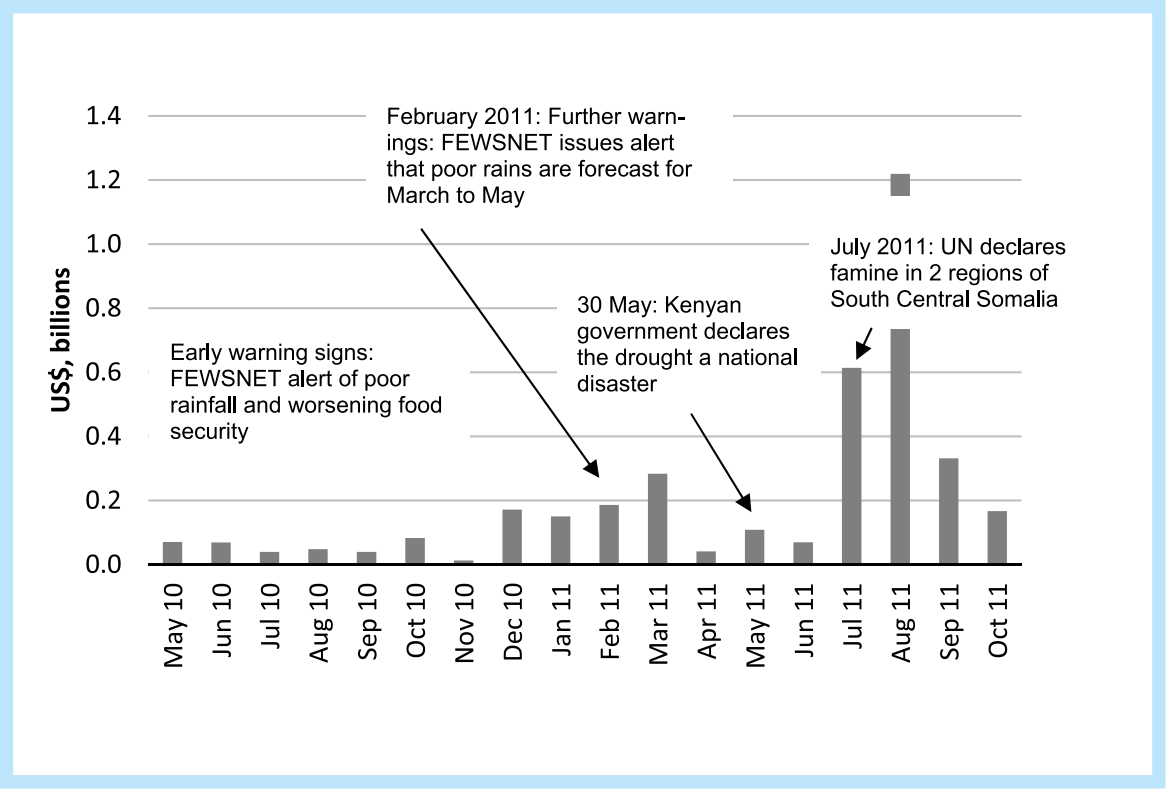
Unofficial early warning systems functioned reasonably well, at least in areas where there were reliable agencies on the ground. These raised concern outside the official system (see below) and led to the response being much earlier than it would otherwise have been – but this is clearly no substitute for an official EWS that is fit for purpose.

Somalia

Without a functioning government in place, the early warning function for Somalia was entrusted to a specific institution managed by FAO, the Famine and Nutrition Analysis Unit (FSNAU) based in Nairobi. FSNAU conducts studies on nutrition and analyses post-harvest food production and brings together different stakeholders in order to reach consensus on the severity of the situation, and how it should be classified in the IPC system.

The FSNAU's reports can play an important role in triggering a timely response if they are taken into account properly. In November 2010, the Deyr season report was not given much attention, despite some advocacy work by a handful of NGOs who gathered information from their (limited number of) partners in the field.

Figure 2: Timeline of drought response – Somalia (2010-11)



Source: Joint Agency Briefing (2012), A Dangerous Delay, The cost of late response to early warnings in the 2011 drought in the Horn of Africa, Paper 18, January 2012.

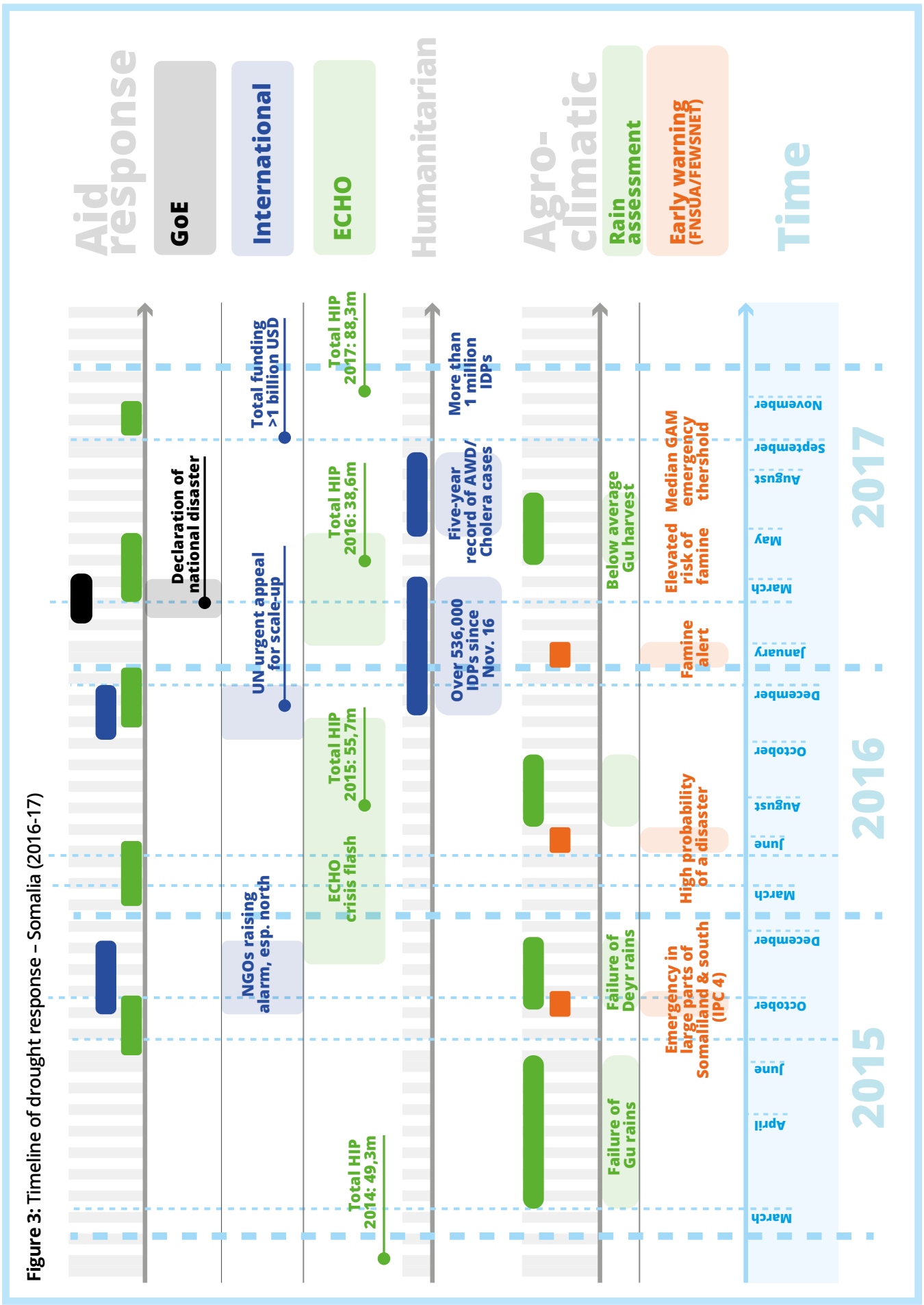


Figure 3: Timeline of drought response – Somalia (2016-17)

The Famine Declaration of July 2011 mobilised a large-scale response, and this, combined with the return of the rains and lower food prices, brought the remaining mortal¬ity under control by early 2012. The UN's humanitarian appeal in November 2010 seriously underestimated the number of people in need of emergency aid. This was partly because the timeline of UN appeals is not aligned with the seasons in the Horn of Africa: assessments were carried out in September, before the failure of the short rains (which normally start in October) and did not take into account the future weather predictions. This reflects some of the same issues previously discussed in relation to Ethiopia: assessments which look at late indicators (harvests) rather than at the onset of rains; and a bureaucratic timetable and slow processes which combine to prevent information that is available, such as the rain failure in October, from being taken into consideration in an appeal issued in November. For the following drought events, the enhanced field presence helped to improve the collection and analysis of "low noise signals". This made it possible to develop a much more robust and agile informal information system that met the needs of donors who were determined to avoid repeating the tragedy of 2011. When the more formal processes, such as the Famine Early Warning Network (FEWSNet) and the Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit (FSNAU), started to sound the alarm, the audience was already prepared for the news.

Kenya

Although early warning often falls under the spotlight when response to a slow-onset crisis has been late, there is little reason to believe that early warning was a factor in the timeliness of responses either in 2011-12 or 2016-17 in Kenya. In both cases, there were ample warnings of a looming crisis months before a response was finally provided on the scale needed. There were press reports as early as July 2016 of localised hunger in Pokot and in August 2016 the Kenya Food Security Steering Group predicted over a million people needing assistance until February 2017, with GAM rates already being above 30% in Turkana South. In the same month, NDMA was calling for the need to prepare for a La Nina event. In October, the Isiolo County monthly early warning bulletin was reporting livestock deaths. By December 2016, there were reliable predictions of poor long rains for 2017, a situation that could only lead to a serious crisis. This is a broadly similar pattern to the 2011-12 crisis. On August 10th 2010, FEWSNET had predicted worse than usual food security regionally because of the La Nina event, with heightened needs until February 2011, and these warnings were intensified in October and November. One analysis[23] of the performance of the regional EWS in 2011 concluded that

> ***"FEWSNET and FSNWG proved to be excellent and timely tools for humanitarian organisations to identify, plan, and respond to the massive food security crisis in East Africa that is occurring today. If they had been used adequately by governments, United Nations agencies, humanitarian actors, and donors, it is likely that the current [i.e. 2011] serious humanitarian crisis in the Horn of Africa could have been partially mitigated."***

23 - Ververs M. (2012), The East African Food Crisis: Did Regional Early Warning Systems Function? The Journal of Nutrition, 142:1, 131–133.

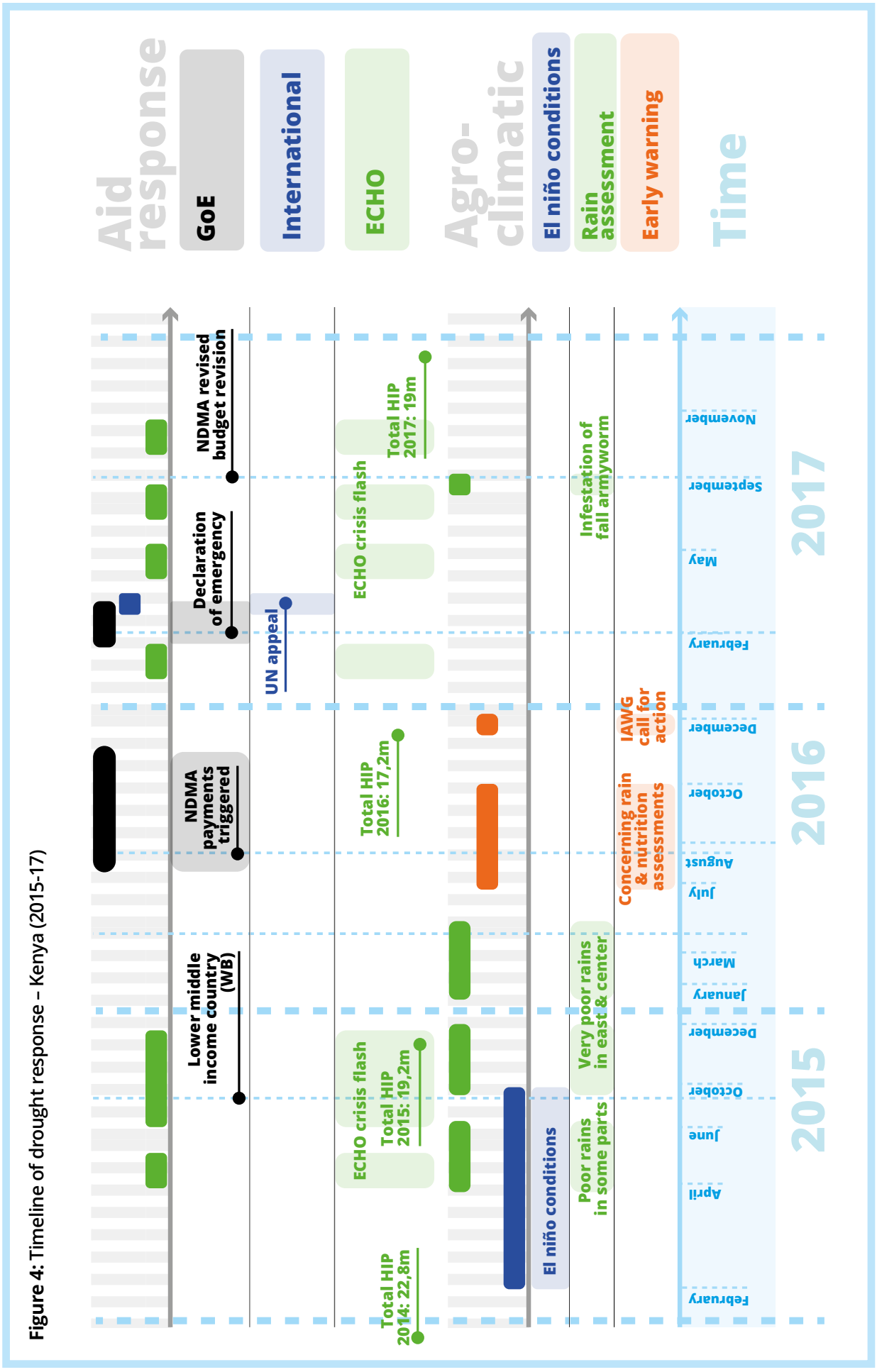


Figure 4: Timeline of drought response – Kenya (2015-17)

However, in both crises, some other food security monitoring systems significantly failed to predict or warn of problems. FAO/GIEWS was predicting only a possible 'reversal of recent food security improvements' as late as December 2010 and even in March 2011 – two months before the Government of Kenya declared an emergency – FAO/GIEWS made no mention of possible crisis. GIEWS similarly made no timely warnings of crisis in 2016, only in December 2016 predicting a shortage of forage in April-May 2017, i.e. two months after the Government of Kenya declared a crisis. In November 2016, ACAPS' humanitarian outlook for 2017 did not mention Kenya (or Ethiopia). In assessing GIEWS' and ACAPS' forecasts, it is important to bear in mind that between November and February no new shocks occurred. This is the normal dry season, and so once the rains were seen to be poor in October, the development of the situation until February was already inevitable.

The significant difference between the 2011-12 and 2016-17 crises was the establishment of the NDMA's early warning system. Although data from remote sensing of vegetation (used as a drought indicator) was available before 2010, by 2016 two changes had occurred. Decentralisation (and continued investment in the NDMA system) had improved the quality of local early warning information in comparison to previous reports from the District Drought Management Offices. Secondly, there was a national system for responding automatically on the basis of this data (through both the National Drought Contingency Fund and HSNP).

In contrast, at the end of 2010 funding ended for the national body with de facto responsibility for drought management (ALRMP). This left an institutional vacuum and no clear mechanism for automatic response. However, these changes are less about warnings per se and more about having a system that responded to early warnings. They are therefore discussed further below under speed of response.

The role of the EU in bringing about changes in EWS was extremely important, because DEVCO has invested hugely over many years in institutional capacity for drought management in Kenya, previously (since 2007) in the Drought Management Initiative to complement ARLMP, and now in the NDMA. ECHO has not played a direct role in early warning. ECHO did amplify warnings, in particular those based on worsening humanitarian indicators, through its Daily Flashes, as early as in mid-April 2015, and then in mid-August 2015, early September 2015 and again in early December 2015, when it commented on the first hand findings of ECHO visits to affected parts of the country.

Synthesis and key messages

COUNTRY	
ETHIOPIA	**Little change from 2011 to 2016.** Formal Early Warning controlled by government. Reliance on very late indicators; slow bureaucratic processes; high degree of politicisation. Meteorological information and informal early warning information excluded from formal EWS.
KENYA	**Significant change from 2011 to 2016.** Two systems in parallel: reliance on near real-time satellite data on vegetation (meteorological drought) for use of state contingency funds and scaling up safety nets, new since 2011; reliance on late indicators (malnutrition) for main Government and humanitarian action, as in 2011. Free press added a level of pressure.
SOMALIA	**Significant change from 2011 to 2016.** Formal early warning systems managed by the international community are useful but relatively slow. The increased presence of NGOs and UN agencies by 2016 facilitated informal information flows.

KEY MESSAGES

- *Even though a lot of effort has been made to improve the availability of early warning information, this is not the main factor that determines whether or not an early response takes place.*
- *Official 'early warning' information systems often do not provide early warning at all, relying on late indicators and being very slow processes, taking months to produce reports rather than making information available in real time.*
- *Informal information flows have been useful when there have been actors on the ground capable of producing reliable and trusted information.*

5.2. SPEED AND TIMELINESS OF RESPONSE

Ethiopia

During the droughts of 2011-12, the failure of preventive actions before critical thresholds were reached and the late provision of assistance have been well documented. Though there were already warning signs of a crisis in August 2010, and these had become even more obvious by November, the large-scale humanitarian deployment did not really take place until July 2011[24].

A similar pattern took place in 2015 and in 2016. It was clear that SAM rates were rising in August, while official data was only released three months later (around November). Large-scale mobilisation of funds began at the end of the year, but this meant that it was only in the first quarter of the following years (2016 and 2017 respectively) that donors and agencies started to respond at scale when the situation had already seriously deteriorated.

In 2017, this also coincided with a cholera outbreak which mostly affected the Somali region and was declared at the beginning of April[25]. Given the reluctance of the government to acknowledge the existence of the outbreak and the lack of locally-available expertise, few requests for funding were submitted by partners to ECHO. Adding the procedural delays before aid actually reaches the ground, this meant that most emergency operations did not start before March-April 2017. Thus, some donors were criticised for reacting to media coverage (the "BBC effect") rather than to earlier forecasts and the reality of needs on the ground. As discussed above, ample early warning information had been available months before.

Although there was the same pattern in the delays between the droughts in 2015 and 2016, the factors explaining the failure to respond in a timely manner were different. In 2015, there was political reluctance to allow Ethiopia to be portrayed as a country with constant crises and a desire to present a more constructive story of economic success (it is significant that 2010 and 2015 were both election years in Ethiopia.) Unfortunately, senior staff within the UN system also felt that the humanitarian community was exaggerating the nature of the situation in the country. These different factors led to mixed messages and made humanitarian donors more reluctant to listen to those sounding the alarm. It was also reported that there were powerful voices within the World Bank who were arguing with the humanitarian sector on similar grounds, insisting that the existence of the PSNP had transformed the relationship between rain failure and crisis in ways that the humanitarians were failing to consider. These contrary voices were reportedly responsible for donors reacting slowly to clear signs of a looming crisis. Because of the increasing centralisation of decision-making within the humanitarian system, those

24 - Following the declaration of famine in Somalia by the United Nations (July 2011), the mobilisation of the humanitarian system (at least in Ethiopia and Kenya) occurred after a second episode of very low rainfall when malnutrition rates had already increased significantly.

25 - By mid-April, a total of 24 578 cases (including 667 deaths) had been reported in six regions (Amhara, Afar, Oromia, SNNP, Somali and Tigray), out of which 89% of cases and 96% of deaths occurred in Somali Region. Source: WHO, Weekly Bulletin on Outbreaks and Other Emergencies, 14 April 2017.

on the ground increasingly have to compete with messages from other sources to persuade those in charge of budgets; even when they are successful, there is an additional delay for the time it takes to go through bureaucratic processes.

Some of these influences were less critical in the IOD drought. Two different factors contributed to the delay. Much of the southern lowlands has a more difficult political environment, particularly with regard to independent humanitarian assessment and response. These areas also have a much more limited presence of international agencies, who are concentrated mainly in highland areas where state systems function much better and where it is much easier to work. Combined, this meant that both official and unofficial information about the developing crisis was more limited. 'There is evidence that the developing IOD crisis in the southern lowlands was not noticed because, even in the second half of 2016, the sector's attention was focused on the El Nino-type crisis in the central Highlands (some donor staff reported to us that, in October 2016, they had not realised that there was a looming IOD-induced drought.)

The El Niño-type drought also partly explains the lack of drought preparation for the lowlands in the second half of 2016, when livestock had already started to die. To some extent this is understandable. Because the massive humanitarian response of 2016 was largely focused on highland cropping areas and there were only a few partners working in isolated parts of the SRS[26], aid organisations were not able to rapidly deploy a livestock-focused response in the lowlands. But this only partly explains the lack of preparedness. Some long-standing lessons had still not been taken on board. Even when it was clear that a crisis was both imminent and inevitable, existing resources were not redirected to mitigate the most serious impacts of the drought. For example, to avoid the most severe consequences of water shortages, resources that were due to be used for the water sector nationally (i.e. mainly so-called 'development' resources) could have been redirected to help repair as many broken systems as possible in the areas which are known to be most prone to critical shortages that cause displacement. It is difficult to find a rational justification to explain why this was not done.

By 2016-17, the use of 'crisis modifiers' (first created in 2009) had become much more widespread. These are effectively contingency agreements in longer term development contracts which allow agencies that are already operational on the ground to redirect a percentage of the budget in the event of an emerging crisis. Hopes were high that these would contribute substantially to ending the problem of late response by providing rapid funds to bridge gaps until more substantial emergency resources became available. However, a review of Crisis Modifiers in Ethiopia by Save the Children and work by Tufts have shown that this has not yet happened[27]. The majority of the crisis modifiers available were not triggered at the early stages of the crisis; they only began to be requested after the revised humanitarian appeal in July 2015, and many were requested in 2016, by which time the response was already late. Many of them included significant bureaucratic processes that delayed the delivery of assistance by up to six months. They provided very limited resources - often only around $200,000, - compared to the existing emergency appeal of $1.4 bn. And many were used for

26 - SRS: Somali Regional State.

27 - Save the Children (2016) and Catley et al., (2016).

activities that are not obviously part of a rapid early response, such as training health workers and WASH committees, which would normally be covered by non-humanitarian funds within longer-term responses.

One common feature of the responses to the crises in 2011 and 2016 and 2017 is that once mobilisation did begin, there was a huge effort to mount an operation at scale, as quickly as possible. In all three cases, famine was avoided and, despite high levels of malnutrition, mortality was limited. To a great extent, this was due to the performance of the humanitarian sector once operations had begun in earnest, and to the efforts of many within the Government sector. One noteworthy difference between the emergency response in 2015-17 and previous crises was the unparalleled commitment of the Government of Ethiopia, which used $735m of its own resources in the response. Allegedly, the Ethiopian Government's contribution for the El Niño drought (in the highlands) was more significant than for the IOD drought (in the lowlands). However, there is very limited visibility about the exact scale of these contributions and how they were used. The overall performance in terms of saving lives suggests that, although the sector needs to improve regarding early and timely response, it is highly effective at responding 'just in time'. But as 'just in time' here means in relation to saving lives rather than avoiding the erosion of assets, this raises difficult questions about the scope of humanitarian responsibility.

Though ECHO was not one of the first donors to call for an early response, the Country Office was very receptive when it did. However, ECHO's funding timetable was not adjusted: the HIP was prepared in late 2015, funding was allocated in January and operations were able to begin in March 2016 for the El Niño response and March 2017 for the IOD drought response. In terms of advocacy in favour of the response, ECHO improved significantly, with daily flashes for Ethiopia published between April and December 2015, and again from April to August 2016[28].

Somalia

In 2010, after information began to reach Nairobi about the rapidly-deteriorating situation following the failure of the Deyr rains, a few agencies, including Oxfam and Save the Children, began a small-scale response in December and tried to focus international attention on the impending crisis. But while some performed better than others, most agencies did not scale up their programming sufficiently to meet the level of needs that existed over the following six months, and did not begin to respond at scale until after the rains failed in May 2011. Some agencies declared the situation a priority as early as February, but most waited for the UN to declare a famine emergency before scaling up their fund raising (Hillier and Dempsey, 2012). The limited aid presence in the field represented a major hindrance and donors were desperately looking for partners. Due to the political situation, the response was only able to reach some of the affected areas due to the combination of AS control and counter-terrorism restrictions.

28 - For the 2011-12 drought, there was one regional crisis report released for the 3 countries of the Horn of Africa in October 2011. The evaluation team did not find more archive documents, including on the Emergency Response Coordination Centre (ERCC) portal.

Thus, at best, operations were only able to begin at scale in late June/early July. Many lives and key assets had already been lost, and many people were on the move to Kenya and Ethiopia. A classical in-kind food aid response, with all the delays that this involves in procurement and the logistical chain, would not have been possible, unless significant preparedness work had been done, with a lot of prepositioned food available all over the country. In addition, a number of scandals affected the whole food aid sector for years and in-kind food aid was more and more difficult after 2009 when the WFP was banned from most parts of Somalia.

As in many contexts, the droughts in Somalia led to increases in food prices, with people needing much more money to cover their nutritional needs. This triggered "cash thirst" to prevent different phases of asset-selling and pauperisation dynamics. A few international NGOs pushed for cash transfers in 2011 in order to act fast and at scale, but this initially got limited support as everybody was focused on the enormous risks in the Somali context. But finally, it got some traction as the main donors involved in Somalia were also those that were the most vocal in the cash debate. Cash operations were scaled up relatively quickly despite the "novelty" of this resource transfer method in Somalia. However, many were actually restricted cash operations, with vouchers that indicated the quantity of flour, sugar and oil that people could get, and with only 2 or 3 suppliers who came round on the day of the voucher distribution.

For the 2015-16-17 events, the responsiveness was much better. Aid agencies began to respond in November 2015 in the North (Somaliland and Puntland areas) and Nov 2016 in the rest of the country, after the bad 2016 Gu season. Most agencies did not wait for official warnings. Donors were much more receptive and listened to what they heard from the ground. Authorisation was granted quickly to use existing mechanisms within Resilience programmes to allocate resilience money for Emergency Cash Transfers and emergency water trucking to limit the need to move animals. The Government of Somalia and the UN only launched their appeals in Dec 2016 (i.e. at a similar time to the Ethiopian appeals). But the mobilisation of several donors ensured that resources were available quickly and in significant quantities. Due to the mobilisation of the Somalia DFID office and the reactivity in DFID London, money was injected into the system in March. This level of alertness and reactivity was largely due to the determination of those on the ground that the events of 2011 should not be repeated. In addition, while in 2011 donors had difficulty finding NGOs who were prepared to work in the difficult environment that existed in Somalia at the time, in 2016 there were many NGOs already on the ground due to improved access and security and a large number of resilience programmes. Another difference was the fact that, by 2015, cash transfer programmes had become a much more established method for transferring resources and therefore it was much easier to scale up cash programming in 2016-17.

Kenya

Four sets of response actors can be distinguished in relation to their speed of response: the state; the Government of Kenya; the international humanitarian community as a whole; and the Red Cross.

There was little change in the speed of response of either the Kenyan Red Cross Society (KRCS) or generally of the international humanitarian community. In the case of KRCS, response was early on both occasions. It launched a drought management initiative in September 2010 and an appeal on 21 January 2011, despite the fact that the situation at the time was not yet classified as an emergency, and it launched a drought emergency appeal in November 2016 and a national appeal (raising money from Kenyans) in January 2017. The international humanitarian community was slow in both droughts. This was well documented for the 2011-12 drought in Dangerous Delay. In 2016, the scale of funds allocated to the drought response was very limited (e.g. FAO released $400,000 livestock support in December 2016).

Perhaps the most damning evidence is that despite growing warnings of looming crisis in the second half of 2016, and the increasing reports of suffering (high malnutrition rates, livestock deaths, et cetera), the international humanitarian appeal was not issued until 16 March 2017, five weeks after the government declared an emergency (on 10 February).

There have been long arguments in the region that international humanitarian organisations should not wait for governments to declare emergencies before increasing their support to people whom they know are affected by crises. Even if it were accepted that a public international emergency appeal cannot take place in the absence of a government declared emergency, it is hard to understand why an appeal could not be prepared, so that it was ready to be launched within hours of the government declaring the crisis.

In 2011, the Government of Kenya delayed until 30 May before declaring an emergency. In 2017, the declaration was made on 10 February, which again was months after the humanitarian situation had become severe, and even longer after it had become clear the crisis could only deteriorate further. The important difference in the speed of response between 2011 and 2017 was the creation of a response that was essentially distinct from the government response. The NDMA established response protocols, scaling up social protection payments in the counties where HSNP operated, and triggering payments from the national Drought Contingency Fund to support mitigation measures at county level. The NDMA was already taking drought mitigation measures in September 2016 and increasing the coverage of HSNP payments by November 2016. The reasons why a state response was so much quicker in 2016 than in 2011-12 are simple. NDMA was able to act independently from line Ministries or political decision-making (i.e. from government), because it had independent control of the drought contingency fund and independent access to international donor funds. Although questions have been raised about the adequacy of these measures (in particular about the decision not to increase the size of payments made by HSNP but only to expand its coverage), these two systems did at least create a resource flow into drought-affected districts.

As discussed above, the EU played a hugely important role in enabling this rapid state response, both through its institutional support to NDMA and in its contributions to the drought contingency fund. Both of these were supported by DEVCO. ECHO did not channel funds through NDMA. ECHO was not able to make new resources available for an early response to the drought. Although it was preparing the HIP at a time when crisis warnings were already clear towards the end of 2016, there were just three drought response contracts worth a total of €6.6m, with operational start dates in April 2017 and May 2017. ECHO did its best to respond, by allowing funds from its resilience building projects in ASAL to be used for ECTs. This is an extremely good example of how flexibility in the use of existing resource flows can help make up, to some extent, for the lack of a new, timely emergency response. Small top-ups, compared to the additional funds in other drought-affected countries in the Horn of Africa, were received in April 2017 and July 2017, though the majority of money given to Kenya in 2017 continued to be for refugees[29]. Nevertheless, in the end this resulted in the doubling of the budget available for the country.

29 - Of a total of €23.8m contracted in 2017, around €16.6m was for refugee operations and €7.2m for the drought operation in the ASALs. The funds for WFP are not disaggregated by target group and so an exact breakdown is not possible.

Synthesis and key messages

COUNTRY	2011-12	2015-16-17
ETHIOPIA	Slow, very dependent on the political situation in Ethiopia and the will of the Government	Slow, very dependent on the political situation in Ethiopia and the will of the Government
KENYA	Slow. State response delayed by political situation and by institutional hiatus. Donor response also slowed down by these political and institutional difficulties.	State system much quicker, where it could operate without political decision-making. Emergency appeal delayed by political factors. International response was very slow.
SOMALIA	Constrained by security and access to the field	Quicker response due to the determination not to repeat the events of 2011.

KEY MESSAGES

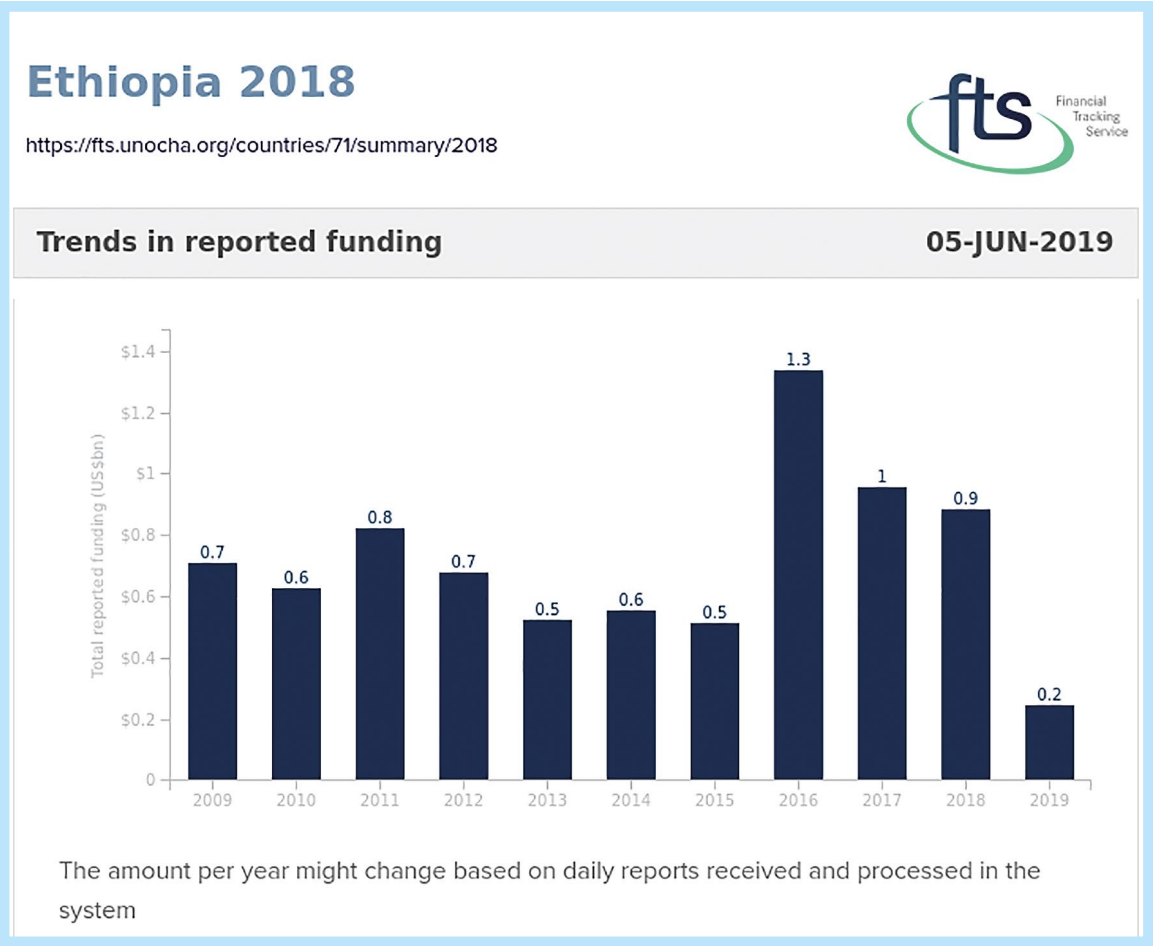
- *Pre-existing programmes (safety nets, water, etc.), although limited in scale, were very useful in scaling up the emergency response.*
- *For Kenya and Ethiopia, the humanitarian response was delayed by the same factors in 2015 and in 2016 as it had been in 2011-12. These were: 1) almost all stakeholders were unwilling to respond to meteorological forecasts, even for heightened preparedness; 2) they insisted on waiting for 'official' early warning (despite the widely recognised inability of these systems to be timely, see above); 3) they were unwilling to respond based on an analysis of the inevitable trajectory of livelihoods and humanitarian indicators; 4) instead, they insisted that it was necessary to wait until these indicators (especially child malnutrition) were already critical; 5) they were unwilling to divert development resources to scale up assistance where this was in critical need (for livelihoods, water etc.) in the absence of a Government-recognised emergency; 6) slow bureaucratic processes, made worse by the tendency to centralise decision-making; and 7) lack of preparedness by operational agencies, leading to long delays between the decision to act and assistance reaching people in need.*
- *For Somalia, the memory of the 2011 disaster created a strong incentive for a faster response and resource mobilisation*
- *The existence of social protection mechanisms was important, especially in the early stages of the crises.*
- *There were clear improvements in the reactivity of some state structures in Kenya, i.e. institutions where decision making is les subject to political interferences. This was linked to the availability of contingency funds from development donors.*

5.3. SCALE OF THE RESPONSE AND TRENDS IN FUNDING

Ethiopia

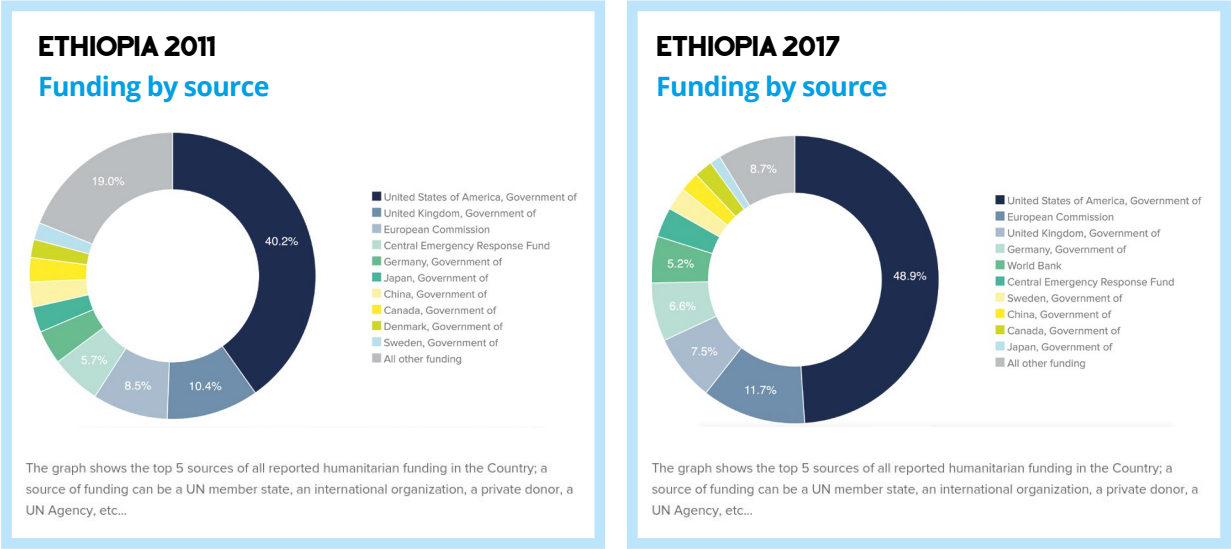
As discussed above in analysing the speed of response, in Ethiopia, the funds allocated in 2016 were largely dedicated to the response to the 2015 El Niño-type drought, and the funds released in 2017 were for the 2016 IOD drought. As can be seen from Figure 5 below, the international response in 2016 was the largest response for many years. However, the severity of the crisis and the number of affected people was far greater for the 2015-16-17 El Niño-type drought than for the 2011 drought. If we compare the number of people affected in 2011 (4.8 million) and the emergency caseload for the El Niño drought in 2015 (10.2 million people), this shows a broadly similar funding response.

Figure 5: Trends in reported funding for Ethiopia – from 2008 to 2018. Source: FTS 2018.



ECHO contributed €73.5m for Ethiopia in 2017 compared to €50m in 2011, but the caseload was twice the size of that in 2011. Around 60% of these funds went to drought response (55m). However, interpreting these figures is complicated due to the difference in nature between the two responses. In 2017, the situation in Ethiopia was complex as a result of two successive droughts affecting the country in different areas.

Figure 6: Reported funding for Ethiopia (2011 and 2017), by source. Source: FTS 2018.



The Government of Ethiopia contributed significantly to the drought response for the first time in 2015 and 2016. Resources from the national food safety system (PSNP) were allocated to drought-affected woredas in 2016-17. In addition, there were a lot of other ongoing crises in Ethiopia in 2017 (insecurity and displacement) which competed with drought response for donor attention. It is important to keep in mind that pastoral areas recover much more slowly than cropping areas – it takes a few years to restock. In many pastoral areas, the worst of the crisis was over but households were left without assets. The insecurity in the country meant that it was more difficult to obtain funds for recovery programmes.

Somalia

For Somalia, overall funding was similar, and largely insufficient for the two crises.

The EU contribution to the Somalia crisis during the 2016-17 crisis represents around 10 % of overall funding, compared to 7% in 2011-12.

For Somalia, recent appeals have been based more on what programming can be achieved (within the constraints of access and partners) rather than on what funding would be required to avert disaster, thus potentially giving a misleading picture of needs within the country. The Consolidated Appeal was only fully revised at the end of July 2011. This was clearly a factor in the failure to scale up the response early on. In Somalia for example, the original 2011 Consolidated Appeal (CAP) was set at $530m in late 2010. This was revised to more than $1bn by August 2011.

Kenya

For Kenya, the global level of funding fell significantly between the two crisis periods. EU funding for humanitarian action fell in real terms, though as a percentage of all funding for aid, it increased by 2%. This needs to be set against the significant contribution to drought response it makes through non-humanitarian

Figure 7: Trends in reported funding for Somalia – from 2008 to 2018. Source: FTS 2018.

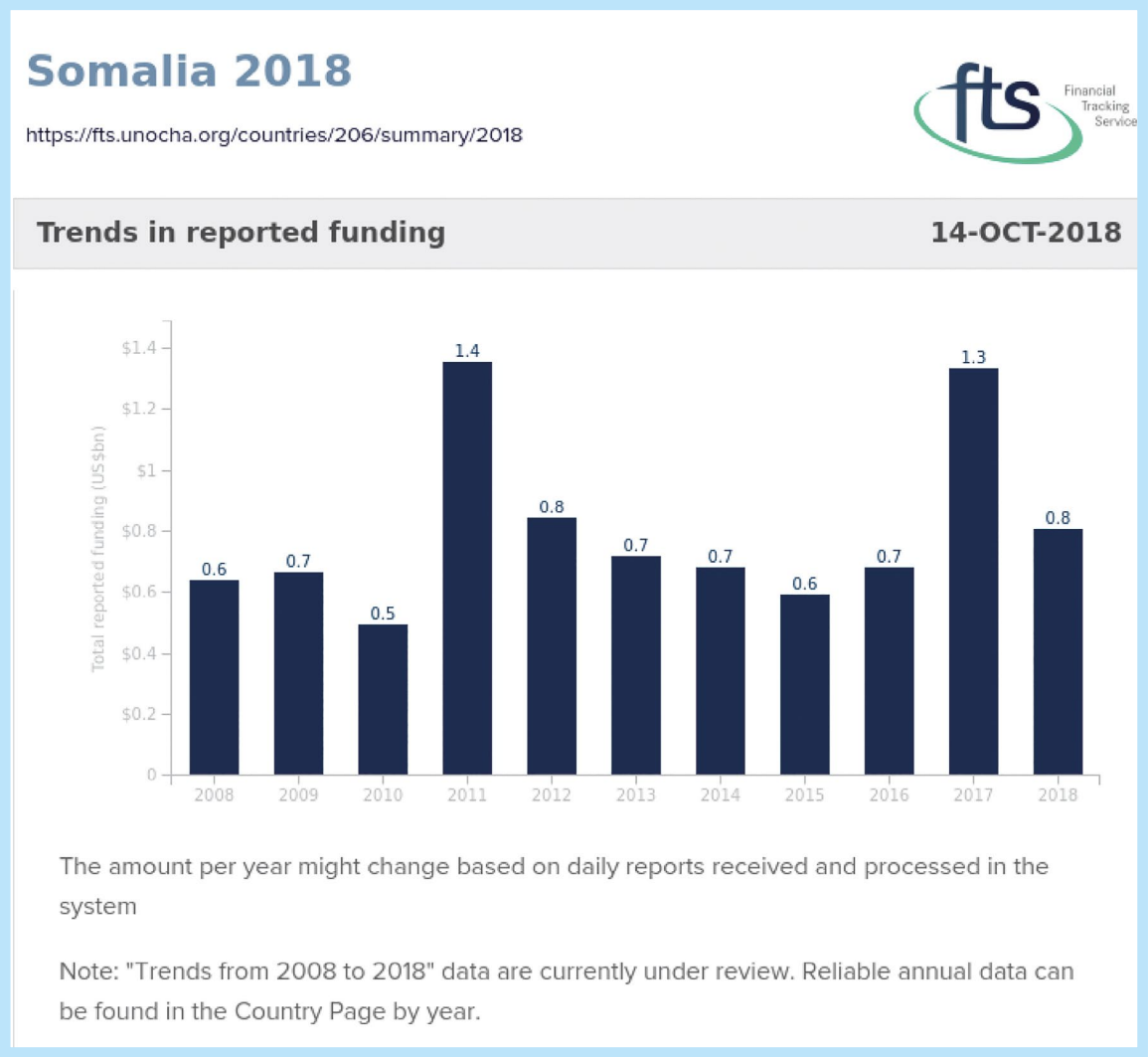


Figure 8: Reported funding for Somalia (2011 and 2017), by source. Source: FTS 2018

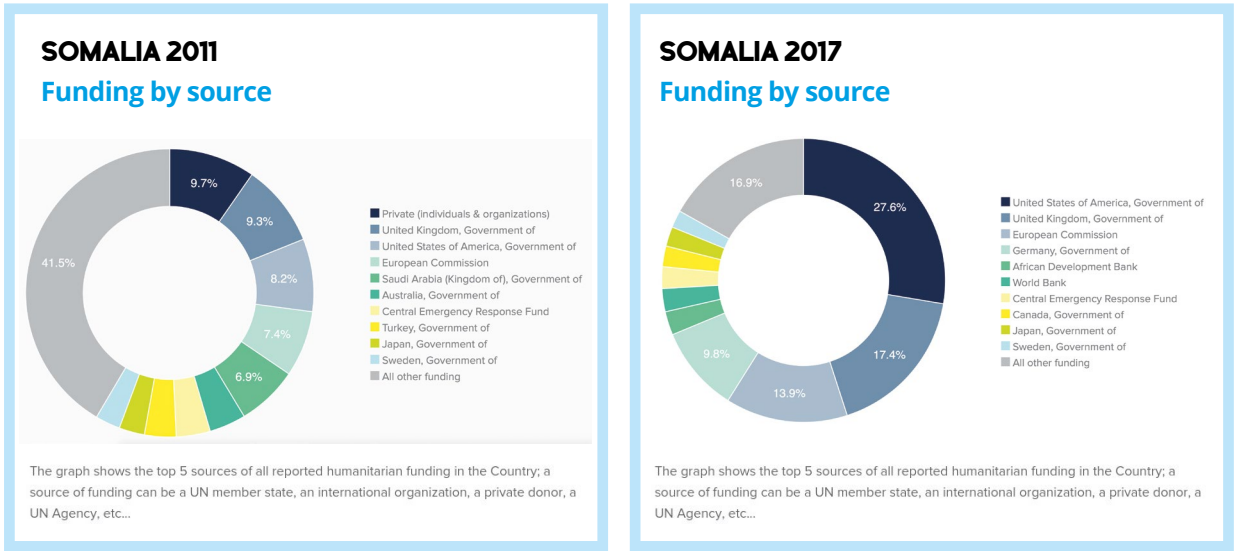


Figure 9: Trends in reported funding for Kenya – from 2008 to 2018. Source: FTS 2018.

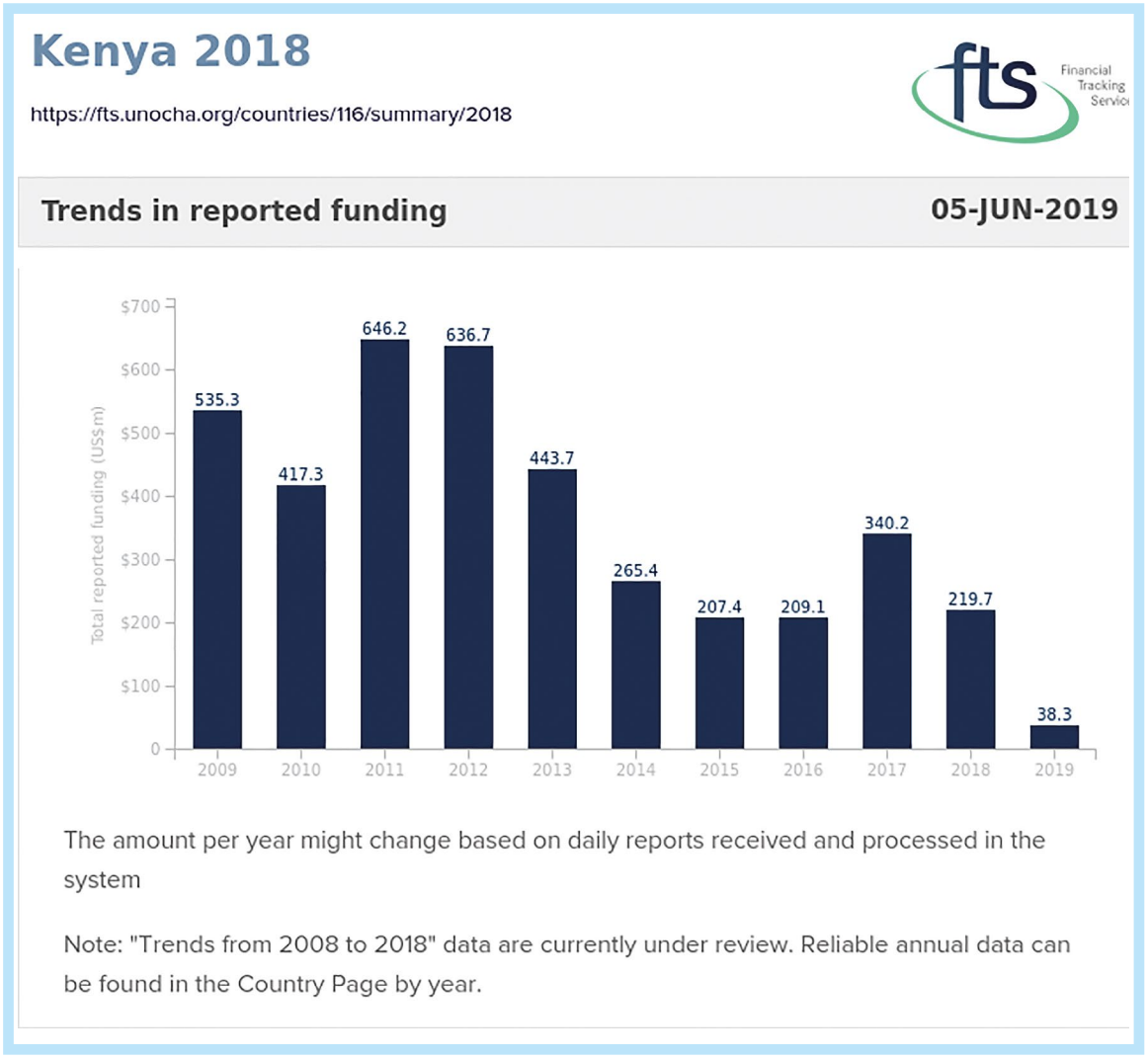
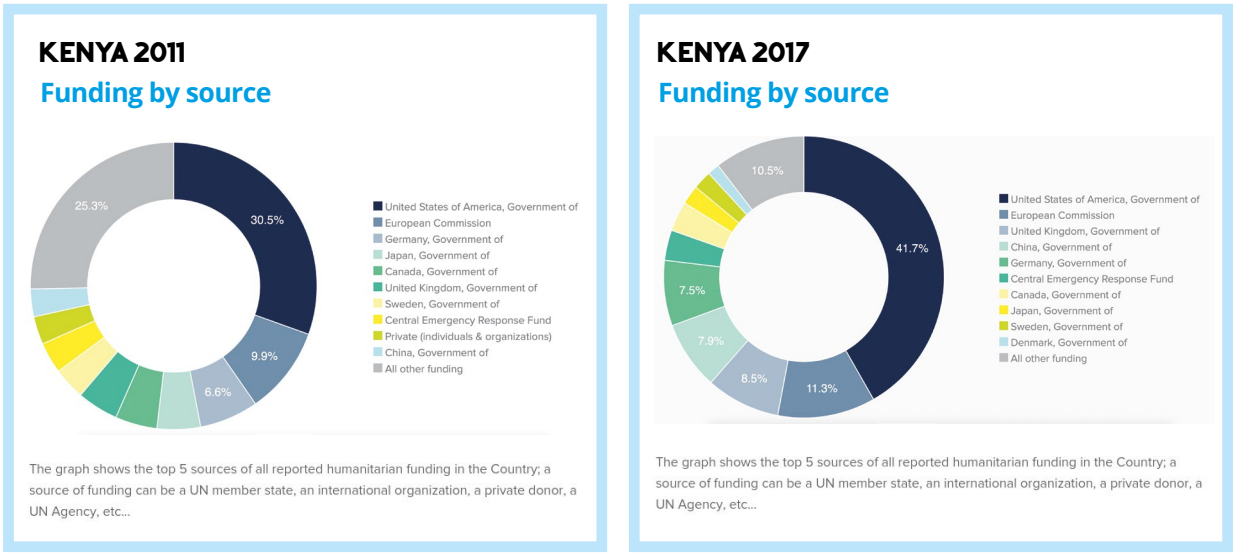


Figure 10: Reported funding for Kenya (2011 and 2017), by source. Source: FTS 2018



channels not covered by the FTS (from DEVCO, through the Delegation, to NDMA, as discussed above).

In 2016, Kenya was no longer seen as a low-income country that was dependent on the international humanitarian community to take care of its drought-affected population. ECHO's ongoing programme in Kenya consisted mainly of projects for refugees, with a small amount of support for the phasing out of resilience programming in the ASALs. Once the crisis in 2016-17 became deeper and was more widely recognised, the response of the international aid sector was limited to changing how funds already allocated to Kenya (for resilience or DRR programming) were to be used, until the Government launched its emergency appeal. ECHO used funds from its "Drought Preparedness" resilience-oriented programmes for emergency cash transfers until it was able to complement this with other funds. Although this will have had limited impact, because of the amount of funds available, this is a good example of a donor making the best and quickest emergency response possible by demanding maximum flexibility from its longer-term investments. The level of flexibility here was greater than the flexibility provided by crisis modifiers. There are two reasons for this: firstly, the donor was proactive in asking to reassign funds and did not wait for a partner to make the request; and secondly, with crisis modifiers the majority of funds continue to be spent as had been planned, with a small – and arbitrary – percentage being reallocated. Here, the scale of reassignment was determined by need and by what was possible, i.e. determining the minimum necessary to continue with the pre-planned exit strategy.

Synthesis and key messages

Comparing the response across the three countries, it is clear that Kenya received much less funding than the other two countries and that this can be justified in terms of the lower level of needs and the response capacity of the State. Regarding the contributions to Somalia and Ethiopia, these were similar for the two crises for Somalia, while for Ethiopia, there was a significant increase.

COUNTRY	COMPARING 2011-12 AND 2015-16-17
ETHIOPIA	Increase in resource injection, while the situation was the consequence of two successive drought episodes in different parts of the country.
KENYA	Similar amount of resources, despite changes in the ability to respond
SOMALIA	Decrease in humanitarian resources; response funded primarily by the EU and the state.

5.4 CONTENT OF RESPONSE

Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, the content of the international humanitarian response was broadly similar in the two crises: food assistance, nutrition programming and WASH interventions. More emergency cash programming took place in 2017, but not at a scale that could be called "transformative". Although cash-based programs were not the main form of assistance during the 2011 drought, evaluations found that most had been "well implemented" as well as "well received and highly appreciated within communities" (Truelove and Duncalf 2012: 12). Still, cash-based programming has been particularly prone to bureaucratic delays in Ethiopia.

Livestock interventions were becoming more frequent in 2017. One of the main forms of assistance for livestock protection was the provision of fodder, but although widespread, this was not really implemented at scale, in that the quantities of fodder distributed were small (covering few animals) and only given for short periods (i.e. not enough to sustain herds until the drought was over). Their impact was probably very limited: in the very long drought in Hararghe/northern Somali Region, the impact proved to be insignificant, with fodder possibly delaying animal mortality by a few weeks[30].

The water response consisted of an "expensive" and "unreliable" water trucking operation, proving that a better system is needed in the future to tackle systemic issues of water access (Sida et al. 2012: 10). Although water trucking was inefficient, it was timely and saved human lives and some livestock. There has been repeated criticism of the extent of water trucking in parts of Ethiopia, but in the absence of investment in structural solutions, every time a drought hits, there seem to be few alternatives once surface water catchments and underground storage systems are used up. ECHO has played a global role in promoting emergency cash programming, and has tried to do so in Ethiopia. There is some debate in the country about the relative merits of cash and food aid programmes in relation to the Productive Safety Net Programme and the use of social protection vs. emergency assistance systems to deliver aid. ECHO has tried to introduce more emergency cash assistance through the more structured cash systems, and it financed a pilot with WFP to introduce cash, but this proved to be problematic and following many delays, it was only implemented in 2018.

Somalia

In-kind food aid has been a key part of the response to food crises in Somalia for decades and this was still the case in 2011. However, all the difficulties linked to logistics, security and integrity made it extremely challenging. A rapid 'food aid' response would have required a significant amount of preparedness, with a lot of pre-positioned food available all over the country. In addition, a number of scandals have affected the food aid sector in recent years, and in-kind food aid has become more and more difficult since 2009 and the ban on WFP in most parts of Somalia. As in

30 - Levine and Kusnierek (2018), op cit.

many contexts, when drought hits Somalia, food prices increase very fast and people need much more money to cover their nutritional needs. This triggers "cash thirst" which triggers different phases of asset-selling and opens the road to destitution. A few NGOs pushed for cash transfers in 2011 in order to act fast and at scale, but this initially got limited support as everybody was focused on the enormous risks in the Somali context. But in the end it got some traction as the main donors involved in Somalia were also the most involved in the cash debate. NGO staff had mixed opinions about whether or not cash would be more attractive to gatekeepers, militias, and other 'local Authorities'; leading to a higher level of diversion. Would cash (either vouchers, through 'hawala', or through mobile banking systems) be taxed, or diverted? In the end, it took off and NGOs were able to scale up in just three months, negotiating access with local authorities, making 'hawala' arrangements, targeting and registering beneficiaries, and establishing new M&E systems. This made the assistance much more efficient, with between 80 and 85 % of the programme budget ending up in the hands of the beneficiaries, while for in-kind assistance, the final value transferred to beneficiaries represented around only 35 per cent of programme budget (Humanitarian Outcome/UNICEF, 2012).

In 2016, when the alarm bell started ringing, there was no hesitation: cash was the solution and was massively used. There were several different approaches, each with its advantages and disadvantages. WFP opted for a mix of cash vouchers, using the SCOPE registration system (introduced in Somaliland in February 2015), the edition of "chip supported cards" (where photos of the beneficiaries and a proxy are encrypted), a network of NGO partners, equipped with a specific device for beneficiary identification and a network of selected retailers who have to respect strict conditions linked to anti-terrorist legislation. Specific devices were distributed to partners and retailers to read beneficiaries' cards and to verify finger prints. Only then could beneficiaries redeem their vouchers and get their food from the pre-established list of 19 food items, which unfortunately were not always available in the shops.

It was also backed by a complex and systematic electronic monitoring system and a complaints mechanism using a hotline, with flow back and forth between the beneficiaries, the call centre in Galkayo, Nairobi and Hargeisa. Despite regular difficulties, this system was well controlled and largely prevented the misuse of aid resources, including the purchase of Kat. The system is heavily dependent on technology and relatively bureaucratic as it depends on complex registration and commercial processes. During both drought events, water trucking and nutrition programming represented a significant part of the funding. Significant progress was made in terms of integrating nutrition into health interventions. The main difference between the two responses is that in 2011, most of the response was camp-based, either in the refugee camps in Kenya and Ethiopia, or in the IDP settlements in and around Mogadishu (in particular the Jowhar Corridor). In 2016-17, the situation was significantly different and displacement involved shorter distances, and therefore people were not in such a desperate state when they arrived.

As Cash is more easily transferable than food, its massive use also prevented additional displacement as the people who received money from the Diaspora or through cash programming were able to send some on to relatives etc. There was more trade in 2016 because Al Shabaab's strategy was to tax it rather than to prevent it.

Kenya

The main difference in the drought response from 2011 to 2017 was in the role played by Emergency Cash Transfer programmes (ECTs), which by 2017 had become a standard form of humanitarian aid regionally, and also a standard form of social protection nationally. Both the state (in particular NDMA) and KRCS were experienced in rolling out ECTs at scale, and the financial infrastructure for doing so had improved since 2011. The comparative speed of making cash transfers compared to food distributions, and the particular improvement in speed where population registers for targeting were already organised, probably went some way to mitigating the overall slowness in starting up the response at scale. It is beyond the scope of this review to comment on the relative impact of cash or in-kind food transfers.

The other change in the content of the response was the larger role played by livestock-based interventions, e.g. slaughter destocking, commercial off-take, feed distribution, and animal health-care. These were a relative novelty in 2011 – the first set of guidelines for such interventions, LEGS, only appeared in mid-2009 – but were a more mainstream intervention in 2017. There were also technical improvements in the way such interventions were carried out: some successes have been claimed for the distribution of concentrated feed pellets by NDMA, rather than of bulky and nutritionally-weak hay.

Both changes were the product of broad trends in the humanitarian sector, trends which had begun some years before 2011. ECHO's role in promoting these changes, both globally and in the Horn/East Africa region in particular, has been huge. ECHO is one of the two agencies (with DFID) primarily responsible for the revolution in humanitarian practice from an automatic distribution of in-kind food to ECTs, having begun advocating for the adoption of cash programming in the East Africa region in 2005. ECHO has also been a long-standing advocate of taking a longer-term and more developmental (or drought cycle management) perspective on droughts in the ASAL, with its (then) innovative use of humanitarian funding to strengthen drought preparedness and what would now be called resilience from 2006, and the Regional Drought Decision from 2008.

ECHO played a much smaller role in the overall response in Kenya in 2017 compared to 2011, and its financial contribution to the response in 2017 was only a fraction of the size of funds given in 2011. In 2011, ECHO's funding to Kenya was almost 48m euro, which was around 30m euro above its 'normal' funding from 2009-15 (i.e. all other years apart from the drought year in 2009). In contrast, it only contracted around €10m for the drought in 2017[31]. It did not play a lead role in ECTs or in livestock-based interventions in 2017. However, the role of the EU as a whole in the drought response was enormous. As mentioned above, DEVCO funds through the EU-Delegation were critical for the operations of the Drought Contingency Fund (DCF) and for cash transfers from NDMA. The DEVCO contribution and ECHO's response were managed in isolation. For example, the Delegation was not at all involved in discussions about the value of cash transfers which were needed during the crisis, even though it was a

31 - As mentioned above, it is not possible to give an exact breakdown of funds given to drought relief and funds for refugees. The initial allocation for Kenya was topped up twice to respond to drought needs.

large donor of these transfers. ECHO was concerned about transfer levels. It felt that the normal level of social protection transfer was inadequate for households to be able to meet their minimum needs. There were various obstacles to a constructive discussion on this. Donors of social protection – in particular DFID and World Bank – were not in favour of a vertical scale up of the transfer (i.e. of the value). Some also felt that the Government of Kenya wanted to spread payments as widely as possible because of political and electoral considerations. The EU delegation felt that this was a decision for the state and did not engage in any advocacy.

Synthesis and key messages

There were three important changes to the overall drought response in the three countries between 2011 and 2017, though these all represented continuations of pre-existing trends rather than brand new innovations. These were: the expanded use of ECTs as a primary assistance modality; increasing efforts by more agencies to invest in livestock protection measures; and the role of social protection systems as important sources of resources to households in need.

5.5 COORDINATION, AND MONITORING AND ACCOUNTABILITY SYSTEMS

Ethiopia

Coordination between the Government, UN agencies and others actors was significantly better in 2016-17 than in 2011-12. The Cluster system became more decentralised and closer to the field. Years of efforts to improve the communication between the international community and its national counterparts have paid off. However, information exchange, which is the cornerstone of coordination, has not improved since 2011-12. The flow of essential data remains slow: for instance, nutrition information takes 3 months to reach decision-making levels and to be shared. Some information, such as mortality, that is vital in order to analyse the impact of the drought, is impossible to obtain because it is highly politicised. Even independent assessment is sometimes not allowed. Despite huge efforts made by the UN, donors and NGOs to keep abreast of what is happening where, it is very difficult. This is particularly the case in the lowlands (e.g. South Omo), in the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region (SNNP) and in the Somali region. This can make genuinely independent field monitoring and evaluation difficult. Problems created by a lack of independent personnel on the ground were apparent during food distributions in parts of the Somali Region. Official reports, including from WFP, were that these food distributions were taking place, but on-the-ground NGOs reported that they were highly irregular and haphazard.

In 2016-17, donor coordination was good. Sharing information in an "information vacuum" was a central part of this coordination. Internal EC coordination, meaning between the ECHO TA and their other colleagues in the Delegation was good but there was still room for improvement. It is important to note that strategic cooperation between the

Delegation and ECHO was not very strong, even when relations were good, and that an isolated joint-funded project cannot substitute for deep strategic collaboration.

Somalia

During the 2011-12 drought, coordination was based in Nairobi under the cluster system. NGOs perceived the cluster system to be driven by UN agencies. Until the famine was officially declared in July 2011, there was very little space or interest within the cluster system for strategic discussions about cash transfers as a way to support food security and livelihoods. A significant development later in 2011 was the establishment of an Inter-cluster Cash Coordination (ICC) unit funded by FAO to create a database of cash-based interventions in coordination with the Cash Based Response Working Group (CBRWG). The UNICEF-NGO initiative for joint monitoring of their Emergency Cash Transfer operations should also be noted.

There were significant changes in this respect during the 2016-17 drought response. First of all, efforts were made to establish coordination that was closer to the ground. The establishment of the Drought Operation Coordination Centre (DOCC) in Mogadishu brought together actors based not only in Nairobi but also on the ground, and significantly enhanced dialogue between actors and between Mogadishu and Nairobi. Indeed, thanks to excellent video-conference facilities, it improved their ability to jointly address collective problems and to facilitate complex decision-making processes. Similarly, the decentralised DOCCs in Baidoa and Galkayo also provided opportunities for synergy. Donor coordination was effective between a small number of committed donors, with DFID and ECHO "leading the show" in technical discussions. Their efforts to harmonise the value of cash transfers between different agencies and regions, despite initial differences between minimum basket values, and their promotion of unconditional cash were crucial in orienting the aid sector.

Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development (LRRD), or as it is now known, the "Humanitarian-Development Nexus", which refers to coordination between humanitarian and development aid, has become more complicated for humanitarian actors due to the need to coordinate with other political stakeholders: the UN mission for Somalia (UNSOM), specific parts of the donor community dealing with the stabilisation agenda and AMISOM. Respecting humanitarian principles is only of limited importance to these political players.

Coordination between classical humanitarian donors has always been good at the Nairobi level and in most international fora on Somalia. Coordination with non-classical donors, such as Turkey and the Islamic Conference Organisation (ICO), who were operating directly in Mogadishu and did not participate in the coordination system either in Nairobi or Mogadishu, proved particularly challenging.

Coordination with the new Somali institutions dealing with humanitarian aid and disaster management, which was previously unheard of (apart from limited exchange with some district officials), is slowly becoming part of the "new normal" in Somalia. There are still a lot of problems due to the weak capacity of these institutions and their difficulty understanding how the international system functions, but almost all the stakeholders interviewed mentioned that progress had been made.

A new generation of remote control and remote monitoring tools and systems arose from the 2011 crisis when presence on the ground was often impossible.

The most prominent of these are:

a) talking directly to beneficiaries and other stakeholders by phone and well-established hot lines;

b) third-party monitoring, through the contracting of independent monitoring firms staffed by both Kenyan and Somali consultants. This, for instance, is the case of the Monitoring and Evaluation for the Somalia Humanitarian, Health and Resilience (MESH) Programmes established by DFID.

c) ensuring that dialogue with partner agencies is in place to triangulate and verify information.

Adopting these approaches required significant investment on the part of aid agencies to ensure that their national staff and Somali partners were able to adapt and use these new mechanisms properly, as they transfer a lot of the responsibility for information reliability and robustness to them. Feedback from project participants was elicited through a 'beneficiary hotline'.

This cash transfer system also functioned in the Al Shabaab controlled areas, despite the restrictions they had imposed. Using these different approaches in a complementary manner was the best alternative where direct field monitoring was impossible.

Kenya

The two game-changers for coordination between 2011 and 2016-17 in Kenya were decentralisation and the enhanced state capacity at NDMA. The 2011 crisis happened shortly after the new Constitution creating devolved County government, so it was too early for decentralised County government to play enough of a role. In 2016-17, counties were more active and provided forums for local coordination. This had some benefits, although it was not without problems.

Some Counties functioned very poorly, and international agencies sometimes struggled to know where to invest in coordination presence, at national or county level. This is not surprising considering that it was the first major drought crisis since decentralisation. In 2011, the precursor to NDMA, The Arid Lands Resource Management Project was not operational because (World Bank) funding had come to an end, which greatly weakened state coordination capacity. The importance of the role of NDMA in 2016-17 has already been discussed. There still remain both strategic and operational challenges in linking decentralised response at county level with the national NDMA structure. In principle NDMA has as staff member in each county, but they were often perceived in the county as representing a parallel response system from the centre, rather than being focal points for collaboration between centre and county.

The role of line Ministries in coordination (for technical domains such as water, heath, livestock, etc.) remained problematic in both 2012 and 2017.

6. IS THE AID SECTOR MAKING PROGRESS?

Comparing the picture over the past decade or more, it is not possible to make any general statement about trends with regard to the quality of international humanitarian response, or ECHO's own response, in the Horn of Africa region. Nonetheless, on some of the key dimensions discussed above, progress has been achieved. The following section first identifies areas where progress has been achieved, and then looks at areas where improvements will hopefully soon be made.

6.1. IMPROVEMENTS

6.1.1. Better early warning systems

There has been some improvement in early warning, even though late response in previous crises was not primarily due to the failure of Early Warning Systems. Progress has been patchy across the three countries.

- There are stronger and more transparent information systems, in particular in Kenya.
- Although early warning signals in the form of forecasts are still largely ignored, there has been progress in the earlier identification of existing drought conditions coming from a wide range of sources, including satellite imagery.
- In some places, the enhanced presence of aid agencies in the field has led to a better informal warning system that has been quicker than waiting for reports from formal systems.

6.1.2. Faster response

Although there was little improvement in terms of reacting more quickly to drought crises, there were some improvements:

- Better interaction between development/resilience programming and emergency response due to the development of adaptive mechanisms, e.g. ECHO's reallocation of project resources to respond to the crisis.
- Although crisis modifiers have so far proved disappointing as a way of ensuring more rapid response, their increased use by different donors is at least encouraging and shows a willingness to experiment in order to achieve quicker response.

6.1.3. Improved response contents

- Emergency Cash Transfers (ECTs) are faster than in-kind food aid, particularly when payment systems are already prepared (as in Kenya and more and more in Somalia and Ethiopia). They are arguably a more appropriate mechanism where markets are functioning, though it was beyond the scope of this review to assess this.

- Treatment of malnutrition: There has been a gradual and continuous improvement in the management of acute malnutrition, with permanent structures, i.e. state health services, taking more responsibility for addressing this problem, both when malnutrition rates are at normal levels and when they are higher during a crisis.
- Although the impact of livestock protection measures is unclear, the willingness to experiment with them and to innovate generally is, in itself, of value.

6.1.4. Better coordination

- Coordination close to the field proved to be useful. In Somalia, the shift from mainly Nairobi-based coordination to more field-based coordination (Mogadishu with the DOCC and with coordination hubs in the different Somali States) was an extremely important game changer. In Ethiopia and Kenya, area-based coordination is the new operational model.
- Coordination with national and local authorities is improving, although it can be cumbersome and time-consuming. There is still a need for skills transfer to these national stakeholders as well as strategic humanitarian diplomacy to ensure that their enhanced role in coordination does not become another problem.
- Despite continued demand for better coordination among donors in line with the Grand Bargain (nexus, streamlined reporting procedures, etc.), this did not improve significantly between the two crises.

6.2. REMAINING CHALLENGES

Although the system regularly expresses the desire to change and make progress, transforming these declarations into strong acts is faced with a number of challenges.

6.2.1. Early warning

The improvements in some aspects of early warning were identified above. However:

- The official early warning system in Ethiopia in particular remains too slow to provide early warning. Waiting for harvests to make crop assessments, relying on huge quantities of data and restricting the free flow of information and analysis all prevent these so-called 'early warning' systems from providing useful early warning of likely future crises.
- Informal information systems are limited when there are no trusted partners on the ground. The most difficult areas to work, which are the areas with the fewest partners, are also the ones that are the most prone to crisis. The challenge is to maintain and extend the long-term presence of partners, and to improve their freedom to collect, analyse and share critical information.
- Informal early warning is useful but it is dependent on individual relationships, and it cannot substitute for a more official system. As discussed above, despite informal warnings, ECHO was still unaware that a crisis was developing in southern Ethiopia in September-October 2017.

6.2.2. Speed of response

- Overall, the underlying problems delaying response to slow-onset crisis remain largely the same. Donor decision-making is too often taken far from the field, and appears to be influenced as much by high-profile attention – which almost inevitably only occurs after very late symptoms of crisis have already occurred – as by detailed, on-the-ground analysis, even where the development path of a crisis can clearly be predicted, e.g. after failed rains until the beginning of the next rainy season.
- Although weather forecasting is continually improving and becoming more accessible, it is still not playing a significant role in determining how resources should be used. Governments, who have access to the information, are still rarely willing to allocate resources on the basis of forecasts, when they have so many other pressing demands for resources. Unfortunately, the general unwillingness to act on the basis of forecasts is extended to too great a degree to preparedness measures. The implications of the unwillingness to allocate resources until indicators of suffering (e.g. GAM) are rising are well recognised: given the time taken to translate funding decisions to assistance on the ground, response will always be late.
- Despite increasing rhetoric about the importance of early response, international donors have repeatedly been unwilling to allocate resources on the basis of forecasts, in their case due to competing demands from other ongoing crises in the world. There may also be some reluctance to commit resources when the Government itself has not yet done so, on the grounds that this would undermine moves to encourage Governments to take greater responsibility for the welfare of their own citizens. This is understandable, but it means leaving people who are threatened by crisis at the mercy of their governments. This unwillingness to invest has also affected preparedness, where donor investment is also inadequate.
- Since the international humanitarian system is capable of quick response times to sudden-onset disasters, one of the blockages to rapid response on slow-onset crises (such as in the countries under review) is in deciding whether or not an emergency exists. Progress was made in Kenya by the state systems (though not the humanitarian community) because this decision was reduced to a single question, the moisture stress suffered as measured by satellite imagery and with preset thresholds for defining degrees of crisis. Although this enabled far faster resources flows to be made to affected (sub-)counties, it depended on pre-existing contingency funds, i.e. no donor had to be convinced to make new decisions to release funds. Another limitation of this approach is that it works by correlating the degree of meteorological drought (moisture stress) with the level of humanitarian crisis. It is, of course, accepted by all that this correlation does not hold in reality. The 2011 famine in Somalia was caused by a combination of conflict-disturbed trade (coupled with high international food prices, leading to very high food prices in some areas), conflict restricted movement, rain failure, chronic poverty and, of course, restricted access to humanitarian aid because of conflict. Of these elements, only chronic poverty and rain failure were repeated at the same level in 2016-17. In Kenya, the worst humanitarian indicators in 2017 were not in the areas that experienced the greatest anomalies in rainfall, but in areas suffering from chronic poverty and under-development. A challenge thus remains: how to

combine the speed of reactivity, and the relative insulation from politicisation, of an 'objective' trigger-based response system, with an ability to analyse impending food security crises taking into account more than just climatic factors.

- A further degree of complication is that in all three countries in 2016-17, there was a malnutrition crisis in areas where GAM rates are permanently above emergency thresholds. Humanitarian actors have struggled to decide about when to intervene in a situation of chronic difficulty. This is an impossible decision in the absence of a long-term structural response. Humanitarian agencies can never substitute for such investment and thus can never be the solution to a chronic problem. Where long-term investment is in place, humanitarian decisions can be made about whether there is a need for urgent surge capacity to treat additional symptoms, even though these decisions are never simple. The remaining challenge, then, is for humanitarian agencies to claim a seat at the table to take part in decisions about development investments, and to adopt more collaborative strategies with development actors.
- Different donors have different degrees of flexibility to respond to emerging crises. ECHO's flexibility is constrained by a fixed annual timetable for decision-making about resources, and processes which take months from the time of drawing up plans to funds being received on the ground. This further constrains the ability to respond quickly because, although ECHO has shown that it is good at maximising the flexibility with which funds available in a country can be used, raising additional funds to respond to a crisis takes months. The new restrictions on requests for additional funds (e.g. only one uplift a year) will potentially make response even slower.

6.2.3. Quality of the situation assessment and analysis

The quality of the situation assessment remains a critical factor. It is primarily used as a fund-raising tool rather than a planning tool. Compiling the HNO and HRP are extremely time-consuming exercises. By the time they were disseminated, the situations had changed.

6.2.4. The politicisation of aid

Aid is at the centre of many political interests. It is bound up with issues of sovereignty and legitimacy for the affected countries and issues of influence and stabilisation for many donors (Somalia is an obvious case). This explains why politicisation has been a constant theme throughout the report. However, politicisation has taken very different forms in each of the countries studied.

6.2.5. Resilience and the humanitarian-development-migration-security nexus

The area concerned by this study is affected by all kinds of turbulence, fragility (political, economic and climatic) and population displacement. It is therefore an area where the humanitarian-development-security-migration nexus is a critical parameter of humanitarian strategy.

Population movement is always seen as a "hostile phenomenon", even in a context where pastoral mobility has been the cornerstone of nomads' and herders' survival. This tends to pollute many debates on humanitarian response in the Horn, even for a very technical and supposedly apolitical "drought response".

6.2.6. Livelihood protection

The humanitarian system has proved effective at saving lives in all but the most difficult circumstances e.g. when access is highly restricted. As identified above, severe acute malnutrition is now treated better than ever before and ECTs help provide appropriate, cost-effective and rapid flows of resources to needy households. However, protecting livelihoods during droughts remains much more challenging. Despite a growing willingness by different humanitarian actors (including donors, UN agencies and NGOs) to invest in livelihood protection, it is difficult to see what could actually work during long and severe droughts, in the absence of an economic transformation in marginalised and crisis-prone areas.

6.2.7. Response in the most difficult areas

The quality and speed of measures to mitigate the drought were very inconsistent. In Kenya, the quality of County government was patchy. In Ethiopia, there are areas where state systems, supported by international partners, function quite well, whilst in other areas, the structures are either absent or else they function very poorly. The areas with the best functioning state systems are often those where international agencies are most ready to help – and where they find it easiest to help. A key challenge will be to ensure that the achievements made in the better functioning areas can be replicated everywhere, including in the most marginalised areas. This will require investment of resources in places where it is harder and more expensive to achieve results – a challenge that ECHO has been willing to embrace. (It is to be expected that if the state in Somalia consolidates its authority over its territory and develops its level of service provision, it will face the same challenges.)

In part of Ethiopia in particular, the politicisation of information was a frequent constraint, with obstacles and/or delays placed in the way of agencies making assessments, and agencies not able to share information regarded as sensitive, even including technical information such as data from nutrition centres. Effective response is not possible without the freedom to investigate and without the free exchange of information and analysis.

6.2.8. Coordination with non-traditional donors

In the Horn of Africa, traditional donors coexist with many other sources of funding. The Diaspora, for example, provides more funding than the aid sector via remittances. Other sources are the Gulf States, their Islamic Charities and the Secretariat of the organisation of the Islamic Conference, but there is very little transparency about their contributions. Similarly, Turkey, China and a few emerging powers provide humanitarian assistance outside traditional fora and coordination mechanisms.

7. ECHO IN THE HORN OF AFRICA: THE CHALLENGES OF BEING A LEARNING DONOR

In the area studied, ECHO is seen as an influential donor and its TA (at country level and in the regional office) are widely respected. They are not only seen as a highly qualified work force with an institutional memory, but also as individuals with good knowledge of the realities of crisis prone areas. ECHO's role in promoting ECTs, its presence in forgotten crises and its promotion of protection in the humanitarian sector, make it a strong player in setting the humanitarian agenda both globally and at country level. However, it faces a number of challenges that have been underlined in this comparative analysis of the responses to two drought events in the three countries of the Horn of Africa.

In many ways, ECHO's response mechanisms are more complicated now than a few years ago, which could lead to more lengthy processes than in 2011-12.

7.1 THE HIP PROCESS: NOT IN LINE WITH CRISIS DYNAMICS

The process of establishing global HIPs, the limitation of what can be put in them and the difficulty of gaining access to the Reserve creates a situation where crises effectively have to compete against each other for funding. The calendar for HIP preparation is a lengthy process that begins in April and ends when the HIP is shared with partners around January (around 8 months). This process, which is linked to the Commission's financial year, is largely disconnected from climatic calendars. Although country teams and partners work together to maximise flexibility, the more rapid response that this potentially allows is limited to areas where existing partners have funding – and, of course, to the amount of funding they already have.

7.2 BEING NEEDS-BASED OR BEING PROACTIVE

ECHO legal texts underline that it can allocate resources on the basis of known and assessed needs. This alone has effectively made it difficult for ECHO to finance a timely response during the early phases of a crisis when needs are often limited and their rise has to be prevented (even though the EC regulations also allow preparedness activities to be funded). When there is a drought, an effective and timely response needs to be launched before malnutrition and mortality rates rise. Malnutrition rates, which so often serve to trigger the release of funds, are never early warning signals, but signals that a situation is already beyond people's capacity to cope. The rationale for the allocation of funds to different country programmes by ECHO management is not totally transparent, but there is a strong belief within ECHO that the media/political profile of different crises contributes to the country allocation amount (political filters). Since the profile of a crisis is only ever raised by symptoms of suffering (a high death rate, high acute severe malnutrition rates, etc.), this is another reason that it is impossible for ECHO to be a timely donor, let alone a donor prepared to base decision-making on forecasts for early response to mitigate crises in advance.

7.3. ECHO'S RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENTS

ECHO usually operates independently of Governments, even when the humanitarian principles that apply to situations where there is conflict or political instability are not relevant. It is understandable that ECHO insists on being able to make independent decisions about how its resources should be used, given the degree of politicisation of aid in all three countries reviewed here. It should not have to follow, though, that these independent decisions cannot then be implemented through state structures. ECHO often showed an interest in being a part of national coordination structures and working to support state initiatives, but there was also sometimes a reticence to do so, justified by an appeal to humanitarian principles. The question of ECHO's relationship with affected states will become increasingly relevant as crisis-affected states increase their ability, and perhaps also their political will, to take responsibility for emergency response, as the example of Kenya illustrates. Kenya is now designated as a lower-middle income country, but ECHO staff felt that the working paradigms that they were confronted with were more appropriate for less developed countries, and therefore had to adapt them to the Kenyan context. The growing use of state social protection systems to provide resources in crisis-hit areas will also increase the need to revisit the broader question of the ideal relationship between a humanitarian donor and a crisis-affected state.

7.4. ECHO, DEVCO AND LRRD

Despite some effort made, ECHO and the EU Delegations operate largely in isolation from each other in all three countries. A degree of collaboration between ECHO and DEVCO was achieved in Ethiopia, but this was limited to one jointly-funded resilience programme, rather than an overall shared strategy to guide the EU's aid instruments. The collaborative strategy was thus limited to this one programme, rather than encompassing the use of EU resources as a whole, in order to build structures or promote the kind of economic development that would help vulnerable people to cope better in times of crisis. Given the in-depth understanding of crisis in the region by so many ECHO staff, and because ECHO staff are so familiar with the reality on the ground in crisis-prone areas, opportunities are being missed to allow the European Union to use its resources for optimal impact. ECHO could also enhance its advocacy role (see above) by using the leverage of the combined ECHO-DEVCO presence and their combined resources. Currently, ECHO and DEVCO seem to share too little in terms of their problem analysis, priorities, working cultures and the interpretation of their roles. There have been increasing calls globally for a closer relationship between the EU's development and humanitarian arms, and there are reports that a lot of progress has been made in several countries. Nonetheless, in the study countries at least, the calls for a closer relationship have led to attempts to find areas of synergy between two missions and two organisations, rather than a belief that humanitarian and development organisations are addressing a common problem, the former through short-term action and the latter through long-term action. This is not to imply that there has been any reluctance on the part of ECHO country offices or ECHO HQ to develop a stronger relationship with the EU's development assistance.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

Some of these recommendations have previously appeared in several evaluations and research studies concerning not only the Horn of Africa, but also other crisis areas. Their regular occurrence means that they are related to systemic problems that need concerted efforts to be properly addressed – some within the aid system as a whole, some within the humanitarian sector as a whole and others within the whole ECHO structure. Other are more directed to the operations in the Horn of Africa or at country specific level. Due attention has been made to make clear which level the recommendation addresses (system, region, country).

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FOR ALL ACTORS:

Recommendation N°1: Humanitarian agencies, individually and collectively, need to reflect why over the past decades, so many of the same recommendations have been repeated in relation to the need for faster, timelier response, and yet those same recommendations are being repeated here yet again. In addition, development actors need to carefully consider what sectors to invest in and how to support preparedness (e.g. water, health-care, education, etc.) to prevent and mitigate crises, particularly when crises are already threatening.

Recommendation N°2: Humanitarian partners, NGOs & UN agencies also need to improve their speed of reaction and their adaptability to change. Aid actors should ensure that, when money is available, they manage to deploy in areas in need and adjust their methods to the pastoralist / nomadic context, which is very different from the agricultural context.

Recommendation N°3: Systematically recording and analysing delays in aid responses will make it possible to make rapid corrections in a given operation and should allow collective learning and more structural changes for future emergencies. The humanitarian system has found it difficult to put into practice repeated evaluation recommendations about slow response. The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) could develop guidelines for monitoring the speed of each step in an emergency response. It could also develop guidelines to ensure that evaluations systematically analyse the timeliness of responses and the causes of delays, and calculate the additional suffering and loss that the latter bring. **In Ethiopia specifically, there is a need to rethink how the Early Warning System should function.** The current data collection and analysis system is not designed to deliver early warning for humanitarian preparedness or response (see 5.1). Harvest information can inform us that the rainy season did not go well, but it is not early warning information.

Recommendation N°4: Preparedness in contexts where crises are recurrent should be the first priority for both humanitarian and development actors. This will require development actors to be better linked in to Early Warning Systems (EWS). Preparedness should also include mechanisms for the rapid deployment of Emergency Cash Transfer (ECT), linked, where appropriate, to existing safety nets. It is also recommended that the potential of social safety nets or social protection systems should be further explored. Governments are increasingly recognising that certain households are unable to meet their basic needs and that this is a permanent and structural problem. Aid actors, including ECHO, need to continue to advocate in favour of social safety nets and social protection systems.

Recommendation N°5: While existing efforts to increase responsiveness through adaptive management tools should continue, there is a need to increase dialogue between humanitarian and development actors, for joint situational and needs assessments, and joint planning. Crisis modifiers and the ability to reallocate development resources to crisis response (DFID[32], USAID[33], the RESET[34] programme of the European Union) – as seen in several development programmes in the HoA – are steps in the right direction.

Recommendation N°6: Beyond classical early warning systems, humanitarian actors need real time information systems which can inform them about the impacts of different kinds of interventions. Current real-time information, which concerns the changing severity of a crisis, is vital for the targeting of interventions. However, this is not enough to help steer responses, facilitate adaptation and ensure that the most effective strategies are used.

Recommendation N°7: Systematically ensure that donors and UN agencies are engaging with the right level within national governments to facilitate humanitarian operations and create an enabling environment for effective responses. There is also a need to ensure that agencies have freedom of movement and access to populations to assess humanitarian conditions, and the freedom to report openly on what they find. Ongoing advocacy with different levels of Government should not wait until a crisis is developing. Developing and maintaining rules of engagement for the rapid and sustained response to crises have to be seen as key parts of preparedness.

Recommendation N°8: Ensure that anti-terrorist legislation and other new constraints on humanitarian actors (visa procedures, agency registrations, etc.) do not permanently block the ability to gain access to and operate in difficult areas. In Somalia, antiterrorist legislation means that aid agencies are faced with constraints and costly verification procedures. These are particularly acute in cash transfer operations. In addition, visa procedures have been made more rigid. As the area is likely to remain turbulent in the coming years and the risk of contamination in neighbouring countries is rather high, donors should ensure that they do not create additional difficulties for humanitarian agencies.

32 - DFID: Department for International Development of the United Kingdom government.
33 - USAID: United States Agency for International Development.
34 - RESET: Resilience Building in Ethiopia.

FOR ECHO:

Recommendation N°9: Ensure that planning and resource allocation mechanisms are agile and ensure that ECHO is not only a reliable donor, but also a rapid donor. With its current system of financial planning (timeline of the HIPs[35], constraints in the use of the existing reserves, year n budget based on the beginning of year n-1 budget), ECHO is not in a position to respond in a timely fashion to slow-onset crises. It has to make a fundamental choice; either it keeps its current resource allocation procedures and adopts the role of a 'not very fast, but solid donor' (which is very effective for the second phase of an emergency response) or it radically transforms them, including the criteria for making funding decisions.

Recommendation N°10: ECHO should act as a catalyst to address collective information gaps in the humanitarian sector. Without duplicating the efforts of the UN mandated agency for humanitarian coordination and information management (OCHA), ECHO should continue to support the production of robust and independent evidence. Assessing the impact of crises and of humanitarian responses (e.g. recent livelihood protection measures such as cash transfer, safety nets, and livestock interventions) would be particularly useful. ECHO should play a leading role in building a coalition to achieve this, especially in areas where OCHA is not present (Kenya) or is in a complex position vis-à-vis the national authorities (Ethiopia).

Recommendation N°11: ECHO needs to maintain the capacity to respond in underdeveloped and marginalised crisis-prone areas across the region, including maintaining longer-term relationships with a network of agencies (including development NGOs). This will facilitate the flow of information from the ground before crises develop, and will also be the basis for rapid response to changing conditions. Such a network could include partners with longer-term objectives if a collaborative strategy is put in place to deliver emergency relief as and when necessary.

Recommendation N°12: ECHO should use its position as a respected humanitarian organisation with a long-term field presence and a large network of partners in the field to play a bigger role in humanitarian advocacy. Its potential contribution to emergency response goes far beyond the funds that it makes available. As demonstrated by its involvement in the humanitarian debates in the sub-region (on cash, nutrition, WASH, etc.) and more recently at the global level (on education in humanitarian situations), ECHO is a respected donor. The way it coordinates with other key humanitarian donors (DFID, OFDA, SIDA, SDC, etc.) creates additional leverage. ECHO should thus use its weight more in discussions with the Regional Coordinator and the Humanitarian Coordinator about Early Warning, in negotiations with the Authorities and when engaging with non-conventional donors.

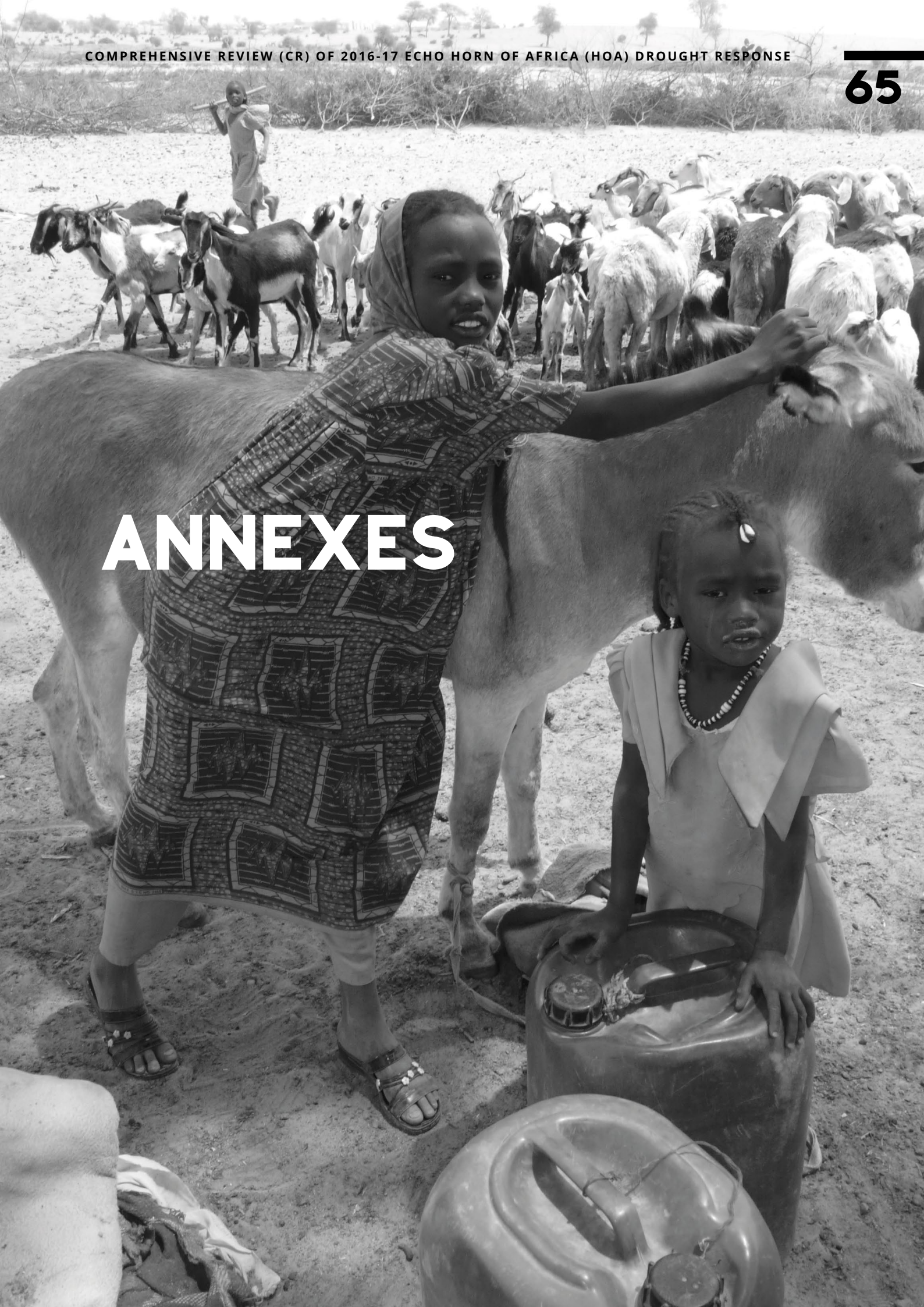
Recommendation N°13: Even in disasters caused by natural phenomena, ECHO should continue to… promote humanitarian principles and protection activities. ECHO is right to campaign in favour of the principles of humanity and impartiality.

35 - HIP: Humanitarian Implementation Plan.

Recommendation N°14: Though this is not always easy, the possibility of working with and/or through existing state mechanisms should be further explored. There are a number of preconditions to channelling support through state structures: governments should provide clear information about how much of their own resources they are ready to allocate; they should respect humanitarian principles to ensure that all at-risk people are being treated equally; and they should allow full access for external reviews of operations and administrative aspects. ECHO and DEVCO[36] should explore more ways of co-funding when one of the two has some comparative advantage. In the same way that DEVCO transfers the EDF B envelope to ECHO when needed, ECHO should consider transferring either resources or the responsibility to act to DEVCO when it is already engaged in supporting national systems (such as PSNP or HSNP) or strengthening national disaster management mechanisms. This should only be done on the condition that humanitarian principles are properly taken into account and adequate targeting and M&E systems are included. Options to make ECHO's financial regulations more agile to allow operational methods of this kind should be further explored, within the framework of ECHO's mandate.

Recommendation N°15: ECHO needs to continue its efforts to improve the links between humanitarian and development aid. Efforts to establish a new working relationship between ECHO and DEVCO should be actively pursued in order to reduce people's vulnerability to climate change, establish synergy between longer-term investment and emergency response (for instance, providing surge capacity) and find the best ways to design projects and collaborate with state structures (e.g. national disaster management agencies, state services for water, the treatment of malnutrition, etc.). It is recognised that the full implementation of this recommendation depends upon the response of the EU as a whole and cannot be achieved by one DG alone.

36 - DG DEVCO (referred to here simply as DEVCO): Commission's Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development.



ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: AGREED FINAL TERMS OF REFERENCE

Plaisians, 17 April 2018
DG ECHO referents: Sandra DESCROIX and Quentin LE GALLO

1. BACKGROUND

Driven by successive episodes of drought and failed harvests, conflict, insecurity and economic shocks affecting the most vulnerable, humanitarian needs in the Horn of Africa (HoA) are expected to increase in the months and years ahead. Due to a combination of climate change consequences, degraded environments and eroded livelihoods, drought is increasingly becoming the norm and is no longer taking place according to predictable or regular cycles.

The current drought in the HoA is largely comparable to the ones which occurred in 2005-2006 and 2010-2011, these resulted in severe humanitarian needs while affecting respectively 11 and 12.4 million people, mainly in Djibouti, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia. In both cases, early warning signals started to be recognised at the end of the year (November-December). The response to the 2011 drought was largely inspired by the lessons learnt during the previous one, which was evaluated in great details.

In 2017 again, extensive growing season failures and record low vegetation have been observed in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia, and extraordinary livestock deaths reported. April field reports from Somalia indicated that, due to distress selling (spontaneous destocking) and livestock deaths, pastoral households have lost between 20 (in central and southern regions) and 60% (in northern and central areas) of their herds since the Deyr 2016-17 assessment[37].

By December 2017, a total of 14.4 million people were considered to be in need of humanitarian assistance. In Ethiopia, the situation particularly worsened in the Somali region, which is highly dependent on pastoral livelihoods, with 8.5 million of affected people. In the eastern areas of Kenya (Isiolo, Marsabit, Wajir and Garissa), 2.6 million people faced food insecurity and significant vegetation deficits. In Somalia, people in needs were estimated at 3.3 million with a deteriorating food and nutrition security[38]. Besides, around 2.6 million people are displaced by drought and conflict in Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya, including 2 million of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and 600,000 refugees. For the entire region, it is projected that 5.4 million of children will be malnourished[39].

DG ECHO has invested over 169 million euros in 2017 to address acute humanitarian needs arising from the drought in the three above-mentioned countries and another EUR 162 million in 2015-2016 to address the effects of El Niño in the HoA. Given the considerable amounts spent to respond to increasingly recurrent droughts, ECHO would like to reflect on past interventions, with a view to draw

37 - OCHA, Regional Outlook for Horn of Africa and Great Lakes April-June 2017
38 - FSNWG, December 2017 Statement
39 - OCHA, Horn of Africa: Humanitarian Impact of Drought – Issue 10 (22 September 2017)

lessons and to improve ways of working in the provision of relief and protection towards those affected by droughts in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia.

Therefore, ECHO seeks to carry out a Comprehensive Review (CR) of ECHO funded operations for the drought response in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia in 2016-17, as part of the wider drought response of the entire humanitarian community.

2. OBJECTIVE OF THE TASK

The overall objective of the Comprehensive Review (CR) will be to identify:

- WHY and HOW the humanitarian community response to drought can be considered better in 2016-17 compared to 2010-11 ;
- WHAT role and contribution ECHO had performed in these achievements.

More concretely, the CR should highlight the strengths and weaknesses of ECHO funded operations for drought response in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia in 2016/17 in order to inform future ECHO drought response programming. Therefore, it will mainly aim at:

- **Analysing the factors of performance,** thus enabling those involved in the response to reflect on what happened and why;
- **Documenting best practices,** successes and challenges, with a view to identify what needs to be changed in order to sustain organisational strengths and improve ECHO drought response programming;
- **Capturing lessons learnt** so that improvements can be made in ECHO's operational procedures, structures and policies. This will entail the formulation of recommendations to senior management in the Country Offices (COs) and at Headquarter (HQ).

The review will benefit ECHO and its partners in several dimensions:

- **Understanding WHY and HOW** the drought response in 2016-17 can be considered better than in 2010-11;
- Identifying conclusions about the **strengths and weaknesses** of ECHO drought response operations;
- **Informing future** ECHO drought response programming.

More specifically, the CR will:

1. Document existing knowledge on 2005-2006, 2010-11 and 2016-17 drought responses in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia - Desk and secondary data review.
2. Document strategic views of ECHO (internal perspective) and its partners (internal and external perspectives) about: 1) the entire humanitarian community's response and 2) ECHO funded operations (as part of the wider humanitarian com-

munity response) for drought response in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia in 2016/17 - Key Informant Interviews (KII).

- Governments of Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia (external perspective)
- ECHO, EU/MSs, DFID, USAID (external perspective)
- UN Agencies, Clusters (external perspective)
- NGOs (ECHO funded partners) (internal perspective)

GUIDING QUESTIONS:

> ***Was the entire humanitarian community including ECHO drought response timely? Why?***
> ***Was the entire humanitarian community including ECHO drought response efficient? Why?***
> ***What the entire humanitarian community including ECHO can do to improve drought response?***
> ***Was the entire humanitarian community including ECHO's coordination work appropriate? Why?***
> ***Was the entire humanitarian community including ECHO resource mobilisation fast/sufficient enough? Why?***
> ***Was the entire humanitarian community including ECHO programming scope (geographic, sector, activity, population, modality, etc.) relevant? Why? In regard to the modality, was Multi-Purpose Cash Assistance (MPCA) and related Cash Transfer Programming (CTP) a factor, for example, in ensuring fewer pipeline breaks, a faster response, and the ability to meet a greater range of needs?***
> ***Was the entire humanitarian community including ECHO drought response implemented in a more efficient way compared to previous ones? Why?***

3. Take stock of the **entire humanitarian community's response,** including ECHO funded operations, for drought response in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia in 2016-17. This will be done through identifying successes and failures while examining major elements, such as:

- Needs analysis
- Early warning and triggers for action
- Resource mobilisation
- Programming
- Coordination
- Others.

- Desk review/secondary data review and Key Informant Interviews (KII).

GUIDING QUESTIONS:

To establish a common understanding of the entire humanitarian community including ECHO Drought Response:

- *What was supposed to happen?*
- *What actually happened?*
- *Why were there differences?*

To reflect about successes and failures during the entire humanitarian community's - including ECHO - drought response:

- *What worked? Why?*
- *What didn't? Why?*

To identify actionable recommendations for the entire humanitarian community including ECHO:

- *What would you do differently next time?*

4. **To identify improvement recommendations** based on learning from ECHO funded drought response operations in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia in 2016-17. It will be interesting to bring into the discussion similar lessons-learnt and comparative exercises from recent drought events in the Sahel.

3. EXPECTED OUTPUTS

Under this CR, the main expected outputs are:

1. **A final report** including an executive summary. It will highlight findings, lessons learnt, "good practices" and key areas for improvement, which are relevant to the entire humanitarian community, as well as ECHO COs, RO and HQ. It will include one action plan specifying critical follow-up actions, a timeline of key events and some annexes (including the list of consulted stakeholders, the planning of visits and meetings, maps, etc.).

The review report will not exceed 20 pages, without annexes. Its structure could be as follows:

Executive Summary (background, successes, results, recommendations, etc.)

1. Introduction: Purpose and objectives of the CR, chronology or timeline illustrating the key events identified by the participants (this can be a graphic in the annex), etc.

2. Limitations of the review: Timing, scope, etc.

3. Methodology: Very brief description of techniques used, etc.

4. Findings:

4.1 Why and how the 2016/17 drought response can be considered better than in 2011?

4.2 What role and contribution ECHO funded drought response has had to the overall humanitarian community response?

5. Issue & Recommendations: Description of follow-up action plan with clear accountabilities for those responsible for specific actions. Main issues for discussion and related recommendations.

6. Unexpected Results

7. Conclusions

8. Appendices: Names of team members, budget and actual costs, administrative tools, intermediary products, other useful documentation, etc.

2. Two presentations of the CR's findings and learnings in Nairobi (Kenya) for ECHO RO and COs and in Brussels (Belgium) for ECHO HQ.

4. METHODS AND STEPS OF WORK

To reach these objectives, INSPIRE proposes the following steps of work for the CR:

- Conduct a **desk review/secondary data review.** The desk study will review the cumulative experience on droughts in the Horn of Africa, which has been thoroughly evaluated since the 2005-2006 drought event.
  - Review of lessons learned and best practices.
  - Evaluation and studies related to the drought responses in 2010-11 and 2016-17 (including those carried out by HPG/ODI, FEWSNET, Centre for Humanitarian Change, Groupe URD, etc.). Based on previous works, the consultants involved in the present study could also rely on the lessons learnt from several drought episodes along the 2000s, some of which being similar between the 2005-06 and 2010-11 events.
  - Financing data from international database, such as FTS and OECD.
  - Technical reports from FEWSNET about rains, crops production, etc.
- Run **interviews** in Brussels with key staff in ECHO.
- Carry out **field missions** in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia. In each country visited, these will mainly consist of:
  - Preliminary and remote interviews in preparation of the field visits.
  - Face-to-face Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) with :
- UN (+ Clusters),
- Government and public authorities,
- Regional bodies (as much as their involvement in the drought response is relevant),
- Donors (e.g. DFID, OFDA/USAID, EU/MS).

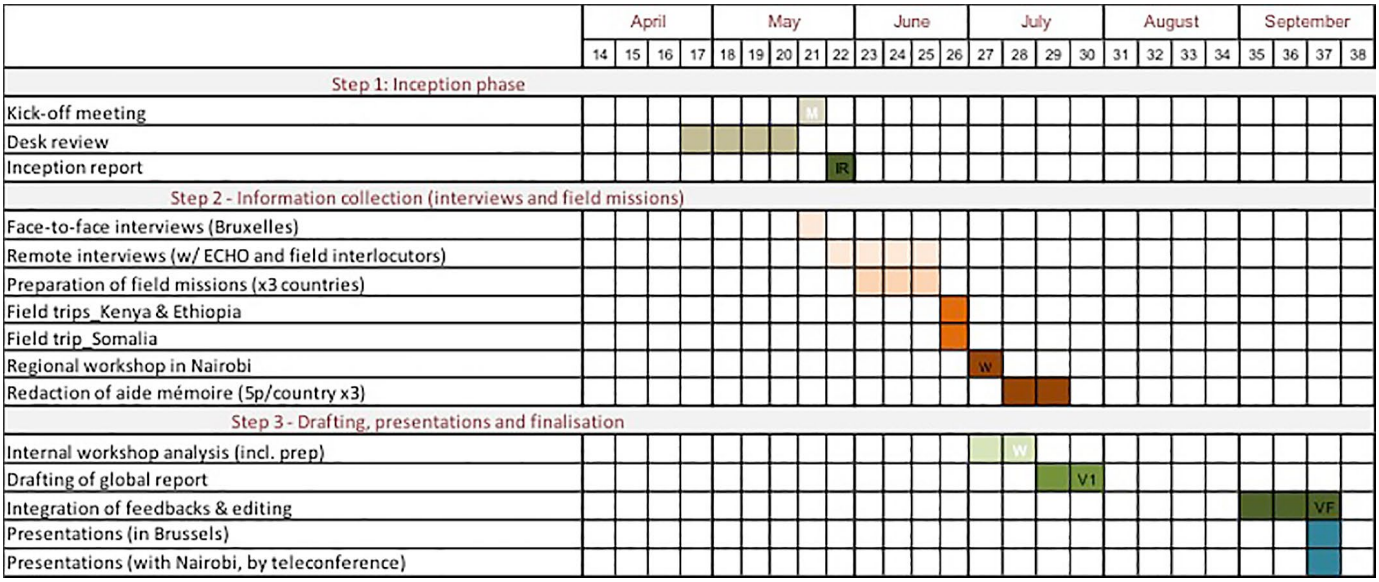
For each country visited, around 15-20 individual interviews will be conducted.

  - Organise a couple of focus group discussions (FGD) by category of main operational partners (for instance, one FGD with NGOs, another with UN agencies).
  - Draft an aide-mémoire, of about 5 pages for each country.
- Prepare and facilitate a **regional workshop** in Nairobi to collect regional perspective and share preliminary results from the field visits. The workshop will aim at gathering operational and institutional actors, as well as political authorities (local/

national/regional), to give a good grasp of all stakeholders involved in drought response. Particular attention will be paid to target the persons who are both well-informed and/or are well positioned (senior management) within these entities, so as to keep a good level of discussion and influence on these issues.

- Share the country analyses and draft **a first version** of the report
- Collect feedbacks from ECHO and **finalise the report**
- Prepare and facilitate **two final presentations**, in Nairobi and Brussels.

While taking into account the 2018 Ramadan dates (from 17 May to 15 June), the CR process is organised as described in the time line below:



Limitations and risks:

The constraints encountered during this review may be of several types:

- The analysis will be entirely based on a desk review and a series of interviews with key informants, either at-a-distance, in Brussels or in the capitals of the countries visited. This calls for a well-thought representativeness of people consulted and stresses the importance of involving the ECHO referents and country-based focal persons along the process. The support expected from ECHO will essentially be in terms of: identifying, sharing contacts and encouraging KIIs to be available for the interviews/FGDs and to attend the workshop, providing logistical support for organising the workshop in Nairobi.
- The relatively short time of the field trips (around 5 or 6 working days). This may limit the time dedicated for interviewing people. However, this will be offset by the interviews conducted remotely and foreseen in advance during the preparation phase of the field missions.

5. TEAM

Valérie Léon (team leader), Valérie has a degree in international relations (Fletcher School) and has more than 10 years of experience in the field with both international development and humanitarian actors. For the ICRC, she acted as a polyvalent delegate and economic security programme coordinator during 8 years (Kosovo, Colombia, Ethiopia, Georgia, Salvador, Myanmar). At Groupe URD, she works on cross-cutting themes related to resilience and migrations. Since 2016, she has participated in several multi-country evaluations of aid responses, including a desk review about lessons learned for aid interventions in the Horn of Africa for the French ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2012, a 3rd party monitoring of DfiD-funded programmes in the Sahel region in 2015 and two consortium responses to the needs of refugees throughout Europe (Start Network, Doctors of the World). She will be in charge of the overall implementation of this review and will conduct the field visit in Ethiopia.

François Grunewald (senior expert), agro-economist and specialist of food security and crisis management, has extensive knowledge of the Horn since 1992 when he worked for ICRC in Somalia. He carried out several key evaluation and research in drought prone areas of the region, as team leader of the IASC regional evaluation after the 2005-05 drought, as FAO senior expert for the 2011 drought and a senior expert in Ethiopia for the EU- supported RESILENCE project. He carried out several similar evaluations in Sahel, including the IASC evaluation of the Sahel drought and participated in several exercises to compare drought response in the Horn and Sahel. He has done several research for IGAD and is currently team leader of the Zero Hunger strategic study for Djibouti. He will participate in the global analysis and will be specifically in charge of the Somalia field visit.

Simon Levine (senior expert), Simon worked with operational agencies for many years on the development-emergency nexus, particularly with displacement-affected populations (in Mozambique, Cambodia Burundi and Uganda). He has followed this with over 15 years studying livelihoods and resilience in protracted crises. He has also worked on approaches for learning about the impact of policies and interventions in situations where standard methodologies are not possible. He has recently led HPG's research on the livelihoods of refugees and supported learning on the impacts of livelihoods support programmes for refugees across the Middle East. He will participate in the global analysis and will be specifically in charge of the Kenyan field visit.

Audrey Chabrat (junior researcher, mainly for the desk study), Audrey has a multidisciplinary background. She graduated as an Analyst in International Strategy, and is specialised in international relations and geo-economics. One of the focuses of her studies was the comparative analysis of different African economies, and the impact of African economic issues on the world and on African people in terms of power relations. This led her to join Groupe URD as a junior researcher. At Groupe URD, she has been involved in different projects, including ALNAP's State of the Humanitarian System 2018, for which she analysed specific topics related to humanitarian aid in crisis affected contexts, such as the severe drought in northern Kenya.

Sandra Descroix and **Quentin Le Gallo**, as DG ECHO referents for this task assignment, will be key to support the process, in particular ensuring the links between the INSPIRE team, some key informants (especially internal to ECHO) and the ECHO country teams. They will ensure the internal communication about the CR and ensure that focal persons are designated in each country visited in order to facilitate the review.

The organisation of the team work is detailed hereafter:

	working days				
	VL	FG	SL	AC	ES
Step 1: Inception phase					
Kick-off meeting	0,5	0,5	0,5		
Desk review	5			8	
Inception report	2	0,5	0,5		
Step 2 - Information collection (interviews and field missions)					
Face-to-face interviews (Bruxelles)	3	3	3		
Remote interviews (w/ ECHO and field interlocutors)	4	2	2	2	
Preparation of field missions (x3 countries)	2	2	2	4	
Field trips_Kenya & Ethiopia	8		8		
Field trip_Somalia		8			
Regional workshop in Nairobi	3	3	3		
Redaction of aide mémoire (5p/country x3)	2	2	2		
Step 3 - Drafting, presentations and finalisation					
Internal workshop analysis	2	2	2		
Drafting of global report	7	2	2		
Integration of feedbacks & editing	3	0,5	0,5		5
Presentations (in Brussels)	2	2	2		
Presentations (with Nairobi, by teleconference)	1	1	1		
Sub-total per expert	**44,5**	**28,5**	**28,5**	**14,0**	**5**

6. LOCATION AND BUDGET:

Categories of expenses	Units	unit nber	unit cost	total €
A. STAFF				***82 130 €***
Valérie Léon	Day	45	720 €	32 040 €
François Grunewald	Day	29	720 €	20 520 €
Audrey Chabrat	Day	14	450 €	6 300 €
Simon Levine	Day	29	720 €	20 520 €
Etienne Sutherland (editor)	Day	5	550 €	2 750 €
B. REIMBURSABLE				***20 356 €***
B1 Travel				**14 356 €**
Travel Europe	round trip	5	400 €	2 000 €
Perdiem Belgium	day	8	232 €	1 856 €
Travel International	round trip	3	1 500 €	4 500 €
Perdiem International	day	30	200 €	6 000 €
B2 Workshop costs				**6 000 €**
Equipped meeting room and material	day	4	1 500 €	6 000 €
TOTAL				**102 486 €**

ANNEX 2: MISSION ITINERARIES & PEOPLE MET

Brussels, Addis & Nairobi- June 23 to July 5

DATE	ACTIVITIES	SITES
23/06	• **Inception meeting in ECHO headquarters, Brussels** > Participants: Dominique Albert ; D. Claus ; S. Descroix ; B. Tripon ; C. Della Faille ; T. Buffagni. • **Individual interviews with :** > Beatrice Miege, ECHO Deputy Head of Unit C3 (Ex-Team Leader HoA) > Sandra Descroix, ECHO Team Leader HoA > Daniel Clauss, ECHO Desk Officer - Ethiopia	*Brussels*
24/06	• **Individual interviews with :** > Berengere Tripon, ECHO Desk Officer - Kenya/Somalia > Claire Della Faille, ECHO Desk Officer - Somalia > Isabelle D'Haudt, ECHO Head of Office Uganda (Ex-Technical Assistant Kenya Drought 2010/2011) > Tiziana Buffagni, ECHO Food security policy (C1) > Sandra Goffin, ECHO Ex- Team Leader HoA (sept 11 - sept 12) > Elizabeth Coelho, ECHO Ex- Desk officer - Ethiopia (2010-11?) > Bernard Rey, EU delegation, Deputy Head (C1) - Food & Nutrition	*Brussels*
24/06	• **Travel Europe to Addis Ababa**	
25/06	• **Meetings at ECHO country office** > **9am:** Yohannes Regassa, Programme Officer > **10am:** Lars Oberhaus, TA refugee response, ECHO > **9 &12 noon:** Segolene de Beco, Head of ECHO Ethiopia office > **2pm:** Muluken, Programme Manager Emergency, People In need • **Interviews with:** > **3pm:** Imma Guixe-Ancho, Program Manager - Rural Transformation and Resilience section, EU delegation > **4pm:** Abdoul Karim Bah, Deputy Representative, FAO	*Addis Ababa*
26/06	• **Interviews with:** > **10am:** Sintayeho Manaye, Programme Management Specialist, USAID > **10:30am:** O Neill Mary Orla, Emergency Nutrition Coordination, NDRMC > **2pm:** Marijana Simic(+ Mamo and John), Country director, IRC > **4pm:** Gillian Mellsop, Country representative, UNICEF > **6pm:** TimothyMander, EHF manager, OCHA	*Addis Ababa*

27/06	• **11am:** Meeting at NDRMC, with: > Tadesse Bekele, Advisor to the NDRMC Commissioner > Rahel Asfaw, Director of Response, Recovery and Rehabilitation > AberaKassa, Director of Disaster Risk Reduction • **2pm:** Guland Angela Medeco, MSF-NL • **2pm:** Meeting at Oxfam, with: > Elise Nalbandian, Programme Manager > Ali Regah, Country WASH Coordinator > Teddy Tefera, Country EFSVL Coordinator > Nicholas Ward, Roving Humanitarian Funding Coordinator • **3.pm:** RobaBante, Senior Humanitarian Response Manager, SCF • **3.30pm:** Dinkneh Asfaw, Country director, GOAL • **6pm:**Debriefing with Segolene de Beco, Head of ECHO country office	*Addis Ababa*
28/06	• **AM** Travelto Nairobi • **2-4pm:** Team meeting ECHO • **4pm:** Johan Heffinck, Head of ECHO Somalia office & Quentin Le Gallo, TA	*Addis / Nairobi*
29/06	• **8.30am:** David Rizzi, Nutrition expert, ECHO • **9am:** Jean-Baptiste Heral, ACTED • **10am:** Naseer Khan, Operations manager &Peter Thirikwa, Hunger Safety Net Programme, NDMA • **2pm:** Peter Burgess, Regional head of office, ECHO	*Nairobi*
30/06	• **11am:** Cyril Ferrand, Global Food Security Cluster Coordination, FAO • Work session within team	*Nairobi*
02/07	• **9:30am:** Patrick Lavandhomme, Emergency coordinator, UNICEF • **11am:** Jean-MarcJouineau& Quentin Le Gallo, TA, ECHO Kenya • **11am:** Massimo Larosa, Food assistance & social protection expert, ECHO • **12.30pm:** Luigi Luminari, EU delegation expert, at NDMA • **3pm:** Paul Davenport, Country manager, British Red Cross • **4pm:** Simon Addison, Trocaire • **6pm:** Izzie Birch, Consultant • Preparation of next day's meetings	*Nairobi*

03/07	• **9am:** Group discussion with NGOs, at ECHO regional office > Heather Amstutz, DRC > Francesco Rigamonti, Regional Humanitarian Coordinator, Oxfam > Peter Hailey and Nancy Balfour, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue • **1pm:** Calum Mc Lean, CASH/BNA Expert, ECHO • **3pm:** Event at the Rift Valley Institute, "Mass Starvation: The History and Future of Famine", with Alex de Wall.	*Nairobi*
04/07	• **9am -12 noon:** Group discussion with donors > EU delegation (Kenya and Somalia) > German MS and donor > UNDP > JICA • **10am:** Giovanni Quacquarella (+Julius), Humanitarian Affairs officer, OCHA • **12.30pm:** Alain Castermans & Myra Bernardi, Head of Section - Agriculture, Job Creation and Resilience, EU delegation • **12 noon – 2pm:** Jean-Marc Jouineau, Quentin Le Gallo & Irene Bosire, TA, ECHO Kenya • Flight back to Europe (Simon)	*Nairobi*
05/07	• **11am:** Maurice Kiboye, Country Director Kenya and Somalia, VSF • **2pm:** Peter Haley, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue • Flight back to Europe (François)	*Nairobi*
08/07	• Flight back to Europe (Valérie)	

Hargeisa & Nairobi- June 25 to July 5

DATE	ACTIVITIES	SITES
25/06	• Travel From Djibouti to Hargeisa (Somaliland) • Interview with Faisal Ali Sh. Mohamed, Head of NATFOR (2) • Interviews with Abdiqani Yusuf Abdi, director of meteorology department and Sam, Ministry of Agriculture (2) • Meetings with Director Jamal Abdi Muse and adviser Abdikadir Hussein from the Ministry of Hydraulic and water resources (3)	
26/06	• Meeting with Elrashid Hammad Head of Hargeisa and Hassan Billal WFP Area Office • Meeting with Dr Abdourahman, OCHA Hargeisa office (1) • Meeting with Dustin Caniglia Concern office (1) • Meeting with Ibrahim Omar Kahin and Guedda Mohamed; Hargeisa Social science institute (2)	*Hargeisa*
27/06	• Visit to cash beneficiaries in Hargeisa IDP camps (15) • Teleconf with Mogadishu based cluster leads (8) • Teleconf with Mogadishu based NGO coordination (10)	*Hargeisa*
28/06	• Teleconf with FAO (Mogadishu and Nairobi) (Mulugeta.shibru; Daniele Donati, Abdulkadir Gure) 3 • Teleconf with Dr Hamed, Cash Consortium (1) • Teleconf with Nisar Majid and Ahmed A Abdullahi, Somalia NGO forum (1) • Teleconf with Inspire Team and ECHO – kick off meeting in Nairobi	*Hargeisa*
29/06	• Meeting with Faisal Ali Sh. Mohamed and Mohamed Abdalle Hussein NADFOR (2) • Informal discussions with traders on Kat (5) • Meeting with Thomas Hoerz, Somaliland Programme Coordinator, Deutsche Welthungerhilfe , Somaliland office (1) • Visit to markets in Hargeisa	*Hargeisa*
01/07	• Work session within team	*Nairobi*
02/07	• **9:30am** Interviews with FAO Somali office (Daniele Donati and 2) • **11am:** JM Jouineau, TA (ECHO Kenya)	*Nairobi*
03/07	• Meeting with WFP Somali Office (3)	*Nairobi*
04/07	• Meeting with BRICS (1) • Meeting with ECHO WASH TA (1)	*Nairobi*
05/07	• Meeting with Dustin Caniglia, Concern, Cash Consortium director (1) • Debrief with ECHO Head of Regional Office (1) • Flight back to Europe	*Nairobi*

ANNEX 3: CONSULTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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DG ECHO referents: Sandra DESCROIX and Quentin LE GALLO

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