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**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
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***Assessment of the Impact of Productive Safety Net Programme
on the Lives of the Beneficiaries in Ethiopia: The Case of Dera
Malo Woreda, Gamo Gofa Zone, SNNPR***

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**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Masters of Arts Degree in
Public Management and Policy, Specialization in Development
Management**

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Addis Ababa,
Ethiopia

April 01, 2011

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ACRONYMS

CCI	Complementary Community Investment programme
CFSTF	Community Food Security Task Force
DS	Direct Support
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FSP	Food Security Programme
HABP	Household Asset Building Programme
HH	Household
HHH	Household Head
MoARD	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
NCFS	New Coalition for Food Security
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
OFSP	Other Food Security Programme
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Programme
PW	Public Works
SDPRP	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program
SNNPR	Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SSNP	Social safety net programmes
UN	United Nations
US	United States
WB	World Bank
WFSTF	Woreda Food Security Task Force

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Firstly, I would like to thank my advisor Dr. Mulugeta Abebe who oversaw my work from the inception to the end and was extremely supportive throughout. Additionally, I thank Addis Ababa University for funding the work undertaken to produce this research. I have indebtedness to the officials of Dera Malo Woreda agricultural and rural development for their provision of necessary information and suggestions for preparing this research paper. Equally my thanks goes to the staff of Dera Malo Woreda administration office and its head (administrator) for giving permission to conduct the survey, interview and the discussion used in this research in different Kebeles. Furthermore, I am grateful to the officers in the Food Security Coordination Bureau in the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development of Ethiopia for their provision of the necessary documents.

It is my pleasure to acknowledge my girlfriend, Senait Serumo, for her moral and financial assistance and for translating the instruments in to local language. Most importantly, I thank the household heads who took the time to answer questions about themselves and their experiences with the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP). Equally, it is my pleasure to acknowledge all secondary sources which I cited in the paper.

Last but not least, my deepest thank goes to all my family members particularly my mother, Hirut Unso, for her moral support and my special indebtedness goes to w/t Lili for her properly and neatly typing the materials that make this paper.

ABSTRACT

Chronic food insecurity is one of the main problems which affected millions of Ethiopians for centuries. To solve this problem, the government of Ethiopia has been undertaking different programmes. Though large amount of expenditure was outplayed before 2005, it was unable to solve the problem of food insecurity because it was not provided timely and unpredictable. Moreover it has a dependency syndrome. Thus, due to the limitations of the previous measures, currently different programmes were being undertaken under the umbrella of FSP. PSNP was one of these programmes. It has two components i.e. public works and direct support. It was aimed at smoothening consumption and preventing assets from depletion at household level and creating assets at community level.

Hence, the general objective of this study was to assess and explore different impacts (both positive and negative) of PSNP on the lives of the beneficiary households in Dera Malo Woreda. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches were employed. The data were gathered from 116 household heads through household survey questionnaires, and from other respondents through key informant interviews and focus group discussion. By employing these instruments it founded that the programme has both positive and negative impacts.

The positive impacts were it smoothened and improved food consumption for those who properly used the transfers; it improved household assets and prevented it from depletion at household level; community assets were improved and rehabilitated with little quality and ownership problems; and though the number was small, it reduced the number of chronically poor people.

On the other hand, the programme resulted in different unintended results. These were though seasonal, commodities and goods especially food items became expensive and it was difficult to find food items after the payment of the transfer; some work beyond their capacity especially during maintenance of roads and they face shortage of time for their household activities; it sent some wrong messages to have more children initially; discourage hard work to some extent; confusion over who should undertake developmental activities; encourage dependency to some extent, and leads to more debt.

Finally, this work forwards some points which will help to maximize the positive impacts and minimize the negative ones of the programme. These are all household members should be included; the transfer should be able to cover the living costs and fair; the beneficiaries should stay in the programme for the stated period; and the payment was better if based on the preference of the households. To minimize the negative impacts, the principles of the programme should be properly applied; awareness giving should be undertaken, changing the cash payment in to different materials if necessary and autonomy for DAs.

APPENDIX

**Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies**

Household Questionnaire on Assessment of the Impact of Productive Safety Net Programme on the Lives of the Beneficiaries in Ethiopia: The Case of Dera Malo Woreda, Gamo Gofa Zone, SNNPR

I am postgraduate student in Addis Ababa University; College of Management, Information and Economic Sciences; School of Business and Public Administration; Department of Public Administration and Management; **Masters Programme in Public Management and Policy, Specialization in *Development Management***.

Dear respondents, this questionnaire is prepared to assess the impact of productive safety net programme on the lives of the beneficiaries in your area. I am independent ‘researcher’ or student coming from the aforementioned institution. The purpose of this study is primarily for fulfillment of the aforementioned degree. Additionally, on the way, to inform the local government of the area about things that are going well, and to make suggestions and recommendations on anything that should be changed or improved about the impact of the programme. The outcome of the study is important in indicating main tasks to be carried out further in the programme. Any information you give to me will not affect your benefits from the safety net. The result of this questionnaire will be utilized for academic purpose only. Further more, the information you provide will not be disclosed in names to any other party. Thus your cooperation is highly needed to conduct this study. Thank you for sparing your time and giving valuable information.

Kataru Kalsa

Instructions

1. Please, answer the whole questions,
2. For the multiple questions, encircle your answer (2 and more answers are needed only if stated),
3. For the open questions, please write your answers in the space provided, and
4. At the end make sure that you answered all parts.

I) Personal Information

1. Age
2. sex
A/ M B/F
3. In which of the following Kebele you live?
A/ Dera B/ Eli Kodo C/ Eli Doze D/ Malo Mace E/ Degeza F/ Dom’a
4. In which component of PSNP you Participate?
A/ Public Works B/ Direct Support

II) Impact on Consumption

5. Which of the following condition represents you before included in the PSNP? (More than one answer is possible.)
A/ I have no enough to feed and cloth my family
B/ I have no enough money to cover children education and medication costs
C/ I have no enough land on which to grow my food
D/ I have no enough jobs to earn my living E/ I have no enough access to credit
F/ I have no enough access to clean water or sanitation
G/ Lack of income and productive resources to ensure sustainable livelihoods
H/ Hunger and malnutrition
6. When you eat or get food in a day before being included in PSNP?
A/ Breakfast only B/ Lunch only C/ Dinner only D/ All breakfast, lunch and dinner
7. When you eat or get food in a day after being included in PSNP?
A/ Breakfast only B/ Lunch only C/ Dinner only D/ All breakfast, lunch and dinner
8. Have you get enough food items now than previous years?
A/ Yes because of safety net B/ Yes because of other reasons C/ No
9. Have you send your children now to school better than before?
A/ Yes because of safety net B/ Yes because of other reasons C/ No D/ No child
10. Do you have better money to pay for medical costs than before?
A/ Yes because of safety net B/ Yes because of other reasons C/ No
11. Do you buy food items sometimes?
A/No B/ Yes
12. If your answer is yes, from where you get the money to buy it?
A/ from safety nets B/ from other sources C/ by selling household assets
D/ Other, specify...
13. Have you avoided having to sell household assets to buy food items and pay for children's learning and medical costs?
A/ Yes because of safety net B/ Yes because of other reasons C/ No
14. Do you have extra money to save?
A/ Yes because of safety net B/ Yes because of other reasons C/ No
15. Does the programme was smoothened your consumption
A/No B/ Yes

III) Impact on Asset

16. What type of assets you have before being included in PSNP? Please list.....
17. What type of assets you have after being included in PSNP? Please list.....
18. Are there improvements in your household assets now than previous years?
A/ Yes because of safety net B/ Yes because of other reasons C/ No
19. What kinds of Public Works which aim to build community assets are undertaken in your community?
A/ Water and soil conservation works
B/ Social facilities center maintenance like schools construction
C/ Road construction and maintenance D/ Others, specify.....
20. Does the community assets in your area improved now than previous years?

- A/ Yes because of safety net B/ Yes because of other reasons C/ No
21. Does the natural environment rehabilitated and enhanced because of the programme? A/ Yes B/ No
22. If your answer is yes, please explain how it rehabilitated?

For only public works participants (Question 23-30)

23. How many hours it takes to reach to the Public Work place?
A/Up to 30minutes B/ 30minutes to 1hr C/ 1hr and half to 2hr D/ More than 2hrs
24. Have you faced any problem during the work? A/ Yes B/ No
25. If your answer is yes, what kinds of problems did you face? (More than one answer is allowed).
A/ I work beyond my capacity B/ I face time shortage to do household works
C/ Other, specify.....
26. How many months do you work in a year?
A/ 12 months B/ January to June C/ July to February D/other, specify.....
27. Does working on that month have negative impact on your household work?
A/ Yes B/ No
28. If your answer is yes, please mention at least three.....
29. Does the transfer is provided to you on time? A/ Yes B/ No
30. If your answer is no, what did you do when there is late payment?
A/ Resigning from the work B/ Selling household equipments C/ Selling Domestic animals D/ Taking credit from traditional lenders E/ Others, specify
31. Does late payment have negative impact on your life? A/ Yes B/ No
32. If your answer is yes, please mention at least three.....
33. Have you faced problems during payment? A/ yes B/ no
34. If your answer is yes, what were these problems?
A/ Commodities will be expensive B/ It is difficult to find food items C/ Other, specify

IV) Cash transfer versus Food transfers

35. Which type/ mode of payment do you receive?
A/ Cash only B/ Food only C/ Cash and food
36. Which type/ mode of payment do you prefer to receive?
A/ Cash only B/ Food only C/ Cash and food
37. If you prefer food only, please give at least three important reasons in their order of importance.....
38. If you prefer cash only, please give at least three important reasons in their order of importance.....
39. If you prefer both half food and half cash, please give at least three important reasons in their order of importance.....
40. What did you buy most with the money that you receive from the programme?
A/ Basic food items B/ Household commodities and equipments C/ Other social issues D/Chat E/Cigarette F/ Alcoholic drinks G/Other, specify.....
41. Do you think that the PSNP has positive impact on your life in general?
A/ Yes B/ No

42. If your answer is yes, what are they? Please give at least three in their order of importance.....
43. What you recommend to upgrade those positive impacts?
44. Do you think that the PSNP has some negative impact on your life in addition to positive ones in general? A/ yes B/ no
45. If your answer is yes, what are they? Please give at least three in their order of importance.....
46. What you recommend to minimize those negative impacts?

V) Impact on Production of food items

47. Since you spent so much time on PWs, does it has negative impact on your production of food items? (For PWs participants only)
A/ Yes B/ No
48. If your answer is yes, how? (For PWs participants only)
49. Do you think that some of the beneficiaries working behavior negatively affected because of the transfer that they get to sustain their livelihood?
A/ Yes B/ No
50. If your answer is yes, how? Please explain.....

VI) Impact on Market prices

51. Does the price of outputs and commodities increased in the market currently than previous years?
A/ Yes B/ No
52. If your answer is yes, what is the main reason? (More than one answer is allowed).
A/ Money on the household's hand is more than previous years because of PSNP transfer
B/ Money on the household's hand is more than previous years because of other reasons
C/ Due to decline in the amount of production since the more households spend their time on Public Works
D/ Due to decline in the amount of production since households prefer to buy it from the market than producing it because they get money from the programme
E/ Other, specify.....
53. Does the market condition reduce the value that you receive?
A/ Yes B/ No
54. If your answer is yes, how? Please explain.....

Check list of Key Informant Interview

- Who is benefiting from the Safety Net here, and who is being excluded?
- What safeguards are there to prevent unfair exclusion from the PSNP?
- Does the PSNP reduced and being reducing chronic food insecurity in your area?
- What types of sustainable productive activities were done in your area by PSNP? Both household and community?

- Does the community asset built through the programme not lack ownership and the quality was high?
- Does the PSNP promote market development in your area? How?
- Does the PSNP increase household purchasing power in your area and hence encourage market development?
- Does the PSNP smoothened consumption and protected asset depletion both at household and community level?
- Does the programme discourage family planning since the transfer is based on the number of households, especially in the case of direct support?
- Does the PSNP can be a causing factor for any social problems when the transfer is provided in the form of cash in your area (for example like divorce, conflict between house-holds and addiction to alcoholic drink, etc)?
- Does the programme assured food consumption and prevented asset depletion for food insecure households in general?
- What are the positive impacts of PSNP on the beneficiary's lives?
- What you suggest to upgrade these positive impacts?
- Is there any negative impact of the programme? If yes, what they?
- What you suggest to avoid or at least minimize these negative impacts?

Check list of Focus Group Discussion

1. Does the PSNP transfer prevents asset depletion at the household level and creates assets at the community level?
2. Does the PSNP transfers bridge the food gap that arises when, for the households, food production and other sources of income are insufficient given food needs?
3. In what month you do the PWs, does it interfere with your farming activities?
4. Does the programme address chronic food insecurity while simultaneously requiring you to engage in sustainable productive activities and promoting market development by increasing household purchasing power?
5. Does the transfer in the form of cash cause other social problems in addition to benefits? What should be done to mitigate it?
6. Does the programme stimulated markets, access to services and natural resources enhanced for PSNP and other households?
7. Does the transfer made is appropriate, timely and predictable?
8. Does food distributions can increase risk factors for HIV infection or increase the threat of harassment of women since food distributions can involve mass gatherings of people, result in people staying one or more nights away from home; and involve greater distances for travel?

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Malo Woreda, Gamo Gofa Zone, SNNPR**

**BY
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Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been dully acknowledged.

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The thesis has been submitted under my approval as university advisor

Name: Dr. Mulugeta Abebe (PhD)

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Date _____

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

After the World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995, 117 countries adopted a declaration and programme of action which included commitments to eradicate absolute and overall poverty (Gordon, 2005). However, still the problem needs special commitment and their effort was not as such successful in eradicating poverty because still a large number of people suffer from ill effects of poverty. Regarding this, Hulme and McKay (2005) said ‘despite the renewed commitments over the past 15 years to poverty reduction as the core objective of international development discourses and policies, progress to this end remains disappointing’.

Especially the chronic poverty which was highly expressed in a shortage of food for a long period of time was still high. According to World Bank Report 2008, (Cited in Yonatan, 2009), about 850 million people in the world were food insecure. The majority of these live in the developing regions. Especially the number was high in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and it was the only region where the food insecure population has an upward spiral (between 1970s and 1990s), as well as a region with the highest incidence of food insecurity (Yonatan, 2009).

A significant number of Ethiopians were also chronically food insecure. They were usually unable to access enough food for an active, healthy life - even in the absence of shocks. Every year for the past two decades, the Government has been appealing to the international community for food aid. Since 2000, out of a total estimated population of 73.8 million, 5 to 14 million rural Ethiopians have needed emergency relief. In order to solve this problem of food insecurity, over the past fifteen years an average of 700,000 metric tons of food aid per annum have been imported to meet food needs (FSCB, 2004).

Since 1992, the Government has sought to introduce a range of policies and strategies to address both the results of this vulnerability and its root causes. However, prior to 2005, the typical response to this persistent food insecurity was emergency relief resourced through an unpredictable annual appeals process. Although relief was provided, often at

great expense, it was rarely adequate or timely. As a consequence, households were forced to sell assets (further constraining their livelihood options) and to restrict consumption (with immediate impacts on increasing the risk of disease and longer term impacts on chronic malnutrition) (MoARD, 2009b).

Following many years of this approach, it was recognized that the majority of those receiving food aid were chronically food insecure, with households experiencing a food gap even in average or good rainfall years. In 2003, the Government launched a large scale consultation process called the New Coalition for Food Security (NCFS). As a result of this process, the Government made significant changes to its existing food security programme, scaling up its level of intervention and incorporating a large productive safety net programme (PSNP) (MoARD, 2009b). Thus, PSNP was designed to serve as leverage for chronically food insecure households to graduate to food secure status if they were also able to participate in development activities designed to boost food availability and access (FSCB, 2009).

The PSNP is currently the largest operating social protection programme in SSA, outside of South Africa. It differs from previous food-for-work programmes, in that it focuses continuously on selected households over several years and in that the explicit objective was that it will eventually be phased out. Also it was a public programme through which food-insecure people were employed in public works for five days a month during the agricultural slack season. This was intended to enable households to smooth consumption so that they will not need to sell productive assets in order to overcome food shortages. The public work was also intended to create valuable public goods; moreover, by reducing seasonal liquidity constraints, it was intended to stimulate investments as well. Approximately, 5 million people (1 million households) benefit from the programme activities (Andersson et al, 2009) ¹.

The PSNP was targeted towards Woredas defined by the Government as chronically food insecure. Dera Malo Woreda, which was the focus of this research, was also one of these Woredas. The PSNP started in 2005 in this Woreda. It has a total population of 80,999.

¹ Currently the number is different. However, due to data inconsistency not mentioned.

From these, 41,607 were males and the rest 39,392 were females. The Woreda has 24 Kebeles or peasant associations. From these, 21 Kebeles (87.5 percent) of the total Kebeles were identified as chronically food insecure and hence included under PSNP. Dera Malo Woreda was selected because some of the Woredas in the Zone were located in Dega, Woine Dega or Kola climatic zone only. But Dera Malo Woreda consists of all the three climatic zones i.e. Dega, Woine Dega and Kola. Hence, it will give good image of food insecurity and PSNP because the effect of the problem was high with differences in climatic zones. In addition, more beneficiaries of the PSNP were found in this Woreda which will have a possibility of showing tremendous impacts of the programme. Furthermore, the researcher has general background of this area which will contribute to the research result.

1.2. Statement of the problem

According to Devereux (2000), Ethiopia has been structurally food deficit since at least 1980. Hence, food insecurity incidence in the country was very high. Particularly, in rural areas it was 52%. The recent (2002/3) food crisis that affected about 22% of the population also explicitly shows the extent of the problem. Currently, the number of chronically food insecure population is slightly more than eight million (Yonatan, 2009). Hence, the country needs immense and all round efforts to totally eliminate chronic and transient food insecurity.

Accordingly, it has been undertaking different actions. However, the typical response to food insecurity in Ethiopia, prior to the start of the PSNP, was emergency food relief resourced through an unpredictable annual appeals process. While there was no doubt that this relief saved many lives, it did not halt the increasing numbers of food insecure people (MoARD, 2009a).

Therefore, differently from the previous approach, PSNP started in 2005 under the umbrella of FSP. It provides cash and/or food transfers to chronically food insecure households in ways designed to prevent asset depletion at the household level while creating assets at the community level. It addresses chronic food insecurity while simultaneously requiring households to engage in sustainable productive activities and

promoting market development by increasing household purchasing power (FSCB, 2009).

According to Dera Malo Woreda agricultural and rural development office (2010), Dera Malo Woreda was one of the 79 Woredas which were defined as chronically food insecure in SNNPR. Like other Woredas, the programme started in 2005 in this Woreda by targeting 6,456 households. But currently, the number of beneficiary households increased to 14,833. Reports from this Woreda show different impacts of the programme on the lives of the beneficiaries but it was not based on scientific research.

Therefore, there seems to be a dearth of scientific studies on the impact of PSNP on the beneficiaries' lives even in the country level. Though some studies have been carried out on the food security situation and PSNP in particular, most of these have been done at national level. Furthermore, most of them focused on studying the potentials and challenges of the programme. Particularly in Dera Malo Woreda, no research has been undertaken regarding the impact of the programme on the beneficiaries' lives. Therefore, this study was undertaken to fill this gaps. Comparisons were also done by taking two Kebeles from each climatic Zone from the Woreda (Dega, Woine Dega and Kola) as much as possible, though the intention of this study was not comparison but in-depth case study. Therefore, this research tries to see what ever impact it has (both positive and negative) on beneficiaries in this Woreda.

1.3. Research Questions

Based on the above statement of the problem, the following were the core issues or questions in which this research was intended to find out and dealt with. In other words, it attempts to answer the following major questions:

1. What are the specific impacts that PSNP has on the beneficiaries' lives both positively and negatively?
2. What are the impacts of the PSNP on production of food items, their output markets and working behavior of beneficiaries?
3. How do the impacts differ by food versus cash transfers? and
4. Does the PSNP lead to safety net dependency?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

Different researches have been undertaken on the area of PSNP. Some of them were undertaken with the aim of exploring the potentials and challenges of the PSNP while others on the implementation aspect. However, this study has general and specific objectives which were with different views from the previous studies.

1.4.1. The General Objective of the Study

The general objective of this study, therefore, was to assess and explore different impacts of PSNP on the lives of the beneficiary households in Dera Malo Woreda.

1.4.2. The Specific Objectives of the Study

The above being the general objective; the specific objectives of this study are:

1. To explore different impacts (both positive and negative) of PSNP on the lives of the programme beneficiaries,
2. To investigate whether there are changes in household's production of food items, their market prices, and working behaviors of households because of PSNP,
3. To see the differences in impacts of cash transfer versus food transfers, and
4. To draw some possible conclusions and recommendations based on the study findings.

1.5. The Research Methodology

This part describes the theoretical framework, approaches to research design, data analysis method, sources of data, the design of the survey instruments, the sampling method used in the field work and the process of data analysis.

1.5.1. Theoretical Framework

The PSNP draws a conceptual distinction between two groups of food insecure Ethiopians. The 'unpredictably food insecure' – those who face transitory food deficits because of erratic weather or other livelihood shocks – will continue to receive food aid and other humanitarian assistance, as and when required, through the emergency appeal process. The 'predictably food insecure' – those who face chronic food deficits, because of poverty rather than food shocks – have been transferred from the annual emergency

appeal to the PSNP. These families should receive cash or food transfers – either ‘for work’ or ‘for free’ – on a regular, predictable basis for a period of five years, with financial and technical support provided by a consortium of donors on a multi-annual basis. These transfers were expected to be used mainly to meet immediate consumption needs and to protect household assets, though they might also be partly invested in farming and small enterprises. Together with complementary interventions such as livelihoods packages, this should enable households to escape from chronic food insecurity, after which they will no longer receive any social assistance except during emergencies (Devereux et al, 2006). Therefore, this research analyzed the issues under study inline with this theoretical framework.

1.5.2. Approaches to Research Design

Both qualitative and quantitative approaches were employed in this study. To gain a better understanding of the impacts with its patterns and structural features, different methods of qualitative approach such as descriptive and analytical studies were used. In addition, quantitative methods such as sampling and other statistical methods such as percentages and tabulations were also used.

1.5.3. Data Analysis Method

Based on the above two approaches, both descriptive and analytical methods of data analysis were used. Descriptive method was used to describe and interpret the impacts of the programme in selected Kebeles. In addition, it was used to deeply look the selected Kebeles in order to describe and compare with one another. On the other hand, the analytical method used in order to look beyond the facts and figures which were collected through different instruments and to critically evaluate it. On this basis, the data gathered through the focus group discussions and interviews were analyzed by narrating and describing the meanings and implications. In other words, data which were qualitative in nature were described, classified and concepts were connected with one another. The quantitative data were analyzed through simple but appropriate statistical methods. Simple statistical methods like percentages and cross tabulations were made to facilitate meaningful analysis and interpretations of the research findings.

1.5.4. Data Sources

Appropriate data were collected both from primary and secondary sources through employing different instruments of data collection. Primary data collected from different original sources/unpublished sources. These sources for this study include Kebele and Woreda reports on PSNP; data collected in the field from the household beneficiaries; lists of the beneficiaries; and results of interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions. On the other hand, secondary data collected from different published sources. Some of these were different manuals of PSNP; reports of the former Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (currently called Ministry of Agriculture); researches done by International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and data collected from different statistical reports.

1.5.5. Data Collection Techniques and Instruments

In order to collect data from the primary sources, this research used different instruments which help the researcher to elicit the appropriate information. Therefore, interviews, survey questionnaires and focus group discussions used. The detail is explained as follows:

1.5.5.1. Key Informant Interviews

Key informants were interviewed at Woreda and Kebeles where the fieldwork undertaken. Key informant interviews used because of the researcher's interest in understanding the perceptions of different stakeholders who were directly or indirectly affect the programme or affected by it. In order to collect this primary data, it used semi-structured questions because it allows the researcher to go beyond systematically prepared questions. Moreover, the way respondents act and answer may lead the researcher to ask in different ways, so these types of questions were more appropriate. Therefore, individuals who were expected to have background information on the PSNP were contacted and interviewed. The potential respondents were members of PSNP Task Forces both at Kebele and Woreda levels; food security and natural resource development coordination departments; Development Agents (DAs); Kebele leaders; Woreda administrator; heads of Kebele clinic or health centers; school directors; elders; church leaders and any other knowledgeable individuals.

1.5.5.2. Questionnaires

Moreover, questionnaires which have semi-structured (closed and open ended) questions were prepared and administered to collect a wide range of data from a large number of beneficiary household heads. The questionnaires were designed by the researcher and administered by the same and enumerators by training them. The questions were translated in to local language and administered by trained enumerators under direct supervision of the researcher. The administration of the instruments was seriously supervised and more than half of it was undertaken by the researcher in order to minimize errors.

1.5.5.3. Focus Group Discussion

In addition to the above two instruments, focus group discussions of selected households were done. Through this method basic descriptive information collected at the community level in each survey site or Kebele. These discussions were carried out to crosscheck the information obtained from the household head survey and key informant interviews. A group of participants from the non-beneficiaries and another group from targeted beneficiaries who were not included in the survey and interview were arranged for the discussions. The groups arranged were made to have six members each with three males and females in all six Kebeles.

1.5.6. Study Area, Population and Selection Rationale

1.5.6.1. Study Area

This study was conducted at Dera Malo Woreda. It was one of the 79 Woredas^c which was currently identified as chronically food insecure in Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR). Again it was one of the 13 Woredas and two administrative towns that were found in Gamo Gofa Zone. It has 24 Kebeles which were dispersed in three climatic zones (Dega, Woine Dega and Kola). The Woreda has total population of 80,999. From these 41,607 were males and the rest 39,392 were females. The total numbers of Kebeles or peasant associations which were found in this Woreda are 24. From these, 21 Kebeles which was about 87.5 percent of the total Kebeles were identified as chronically food insecure and hence included under PSNP. This Woreda was selected because some of the Woredas in the Zone were located in Dega, Woine Dega or

Kola climatic zone only. But Dera Malo Woreda consists of all the three climatic zones i.e. Dega, Woine Dega and Kola. Hence, it will give good image of impact of PSNP. In addition, almost all the Kebeles in this Woreda were included in the programme and hence it will appropriately show the impact of PSNP. Furthermore, the researcher has background information about the area and for this found it more viable to focus on.

1.5.6.2. Study Population and Unit of Analysis

As it was mentioned in the previous part, the programme has been launched in 21 Kebeles in Dera Malo Woreda. Currently, the total number of beneficiary households in this Woreda was 14,833. From these, 7, 462 (50.31 percent) households were females and 7, 371(49.69 percent) were males. Participants of public works were 12, 762 (6,392 female and 6,370 male) and 2, 071(1, 070 female and 1001 male) households were directly supported. A total of 3,605 household heads were found in the 21 Kebeles and 2,793 (150 female and 2, 643 male) household heads were participants of public works and 812 (450 female and 362 male) were under the direct support. Therefore, the survey or study population or universe was those beneficiary households‘ while target population was household heads in Dera Malo Woreda. The information was actually collected from those sampled PSNP beneficiary household heads. Therefore, these sampled household heads were unit of analysis for the purpose of this research.

1.5.6.3. Selection Rationale or Sample Design

Both probability and non-probability sampling methods were used in this study. Firstly, from the non-probability sampling methods, purposive sampling was used to select the Kebeles. If probability sampling method was used, there was possibility of selecting Kebeles from only a single climatic zone and hence not representative. Accordingly, purposefully six Kebeles (28.6 percent) drawn from the 21 Kebeles in the Woreda which incorporate the three climatic zones. These Kebeles were Eli Doze and Eli Kodo (from Dega), Dera and Malo Mace (from Woine Dega), and Dom‘a and Hoya Degeza (from Kola) with total household of 4, 673 (1, 152 household heads).

Table 1.1. Sampling Frame for the Household Head Survey

Kebeles	Public works						Direct support						Total HH	Total HHH
	Households (HH)			Household Heads (HHH)			Households			Household Heads				
	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T		
Eli Doze	377	411	788	7	167	174	64	57	121	35	19	54	909	228
Dera	423	399	822	11	163	174	67	69	136	43	17	60	958	234
Malo Mace	443	385	828	7	160	167	38	22	60	7	15	22	888	189
Eli Kodo	365	354	719	10	152	162	54	53	107	29	16	45	826	207
Dom'a	232	203	435	15	90	105	55	45	100	22	12	34	535	139
Hoya Degeza	260	258	518	20	112	132	17	22	39	19	4	23	557	155
Total	2100	2010	4110	70	844	914	295	268	563	155	83	238	4673	1152

Source: Computed from Dera Malo Woreda Agricultural and rural development office (2010)

This was followed by selection of sample household heads through applying proportionate stratified sampling technique from probability sampling techniques. This technique was used in order to involve proportional household heads from both public works and direct support from the selected Kebeles.

1.5.6.4. Sample Size

The characteristics of the beneficiary household heads were relatively homogenous. Hence, this study treated only 10 percent of the total household heads. Therefore, the total sample size was 116 household heads from the six Kebeles including both public works and direct support beneficiaries. At this stage proportional stratified sampling technique was applied to distribute this number to each Kebeles and public works and direct support household heads. Firstly, from the total 1, 152 household heads, 914 were under public works and 238 were directly supported. The ratio of public works to direct support was 79 to 21. So, 79 percent of public works and 21 percent of direct support household heads from the total sample size was included from the six Kebeles. Accordingly, 92 household heads (0.79 x 116) was selected from public works and 24 from direct support.

Secondly, proportional (with respect to total beneficiaries) size selected from each Kebeles. From the total of 1, 152 household heads 20 %, 20 %, 16 %, 18 %, 12 % and 14 % was selected from Eli Doze, Dera, Malo Mace, Eli Kodo, Dom'a and Hoya Degeza respectively. Household heads under public works for the six Kebeles included were 76

%, 74 %, 88 %, 78 %, 76 % and 85 % from Eli Doze, Dera, Malo Mace, Eli Kodo, Dom‘a and Hoya Degeza respectively while 24 %, 26 %, 12 %, 22 %, 24 % and 15 % from Eli Doze, Dera, Malo Mace, Eli Kodo, Dom‘a and Hoya Degeza respectively were selected from direct support. Finally, from the total household heads, 927 were males and 225 females. The proportion of male and female were not the same in all Kebeles and if it was chosen on the basis of proportion to their inclusion in the programme, then females‘ size would be insignificant for the survey and which would make the research unsound and non representative. Therefore, this research intentionally assigned quotas for male and female household heads in all Kebeles. Accordingly, 70 % male and 30 % female were selected from public works. From direct support, 60 % female and 40 % male were selected. The detail was presented in the following table (table 1.2).

Table 1.2 Sizes of Sampled Household Heads for the Household Survey

Kebeles	Size of Household Heads targeted						Size of Household Heads sampled						Total Sample Household Heads		
	Public Works			Direct Support			Public Works			Direct Support			F	M	T
	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T			
Eli Doze	7	167	174	35	19	54	5	13	18	3	2	5	8	15	23
Dera	11	163	174	43	17	60	5	12	17	4	2	6	9	14	23
Malo Mace	7	160	167	7	15	22	5	11	16	2	1	3	7	12	19
Eli Kodo	10	152	162	29	16	45	5	12	17	3	1	4	8	13	21
Dom‘a	15	90	105	22	12	34	3	8	11	2	1	3	5	9	14
Hoya Degeza	20	112	132	19	4	23	4	9	13	2	1	3	6	10	16
Total	70	844	914	155	83	238	27	65	92	16	8	24	43	73	116

Source: Computed from table 1.2

1.6. Scope of the Study

The Ethiopian Government was currently undertaking different but interrelated programmes under the umbrella of FSP in many Woredas in the country. Dera Malo was one of these Woredas. From this Woreda, six Kebeles which were mentioned under the methodology part were only considered. As said before, this study focuses on assessing the impact of PSNP separately from different components of FSP if not absolutely. From PSNP, implementation and other dimensions were not the focus of this study. The programme has different impacts both on the beneficiaries and non beneficiaries. However, this study looks at it only on the beneficiary household heads.

1.7. Significance of the Study

The issue of food insecurity was a serious area of debate in Ethiopia among different individuals who have different political and ideological views. The success of PSNP in achieving its goals and improving the life of food insecure households was also not free from different contrasting opinions. Thus, this study aimed to provide an assessment of the impact of PSNP on the lives of the beneficiaries and to provide recommendations towards the 2010 to 2014 plan of PSNP. In other words, it was hoped that this study will contribute to the understanding of the impact of PSNP for different stakeholders and as well as for any one who want to use it. In addition, it will inform some realities both to the community and policy makers and implementers how to achieve success in the area of reduction of food insecurity. Furthermore, it will contribute to the existing literature by exploring some of the underlying mechanisms of improving the positive impacts of PSNP on the lives of the beneficiaries and show ways of minimizing negative impacts if there was any. Finally, it will serve as a reference material for students of development management and any one else who want to refer it.

1.8. Organization of the Theses

This research was organized in to four chapters. The first chapter was generally about introduction. It consists of background of the study, definition of the problem, research questions, objectives and the methodology. The second chapter was about literature review. It includes definitions of different concepts, theoretical and empirical literature and different aspects of the PSNP in detail. The third chapter presents survey data and its discussions. Chapter four offers some conclusions and recommendations based on the preceding analysis of survey findings. Finally, questionnaires, interview, and focus group discussion questions were attached as annexes.

1.9. Limitation of the Study

During this study, different challenges which have possibility of bringing adverse effects on the results of the study had faced the researcher. These are firstly, misunderstanding of the purpose of this study by household heads and as a result they were not willing to provide the necessary information. Secondly, for confidentiality purpose, many of the officials only give positive side of the PSNP. Thirdly, shortage of time and finance

played their great role to under weigh the results of this study. Finally, lack of clearly documented information from the Woreda and lack of previous research on the topic in the Woreda had well challenged the results of this study. However, regardless of these challenges, the researcher tried his best to overcome them and finally succeeded in finding strong claims for each result.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter deals with different related literatures which were relevant for this study. In the very beginning, definition of different concepts and different aspects of poverty were discussed. Following it, food insecurity in Ethiopia with its causes and FSP were highlighted. Finally, different aspects of PSNP and theoretical and empirical literature of social safety net in different countries were overviewed.

2.1. Definition of Concepts

It was better to understand some terms and phrases which were used in this research before going to the rest of the paper. Because, it would help the readers to gain correct ideas clearly and avoid confusion since a single term can be understood from different angles. Therefore, the researcher announces that the terms which will be used in the subsequent parts should be seen from this explanation's point of view.

- **Chronically Food Insecure (FSP or PSNP) Woredas:** Woredas defined as chronically food insecure were those targeted by the PSNP. Their eligibility for the PSNP was defined by the frequency with which they required food assistance in the 10 years preceding the design of the PSNP (the 10 years up to 2004).
- **Birr:** Refers to Ethiopian Currency unit equivalent to 100 cents denominations.
- **Household:** Constitutes a person or group of persons, irrespective of whether related or not, who normally live.
- **Region:** Represents the second tier of Government in the administrative structure of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE).
- **Zone:** The third tier of Government in the administrative structure of the FDRE (not explicitly recognized as an administrative structure in the Constitution).
- **Woreda:** The fourth tier of Government in the administrative structure of FDRE.
- **Kebele:** Lowest level of administration in Ethiopia covering a few villages.
- **Food Sufficiency and Food Security:** A household can be deemed food sufficient when, in the absence of receiving PSNP transfers, it can meet its food needs for 12 months and was able to withstand modest shocks. At the point that a

household becomes food sufficient, it no longer needs to receive transfers (except in the event of a major shock). Food security was access by all people at all times to sufficient food for an active and healthy life. Some households will only graduate from the PSNP during the programme life while other households will graduate completely from the FSP (MoARD, 2009b).

- **Outputs and Outcomes:** Outputs are things done through PSNP or quantifiable actions of the programme which can be measured in concrete terms. However, outcomes are results or qualitative impacts of the PSNP. In other words, it was possible to say outcomes as specific objectives or purposes of the programme.

2.2. Poverty

Poverty affects a large number of people in the world. Especially, the incidence was high in developing regions like Africa, Latin America and Asian countries. From Africa, SSA was highly affected. This shows a large number of people in the world were poor and there was a possibility of diffusion of its incidence to other countries, which were even better off, because of their interaction. To supplement this idea, World Bank (2008) said, there are more poor people (extremely poor people) and the incidence of poverty reach farther into middle-income countries. But this research, because of capacity limitation, does not cover these all parts. The focus was only on Ethiopia.

Ethiopia was the third most populous country in Africa. It has reasonably good resource potential for development (agriculture, biodiversity, water resources, and minerals). Yet, Ethiopia was faced with complex poverty, which was broad, deep and structural. Thus, poverty eradication has been the central development agenda of the government that guides its development activities. In October 2001, the government reorganized its structure to provide effective guidance and support to the challenges of [...] poverty reduction. This was also underpinned by political commitment towards deepening of the devolution process to Woredas and Kebeles facilitating the direct participation of the people in [...] poverty reduction endeavors (MoFED, 2002).

Spite of such measures, the number of people below the poverty line was high. According to MoFED (2002), it was 44 percent in 1999/2000. In addition, in 2000 according to the

Poverty Assessment for Ethiopia, 42.2 percent of the population lived below the national poverty line, while 22.5 percent of households were extremely poor and lived below the food poverty line of 1650 kilocalories per person per day (Brown and Amdissa, 2007).

2.2.1. Who is poor?

The poor exists where some persons fall short of reasonably defined minimum levels of wellbeing such as access to certain consumption or income levels , housing, health and education facilities and certain rights recognized according to standards of human needs and socio-economic conditions of the society (Government of Sri Lanka, 2008). However, as the focus of this study was only on chronic poverty which was highly expressed in food insecurity, those who were chronically poor were identified in Ethiopia through observing their characteristics. Accordingly, Ethiopia's chronic poor tend to share a number of characteristics and were trapped in poverty by a similar range of structural constraints.

According to Brown and Amdissa (2007), the chronic poor in Ethiopia were characterized by: lack of the capabilities and assets to meet their daily needs and to escape from poverty; lack of the financial, human, natural, physical, social and natural assets from which they can build a sustainable livelihood; landless in rural areas or farm little land; possess few animals and were fundamentally food insecure; and the chronic poor in rural areas also tend to have little or no formal education and were socially and politically marginalized. Asset and capability deprivation also lies at the heart of urban chronic poverty whereas access to land and livestock were the primary constraints on rural livelihoods. In urban areas, it was the lack of education and skills and the inability to access credit or savings with which to start or maintain employment enterprises (ibid.).

Therefore, those individuals and households who were characterized by the above things could be considered as chronically poor in Ethiopia. Majority of the poor live in rural areas and cycle around the poverty line, moving in and out of poverty and food insecurity during the course of a year. With so many households cycling around the cusp of severe poverty, a shock was often all it takes to push them into chronic poverty. These households, while not currently chronically poor were continually at risk of becoming so.

2.2.2. Chronic Poverty/ Chronic Poor

A number of terms have come into usage to identify those who experience poverty most intensely. Among the most common ones were ultra poor, core poor, poorest of the poor, destitute, highly dependent poor and declining poor (Hulme et al, 2001). According to Hulme (2003), chronic poor were those individuals and households who experience poverty for extended periods of time or throughout their lives. These were the people least likely to benefit from national and international development efforts and/or most likely to suffer because of such initiatives. Similarly, chronic poor were those who experience deprivation over many years, often over their entire lives, and who sometimes pass poverty on to their children' (CPR 2004, cited in Brown and Amdissa, 2007).

However, for this research purpose, the definition given by Ribas and Machado (2007) for chronic poverty was used. For them, chronic poverty referred as an individual experience of deprivation that lasts for a long period of time. Regarding the evolution of the term, it started in France. Officials and social commentators in eighteenth century France distinguished between the *pauvre* and the *indigent*. The former experienced seasonal poverty when crops failed or demand for casual agricultural labor was low. The latter were permanently poor because of ill health (physical and mental), accident, age or alcoholism. In contemporary times, this durational aspect of poverty has been relatively neglected and conceptual development and more particularly measurement has focused on severity/depth and multidimensionality (Hulme and McKay, 2005).

Once individuals and households were in the chronic poverty, it was not easy to escape from it. To support this idea, Hulme et al (2001) said that chronically poor were those for whom emergence from poverty was most difficult. This may be due to, in the researcher's opinion, different dimensions of the severity of chronic poverty. Additionally, it may need a large amount of actions, commitments and/or measures meant not only for immediate solution but also for surfacing them from the problem. The contemporary understanding of chronic poverty may be constrained but it was clear that if policy continues as it has to date, treating the chronic poor as being like the transient poor, but a little bit further behind, then hundreds of millions of people were likely to stay poor and many of those yet to be born will spend their lives in poverty (Hulme, 2003).

There was a growing body of evidence that individuals and households with certain characteristics and/or at certain stages in the life course may encounter processes that were particularly associated with chronic poverty. The ill-health of a mother, malnutrition or certain childhood diseases can have a devastating impact on the capabilities of a person for the whole of his or her life. At the other end of the life course, there was the growing possibility of increasingly large numbers of the elderly and the very elderly in developing countries (Barrientos, Gorman and Heslop cited in Hulme, 2003).

Looking at the distinction between those population groups that were persistently poor and only temporarily poor was important. The standard definition of chronic poverty specifies it as an individual experience of deprivation that lasts for a long period of time while transient poverty is associated with the inability of families to maintain their consumption level when facing fluctuations or shocks that adversely affect their incomes or individual circumstances (Ribas and Machado, 2007). According to Hulme et al (2001), the defining feature of ‘chronic poverty’ was its extended duration. Poverty that was both severe and multi-dimensional but does not last a ‘long’ time, was by its nature not chronic.

Therefore, in this research the distinction between the two can be understood as a matter of the duration of the time and its causes. Generally, from this one can understand that, the distinction between chronic and transient poverty and the identification of the specific determinants of each imply that public policies cannot be uniformly applied. Analysis of fluctuations in to and out of a state of deprivation was important in order to formulate effective policies against poverty (Ribas and Machado, 2007).

Chronic poverty in Ethiopia, particularly in rural areas, often cannot be separated from chronic food insecurity. Many rural Ethiopians were food insecure at one time or another. When the rains fail, as they periodically do, even relatively well endowed households may face short-term shortages. Hence, a significant number of Ethiopians were chronically food insecure; they are always or usually unable to access enough food for an active, healthy life even in the absence of shocks. There was, however, no precise estimate of chronically food insecure Ethiopians. The key programme for providing

support to chronically food insecure households, the PSNP provides resources to 8.3 million chronically food insecure rural Ethiopians. This amounts to 13 percent of Ethiopia's population. The government considers this to be the official number of chronically food insecure individuals. However, the programme only provides assistance to those Woredas (districts) with a long history of relief (Brown and Amdissa, 2007).

As a result, those who were chronically food insecure but who live in the regions, Woredas or Kebeles that have not received significant assistance in the past were not included in the PSNP. However, based on available evidence it was plausible to estimate that between a fifth and a quarter of Ethiopians (between 15 and 18 million people) were chronically poor. The great majority of these chronically poor were in rural areas (ibid.).

The causes of chronic poverty, vulnerability and food insecurity overlap in Ethiopia. Therefore, according to Gilligan et al (2008), the causes of poverty, vulnerability and food insecurity especially in rural areas include land degradation, recurrent drought, population pressure, low input subsistence agricultural practices, lack of employment opportunities and limited access to services. As a result, more than 38% of rural households fall below the food poverty line and 47% of children under five suffer from stunting.

2.3. Food Insecurity in Ethiopia

Food insecurity incorporates low food intake, variable access to food, and vulnerability – a livelihood strategy that generates adequate food in good times but was not resilient against shocks. These outcomes correspond broadly to chronic, cyclical and transitory food insecurity, and all were endemic in Ethiopia. The country has been structurally food deficit since at least 1980. The food gap rose from 0.75 million tons in 1979/80 to 5 million tons in 1993/94, falling to 2.6 million tons in 1995/96 despite a record harvest (Befekadu and Berhanu 2000:176 cited in Devereux and Sussex, 2000). Even in that year, 240,000 tons of food aids were delivered, suggesting that chronic food insecurity afflicts millions of Ethiopians in the absence of transitory production shocks (Devereux and Sussex, 2000).

Therefore, food insecurity in Ethiopia is not new and has a long history in the country. It has been one and the main among articulating features of poverty and backwardness for several years. Although this type of intricate problem was seen in both rural and urban areas, its width and coverage was boldly observed in rural areas. From the rural areas, it was widely observed in areas which were repeatedly affected by drought. It was recognized that even in recent years, this food insecurity problem was affected up to 14 million people in the country. In Ethiopia, though food insecurity was evidenced as transitory and chronic, chronic food insecurity was the main feature of food security problem (MoARD, 2004).

Similarly, Gilligan et al (2008) said that significant parts of Ethiopia were characterized by persistent food insecurity. Especially, chronic food insecurity has been a defining feature of the poverty that has affected millions of Ethiopians for decades. The vast majority of these extraordinarily poor households live in rural areas that were heavily reliant on rain-fed agriculture; thus, in years of poor rainfall, the threat of widespread starvation was high.

Although food insecurity and poverty were conceptually and empirically distinct, in Ethiopia the overlap between the two was greater than in most countries. Indicator of the interconnectedness of food insecurity and poverty is that, the government calculates poverty lines based on a food consumption norm of 2,200 kcal per adult per day (Devereux and Sussex. 2000). However, the basic distinction between poverty and food insecurity according to them was the latter's focus on instability. While poverty indices measure headcounts, depth and severity at a point in time, food insecurity incorporates vulnerability as a determinant of ill-being. People were food insecure not only because their food consumption level was low, but also because their access to food was variable and unpredictable over time (from one year or season to the next).

2.4.Responses for the Food Insecurity in Ethiopia

It was obvious that anyone can understand this long lasting history of food insecurity in the country has been adversely affected millions of Ethiopians. To support this claim, as it was made public in FSP Monitoring and Evaluation Plan 2004-2009 (FSCB, 2004) that

a serious and growing food insecurity problem in Ethiopia has been affecting as much as 45% of the population. Over the past decade, more than five million people on average have required food aid each year, even during years of seemingly normal weather and market conditions. Again, over the past fifteen years, an average of 700,000 metric tons of food aid per annum has been imported to meet food needs.

Therefore, unless poverty induced or specifically food security oriented policies were made, it will continue to affect more people. Hence, to solve this issue, the government of Ethiopia, by allocating a large amount of money from its budget and in collaboration with donor countries and international organizations takes different measures. This was why poverty reduction was at the forefront of all policies and decisions undertaken by the Ethiopian government especially in the current government's agenda.

For instance, in the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Programme (SDPRP) document (MoFED, 2002); it was explicitly put in plain words. It says, *'for some countries, economic growth is the primary policy goal, and poverty reduction is to be achieved through measures complementary to growth. This is not the approach of the Ethiopian government. Poverty reduction is the core objective of the Ethiopian government. Economic growth is the principal, but not the only means to this objective'*. Therefore, if food insecurity was the feature of poverty and the different policies were made by the government to reduce it, then by implication, the government was undertaking different measures to solve the problem of food insecurity too.

However, since the 1983-1984 famine, the policy response to this threat has been a series of ad hoc emergency appeals on a near annual basis for food aid and other forms of emergency assistance which are then delivered either as payment for public works or as a direct transfer. While these measures succeeded in averting mass starvation, especially among those with no assets, they did not banish the threat of further famine, nor did they prevent asset depletion by marginally poor households affected by adverse rainfall shocks. As a result, the number of individuals in need of emergency food assistance rose from approximately 2.1 million people in 1996 to 13.2 million in 2003 before falling back to 7.1 million in 2004. Further, the ad hoc nature of these responses meant that the

provision of emergency assistance—often in the form of food-for-work programmes—was not integrated into ongoing economic development activities (Subbarao and Smith, 2003, cited in Gilligan et al, 2008).

Following many years of this approach, it was recognized that the majority of those receiving food aid were chronically food insecure, with households experiencing a food gap even in average or good rainfall years. If the ever-worsening cycle of destitution was to be broken, it would require a significant increase in and better use of the resources supporting those households facing both persistent and transitory food insecurity (MoARD, 2009b).

In summary, millions of households especially in rural areas of Ethiopia suffer from chronic food insecurity and receive food aid on an annual basis. In order to find a longer-term solution to the problem, the government of Ethiopia, with the active collaboration of a range of donors, has designed a FSP within the framework of Ethiopia's Poverty Reduction Strategy. The programme combines a variety of interventions that, as a whole, should lead to the graduation from food insecurity to food security for a substantial number of households (FSCB, 2004). Therefore, the next section is going to deal with it.

2.5. Food Security Programme (FSP) in Ethiopia

Perhaps the greatest challenge that Ethiopia faces was ensuring food security. This was so because of the low technological base of agriculture, limited rural infrastructure and off-farm employment compounded by neglect and inappropriate policies over many years. The food security strategy is, therefore, meant to break the complex problems to close the food gap and ensure food security (Devereux and Sussex, 2000).

The FSP was designed to help chronically food insecure households reach a level of food security necessary for an active and healthy life. Two main components of the FSP were Resettlement and Productive Safety Nets, while a range of interventions, either implemented directly by the government or donor funded projects, have been grouped into a third component called "Other Food Security Activities". The FSP encompasses both on-going and newly designed interventions and was implemented mainly through

government structures at the Woreda and Kebele levels. It was intended that participation in this complementary set of interventions will lead to the graduation of a significant portion of food insecure households (FSCB, 2004).

In theory, resettled households would achieve food secure status solely as a result of that component's package of interventions. Safety net beneficiaries, however, usually would require complementary food security activities in order for sustainable impact to be achieved. The impact for non-resettlement households depends on participation in both safety net and other food security programmes and that resettlement beneficiaries will not participate in or benefit from other elements of the FSP (ibid.).

In the current phase i.e. 2010 to 2014, the FSP includes four distinct components (MoARD, 2009b). These are: PSNP including a Risk Financing mechanism, Household Asset Building Programme (HABP), Complementary Community Investment programme (CCI), and Resettlement Programme. The FSP targets food insecure populations in chronically food insecure Woredas of Ethiopia. Although there was overlap between the target groups of the four components of the programme, there was also some variation in focus. According to MoARD (2009b), in 2002/3, 15 million people were identified as needing assistance as a consequence of the 2002 drought. The 15 million figures was the upper boundary of the caseload of food insecure households eligible for the support of the FSP as outlined in the NCFS documents. As the focus of this research was on PSNP, it does not cover the other three components. Hence, the different sections after this onward deal with different aspects of PSNP only, if not absolutely.

2.6. Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP)

Starting in 2005, the government of Ethiopia and a consortium of donors implemented a new response to chronic food insecurity in rural Ethiopia. Rather than annual appeals for assistance and ad hoc distribution programmes, PSNP was put into place. The objective of the PSNP is “... to provide transfers to the food insecure population in chronically food insecure Woredas (districts) in a way that prevents asset depletion at the household level and creates assets at the community level” as well as bridging the food gap that

arises when, for these households, food production and other sources of income were insufficient given food needs (MoARD, 2004).

The PSNP operates as a safety net, targeting transfers to poor households in two ways (through Public Works and Direct Support). Public works pays currently selected beneficiaries 10 Ethiopian birr per day, one for their labor on labor-intensive projects designed to build community assets². These activities were intended to occur between the months of January and June so as not to interfere with farming activities that in most regions occur in the second half of the year. Direct support, in the form of cash or food transfers, was provided to labor-scarce households, including those whose primary income earners were elderly or disabled, in order to maintain the safety net for the poorest households that cannot participate in public works. Depending on where they live, beneficiaries either receive cash or an equivalent payment (Gilligan et al, 2008).

The PSNP provides cash and/or food transfers to chronically food insecure households in ways designed to prevent asset depletion at the household level while creating assets at the community level. It addresses chronic food insecurity while simultaneously requiring households to engage in sustainable productive activities and promoting market development by increasing household purchasing power (FSCB, 2004). However, as different researches show, there was a risk that the programme discourages private investments, which are central to future production opportunities. If more labor was allocated to public programmes, then less labor is available for on-farm production and investments. Rural labor markets in Ethiopia were thin or imperfect and jobs were not readily available when needed. The wage rate for public works can therefore be set at slightly below the market wage in order to attract only the chronically food-insecure, able-bodied household members (Andersson et al, 2009).

But, in the researcher's opinion, these attempts to solve the problem of private investment ideally seem logical but not practicable for a number of reasons. Firstly, what ever the wage was lower than the market; it still attracts many households because there was no such a more market for labor in rural areas. Secondly, they exert lower effort on public

² Previously it pays six birr. But, in 2008 it raised to 8 birr and currently 10 Ethiopian birr.

work than market because of absence of ultimate responsibility for public works, hence they choose public works.

The PSNP was not being implemented to achieve the objectives explained above by itself. Rather, complemented by a series of food security activities, collectively referred to as the Other Food Security Programme (OFSP). Beneficiaries of the OFSP receive at least one of several productivity-enhancing transfers or services, including access to credit, agricultural extension services, technology transfer (such as advice on food crop production, cash cropping, livestock production, and soil and water conservation), and irrigation and water harvesting schemes. While the PSNP was designed to protect existing assets and ensure a minimum level of food consumption, the OFSP was designed to encourage households to increase income generated from agricultural activities and to buildup assets (Gilligan et al, 2008).

2.6.1. Size of the Programme

Within in the broader FSP, the PSNP up to 2009 has had a target caseload of 8.3 million people (but, current size was not given in this research because of absence of data). This number indicates the upper boundaries of the caseloads for the PSNP. It was expected that over the course of the programme the caseloads should decrease, reflecting the success of the programme in assisting households to graduate. Graduation decreases the PSNP caseload first, then the size of the broader target group of the FSP, when households reach food security (MoARD, 2009b).

2.6.2. Objectives, Outcomes and Outputs of the Programme

2.6.2.1. Objective of the Programme

The objective of the PSNP was —. . to provide transfers to the food insecure population in chronically food insecure Woredas (districts) in a way that prevents asset depletion at the household level and creates assets at the community level” as well as bridging the food gap that arises when, for these households, food production and other sources of income were insufficient given food needs (MoARD, 2004).

2.6.2.2. Outputs of the Programme

The following outputs were required to achieve the above outcomes (MoARD, 2009a).

- (i) Appropriate, timely and predictable transfers (cash and/or food) received by households in response to chronic requirements,
- (ii) Transitory cash and food needs addressed effectively in PSNP Woredas, to the limit of risk financing resources,
- (iii) Quality, new and existing, community assets with operational management mechanisms established,
- (iv) Institutional capacity to manage the PSNP strengthened, and
- (v) Coordination, complementarity and synergy promoted within government systems and with other relevant programmes and organizations.

2.6.2.3. Outcomes of the Programme

The PSNP outcome was in chronically food insecure Woredas:

- a) Food consumption assured and asset depletion prevented for food insecure households,
- b) Markets stimulated and access to services and natural resources enhanced for PSNP and other households, and
- c) Natural environment rehabilitated and enhanced (MoARD, 2009b).

2.6.3. Definition of Target Woredas, Groups and Households/ Beneficiaries

The PSNP was targeted towards Woredas defined by the government as chronically food insecure. Their eligibility for the PSNP was defined by the frequency with which they required food assistance in the ten years preceding the design of the PSNP (the ten years up to 2004). The beneficiaries of the PSNP were the food insecure populations living in these chronically food insecure Woredas. The vast majority of PSNP beneficiaries were resource poor households who fail to produce enough food even in times of normal rains. Households with these characteristics were considered chronically food insecure. Around 8.3 million people are considered to be chronically food insecure. In addition to these chronically food insecure households, the programme may temporarily include transitorily food insecure populations in chronically food insecure Woredas using

contingency funds and the risk financing mechanism. The numbers covered by these facilities depend on the need and on the funds available (Andersson et al, 2009).

In addition to the specific households who were supported by the programme, it was expected that other members of the communities in which they live were direct and indirect beneficiaries of the community assets developed through public works. It was difficult to estimate the exact population that benefit from roads, environment protection, irrigation services, school buildings and other assets but over 30 million people live in PSNP Woredas (MoARD, 2009a).

Within Woredas, the Woreda Council was ... responsible for the allocation of safety net resources to Kebeles in line with size of vulnerable population and based on the recommendations of the Woreda Food Security Task Force”. No further guidance was given on geographical targeting to Kebeles and communities. At household level assets, income and other sources of support (such as remittances) should be assessed to refine the broad criteria. Woreda Food Security Task Forces (WFSTFs) were empowered to “set criteria for beneficiary selection to suit the particular conditions of the Woreda within the spirit of the general guiding points” (Sharp et al, 2006).

The process of beneficiary selection was a combination of administrative and community targeting. It starts from the community needs assessment. The whole process was in principle driven from the community level, while the administrative bodies provide guidance and supervision, and control the allocation of resources. Woreda and Kebele Councils were given the main responsibility for hearing appeals or complaints (ibid.).

2.6.4. Components of the Programme

As mentioned in the pervious parts, the PSNP consists of two components: labor-intensive public works – for those households who can contribute labor – selected and designed based on local priorities and opportunities, and direct support for labor-poor households. The public works element was basically meant for community asset building including the rehabilitation of natural resources e.g. land, water and vegetation. The

direct support component helps those who cannot participate in public works (i.e. elderly, chronically ill, etc) (FSCB, 2004).

2.6.4.1. Public Works

Woredas covered by the PSNP usually suffer from severe environmental degradation and limited access to infrastructure. One of the outputs of this programme was, therefore, concerned with the creation of functional community assets to address these problems through the public works component of the PSNP (MoARD, 2009a). Public Works were labor intensive community-based activities which were designed to provide employment for chronically food insecure people who have “able-bodied” labor, for which the PSNP transfers are payment.

The wage for public works was determined on the basis of minimum consumption needs, rather than prevailing wage rates. Nevertheless, there was an expectation that the low payment rate will discourage the less needy from participating (or in other words, act as a partial self targeting element combined with the administrative community targeting system). The majorities of beneficiaries were required to contribute labor to public works, and were entitled to 5 days’ paid work per month per household member (Sharp et al, 2006).

There are principles of public works which were necessary for achieving its objectives. These fundamental principles of public works according to MoARD (2009a) are:

1. **Labor-based:** Works must be labor-intensive and use simple tools as possible;
2. **Participation:** The community participates in the selection, planning, monitoring and evaluation of projects;
3. **Predictability:** Programme participants were expected to be aware of the timing of public works;
4. **Proximity:** Public works were provided as much as possible in the immediate localities of the people in need;
5. **Watershed Approach:** Public Works will be planned according to the community based watershed management approach;

6. **Integration:** Public works were expected to be integrated into Woreda development plans and planned on an inter-sectoral basis;
7. **Gender Sensitivity:** Public works were designed to enable women to participate, and priority was given to works which reduce women's regular work burden; and
8. **Work on private land:** The creation of community assets was the primary objective of the PSNP. However, the watershed approach allows public works labor to work on private land if this work was necessary for the treatment of the watershed.

In the previous sections, it was discussed that five outputs were required to achieve the outcomes of PSNP so that the stated objective will be successfully achieved. One of these outputs was appropriate, timely and predictable transfers (cash and/or food). Not only appropriate and predictable but also sufficient transfers should be provided. MoARD (2009a) stated that, there are specific principles and these principles should be considered to have such appropriate and sufficient transfers. Some of these are:

1. **Cash and Food:** The Programme has the 'cash first principle'. This principle states that 'Cash should be regarded as the primary form of transfer, unless market conditions significantly reduce the value that the beneficiaries receive';
2. **Full multi-year entitlement:** Households receive their full entitlement to PSNP support over multiple years;
3. **Mitigating Risks:** In some instances, it has been found that food distributions can increase risk factors for HIV infection or increase the threat of harassment of women. This was because food distributions can a) involve mass gatherings of people; b) result in people staying one or more nights away from home; and c) involve greater distances for travel;
4. **Timeliness:** The transfer expected to be made timely;
5. **Financial Management:** Strong financial management and accountability system and the capacities to use it, were critical factors to achieving timely transfers;
6. **Timeliness in Upper Stream Transfers:** Cash disbursements from the federal and regional levels and food purchase and transportation were made on time, in order to achieve timely availability of cash/food at the Woreda level;

7. **Communication strategy:** Transfers can be considered predictable if PSNP participants have timely knowledge of their eligibility for the programme and know what transfer (how much of what resources) they will receive when;
8. **De-link of payments for Direct Support participants from those for Public Works participants:** It was recognized that the regularity of PSNP payments was of utmost importance for most Direct Support participants, because of their greater vulnerability and of their limited labor capacity which prevents them to have access to alternatives in case of delays.

2.6.4.2. Direct Support

A further set of criteria was applied to identify those who qualify for safety net support but who should not be required to participate in the public works. These households, who were eligible for free or direct support, were broadly defined as those who have no labor and no other source of support, including some disabled persons. Four further categories of people were mentioned as eligible for direct support or excluded from public works:

1. Sick or mentally challenged people unable to undertake even light work,
2. Pregnant women after the sixth month,
3. Lactating women in the first ten months after child birth, and
4. Orphaned teenagers (Sharp et al, 2006).

2.6.5. Assumptions of the Programme

The PSNP based itself on two broad categories of assumptions. These were, according to MoARD (2009a), outcome-to-objective assumptions and outputs-to-outcome assumptions. Detail discussion of each was as follows:

2.6.5.1. Outcomes-to-Objective Assumptions

Selected key outcome-to-objective assumptions and their mitigating measures were:

- (i) Other elements of the FSP were available to PSNP participants at the required scale and other programmes were effective at enabling food sufficiency,
- (ii) Other rural development programmes and services beyond FSP were available in PSNP areas,
- (iii) Shocks do not deplete household assets,

- (iv) Alternative mechanisms to ensure food sufficiency for direct support participants exist, and
- (v) Alternative mechanisms for effectively addressing transitory food insecurity were in place.

2.6.5.2. Outputs-to-Outcome Assumptions

Failure of assumptions at outcome-to-objective level do not stop the PSNP from achieving its own programme objectives, but compromise the achievement of higher level objectives to which the PSNP was trying to contribute and will compromise the achievement of the overall FSP objectives. In contrast, failures of assumptions at Output-to-Outcome level will prevent the PSNP from achieving its own programme objectives (as well as compromising the achievement of the overall FSP objectives). These assumptions raise implementation issues which need to be carefully monitored and addressed during the implementation.

- (i) Participants use transfers to assure food consumption and assets protection,
- (ii) No significant dilution of transfers occurs,
- (iii) Sufficient resources were available to address all chronic cases,
- (iv) Key actors respond to market signals,
- (v) Transitory cash and food needs being met was adequate to protect lives or other elements of response covered adequately by other actors,
- (vi) Effective and sustainable management of public works maintained, and
- (vii) Negative effect of staff turnover can be overcome.

2.6.6. Graduation

Those who achieved food security will automatically graduate from PSNP. In this case, survey has been done to know the food security status of each household in every year so that those who improved their food security will graduate and those not will stay in the PSNP. During the survey conducted in the previous year, those who were in food secure status will not be included in the PSNP in that year, however if in the next year their status was in food insecurity, then they will be included in the programme in that year according to the programme capability to absorb them (MoARD, 2004). Without success

in these complementary interventions from the wider FSP, graduation from the PSNP and from food insecurity cannot happen at scale. But care will be taken not to graduate households too early and services will continue to be provided to households that have yet to graduate (MoARD, 2009a).

2.6.7. Risk Financing

The introduction of the Risk Financing, in the new phase, was accompanied by shifts in the use of the existing Contingency Budget of the PSNP. The previous split with 5% of the contingency budget being held at Woreda level and 15% at regional level remained but with some further guidance on its utilization. Woreda Contingency Budget should be used for addressing unexpected needs of the chronic food insecure, and from Regional Contingency Budget 5% was used for addressing unexpected needs of the chronic food insecure and 10% was used for addressing transitory food insecurity, and should be used before requests were made for Risk Financing, unless it was apparent that the severity and extent of the impending shock will be beyond the capacity of the Contingency Budget to cope (MoARD, 2009a)

2.7. Theoretical Literature

Social and economic problems occur all over the world regardless of its economic status. For example, in every society one can see those sections of community who were able to fulfill their economic needs and at the same time those sections of society who were unable to fulfill their economic needs and vulnerable to shocks and poverty. In order to help those who were vulnerable to shocks and poverty, many Governments and the private sectors undertake different social protection programmes like social safety nets.

However, the state was a comparatively recent player in the provision of social protection from shortfalls in household income. In the absence of state support, households developed a wide range of informal mechanisms to help them to cope with adverse circumstances. A few general observations from the literature on the mechanisms that households and communities use to smooth consumption for example take different forms. Firstly, households can manage risk, that is, reduce the variability of their income, by a variety of practices that, on average, lower their income but also reduce fluctuations

in their earnings. Secondly, they can also cope with risks by a variety of measures that moderate the impact of any income losses on their consumption. The mechanisms to achieve this include both individual resources such as liquid savings and assets and group-based lending. In addition, households sometimes rely on cash transfers. Other include borrowing money to be repaid later and receiving transfers from other households including remittances from family members who have migrated elsewhere to find work. With a few noteworthy exceptions, most empirical studies have indicated that none of these mechanisms perfectly insures a household against shortfalls in its consumption (Alderman, 2001).

Therefore, this implies these coping strategies by them selves were not enough and need second party's intervention. Hence, Governments adopted social safety net programmes which differ with specific countries socio-economic, cultural and political ideology. Regarding this for instance, Devereux and Cipryk (2009) said that much social protections in Africa has been delivered in the form of humanitarian relief in response to emergencies such as conflict, or following natural disasters such as drought. Chronically food insecure countries like Ethiopia have become chronically dependent on emergency food aid over several decades. The dominance of food aid in these humanitarian interventions, which usually target smallholder farming families, raises concerns about the disincentive effects on food production and local trade.

Not only social safety nets take different forms in different countries but also understood differently though their ultimate aim was the same-helping the vulnerable society or section of the society. Hence, several definitions and conceptualizations of social protection abound. However, this study use the definition forwarded by World Bank.

The World Bank's Social Protection sector defines social safety nets (social assistance or social welfare programmes) as non-contributory transfer programmes usually targeted to the poor or those vulnerable to poverty and shocks. Such programmes were distinguished from contributory transfer programmes, which were typically linked to employment (Pauw and Mncube, 2007). In addition, The World Bank in its 2001 paper on developing a social protection strategy for Africa (cited in Oduro, 2010) defines

social protection as interventions that assist poor individuals, households and communities to reduce their vulnerability by managing risks better.

Generally, social safety nets or socioeconomic safety nets were non-contributory transfer programmes seeking to prevent the poor or those vulnerable to shocks and poverty from falling below a certain poverty level. Safety net programmes can be provided by the public sector- the state and aid donors or by the private sector- Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs), private firms, charities, and informal household transfers.

Social security as a non-contributory programme was meant to fill the void when households either fail or were unable to manage their own risk through private or public contributory schemes. The poor often rely on informal safety nets. Such nets may include inter-household transfers, informal food provisioning arrangements for the needy and so on (Pauw and Mncube, 2007).

When there were shocks, for example illness shocks, death of an income earning member of the household, harvest shocks recourse was usually made to coping strategies and informal social arrangements because public social protection mechanisms were non-existent or weak in providing the necessary assistance to households. The organizational infrastructure within which informal social protection was provided is through social networks. These social networks may be classified as family networks and other networks (Oduro, 2010). Again there were formal government-funded programmes. These include programmes to provide the needy with cash transfers, in-kind transfers or vouchers (e.g., food coupons) for the purchase of specific items (Pauw and Mncube, 2007).

Generally, social safety net was a measure taken by the government in order to prevent the vulnerable section of its population to fall beyond a certain level of poverty. Social safety net programmes (SSNPs) were designed with the aim to provide support for the vulnerable section of the society. With a vision to prevent transmission of poverty from generation to generation, the safety net programmes opt for a more efficient society in terms of the choices made by individuals. The Social safety nets play both a redistributive

and a productive role supporting moral philosophy as well as managing risks. These two were the major pillars that justify the existence of safety net programmes. It should be mentioned at the outset that the safety net programmes create a path towards poverty reduction in the long run. They do not reduce poverty directly; rather, these programmes tend to reduce transitional poverty through ensuring proper nutritional intake, education, health care etc. In other words, the safety net programmes were methods through which poverty was expected to fall through investment in human capital.

2.8. Empirical Literature

Countries all over the world have adopted different kinds of social safety net programmes. Especially, developing countries have experienced different forms of safety net programmes to achieve food security. In this literature review, an attempt was made to give emphasis on the experience of developing countries, especially in Africa, in relation to different kinds of social safety net programmes.

There are different kinds of ongoing social transfer programmes in Africa. One striking feature was the prevalence of the national government as lead actor or partner in many of these programmes. Though this can be misleading as many programmes were designed and financed by donors but institutionally located in and wholly or partly implemented by a government ministry, programmes that were run by donors and international NGOs entirely outside of government structures were increasingly rare. Some of these programmes for example were PSNP in Ethiopia (by government and donors), old age pension in Botswana (by government), livelihood empowerment in Ghana (by government and donors), hunger safety net programme in Kenya (by government and donors), food and cash transfers project in Malawi (NGO (Concern Worldwide)), food subsidy programme in Mozambique (by government), and child support grant in South Africa (by government) were important ones (Devereux and Cipryk, 2009).

The objective of the public provision of social protection in African countries was to assist the vulnerable and excluded groups and thereby reduce chronic poverty and exclusion. The rationale for the provision of social protection can be situated within the context of evidence that suggests that growth may be necessary but

not sufficient for poverty reduction. The poor must contribute to the growth process as well as benefit from it. The rationale for social protection was not always only within the context of improving upon the living conditions of the vulnerable and excluded as an end in itself. For example, Tanzania's national social protection aims to build the capabilities of the poor to engage in production so that they become effective participants in and beneficiaries of the growth process. Ghana's second poverty reduction strategy paper recognizes that a significant proportion of the population cannot contribute effectively to economic growth. The lack of social protection in the informal sector was identified as hampering private sector development. A coherent social policy framework was thus needed to achieve the objective of economic growth. In Burkina Faso the goal of social protection actions was to remove obstacles to the participation of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups in the development process (Oduro, 2010).

The brief overview on provision of social safety nets in Ghana has shown that the centralization process that took place after independence and the subsequent dismantling of marketing boards and other parastatals have left rural areas without well defined market stabilization policies and safety nets under the responsibility of the public sector. Fortunately, remittances from internal as well as overseas migrants have significantly filled the void but did so unevenly across the population and more in the South than in the North. Hence, several areas remain at risk, particularly in the North. When complete villages were poor and have few links with richer migrants who could help in dire times, it only takes a modest drought to cause famine in the village, unless public safety nets were being provided. Overall, modern public safety nets programmes tend to include cash transfers, food stamps and food for work programmes, maximum prices and food subsidies, micro-credit, school vouchers or scholarships and fee waivers for health care services. Hence, they consist of transfers in cash or in kind that were intended to protect people from severe income shocks and to prevent both transient and persistent poverty (Molini et al, 2007).

In Ethiopia, where this study focuses, PSNP was the largest social transfer programme or social safety net programme in SSA next to South Africa. Again it was one of the formal

social safety nets provided by government in collaboration with donors. According to MoARD (2009a), the PSNP provides transfers to food insecure populations in a way which prevents asset depletion at the household level, creates assets at the community level and stimulates markets.

Launched in February 2005, the PSNP aims to smooth consumption in chronically food insecure households by providing efficient and predictable transfers of cash and/or food during lean months. It aims to reduce household vulnerability, protect household assets and improve household resilience. At the same time it aims to provide labor to create community assets (e.g. check dams and roads). In conjunction with other programmes such as credit packages and agricultural extension, the PSNP seeks to address both the immediate and underlying causes of food insecurity. Over the course of the PSNP, the programme aims to ‘graduate’ participants from food insecurity into sustainable food secure status. The PSNP provides assistance to two kinds of chronically food insecure households: those in which able-bodied members were able to contribute to labor-intensive public works activities (public works beneficiaries) and those that were labor poor, elderly or otherwise incapacitated (direct support beneficiaries). The programme provides a mix of food and cash transfers to beneficiaries in an effort to sustain and stimulate local markets and provide smallholders with greater flexibility over consumption decisions (Brown and Amdissa, 2007).

In conclusion, Ethiopia was faced with complex chronic poverty which was broad, deep and structural. The chronic poor tend to share a number of characteristics and were trapped in poverty by a similar range of structural constraints and the causes of chronic poverty, vulnerability and food insecurity overlap in the country. These causes were land degradation, recurrent drought, population pressure, low input subsistence agricultural practices, lack of employment opportunities and limited access to services. The chronic poverty was highly expressed in chronic food insecurity and in order to solve this, the government has been currently undertaking different programmes under the FSP. One of these programmes was PSNP and it was aimed to provide transfers to the food insecure population in chronically food insecure Woredas in a way that prevents asset depletion at household level and creates assets at the community level.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS

This chapter was all about the analysis and interpretations of the data collected through the household head survey questionnaire, key informant interviews and focus group discussion. The points which were going to be raised were personal information of respondents, households who benefit from the programme and those who were excluded, living condition of beneficiaries before and after they were included in PSNP and food intake status of the beneficiaries before and after they were included in PSNP. Moreover, the different impacts of the programme like impact of PSNP on consumption and other related social issues, on household assets and community assets, production of food items and market prices were the main points of discussion.

3.1. Personal Information of Respondents

This part discusses personal information of the respondents however it does not discuss all information about respondents. Only age and sex components were discussed because some of it was highlighted in the methodology part. As it was shown in the following table 3.1, 51 (43.97 percent) respondents were under the age category of 31- 45. This age category has the highest number of household heads followed by the age category 18 – 30 (it consists 29.31 percent). While only one (0.86 percent) household head was under the age category below 18 and lives in Dom‘a Kebele. In the rest five Kebeles, no household head was under the age category of below 18. Moreover, in Dom‘a Kebele no household heads were in the age category of above 46 while the rest five Kebeles have.

This shows that most of the beneficiaries were in the productive age. This might be due to the fact that more of the PSNP beneficiaries were under the public works and hence they should have physical capability to work. Household heads below 18 years were very small. This was also due to the fact that the household heads who were participating in the public works were not expected to be children. Therefore, the majority of household heads who were participating in the public works are capable of working on the basis of age. Regarding the sex of the household heads, the males were more (62.93 percent) than females. Household heads under public works was 79.31 percent of the total household

heads while the rest 20.69 percent were under the direct support. More household heads (57.76 percent) live in the three Kebeles (Eli Kodo, Eli Doze and Dera) while only 25.86 percent live in Hoya Degeza and Dom'a Kebeles. In terms of climatic zones, more of the respondents live in Dega zone while less in Kola zone.

Table 3.1 Ages of Respondents With Respect to Sex and Component of PSNP

Kebele	Age						Component		Sex	
	below 18	18-30	31-45	above 46	Total	Percent	DS	PWs	M	F
Eli Kodo	0	5	10	6	21	18.1	4	17	13	8
Eli Doze	0	5	11	7	23	19.83	5	18	15	8
Dera	0	6	10	7	23	19.83	6	17	14	9
Malo Mace	0	7	8	4	19	16.38	3	16	12	7
Hoya Degeza	0	5	5	6	16	13.79	3	13	10	6
Dom'a	1	6	7	0	14	12.07	3	11	9	5
Total	1	34	51	30	116	100	24	92	73	43
Percent	0.86	29.31	43.97	25.86	100	-	20.69	79.31	62.93	37.07

Source: Household survey, 2010

3.2. Beneficiaries of the PSNP in Dera Malo Woreda

In theory, PSNP beneficiaries were supposed to be targeted on the basis of their chronic food insecurity and vulnerability. In other words, beneficiaries are those who were more likely to engage in less profitable (low income, unskilled and high risk) income-earning activities compared to non-beneficiaries. Additionally, the vast majority of them were resource poor households who fail to produce enough food even in times of normal rains.

In practice, according to the interview conducted with officials and key knowledgeable individuals who were beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, those who were benefiting from the PSNP in the study Kebeles were: those who were chronically poor, who always need help but helpless, families who have less assets or no assets at all, incapable to work, capable but have no land, unable to feed their families and those who were previously receiving food aid. Those who were not selected in the programme were household heads previously not receiving food aid, capable of working, have land, supporters and assets. Generally, in relative sense, those who were in better living condition than the beneficiaries were not included in the PSNP. However, though they were not included in the programme, directly or indirectly they benefit from the community assets built through it. This was due to the fact that the community assets built through the public works were expected to benefit the whole community in the

Kebeles. Moreover, they benefit from the markets created through the programme. During the selection, errors occur unintentionally or intentionally because the selector might be relative to that individual or for any other reason. Officials from this Woreda also said that there were errors during the selection process i.e., some of chronically poor households were not included in the PSNP. On the contrary, those who were relatively in better living condition were included but their number was small. However, such kind of conditions were solved or safeguarded by the community in the study Kebeles. The Kebele administrators with cooperation with the community approve the selection. This process of participation of the community in selection in such way helps to avoid or at least minimize the selection errors in the Kebeles in which this study was conducted.

3.3. Living Conditions of Household Heads before they were Included in the PSNP

To what extent the household heads suffer from the problem of food insecurity and to cross check the interview results, it was important to actually see their living conditions before they were included in the PSNP. Accordingly, this research designed survey questions which were at least in a relative sense expected to show this. Hence, in practice this study revealed their living condition before they were included in the programme through its household survey questionnaires as follows.

Almost all of the respondents in all Kebeles were very poor and food insecure before they were included in the PSNP. As table 3.2 below shows, out of 116 household heads, 113 (97.4 percent) have no enough jobs to secure their living. Moreover, 102 (87.9 percent) household heads have no enough to feed and cloth their family before they were selected to benefit from the programme. Though a large number of respondents have no enough to feed and cloth their family, no enough money to cover their children's education and medication costs, no enough land on which to grow their food, no enough jobs to earn their living and no enough access to credit, a small number of them i.e. only 19 (16.4 percent) household heads have no enough access to clean water and sanitation. In other words, 83.6 percent of the respondents have access to clean water and sanitation. From this, one can understand that the majority of the household heads were chronically poor or food insecure before they were included in the PSNP.

From the table 3.2 below, except in Dom‘a, in the rest five Kebeles 100 percent of the household heads had no enough jobs to earn their living before they were included in the PSNP. In Dom‘a Kebele, 21.4 percent of the respondents have jobs to earn their living while no one has this in the rest five Kebeles. This might be due to it’s physically closeness to the city of the Woreda. Due to their closeness to the city, household heads from this Kebele can get works in the city in agriculturally slack months.

In Dera and Eli Doze Kebeles similarly 22 (95.7 percent) household heads in each Kebeles have no enough to feed and cloth their family. This was the highest from all Kebeles in which this study was conducted. This was due to more household members in these Kebeles than others because with more family size it could be difficult to feed and close their family sufficiently. In Hoya Degeza and Malo Mace Kebeles, 75 percent and 78.9 percent of household heads respectively have no enough to feed and cloth their family. In Hoya Degeza Kebele as it was in Kola zone they have more land per household and it helped them at least to produce more than those in Dega or Woine Dega zones. In Dom‘a Kebele 100 percent of the respondents have access to clean water and sanitation. Even in this Kebele they get clean water as similar as the city of the Woreda due to its nearness to the city according to key informants. Hence households of Dom‘a Kebele were relatively in better condition than others on the basis of this criterion.

Table 3.2 Living condition of PSNP beneficiaries before included in the programme

Living Condition before PSNP	Kebeles						Total
	Dom‘a	Hoya Degeza	Dera	Eli Doze	Eli Kodo	Malo mace	
No enough to feed and cloth their family	13 (92.9%)	12 (75%)	22 (95.7%)	22 (95.7%)	18 (85.7%)	15 (78.9%)	102 (87.9%)
No enough money to cover children’s education and medication costs	13 (92.9%)	10 (62.5%)	21 (91.3%)	21 (91.3%)	19 (90.5%)	15 (78.9%)	98 (84.5%)
No enough land on which to grow their food	9 (64.3%)	9 (56.3%)	19 (82.6%)	21 (91.3%)	16 (76.2%)	17 (89.5%)	91 (78.5%)
No enough jobs to earn their living	11 (78.6%)	16 (100%)	23 (100%)	23 (100%)	21 (100%)	19 (100%)	113 (97.4%)
No enough access to credit	9 (64.3%)	13 (81.3%)	21 (91.3%)	21 (91.3%)	17 (81%)	18 (94.7%)	99 (85.3%)
No enough access to clean water or sanitation	0 (0%)	1 (6.3%)	4 (14.7%)	5 (21.7%)	4 (19%)	5 (26.3%)	19 (16.4%)

Source: Household survey, 2010

3.4. Food Intake Status by the Household Heads

In addition to the living conditions in general, food intake status analysis of household heads before they were included in the PSNP was important to see the living condition specifically their consumption status. Moreover, it helps to see whether the food intake (consumption) was improved or not after the programme. Accordingly, before being included in PSNP, some eat once a day while others twice a day only. However, very small numbers of household heads eat three times a day. Some eat breakfast and/or dinner while others lunch and/or dinner.

As table 3.3 below shows, only 42 (36.2 percent) household heads eat breakfast and 56 (48.3 percent) eat dinner before they were included in the PSNP. Only 19 (16.4 percent) respondents eat lunch. This shows, more of the respondents eat dinner and breakfast or they eat twice a day. Additionally, household heads were unable to eat three times a day in these Kebeles though it was the problem of most Ethiopians. No respondent eat lunch in Dom'a and only one in Hoya Degeza before they were included in the PSNP. Only Kebeles in Dega zone have better score in getting lunch.

After they were included in the PSNP, majority of the household heads eat three times a day. From the total household heads who were asked, about 96.6 percent eat breakfast, lunch and dinner. Only three respondents eat breakfast and dinner only. From this one can understand that household's food intake status was improved after they were included in the PSNP. But whether it was improved due to PSNP or other factors will be assessed in other subsequent parts.

Table 3.3 Food Intake status by the Beneficiaries³

Period of food intake	Before PSNP								After PSNP							
	Do	H/D	De	E/K	E/D	M/M	T	%	Do	H/D	De	E/K	E/D	M/M	T	%
Breakfast	2	4	10	5	12	9	42	36.2	0	1	1	0	1	0	3	2.6
Lunch	0	1	2	10	5	1	19	16.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dinner	1	4	10	16	15	10	56	48.3	0	1	1	0	1	0	3	2.6
Breakfast, lunch and dinner	13	11	12	6	7	9	58	50	14	15	22	21	21	19	112	96.6

Source: Household survey, 2010

³ Do – Dom'a, H/D- Hoya Degeza, De- Dera, E/D- Eli Doze, E/K- Eli Kodo, M/M -Malo Mace, and T- Total.

3.5. Impact of Productive Safety Net Programme

PSNP has different impacts on the lives of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. However, this study covers the impacts only on the household heads those were included in the PSNP. The impacts can be positive or negative (intended and unintended impacts).

As the discussion with the focus groups and the interview result shows that PSNP has different positive impacts on the beneficiaries' lives in general. Some said because of the PSNP, they felt sense of equality with the community; they can easily get credits from the community because the community trusts them that they can pay it back to them; they avoided working for others and sharing their outputs with them; they built assets; pay taxes on time; built better houses; sent their children to school; avoided begging food; use their outputs to themselves only; have better cloths; and get enough food after being included in the PSNP'.

3.5.1. Impact of PSNP on Consumption and Other Related Social Issues

In theory, the PSNP was intended to smooth household's consumption so that they will not need to sell productive assets in order to overcome food shortages. Hence, this research tried to check whether the PSNP has positive impact on the beneficiaries' lives specifically by smoothing consumption and other related social issues like medication, education and saving. Accordingly, in practice, as it was shown in table 3.4a below, in the Kebeles which were located in the Dega zone (Eli Kodo and Eli Doze), 41 (93.2 percent) household heads said that they get enough food now than before. From those who said that they get enough food now than before, 100 percent claimed that it was due to PSNP. This was additionally checked in the table 3.3 above that most of the household heads eat three times a day after they were included in the PSNP. Only 3 (6.8 percent) respondents said that they do not get enough food now than before. Approximately these all was the same in the two Kebeles.

Additionally, 38 (86.4 percent) household heads said that they have better money to pay for medical costs now than before. Out of those who said that they have better money to pay for medical costs now than before (out of 38), only 2.6 percent said that it was due to other reasons while 97.4 percent (37 out of 38) said that it was due to PSNP. On the

contrary, 6 (13.6 percent) respondents said that they have no better money to pay for medical costs now than before. These shows, in this Dega zone, household heads due to PSNP get treatment in cases in which they or their families became sick because they get money from the PSNP.

Table 3.4a Impact of PSNP on consumption (For Kebeles in Dega zone, i.e. Eli Kodo and Eli Doze)

Statement	Yes because of safety net			Yes because of other reason			No			No children		
	E/K ⁴	E/D	T	E/K	E/D	T	E/K	E/D	T	E/K	E/D	T
Get enough food items now than before	19 (90.5%)	22 (95.7%)	41 (93.2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (9.5%)	1 (4.3%)	3 (6.8%)	*	*	*
Have better money to pay for medical costs now than before	17 (81%)	20 (87%)	37 (84.1%)	0 (0%)	1 (4.3%)	1 (2.3%)	4 (19%)	2 (8.7%)	6 (13.6%)	*	*	*
Send children to school better than before	16 (76.2%)	17 (73.9%)	33 (75%)	1 (4.8%)	1 (4.3%)	2 (4.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (19%)	5 (21.7%)	9 (20.5%)
Avoided selling household assets to buy food items, to pay for medication and children education costs now than before	21 (100%)	18 (78.3%)	39 (88.6%)	0 (0%)	4 (17.4%)	4 (9.1%)	0 (0%)	1 (4.3%)	1 (2.3%)	*	*	*
Have extra money to save	2 (9.5%)	4 (17.4%)	6 (13.6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	19 (90.5%)	19 (82.6%)	38 (86.4%)	*	*	*

Source: Household survey, 2010

Furthermore, as it was seen in table 3.4a above, 35 (79.5 percent) respondents have children at school age⁵. 100 percent of those who have children at school age said that they send their children to school better than before. 33 (94.3 percent or 33 out of 35) of them send their children to schools better than before due to PSNP while only 2 (5.7 percent) send due to reasons other than PSNP. From this one can understand that due to PSNP, the majority of household heads send their children to schools in this Dega zone. This might be that PSNP helped them to buy stationeries to their children. Additionally, if

⁴ E/K (Eli Kodo), E/D (Eli Doze); * (Data is not needed)

⁵ The number of children at school age was the summation of those who said 'yes because of safety net, yes because of other reason and No. While for others the total was the summation of 'yes because of safety net and yes because of other reason'. Answers for 'yes = yes b/c of safety net + yes b/c of other reason'. This was for tables 3.4a, b, c, and d

there were no schools in the Kebeles then they rent houses by paying the cost from the PSNP transfer for their children in which they learn.

Also 43 (97.7 percent) household heads said that they avoided selling household assets to buy food items, to pay for medication and children education costs now than before while only 2.3 percent still sell household assets to fulfill this in Dega zone. 39 (90.7 percent) respondents out of those who avoided selling household assets were due to PSNP while the rest 4 (9.3 percent) were due to reasons other than it. In Eli Kodo 100 percent of the respondents avoided selling household assets and all were due to PSNP. From this as stated in theory, PSNP prevented household assets from depletion. However, as key informants said it does not completely prevent assets from depletion because in cases of late payment some households still sell their household assets.

Finally, 38 (86.4 percent) household heads said that they have no extra money to save. While only 6 (13.6 percent) respondents have money to save. All who have money to save got it from PSNP. As respondents said, though more than 85 percent have no extra money to save, they bought different assets. Hence, according to them, they consider it as something saved. But as they said, some of the respondents consume all the money given. However, this research considers as similar as their claim that the PSNP helped them to save something though they not put it in liquid cash form because they built some assets that can be sold at any time they want.

As it was shown in the table 3.4b below, in the Kebeles which were located in the Woine Dega zone (Dera and Malo Mace), 39 (92.9 percent) household heads said that they get enough food now than before. From these, 92.3 percent (36 out of 39 respondents) claimed that it was due to PSNP while 7.7 percent said due to reasons other than it. Only 3 (7.1 percent) respondents said that they do not get enough food now than before. Generally, like for the Kebeles in Dega zone, in this zone also PSNP helped the household heads to get enough food items.

Additionally, 37 (88.1 percent) household heads said that they have better money to pay for medical costs now than before. Out of those who said that they have better money to

pay for medical costs now than before, only 8.1 percent said that it was due to reasons other than PSNP while 91.9 percent (34 out of 34 respondents) said that it was due to PSNP. Those who said that they have better money to pay for medical costs now than before due to other reasons were all from Dera Kebele. On the contrary, 11.9 percent said that they have no better money to pay for medical costs now than before. Out of these, 4 respondents were from Malo Mace Kebele.

Table 3.4b Impact of PSNP on consumption (For Kebeles in Woine Dega zone, i.e. Dera and Malo Mace)

Statement	Yes because of safety net			Yes because of other reason			No			No children		
	De	M/M	T	De	M/m	T	De	M/M	T ⁶	De	M/M	T
Get enough food items now than before	19 (82.6%)	17 (89.5%)	36 (85.7%)	2 (8.7%)	1 (5.3%)	3 (7.1%)	2 (8.7%)	1 (5.3%)	3 (7.1%)	*	*	*
Have better money to pay for medical costs now than before	19 (82.6%)	15 (78.9%)	34 (81%)	3 (13%)	0 (0%)	3 (7.1%)	1 (4.3%)	4 (21.1%)	5 (11.9%)	*	*	*
Send children to school better than before	14 (6.1%)	14 (73.7%)	28 (66.6%)	1 (4.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (34.8%)	5 (26.3%)	13 (31%)
Avoided selling household assets to buy food items, to pay for medication and children education costs now than before	22 (95.7%)	15 (78.9%)	37 (88.1%)	1 (4.3%)	3 (15.8%)	4 (9.5)	0 (0%)	1 (5.3%)	1 (2.4%)	*	*	*
Have extra money to save	2 (8.7%)	2 (10.5%)	4 (9.5%)	1 (4.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.4%)	20 (87%)	17 (89.5%)	37 (88.1%)	*	*	*

Source: Household survey, 2010

Furthermore, 29 (69 percent) household heads have children at school age. From those who have children at school age, 100 percent said that they send their children to school better than before. 28 (96.6 percent) household heads said that it was due to PSNP while only 3.4 percent (1 out of 29 household heads) send due to reasons other than PSNP. Also 41 (97.6 percent) household heads said that they avoided selling household assets to buy food items, to pay for medication and children education costs now than before while only 2.4 percent still sell household assets in this Woine Dega zone. 37 (90.2 percent)

⁶ M/M (Malo Mace), T (Total), De (Dera).

respondents out of those who avoided selling household assets were due to PSNP while the rest 9.8 percent (4 out of 41 respondents) were due to reasons other than it. In Dera Kebele 95.7 percent (22 out of 23 respondents) avoided selling household assets due to PSNP while in Malo Mace 78.9 percent due to it.

Finally, 37 (88.1 percent) respondents said that they have no extra money to save while 11.9 percent only have money to save. From those who have money to save, 80 percent got it from PSNP while only one respondent from other sources. As respondents said, though more than 88 percent have no extra money to save, they bought different assets. Hence, according to them, they consider it as something saved because of PSNP.

As it was shown in table 3.4c below, in the Kebeles which are located in the Kola zone (Hoya Degeza and Dom'a), 100 percent of the household heads said that they get enough food now than before they were included in the PSNP. From those who said that they get enough food now than before, 27 (90 percent) respondents claimed that it was due to PSNP while only 10 percent said due to reasons other than PSNP. 21 (70 percent) household heads said that they have better money to pay for medical costs now than before. Out of those who said that they have better money to pay for medical costs now than before, 4.8 percent only said that it was due to reasons other than PSNP while 95.2 percent (20 out of 21 respondents) said that it was due to PSNP. Those who said due to other reasons were all from Hoya Degeza Kebele. On the contrary, 9 (30 percent) respondents said that they have no better money to pay for medical costs now than before. Out of these, 5 respondents were from Dom'a Kebele.

Furthermore, 21 (70 percent) respondents have children at school age. From those who have children at school age, 20 (95.2 percent) respondents said that they send their children to school better than before. About 85 percent (17 out of 20 respondents) of those who send well than before was due to PSNP while only 15 percent send due to reasons other than PSNP. Also 24 (80 percent) household heads said that they avoided selling household assets to buy food items, to pay for medication and children education costs now than before while. 23 (95.8 percent) respondents out of those who avoided selling

household assets were due to PSNP while only 4.2 percent said due to reasons other than it and live in Hoya Degeza Kebele.

Table 3.4c Impact of PSNP on consumption (For Kebeles in Kola zone, i.e. Hoya Degeza and Dom'a)

Statement	Yes because of safety net			Yes because of other reason			No			No children		
	H/D	DO ⁷	T	H/D	DO	T	H/D	DO	T	H/D	DO	T
Get enough food items now than before	14 (87.5%)	13 (92.9%)	27 (90%)	2 (12.5%)	1 (7.1%)	3 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	*	*	*
Have better money to pay for medical costs now than before	11 (68.8%)	9 (64.3%)	20 (66.7%)	1 (6.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.3%)	4 (25%)	5 (35.7%)	9 (30%)	*	*	*
Send children to school better than before	9 (56.3%)	8 (57.1%)	17 (56.7%)	1 (6.3%)	2 (14.3%)	3 (10%)	1 (6.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.3%)	5 (31.3%)	4 (13.3%)	9 (30%)
Avoided selling household assets to buy food items, to pay for medication and children education costs now than before	14 (87.5%)	9 (64.3%)	23 (76.7%)	1 (6.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.3%)	1 (6.3%)	5 (35.7%)	6 (20%)	*	*	*
Have extra money to save	3 (18.8%)	2 (14.3%)	5 (16.6%)	1 (6.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.3%)	12 (75%)	12 (85.7%)	24 (80%)	*	*	*

Source: Household survey, 2010

Finally, 24 (80 percent) household heads said that they have no extra money to save while 20 percent only have money to save. From those who have money to save, 83.3 percent (5 out of 6 respondents) got it from PSNP while only one respondent from other sources and this respondent live in Hoya Degeza Kebele. As respondents said, though about 80 percent have no extra money to save, they bought different assets. Hence, according to them, they consider it as something saved.

To compare the three climatic zones, as shown in table 3.4d below, from the six Kebeles in which this study was conducted, 110 (94.9 percent) household heads get enough food items now than before. On the contrary, only 5.2 percent still now do not get enough food items. From the three climatic zones, respondents from Kola zone 100 percent said that

⁷ HD (Hoya Degeza), DO (Dom'a), T (Total)

they get enough food items now than before followed by 93.2 percent and 92.8 percent from Dega and Woine Dega zones respectively. From those who get enough food items now than before, the majority i.e., 94.5 percent (104 out of 110 respondents) was due to PSNP while 5.5 percent said due to reasons other than PSNP. From these, it was possible to understand that PSNP has positive impact on consumption for households. In addition to PSNP, as key informants said, behavioral change also played a great role in smoothening consumption. Because of education given by DAs, some households working behavior was positively changed.

In addition, 96 (82.7 percent) respondents said that they have better money to pay for medical costs now than before. On the contrary, only 20 (17.2 percent) still have no better money to pay for medical costs. This was due to, as they said, they spent all the money on food consumption and on others. Hence, no money was left for them for this. From those who have better money currently than before to pay for medical costs when they get sick, the majority was from Woine Dega zone followed by Dega zone with 88.1 percent and 86.4 percent from the total respondents in each Kebele respectively. This improvement was due to 94.79 percent PSNP and only 5.21 percent reasons other than it.

Moreover, out of the total respondents in all climatic zones, 85 (73.3 percent) household heads have children at school age. Out of those who have children at school age, 98.8 percent (84 out of 85 respondents) send their children to school better than before. From those who send their children to school better than before, 92.9 percent (78 out of 84 respondents) send due to PSNP while only 7.1 percent were due to other reasons. Only one respondent still now does not send children better to school than before. From those who teach their children, the Dega and Woine Dega Zone takes the highest share.

Furthermore, out of the total respondents in the study Kebeles, 108 (93.1 percent) respondents avoided selling household assets to buy food items, to pay for medication and children education costs now than before while only 6.9 percent were still selling household assets. From those who were selling household assets, the majority live in Kola zone (75 percent) while only 12.5 percent in each of Dega and Woine Dega zones. Previously household heads from Kola zone all said that they all get better food items

currently than before. On the contrary, still they were selling household assets currently more than other zones.

Table 3.4d Impact of PSNP on Consumption for the Three Climatic Zones

Statement	Yes because of safety net				Yes because of other reason				No				No children			
	D ⁸	W	K	T	D	W	K	T	D	W	K	T	D	W	K	T
Get enough food items now than before	41 (93.2%)	36 (85.7%)	27 (90%)	104 (89.7%)	0 (0%)	3 (7.1%)	3 (10%)	6 (5.2%)	3 (6.8%)	3 (7.1%)	0 (0%)	6 (5.2%)	*	*	*	*
Have better money to pay for medical costs now than before	37 (84.1%)	34 (81%)	20 (66.7%)	91 (78.4%)	1 (2.3%)	3 (7.1%)	1 (3.3%)	5 (4.3%)	6 (13.6%)	5 (11.9%)	9 (30%)	20 (17.2%)	*	*	*	*
Send children to school better than before	33 (75%)	28 (66.7%)	17 (56.7%)	78 (67.2%)	2 (4.5%)	1 (2.4%)	3 (10%)	6 (5.2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.3%)	1 (0.9%)	9 (20.5%)	13 (31%)	9 (30%)	31 (26.7%)
Avoided selling household assets to buy food items, to pay for medication and children education costs now than before	39 (88.6%)	37 (88.1%)	23 (76.7%)	99 (85.3%)	4 (9.1%)	4 (9.5%)	1 (3.3%)	9 (7.8%)	1 (2.3%)	1 (2.4%)	6 (20%)	8 (6.9%)	*	*	*	*
Have extra money to save	6 (13.6%)	4 (9.5%)	5 (16.7%)	15 (12.9%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.4%)	1 (3.3%)	2 (1.7%)	38 (86.4%)	37 (88.1%)	24 (80%)	99 (85.3%)	*	*	*	*

Source: Household survey, 2010

This might be due to firstly medication and children's education costs. In this zone there was malaria and it made them sell household assets for treatment in cases of late payment. Secondly, having better food and money than before does not mean that they were self sufficient and these might be the reasons for the contradiction. Therefore, previously all households in Kola zone said that they get enough food currently than before and at the same time the majority of households who sell household assets to buy food items, to pay for medication and children education costs now than before lives in

⁸ D (Dega zone), W (Woine Dega zone), K (Kola zone), T (Total)

this zone. This seems contradictory but not because they might sell for children education and medication costs though not for food items. 91.67 percent of those who avoided selling household assets to buy food items now were due to PSNP while only 8.33 percent was due to other reasons. Therefore, PSNP positively contributed to the protection of household assets from depletion.

Finally, 99 (85.3 percent) household heads have no extra money to save while only 14.7 percent have. From those who have extra money to save, 88.2 percent were due to PSNP while only 17.8 percent was due to other reasons. This was due to, as they said, for some the money was not more than immediate needs while for others they put it in the form of capital assets.

3.5.1.1. Those Who Buy Food Items Sometimes

It is better to assess whether the household heads sometimes buy food items or not because it will help to see the importance of PSNP in smoothening consumption by providing money to the households to purchase food items.

Table 3.5 Buy Food Items Sometimes

Statement	Yes								No							
	E/ K	E/ D	D e	M	D o	H/ D	T	%	E/ K	E/ D	D e	M	D o	H/ D	T	%
Buy food items sometimes	18	14	19	13	13	14	91	78.4	3	9	4	6	1	2	25	21.6
The PSNP smoothened their consumption	19	21	23	16	13	15	107	92.2	2	2	0	3	1	1	9	7.8

Source: Household survey, 2010

From the table 3.5 above, 78.4 percent of the household heads buy food items sometimes while only about 21.6 percent does not. This shows that household heads bridge their food gap by purchasing it from different markets. From those who buy food items sometimes, the majority were in Kola zone with 90 percent followed by Woine Dega zone (76.2 percent). However, it was not explained in table 3.5 that from where the household heads take the money to buy food items.

This study also analyzed self assessment of household heads themselves regarding whether the PSNP has positive impact on their consumption in general (smoothened consumption) or not. Accordingly from table 3.5 above, 92.2 percent of the respondents said that the programme smoothed their consumption while only 7.8 percent said it does not. This shows PSNP has positive impact on consumption for the majority.

3.5.1.2. Source of Money to Buy Food Items

In conditions in which food shortage occurs, all households in different areas buy food items from different markets if they have income or taking it from different sources to sustain their life. To mention some of it for instance, from their accounts if they have saved money; by selling household assets; taking credits from different traditional or modern lending organizations; if they have marketing experience then by trading and hence making profits; or if they were very poor then taking transfers from different social safety net programmes like PSNP were the main ones but not the only sources.

Table 3.6 Source of money to buy food items

Sources	Kebeles						Total	Percent
	E/K	E/D	De	M/M	H/D	Do		
From PSNP	18	12	17	11	11	11	80	87.9
From other sources	0	2	1	0	3	2	8	8.8
Selling household assets	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Credit	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1.1
Trade	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	2.2

Source: Household survey, 2010

Household heads in Dera Malo especially in the Kebeles in which this study was conducted were also not different from this. From the table 3.6 above, from those who buy food items some times (i.e., from 91 household heads as mentioned in table 3.5), 87.9 percent get the money from PSNP while the rest 12.1 percent get from trade, credit and other sources which were not mentioned. No individual sold household assets to buy food items currently as it was seen in the table 3.6 though they sell it whether to pay for medication costs or children education costs as explained previously. Household heads from Eli Kodo gets 100 percent from PSNP.

Generally from these and other previous discussions one can understand that PSNP was the great source of income for those household heads who buy food items sometimes. Therefore, by providing the transfer to the household heads to purchase food items, PSNP

plays a great role in smoothening consumption. Key informants and the focus group discussion results also showed that PSNP improved consumption for the majority of chronically food insecure households who properly used the transfer for the intended purpose. They send their children to schools better than before, get medical treatments, purchased different items and to some extent minimized selling household assets. *To show the impact of PSNP on consumption, some said, „They were alive because of PSNP; and even because of the programme the number of thieves were reduced”.*

3.5.2. Impact of PSNP on Household Assets and Community Assets

In theory, according to the Ethiopian Government, the PSNP provides cash and/or food transfers to chronically food insecure households in ways designed to prevent asset depletion at the household level while creating assets at the community level (FSCB, 2004). In the same speech, specifically the public works element of the programme was basically meant for community asset building including the rehabilitation of natural resources e.g. land, water and vegetation (FSCB, 2009).

Taking this in to consideration, this research tried its best to check these things in the light of its objectives. In practice, as the table 3.7a below shows, from the total respondents in all climatic zones 102 (87.9 percent) household heads said that their household assets were improved currently while only 12.1 percent still not improved their household assets. From those whose household assets currently improved, 99 percent was due to PSNP while only one percent household head assets were improved due to reasons other than PSNP. Household assets in Dega and Kola zone Kebeles were all improved due to PSNP. As key informants said that the “Livelihood or household Package” which was one of FSP played a great role in building household assets, especially livestock.

From the total respondents in all six Kebeles, 113 (97.4 percent) household heads said that the community assets were also improved in their Kebeles currently while only 2.6 percent said not improved. From those who said that the community assets improved in their Kebeles currently, 98.2 percent said that it was due to PSNP while only 1.8 percent said that it was due to reasons other than PSNP. Respondents in Dega Zone Kebeles 100 percent said that community assets were improved and all of them said it was due to

PSNP. In addition to the survey result, the officials also said that the community assets were highly improved due to PSNP in Dega and Woine Dega zones than Kola zones. However, it does not mean that the community assets were not improved in Kola zone.

Table 3.7a Impact of PSNP on Household Assets and Community Assets for the Three Climatic Zones

Statements	Yes because of safety net					Yes because of other reason					No				
	D	W	K	T	%	D	W	K	T	%	D	W	K	T	%
Improvement in household assets	39	36	26	101	87	0	1	0	1	0.9	5	5	4	14	12.1
Improvement in community assets	44	39	28	111	95.7%	0	1	1	2	1.7	0	2	1	3	2.6
Natural environment rehabilitated and enhanced	42	37	28	107	92.2%	2	0	0	2	1.7	0	5	2	7	6

Source: Household survey, 2010

Logically it was true to say that the natural environment rehabilitated and enhanced in these Kebeles when the household assets at individual level and community assets at societal level improved. In practice as it was shown in the table 3.7a above, out of the total respondents in all climatic zones 109 (93.9 percent) household heads said that the natural environment rehabilitated and enhanced while 6 percent said not improved. From those who said that the natural environment rehabilitated and enhanced currently, 98.2 percent said that it was due to PSNP while only 1.8 percent said due to other reasons.

It was important to see the improvements by dividing the Kebeles in to different climatic zones because officials said that community assets were more improved in Woine Dega and Dega zones than Kola zones. The households in Kola zone do not give high attention to the public works. Household assets for Kebeles in Dega zone was improved currently due to PSNP. As it was shown in table 3.7b below, 39 (88.6 percent) household heads said that their assets were improved currently while only 11.4 percent said that still now their assets were not improved. All of them said that this improvement was due to PSNP. From those who said that their assets were improved due to PSNP, the majority in percentage with respect to the number of respondents in each Kebele, the Eli Kodo takes the lions share i.e. 95.2 percent while from those who said that still now their assets were not improved, Eli Doze takes the highest i.e.17.4 percent.

Table 3.7b Impact of PSNP on Household Assets and Community Assets for Kebeles in Dega zone

Statements	Yes because of safety net				Yes because of other reason				No			
	E/K	E/D	T	%	E/K	E/D	T	%	E/K	E/D	T	%
Improvement in household asset	20	19	39	88.6	0	0	0	0	1	4	5	11.4
Improvement in community assets	21	23	44	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Natural environment rehabilitated and enhanced.	21	21	42	95.4	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	4.5

Source: Household survey, 2010

Moreover, 100 percent of the respondents said that the community assets were improved currently in this Dega zone. All of them said that it was due to PSNP. Furthermore, 42 (95.4 percent) household heads said that the natural environment enhanced and rehabilitated while only 4.5 percent said it was not enhanced and rehabilitated currently.

As it was shown in table 3.7c below, in the Woine Dega zone also 37 (88.1 percent) household heads said that their household assets improved currently while only 11.9 percent still now not improved their household assets. 97.3 percent of those whose assets were improved said that it was due to PSNP while only 2.7 percent said that it was due to other reasons. Like household assets, community assets were also improved in this climatic zone. From the table, 40 (95.3 percent) respondents said that the community assets in their area improved while only 4.7 percent said that it was not improved. 92.9 percent of the respondents said that it was improved due to PSNP while only 7.1 percent said it was due to other reasons. Respondents in Dera Kebele 100 percent said that the community assets were improved and they all said it was due to PSNP. Finally, 88.1 percent said that the natural environment in their area currently enhanced and rehabilitated. All said that it was due to PSNP. Only 4 respondents said that the natural environment was not enhanced and rehabilitated currently than previous years.

Table 3.7c Impact of PSNP on Household Assets and Community Assets for Kebeles in Woine Dega zone

Statements	Yes because of safety net				Yes because of other reason				No			
	De	M/m	T	%	De	M/m	T	%	De	M/m	T	%
Improvement in household asset	20	16	36	85.7	0	1	1	2.4	3	2	5	11.9
Improvement in community assets	23	16	39	92.9	0	1	1	2.4	0	2	2	4.7
Natural environment rehabilitated and enhanced	22	15	37	88.1	0	0	0	0	1	4	5	11.9

Source: Household survey, 2010

Likewise in Dega and Woine Dega zones, household heads in Kola zone said that their assets were improved currently than previous years. From the table 3.7d below, 86.7 percent of respondents said that their household assets were improved currently and all of them said that it was due to PSNP. On the contrary, only 13.3 percent said that still now their assets were not improved. 100 percent in Dom'a Kebele said that their household assets improved while those who said currently their assets were not improved all found in Hoya Degeza Kebele.

Community assets were also improved as the responses shows. 96.6 percent of household heads said that the community assets were improved currently in their area while only 3.3 percent said not improved. 100 percent in Hoya Degeza said that the community assets in their area improved. From those who said that the community assets were improved currently, 96.6 percent said that it was improved due to PSNP while only 3.5 said that it was due to other reasons.

Table 3.7d Impact of PSNP on Household Assets and Community Assets for Kebeles in Kola zone

Statements	Yes because of safety net				Yes because of other reason				No			
	H/d	Do	T	%	H/d	Do	T	%	H/d	Do	T	%
Improvement in household asset	12	14	26	86.7	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	13.3
Improvement in community assets	16	12	28	93.3	0	1	1	3.3	0	1	1	3.3
Natural environment rehabilitated and enhanced	15	13	28	93.3	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	6.7

Source: Household survey, 2010

Finally like household and community assets, the natural environment was also enhanced and rehabilitated. The survey result shows in the table 3.7d above, 93.3 percent of the total respondents in Kola zone said that the natural environment rehabilitated and enhanced and all of them said that it was due to PSNP. On the contrary, only 6.7 percent said that still now the natural environment was not enhanced and rehabilitated.

The previous discussions imply that PSNP rehabilitated and enhanced the natural environment, improved household and community assets. Interviewed respondents also said that so many new roads were constructed and the old ones were maintained hence increased in number and quality and as a result enhanced social networking; large amount

of land was covered by trees and due to this the area looks green; erosion was reduced due to activities done to prevent it; the people get fresh air because of the greenness of the environment; and schools and other social centers like health centers were constructed.

3.5.2.1. Impact of PSNP on Livestock

PSNP has paramount importance in creating livestock assets and at the same time preventing them from depletion. However, this part looks at the creation aspect of livestock. The focus group discussions and key informant interview results showed that access to credit and the livelihood packages which were one of the measures included as part of the other FSP played a great role in building household assets especially livestock. In this Livelihood Package, different live-stocks were provided to different households. However, the programme was not only provided for PSNP beneficiaries only but also for some other non-beneficiaries. In Dera Malo Woreda more of the beneficiaries of Livelihood Package programme were PSNP beneficiaries. In this programme, live-stocks like oxen, cows, sheep and goats were given to the households without making the payment initially. Those who were in the PSNP pay the package from their monthly PSNP transfer which helped them to build household assets especially livestock. From this one can understand that PSNP does not itself only helped households to have livestock but the livestock was given from other programme but the payment that the households paid for the livestock was made from PSNP transfer. This goes inline with the PSNP manual's aim. It says PSNP achieves its objectives in cooperation with other FSP.

As it was shown in the table 3.8 below, one of the important household assets in the study area was livestock. This study tried to investigate the household's livestock both before and after they were included in the PSNP. As it was clearly put in the table below, the live-stocks most popularly that the households have in the area in which this study conducted were: cows, calves, oxen, sheep, goats, poultry, horses, mules and donkeys. However, it does not mean that these were the only live-stocks that the households have but these were live-stocks which were common for almost all households.

Before household heads were included in the PSNP cows, poultry and sheep were the most three livestock for household heads in the six Kebeles. Like before household heads were included in the PSNP, after they were included in the programme cows, poultry and sheep were also the most three common live-stocks. However, these showed a great improvement after the programme, especially cows. The cows increased almost three times than before household heads were included in the PSNP. Poultry and sheep were also almost doubled.

Table 3.8 Livestock Assets

Kebeles	Livestock Assets in numbers ⁹																	
	Before PSNP									After PSNP								
	Cow	Calves	Oxen	Sheep	Goats	Poultry	Horses	Mules	Donkeys	Cow	Calves	Oxen	Sheep	Goats	Poultry	Horses	Mules	Donkeys
Eli Kodo	11	0	0	6.5	3	13	1	0	0	31.5	7.5	0	9	2	19	2	0	0
Eli Doze	13	1	0	11	0	3	0	0	0	36.5	5		21		10	1	0	0
Dera	4	3.5	0	5	0	5	0	0	0	23	11.5	1	16	1	6	0	0	0
Malo Mace	10	7	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	25	6	0	10	3	14	0	0	0
Degeza	3	2	7	2	6	6	0	0	0	9	1	12	6	2	10	0	0	1
Dom'a	5.5	1	4	0	2	2	0	0	0	10.5	3	8	1	4	9	0	0	0
Total	46.5	14.5	11	25.5	11	31	1	0	0	135.5	34	21	63	12	68	3	0	1

Source: Household survey, 2010

3.5.2.2. Community Assets Built Through the Programme

Different types of sustainable productive activities were being undertaken through public works component of PSNP to build community assets. These activities largely focus on natural resource development and conservation works in the community. According to the key interview respondents and Dera Malo Woreda agricultural and rural development office, these activities to build community assets through the PSNP were grouped into six general categories. Within each general category, there were many different sub-activities but the activities which were only undertaken in the study Kebeles are:

- 1. Soil and Water Conservation Activities:** Soil bund construction, stone bund construction, bund stabilization with grass and legume, planting on bunds (trees/shrubs), fanayju terraces construction, stone check dams construction, brushwood

⁹ In the table the decimal represents ownership. E.g. 0.5 cow means an individual has one cow in common with other body. Therefore, the decimal points in the table should be understood in such way.

- check dam construction, cut of drains construction, gully re-vegetation, trench construction, bench terrace construction, macro basin construction, hillside terracing, degraded land rehabilitation, area closure, site guards for area, waterway construction (unpaved), waterway construction (stone paved), eyebrow basin construction, grass strips, and vegetative fencing and stabilization;
- 2. Forest Development:** Seed collection (tree seeds), forest nursery site establishment and management, seed bed preparation, seedling production, pitting, seedling planting, planting elephant/ dasho grass, planting on degraded area, and mulching on trenches;
 - 3. Forage Development:** Forage multiplication site establishment and seed collection (grass/legume seeds);
 - 4. Infrastructure Construction:** Farmers Training Center and school construction, Development Assistants house maintenance, health post construction, animal health post construction, pit latrine construction, pipe line digging, fencing (school, health posts and ponds), cattle crush construction, and stone collection;
 - 5. Water and Irrigation Development:** Spring cleaning and development, river diversion, irrigation canal construction, and farm dam construction; and
 - 6. Roads and Bridges Construction:** Road construction and maintenance, culvert/road side/ditch construction, and wooden bridge construction

3.5.2.3. Quality and Ownership of the Community Assets Built Through the PSNP

Regarding the quality of activities done through public works, officials said that, in cases of activities which need skills and knowledge, the households participate by providing the necessary materials but the structure of the activities were done by technicians. Hence, the roles of the households were provision of materials and assisting the technicians as needed. However, it does not mean that the activities done through the public works has no quality problems. To some extent, there was quality problem or the activities were not comparable with that of technicians. For example, as key informants said, *‘in cases of roads, the households done yesterday and the day after it will almost eroded by water because of its low quality’*.

Some people argue that, community assets built through PSNP lack owners and their quality was low. However, according to key informants, though not like the private assets, they do not lack owner in the Kebeles in which this study was conducted. The Kebele administrators and the community were owners of them and all were responsible for managing it. Regarding the quality, since the activities were done by the 'general public', little quality problem occurs. However, the problem was not as such significant because technical aspects of the activities were done by technicians. In this case, the roles of the people were provision of the necessary materials and undertaking the activities which do not need more skill. For example, when constructing schools, they bring the woods and timber which helps to construct the house. But, the binding was done by technicians.

The focus group discussions also showed that the community assets built through the programme were owned and protected by the people. However, in cases of some community assets like forests, unwise and unsustainable use occurs by unresponsive individuals. But it does not mean that these assets were completely out of control of the overlooking body. In some Kebeles in which this research was conducted, the community hired some people to protect the assets especially forests. From this it was possible to understand that some people believe the assets as the resource of the government or anybody else and use unwisely. Hence, to some extent there was ownership problem.

3.5.3. Impact of PSNP on Household Activities and Time

The public works were expected to be done as much as possible in the areas in which the beneficiaries live. It should not make the workers to go long distance. Moreover, one of the principles of public works was proximity. That means public works should be done as much as possible in the immediate localities of the people in need. In practice, as it was shown in table 3.9 below, out of 92 respondents who were under the public works, 32.61 percent walk 30 minutes to one hour to reach the working place. The highest household heads from the all respondents were in this time category. Only 14.13 percent of the total public workers walk more than 2 hours. Therefore, for 64.13 percent of the public workers, to reach the work place, it takes one hour and less. Hence, the majority of household heads work around their home.

Though more than 60 percent walk for one or less than one hour to reach the work place, it was not tolerable to let the 35.87 percent to walk more than one hour and 30 minutes. Especially, the 14.13 percent walk for more than 2 hours and they said that they face problems due to this long journey. This shows not all households work around their home and it has negative impact on their time and physical body, as they said.

Table 3.9 Times Taken To Reach the Public Works Place

Kebeles	Time taken to reach the work place			
	Up to 30 minutes	30 minutes to 1 hour	1 hour and half to 2 hours	More than 2 hours
Eli Kodo	4	4	5	4
Eli Doze	2	7	7	2
Dera	3	7	5	2
Malo Mace	6	5	2	3
Hoya Degeza	5	5	1	2
Dom'a	9	2	0	0
Total	29	30	20	13
Percent	31.52	32.61	21.74	14.13

Source: Household survey, 2010

During the public works, households who were participating in it face different problems as key informants said and the survey result shows. To mention some of these problems, the most challenging ones were working beyond their capacity and shortage of time for their household activities. As it was shown in the table 3.10 below, 75 (81.5 percent out of 92 respondents) household heads said that they face problems due to the work. From those who said that they face problems, the majority i.e., 60 percent face time shortage for their household activities. The rest 40 percent said that they work beyond their capacity. Therefore, PSNP through its public works component negatively affect the time of household activities and physical capacity of household heads.

Table 3.10 Kind of problem faced during public works

Kebeles	Kind of Problems faced due to public works	
	Worked beyond capacity	Face time shortage for household works
Eli Kodo	10	12
Eli Doze	6	10
Dera	8	7
Malo Mace	4	6
Hoya Degeza	0	7
Dom'a	2	3
Total	30	45
Percent	40	60

Source: Household survey, 2010

As key informants also said, during the public works, sometimes households work beyond their capacity. The Kebele administrators and DAs sometimes assign the activities which need high efforts and commitments to public workers expecting that the general public will not work. Regarding to this, one respondent said *“Hayssi deres hanenna, dere wolqqappe bolla, ooni oothane giin, safttinetta asay dandda77ana giin oothos (the general public cannot do this; this was beyond their capacity, who can do this? The safety net people can do it)”*. This shows the responsibilities which were not shouldered by the general public, were left to the public workers because they were expected by the Kebele administrators as they can do it regardless of its challenges in order to receive the transfer. Hence, this affects the household’s time and their physical wellbeing.

In theory, PSNP was a public programme through which food insecure people were employed in public works for five days a month during the agricultural slack season (Andersson et al, 2009). In the same speech, public works activities were intended to occur between the months of January and June so as not to interfere with farming activities that in most regions occur in the second half of the year (Gilligan et al, 2008). Hence, months from January to June were considered as months in which the households were not busy with agricultural activities.

In practice, in the Kebeles of Dera Malo Woreda in which this study was conducted, not all respondents said that they work only in January to June. Some of the respondents said that they work for all the 12 months in contrary to the implementation manual that says 6 months.

As it was seen from the table 3.11 below, 87 percent of public workers said that they work for 6 months (January to June) while the rest 13 percent said that they work for all the 12 months. Both of them i.e., those who said that they work for 6 months and 12 months said that working in these months has negative impact on their life. Some respondents said that working from January to June has negative impact on their household works. In these months, especially March to May, they do their agricultural activities. As a result, they do not work their activities on time and even it reduces

attention for the public works itself. Those who said that they work for the 12 months said that they left with only little time for their household activities. From this one can understand that, firstly, some claim January to June as being clashing with their agricultural activities in the study areas. Secondly, because of inappropriate implementation the households work for 12 months without payment for half months.

Table 3.11 Months in Which Public Works Done

Kebeles	Months	
	For 12 months	For 6 Months (January To June)
Eli Kodo	2	15
Eli Doze	1	17
Dera	4	13
Malo Mace	4	12
Hoya Degeza	1	12
Dom'a	0	11
Total	12	80
Percent	13	87

Source: Household survey, 2010

3.5.4. Impact of PSNP and Time Lines of Payment

One of the main reasons for changing a range of policies and strategies from the previous forms of responses to PSNP was that prior to 2005, the typical responses to persistent food insecurity was rarely adequate or timely. However, PSNP was expected to be predictable, adequate and timely so that households should not sell their assets and constrain their consumption. Moreover, one of the principles of PSNP was timeliness and predictability. That means, the transfer was expected to be made timely and the beneficiaries should know what and when they receive it. From this, by implication, even laymen can understand that it would help to minimize the food insecurity problem when the transfer was made timely and adequate. Hence, the following section looks at the relationships between time lines of the transfer and the impact of the programme.

In practice, this study found that, the payment was not made on time. From the table 3.14, 73.3 percent said that the transfer was not made on time while only 26.7 percent said that it was. In addition to this household survey, this research tried to ask the safety net task forces and the heads of Dera Malo Woreda administration council and agricultural and rural development office regarding this. They said that the transfer was sometimes being made once for even three months after the work was done. This was due to, according to

the Woreda agricultural and rural development office, delay in the submission of reports from the Kebeles and financial activities problem or the financial activities were done by hand. Generally, this implies that the payment was not made on time and the role it plays in preventing assets from depletion was under question due to late payment.

This research tried to investigate what measures or actions the households undertake when the payment was late. Accordingly, as this study found that some of the households take credits from traditional lenders while others sell their domestic animals or sell household equipments. But no one resign from the programme because they said that they have no option and at any cost they need it importantly. As it was shown in the table 3.12 below, 77 (66.4 percent) respondents said that they take credits from traditional lenders when the payment was late while 68.1 percent sell their domestic animals or household assets.

Therefore, from these it was possible to understand different things. Firstly, because of the late payment assets were being in the process of depletion and households were forced to take different credits from traditional lenders. Secondly, by implication, late payment of the transfer negatively affects the PSNP from achieving its objectives. Hence, it was better to provide the transfer to the beneficiaries on time if positive impact should be achieved as much as possible. If it was not provided on time to the beneficiaries, then it will hinder some of the objectives of the programme from being achieved.

Table 3.12 Actions Done During Late Payment

Kebeles	Actions or measures taken by the households during late payment			
	Resigning from the work/PSNP	Selling household equipments	Selling domestic animals	Taking credit from traditional lenders
Eli Kodo	0	12	11	13
Eli Doze	0	9	7	16
Dera	0	4	4	14
Malo Mace	0	8	6	17
Hoya Degeza	0	5	6	8
Dom'a	0	2	5	9
Total	0	40	39	77
Percent	0	34.5	33.6	66.4

Source: Household survey, 2010

3.5.5. Impact of PSNP When the Transfer was Cash and Food

One of the principles of the PSNP was the ‘cash first principle’. This principle states that cash should be regarded as the primary form of transfer, unless market conditions significantly reduce the value that the beneficiaries receive. As said before, however, it was better to investigate the market conditions before making any form of transfer. In practice, in this Woreda according to the office of agricultural and rural development, they give in cash. In addition, the beneficiaries also said they receive in cash. As it was shown in table 3.15, 92.2 percent of the total respondents said that they receive in cash.

Though it was better to give the transfer in cash when the market condition expected to be not reducing the value that the households receive from PSNP, the effects that cash will bring to the beneficiaries life should be considered. As it was shown in table 3.14, 50 percent of the respondents said that they face problems during the time of payment especially cash transfer. This research tried to investigate some of these problems that households face during the time of the transfer. Accordingly, from the table 3.13, some said that it was difficult to find food items and/or commodities became expensive. However, it was seasonal (occurs for 2 to 3 weeks after the transfer has been made).

Table 3.13 Problems Faced During the Time of Cash Payment

Kebeles	Type of Problems	
	Commodities will be expensive	It is difficult to find food items
Eli Kodo	10	10
Eli Doze	14	12
Dera	11	11
Malo Mace	10	10
Hoya Degeza	5	5
Dom'a	3	3
Total	53	51
Percent	91.4	87.9

Source: Household survey, 2010

From the same table, 53 (91.4 percent) respondents, from those who said that they face problems during the transfer (out of 58 respondents), said that commodities become expensive in that season. While 87.9 percent said that it was difficult to find food items in that season. Therefore, from this though it was seasonal, the cash transfer affects the household markets by making the price of the commodities rise and bringing more buyers than sellers to markets. Also some said conflict occurs when some take alcoholic drinks. Therefore, the mode of the transfer determines the impact of the programme and due to

cash payment unintended results or outcomes happens. The impact of food transfer was not discussed in this research because the Woreda makes the transfer in cash.

3.5.6. Impact of PSNP on Households from the Respondents Point of View

The work that the public workers undertake should not bring problems on the beneficiaries. However, as this research shows, households face problems during a public works. As table 3.14 below shows, out of those household heads who were participating in the public works, 51.1 percent said that they face problems during the public works. From those who face problems, the majority lives in Dega and Woine Dega zones.

This research also tried to investigate that working from January to June has negative impact on the beneficiaries or not. From the table 3.14 below, 66.3 percent of the respondents said that they do not face problems due to working from January to June while 33.7 percent said that they face problems. From this, it was possible to understand that though not for the majority; working from January to June was not comfortable for the whole public workers. Therefore, it affects household's activities.

Table 3.14 Impact of PSNP on Households from the Respondents Point of View

Statement	Yes								No							
	E/k	E/d	De	M/m	H/d	Do	T	%	E/k	E/d	De	M/m	H/d	Do	T	%
Face problems during public works	12	11	9	6	6	3	47	51.1	5	7	8	10	7	8	45	48.9
Working in January To June have negative impact	3	8	6	5	5	4	31	33.7	14	10	11	11	8	7	61	66.3
The transfer is made timely	8	6	5	3	7	2	31	26.7	13	17	18	16	9	12	85	73.3
Late payment has negative impact	20	19	20	18	14	14	105	90.5	1	4	3	1	2	0	11	9.5
Face problem during payment	10	15	11	11	6	5	58	50	11	8	12	8	10	9	58	50
PSNP have positive impact	21	21	23	18	14	14	111	95.7	0	2	0	1	2	0	5	4.3
PSNP have negative impact	1	0	1	0	4	0	6	5.2	20	23	22	19	12	14	110	94.8

Source: Household survey, 2010

Though the programme has positive and negative impacts on the beneficiaries' lives, the majority said that PSNP has positive impact on their life. From the table, 95.7 percent said that the PSNP has positive impact on their life while only 4.3 percent said not. Triangulation has been done to check this through asking it from the reverse side. Accordingly, it found that 94.8 percent said that the PSNP has no negative impacts on their life while only 5.2 percent said that it has negative impact in general.

3.5.7. Types of Transfers and Preference of Households to the Transfer

It is important to discuss the form of transfer that has been provided and household's preference to receipts. Because, it will benefit households more if the transfer was based on their preference. As said in the previous part, the PSNP was based on the cash first principle. Accordingly, this research tried to find which principle was applied for the payment of the transfer. As it was shown in the table 3.15, 92.2 percent of respondents said that they received cash only while the rest 7.8 percent said that they received half cash and half food. No individual said that they received food only. Also, officials said that except in 2008, all times the payment was made in cash.

Thinking that whatever was the market condition, this study believes that asking the interest of the beneficiary households was better to know the effect of food and cash transfers. Hence it found that how much percent of the respondents prefer to receive cash only, food only or both. As it was seen from the table 3.15, about 68.1 percent prefer to receive cash only. This implies the mode of transfer made up to now was to some extent, by default, right but was not taken in to consideration the interest of all households.

The household heads said that they prefer cash only because: firstly cash transfer helps them to pay tax and other social costs. Secondly, it helps them to pay for education costs to their children and medication costs for their family. Thirdly, it helps them to buy assets like domestic animals and build better houses. Fourthly, to pay for package costs and buy fertilizers. Finally, they claim that money can be easily put for future use and the most pressing reason for old aged and disabled individuals was that they have no physical

capacity or ability to bring the food transfer to their home and hence purchase from near market was advantageous for them.

From the total respondents only 4.3 percent prefer food only. The respondents who prefer food only do it because, according to them, food transfer reduces the cost goes to get it if the transfer was cash and available in a short period of time than buying it from the market if cash was given. Secondly, it does not send them for food search. Finally, 27.6 percent of the total respondents want to receive half cash and half food. Because, according to them, for the food need, they prefer food rather than buying it from different markets. Secondly, the rest cash helps them to buy some household equipments and commodities. Generally from these, households prefer firstly cash and secondly half cash and half food for different reasons but the payment was not made with taking into consideration the interest of households. By implication, this has its own effect on securing food consumption and other objectives of the programme and on the overall number of the programme graduates.

Table 3.15 Cash versus Food Transfer

Statement	Kebeles							
	Dom'a	Degeza	E/Kodo	E/doze	Dera	M/mace	Total	%
Received cash only	14	9	21	21	23	19	107	92.2
Received food only	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Received half food and half cash	0	7	0	2	0	0	9	7.8
Prefer to receive cash only	9	8	15	16	18	13	79	68.1
Prefer to receive food only	0	0	2	2	0	1	5	4.3
Prefer to receive half cash and food	5	8	4	5	5	5	32	27.6

Source: Household survey, 2010

3.5.8. Impact of PSNP on Production of Food Items and Market Prices

3.5.8.1. Impact of PSNP on Production of Food Items

Participants of public works work from January to June or sometimes, according to key informant interview results, they work for 12 months. In a day they work for up to 8 hours per one member of their household or in terms of days they work five days per month for one member of their household. From this one can understand that the beneficiary households spent a lot of times on public works. Considering this large time, this study tried to investigate whether it affects production of food items for those

households. Accordingly, this study found that working more time on PSNP has no negative impact on production of food items for the majority of the respondents.

As table 3.16 shows, 68.5 percent said that working more time on PSNP has no negative impact on their production of food items. According to them, they negotiate with the concerned body to reduce the time when the season was work time for them. However, on the contrary, 31.5 percent said that working more time on PSNP has negative impact on their production of food items. According to these respondents, since they spend more time on public works, their productions of food items were negatively affected. This was due to, according to them, shortage of time for their household activities; they become tired in the public works and hence not work or work less time for themselves on that day; and they work more time for less payment.

In the above paragraph the households touched the amount of payment. They said it was not comparable to the work. In other words, as they said, they were under paid in comparison to the work. As said in the literature and as the Government think, rural labor markets in Ethiopia were thin or imperfect and jobs were not readily available when needed. The wage rate for public works can, therefore, be set at slightly below the market wage in order to attract only the chronically food insecure, able-bodied household members. Based on this point of view, the PSNP currently pays ten (10) Ethiopian birr. But the beneficiaries claim, in contrary to this, that the payment was not fair.

Unless awareness giving activities were done, the households may use the cash transfer for unintended purposes. Moreover, some of the beneficiaries will wrongly understand the programme and think it as a payment for always to them by the Government and it will not terminate. If such kind of misconception happens, it will negatively affect or it reduces the working behavior of the households. Considering such kind of conditions, this study tried to see whether giving cash or/and food transfer to the households negatively affects working behavior of some beneficiary households or not.

Accordingly, giving cash or/and food transfer to the households not negatively affects their working behavior for the majority. As it was shown in table 3.16 below, 63.8

percent said that giving cash or/and food transfer to them do not negatively affects their working behavior. They consider it as something that additionally contributes to their effort to change their life and hence it even motivates them to work hard and earn better than before.

On the contrary, 36.2 percent of the respondents said that giving cash or/and food transfers to the households negatively affects working behavior of some beneficiaries. Hence, it reduces their production of food items because, some of them see the transfer as ‘salary’ and hence do not commit themselves to their production of food items. Secondly, some use the transfer to purchase food items from markets than producing it. Thirdly, there were some households who do not want to change themselves by work and hence not effectively use their energy to work. Therefore, from the above discussion, though not for the majority, giving cash and/or food transfer to households affects production of food items for some households who wrongly understood the objective of the programme.

Table 3.16 Impact of PSNP on production of food items and market prices

Items	Yes							No								
	E/k	E/d	De	M/m	H/d	Do	T	%	E/k	E/d	De	M/m	H/d	Do	T	%
Working more time on PSNP has negative impact on production of food items	5	7	10	2	1	4	29	31.5	12	11	7	14	12	7	63	68.5
Giving cash or/and food negatively affects working behavior of some households	10	6	10	3	7	6	42	36.2	11	17	13	16	9	8	74	63.8
Price of commodities and outputs increased currently	21	21	22	18	16	13	111	95.7	0	2	1	1	0	1	5	4.3
The market condition reduce the value of the transfer	17	14	15	10	14	14	84	72.4	4	9	8	9	2	0	32	27.6

Source: Household survey, 2010

3.5.8.2. Impact of PSNP on Market Prices

It was everyone’s idea that price of commodities and outputs was increasing all over the world. The reasons for it was however different in different countries. In the case of Ethiopia and specifically in Dera Malo Woreda also the market condition was not different from the world though it was not exactly the same as the world. This study also found that the price of commodities and outputs was increasing in the Kebeles in which

this study was conducted. 95.7 percent of respondents said that the price of commodities and outputs was increasing in their Kebeles as it was shown in the table 3.16 above.

Not only had this study found that the price of commodities and outputs was increasing but also it tried its best to understand its causes. However, to the large extent, it investigated to see whether these upshots in prices have any relationship with PSNP transfers, especially with that of cash transfer. This study provided four alternatives to the respondents for the increase in price of commodities and outputs currently. These were: firstly; money on the household's hand was more than previous years because of PSNP transfer. Secondly, money on the household's hand was more than previous years because of other unmentioned reasons. Thirdly, decline in production of goods especially in food items since households spend more time on public works. And fourthly, decline in production since households prefer to buy from the market than producing because they get cash from PSNP and hence demand was more than supply.

For the first alternative i.e., the price of commodities and outputs increased currently due to money on the household's hand was more than previous years because of PSNP transfer, 27.6 percent of respondents answered this alternative as it was shown in the table 3.17. Regarding the second alternative i.e., the price of commodities and outputs increased currently due to money on the household's hand was more than previous years because of other unmentioned reasons, 16.4 percent answered it. While the third alternative i.e., the price of commodities and outputs increased currently due to decline in production of goods especially in food items since households spend more time on public works, only 6 percent answered it. Finally the fourth alternative i.e., the price of commodities and outputs increased currently due to decline in production since households prefer to buy from the market than producing because they get cash from PSNP and hence demand was more than supply; 19 percent answered it. Therefore, this study found that PSNP has no direct effect in increasing the price or it has very little effect on it.

However, on the contrary to these alternatives, this research found other reasons for the increase in price of commodities and outputs currently in the study area. The respondents

said that the price of commodities and outputs was increasing due to PSNP only for a short period of time if the transfer was cash. It brings inflation only for two to three weeks (according to them, markets) after the transfer has been made. Almost all of the respondents said that the price of commodities and outputs increased due to three main reasons in their area. Firstly increase in population, secondly increase in consumers than producers and finally because of ‘_kilo’. This means, according to them, before 2005 they buy or sell their products by assigning the price for goods on commonsense. However, after 2005 the DAs use the instrument called ‘_kilo’ to sell quality inputs (especially crops) to the farmers. Onward from that time small merchants in the Kebeles use kilograms either to buy or sell goods as a result the price increased. Therefore, PSNP can not be the direct cause for the increase of the price of commodities and outputs in the study area but it brings seasonal upshot in prices when the mode of the transfer was cash.

Table 3.17 Reasons for Increase in Price of Commodities

Kebeles	Reasons			
	Money on the household’s hand was more than previous years because of PSNP transfer	Money on the household’s was more than previous years because of other reasons	Decline in production since households spend more time on public works	Decline in production since households prefer to buy from the market than producing because they get cash from PSNP
Eli Kodo	2	0	1	3
Eli Doze	6	1	0	2
Dera	10	3	3	8
Malo Mace	5	2	1	2
Hoya Degeza	5	7	1	4
Dom’a	4	6	1	3
Total	32	19	7	22
Percent	27.6	16.4	6	19

Source: Household survey, 2010

As it was said previously, currently the price of commodities and outputs increased in the Kebeles in which this study was conducted like other parts of the country. Taking this condition in to account, this study tried to see whether such market condition reduces the value of the transfers that the households receive from PSNP. Accordingly, it found that the market condition reduces the value of the transfers that the households receive from PSNP. From the total respondents, 72.4 percent said that the market condition reduces the value of the transfers that they receive from the programme. In addition to the survey

results, the key informant interview respondents also said that the market condition reduces the value that they receive from the programme.

Firstly, they buy small things at more prices and this makes the overall amount of purchase less in quantity. Secondly, as a result of the first reason and others the money that they receive does not stay for long period. From this, it was possible to understand that market assessment was necessary before making any kind of transfers. In the Kebeles in which this study was conducted, the cash transfer was being made without market assessment. Hence, as informants said it reduces the value of the transfers when cash was provided in seasons in which food supply was less or no at all.

3.5.9. On What Purpose the Households Spent the Transfer

The literature suggests that food and cash transfers tend to be used differently by beneficiary households – food transfers were more likely to be consumed by recipients and their families (though food was fungible, meaning it can also be sold or exchanged), while cash was used for a wider variety of purposes (though poor households typically spend most of their income on food).

Additionally, one of the assumptions of the PSNP which has power to prevent the programme from achieving its objectives if not applied properly says that ‘participants use transfers to assure food consumption and asset protection’. This implies that the transfer was provided to the households in order to solve the food insecurity problem and prevent depletion of household assets. Logically from this, it would help to smooth consumption for the households and prevent their assets from being depleted only if they use the transfers for the intended purpose.

Hence, this study tried to investigate that for what purpose the beneficiaries use the transfer especially the cash. Accordingly, as it was clearly shown in the table 3.18 below, the majority of respondents use the cash to buy most three important things (basic food items, household commodities and equipments and for other social purposes) and only a small number of them use it for unintended purpose (to buy cigarettes, alcoholic drinks and chat). Therefore, from this the majority uses for the intended purpose and goes inline

with the assumption. However, still there were some individuals who do not use for the intended purpose. Hence, it has its negative impact on households' i.e. like alcoholism.

As it was shown in table 3.18 below, 94.8 percent of the respondents use the cash to buy household commodities and goods. This helps them to build household assets. Secondly, 80.2 percent of them use it for the purpose of other social issues like to pay taxes, to teach their children, to pay medication costs and any cost in the society. Thirdly, 62.1 percent of them use it to buy basic food items. This helps them to smooth their consumption. On the contrary, 10.3 percent of the households use some of the cash to buy cigarette while only 0.9 percent buy alcoholic drinks from the cash. However, none of them use it to buy chat. Generally, though the majority uses the transfer for the intended purpose, some less number of households use it for unintended purposes and it will have its significant role in preventing the programme from achieving its goals.

Table 3.18 Use of PSNP cash transfer for different purposes

Use of cash transfer	Kebeles						Total	Percent
	E/Kodo	E/Doze	Dera	M/Mace	H/Degeza	Dom'a		
To buy basic food items	12	15	14	13	12	6	72	62.1
To buy household commodities and equipments	21	21	22	19	14	13	110	94.8
For other social issues	20	18	17	19	10	9	93	80.2
Chat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cigarette	2	2	1	2	3	2	12	10.3
Alcoholic drinks	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.9

Source: Household survey, 2010

3.6. Graduation

In theory, it was expected that over the course of the programme, the caseloads of PSNP should decrease, reflecting the success of the programme in assisting households to graduate. Hence, graduation decreases the PSNP caseload first, then the size of the broader target group of the FSP, when households reach food security (MoARD, 2009b).

Table 3.19 Number of PSNP users in Dera Malo Woreda

Year	Under Direct Support	Under Public Works	Total households
2005	770 (11.9%)	5, 686 (88.1%)	6, 456
2006	2, 721 (21.4%)	10, 023 (78.6%)	12, 744
2007	2, 077 (13.5%)	13, 329 (86.5%)	15, 406
2008	2, 086 (13.7%)	13, 132 (86.3%)	15, 217
2009	2, 061 (13.9%)	12, 755 (86.1%)	14, 816
2010	2, 071 (14%)	12, 762 (86%)	14, 833

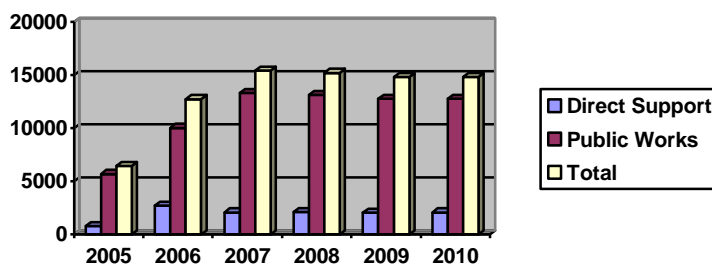
Source: Dera Malo Woreda agricultural and rural development office, 2010

However, this study found that graduation was low in this Woreda. Only 78 households were graduated in 2009. It was very small due to the following reasons, according to the Woreda agricultural and rural development office's PSNP task force. Firstly, some of the beneficiaries see the transfer as 'salary' and hence they do not commit themselves to their household activities. Secondly, some use the transfer for luxury commodities or some people use the transfer for inappropriate purposes. Thirdly, there were some households who did not want to change themselves by work, and finally the problem of inaccuracy in household assets and living condition assessment for graduation.

As it was shown in the table 3.19 above, in 2010 there were 14, 833 households in the programme. From these, 86 percent were public works participants while 14 percent were beneficiaries of direct support. In 2005, the number of beneficiaries were 6, 456 households. But currently instead of decreasing, the numbers of beneficiaries become more than twice the initial number. The increase in number was due to, according to Dera Malo Woreda agricultural and rural development office, firstly low in graduation, and secondly because of increase in the programme's coverage.

Additionally, as it was clearly shown in the following figure 1, continuously the number of beneficiaries was increasing. After 2007, the number of households under the direct support was almost constant. While the number of households under public works was highly increasing up to 2007, but after this year, it showed slight fall. This was due to the graduation happened in 2009 (78 households were graduated) and capacity limitation of the programme to include more households.

Figure 1: Number of PSNP users in Dera Malo Woreda



Source: Constructed from table 3.19

There was an international perception that food aid in poor developing countries was associated with a dependency syndrome. One hears arguments that food aid may change the behavior of its recipients by making them dependent on it and thus less active in their socio-economic activities. Though not in the same degree with the food aid, PSNP also developed a sense of dependency on those individuals who were benefiting from the PSNP. As key informants said, the reasons for low number of graduation, in addition to the previously mentioned reasons, was that households want to stay in the programme instead of graduating though they were showing improvements in their living conditions. This shows how the programme developed a sense of dependency on the minds of the beneficiaries.

As Woreda administrators, DAs and office of agricultural and rural development said that because of the implementation similarity of PSNP in all Kebeles within the Dera Malo Woreda, there were no as such differences in impacts of the programme among Kebeles. However, Kebeles which were found in Woine Dega and Dega climatic zones were more effective in public works than those Kebeles in Kola zone. In other words, in Kola zone, there was no attention for public works as compared to Dega and Woine Dega zones and more works were done in Dega and Woine Dega zones. Again low payment was going to affect those in Dega and Woine Dega zones highly than those households in Kola zone. This was due to households in those Kebeles were firstly densely populated and secondly have large family size. Because of these it was difficult to change their living conditions easily than those in Kola zones.

3.7. Summary of Focus Group Discussions Results

As the focus group discussion participants from all six Kebeles said, PSNP prevented asset depletion in their Kebeles at household level and created assets at the community level. They boldly indicated the creation of community assets by the programme than prevention of household assets. Community assets like new roads, schools, clinics, trees, drainages were developed through the public works component of the programme.

Additionally, as they said, the PSNP bridged the food gap for the majority that arises when food production and other sources of income were insufficient for them given the

food needs. However, still there were some households who challenge the majority's idea. They said that, it did not bridge the food gap for them as they expected. This was due to, according to them; firstly the transfer was given with wide gap between the first and next transfers or due to late payment. As a result, they take credits from different traditional lenders like *ekub* at high interest rate. Hence, though they receive the transfer at later times, it completely goes to pay the borrowed money. Moreover, there was possibility of jumping months without payment in between. In some instances, even they sell household assets to pay back the borrowed money because the transfer does not cover it because of high interest rate. Secondly, as they said, though it was provided to them ideally, they take small amount from it. In other words, the largest part of it was deducted by the government for some costs like tax, package cost, fertilizer costs and others at the initial place without reaching them. In some conditions, for example, the fertilizer was not given to them with full components of it though the payment was fully made. Therefore, due to these and other similar reasons, the programme's contribution to bridge food gap for the households was under challenge.

As the majority of the discussion participants said, the public works participants work for the 12 months. However, the payment for their labor was made only for the 6 months (i.e., they were paid only for the months January to June) because works done for the other 6 months was considered by the officials as community developmental activities. Hence, But as households said, it was easy for the Kebele administrators and DAs to order the PSNP beneficiaries for the developmental activities than the whole community because fearing that they will be fired-off out of the programme, the beneficiaries of the PSNP work without any challenge. This shows developmental activities were to the larger extent undertaken by the PSNP households in the name of the community without payment because of improper implementation of developmental activities. Hence, confusion over the responsibility of developmental activities occurs.

Surprisingly, some said that sometimes the whole communities including PSNP beneficiaries participate in food-for-work activities but the payment was made only for the non-beneficiaries because the PSNP households get the programme transfer and no need for this payment, as kebele administrators say. Furthermore, they said that the

household activities were done by *ekub* because they have no time for their work and this makes them to pay additional costs to *ekub*. This has again another negative impact which affects the household's efforts to food security. Generally, hence, there was misconception of the programme by the Kebele administrators. As a result, an implementation problem which has negative impact on households occurs.

The payment was not made on time. Hence, it was not predictable i.e. they do not now when they take it but they at least expect how much they will receive. But, the whole discussion group participants at six Kebeles claim that the payment was not appropriate i.e. it was not enough. Those from the public works component say that, one individual even receive up to 600 Ethiopian birr per month in the labor market but they receive 50 Ethiopian birr per month per individual.

They concluded the discussion by saying that the programme addressed chronic food insecurity for the households who properly used the transfer regardless of its weak sides and inappropriate implementation. Additionally, the programme made the households to undertake different productive activities in their area which benefit them as well as the whole community and hence resulted in increased community assets. They all said that the environmental protection part of the programme was paramount advantage of the programme. Furthermore, the programme developed market by increasing the purchasing power of the poor (even those who never have any money in their life went currently to markets to purchase different items).

As they said, though the programme has the above intended (positive) impacts, it has negative (unintended) impacts. These were: because of the cash transfer in all Kebeles, though the number was small, there were households who use the money for inappropriate activities like to take alcohols and as a result conflict with the other individuals in the community and their wives occurs. Purchase of goods which has no any contribution for the reduction of food insecurity to them were undertaken which diverts the transfer from its original intention.

For example, some buy tapes, mobiles and expensive cloths for them but their family members were suffering from poverty or shortage of food. But in Dom‘a Kebele, they give the money to wives, thinking that women were good at money management as they claim to solve these problems. Participants from Eli Kodo and Eli Doze Kebeles also said that, when the food transfer was made in 2008 (the only year in which food transfer was given), their children were forced to walk a long distance to receive the food (up to the capital city of the Woreda). This makes those female Children face sexual harassment.

3.8. Summary of Key Informants Interview Results

3.8.1. Positive (Intended) Impacts of the Programme

As key informants said, generally, the programme improved food consumption for some group of people who properly used the transfer whether cash or food. Those who did not get food items to feed their family previously were now, because of the programme, at least get it twice a day. Those who were at least capable of feeding for 3, 6 or 9 months per year were in a position to feed for the 12 months because of the programme.

Secondly, they said that those who were PSNP non-beneficiaries use their resources for the benefit of themselves only or they do not share it with others. In other words, previously they shared it with the poor households in order to save their life from death due to food insecurity. Because, it was the culture of even all Ethiopians, as they said. But, currently the poor get assistance from PSNP and as a result the rich use their resources for themselves only without sharing with those who did not contributed to it.

Thirdly, the programme promoted market in the Kebeles. According to the key informants, because of the programme, those who have surplus products can get markets or buyers of their products because the cash transfer increased the purchasing power for the poor people in the area. In other words, those who have products have got buyers of their products and the buyers also get money from the programme. In the process the programme positively contributed to the development of the market and increased purchasing power of the households. However, it doesn‘t mean that the market totally improved and purchasing power of the poor enhanced because of the programme. But as some of them said, it increases purchasing power only for two or three “markets” after

the money was given. Hence, the increase in purchasing power was not sustainable or it was seasonal.

Fourthly, on one hand, previously some people were able to send their children to schools; get medication and pay tax and any other costs by selling their household assets. On the other hand, others have no any assets to do this. But, according to the key informants, currently they do this because of the programme without selling household assets if the problem was not above the capacity of the PSNP transfer. Moreover, for those who have awareness, it prevented asset depletion. On the contrary, for those who have no awareness, it does not prevent asset depletion. The programme assured food consumption and prevented asset depletion for those who properly used the transfer. This was achieved not only because of PSNP, but greatly contributed by asset building programme. The package programme in which livestock like oxen and sheep given to the households played a great role in smoothening consumption and prevention of assets from depletion.

Fifthly, PSNP, in relative sense, has been reducing the problem of chronic food insecurity. Evidences for this, according to Dera Malo Woreda Agricultural and Rural Development office's safety net security task forces, was 78 households were graduated in 2009 from PSNP. In addition, many of the beneficiaries were improved their living condition. Furthermore, except for those who wrongly perceive or want to stay in the PSNP for ever, it reduced the problem of chronic food insecurity and asset depletion for those who properly used the transfer. For those who inappropriately used, it does not decrease their food insecurity rather it made them to depend on it.

Generally, there were different positive impacts of the PSNP on the beneficiaries' lives. According to the officials, chronically poor got enough food; living condition or status of the poor enhanced; it created power to them to take credits from different lending organizations; the environment rehabilitated and protected; and different developmental activities were undertaken. For those who have positive thinking to change themselves, it improved their living condition. They built assets and better houses. The positive impacts were generally 75 percent. Living status improved up to 70 percent according to the DAs.

3.8.2. Negative (Unintended) Impacts of the Programme

In addition to different positive impacts mentioned above, the programme has weak sides or has unintended results as any other programme. Firstly, in contrary to family planning programme, it sent some wrong messages to have more children because the transfer was based on the number of family members. Accordingly, households with more family members receive more transfers and vice versa. As a result of this, as DAs said, in these Kebeles, initially or at the beginning of the programme some people wrongly perceived that more children helps them to receive more transfers so that they benefit better than those who have less children. Regarding this, some people say, for example, „*La waanada num77u heezzu nata yelo...?*“ (*How can I produce or born two or three children...?*). However, later on, they considered the overall challenge of large child to feed, cloth and send to school, their perception changed. To this end, awareness giving activities were undertaken and contributed high to this perception change. Hence, initially, they believed that having more children was better but currently they consider that more children affect the overall consumption. Therefore, currently it does not encourage large family size.

Retargeting programme was planned to include the newly born child. But not yet started in this Woreda. Family planning programme prevents having large family size. After once the selection has been done, no one was included. In Dera Malo Woreda, one family has up to ten or more children but it was not possible to include these all in the programme because of the low capacity of the programme. Hence, the programme does not encourage large family size because there was no retargeting programme, in contrary to DAs, as Woreda administrators said. However, whatever their argument, the programme initially sent wrong messages.

Secondly, the provision of transfers in the form of cash leads to some social problems if not properly used. This means, the cash transfer itself was not a problem but it opens a way to some problems if inappropriately used. Some households use the money to take alcoholic drinks. Because of alcoholism, they enter in to quarrel with some community members. Moreover, when the husband uses the money for taking alcoholic drinks and

does not give for his wife, then conflict between them occurs. Hence, even though not solely caused by it, the programme through its cash transfer leads to some social problems like conflict between spouses and individuals as a result of alcoholism.

Some people, especially males were not accountable to their wives regarding the money that they receive. The wives say, „*it was our common property, hence I have right to ask you*“ when the male use it for himself only. In this case disagreements between them happen and in some cases leads to divorce but not actually happened in these Kebeles. Although some of the beneficiaries do not take alcoholic drinks with the money, they use it for the purpose of buying luxurious goods like mobile, tapes and high cost cloths. Hence, the reason for low graduation in this Kebeles was the inappropriate use of the transfer. But it was not the only cause for low graduation.

Thirdly, for some people, because of expectation of some kind of transfers, it discourages hard work and as a result their outputs decline. Expecting the transfers, they reduce their commitment to produce food items and household assets. This has a challenging effect on the overall sustainability of the poor. Finally, some see the transfer as salary and do not work thinking that they have some amount of ‘salary’ at the end of the month.

Fourthly, more of the developmental activities in the community (up to 70 percent) were undertaken by the PSNP beneficiaries. Hence, the caseload of the developmental activities was left only to them to a largest degree. On the other hand, the community reduced their commitment to developmental activities in their locality. The DAs also said that the developmental activities that were previously undertaken by the whole people in the community were now left to the PSNP beneficiaries. This was due to wrong conception of the people that developmental activities were done only by the beneficiaries.

Fifthly, according to the officials, it reduces household’s motive to change their life by themselves, hence made them dependent on the programme or it encourage dependency i.e. beneficiaries expect only the transfer. Seasonal inflation during the time of cash transfers occurs because the payment was being made without market assessments.

Sixthly, it leads to more debt. This was especially when the payment was late. In this time the households take credits from local lenders expecting that they have some amount of money from PSNP. But, the money they borrowed has its own interest and finally the transfer even not cover the borrowed money because of high amount of interest. In this case they were forced to sell household assets to pay pack the credit. Finally, the DAs said that they cannot compete with the beneficiaries in the market, especially with those who have large family size because they receive more money than the monthly salary of them.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1. Summary of Findings

Most of the household heads who were participating in the public works in the study Kebeles were above 18 years and with in productive age. Additionally, more of the household heads were under the Public Works component of PSNP and the number of males outweighs the females.

Those who were benefiting from the PSNP in the study Kebeles were chronically poor and those who were in better living condition than the beneficiaries were not included in the PSNP. Almost all of the household heads in all six Kebeles were very poor and as a result food insecure before they were included in the PSNP. Majority of the household heads were not able to eat three times a day before they were included in the programme while currently the majorities eat three times because of PSNP. Moreover, because of the programme they feel sense of equality with the community, they can easily get credits from the community, they avoided working for others and sharing their outputs with them, they built assets, pay taxes on time, built better houses, sent their children to school in better way, avoided begging food, have better cloths, and get enough food after they have been included in the PSNP.

Regarding the impact of PSNP on consumption and other related social issues, 94.8 percent get enough food items now than before while on the contrary only 5.2 percent still do not get enough food items. From these the majority (94.5 percent) got due to

PSNP while only 5.5 percent due to reasons other than PSNP. Nearly, 82.76 percent of household heads have better money to pay for medical costs now than before. This improvement was due to 94.79 percent PSNP and only 5.21 percent reasons other than it. Out of those who have children, 98.8 percent send their children to school better than before. About 92.6 percent send due to PSNP while only 7.4 percent were due to other reasons. Again, 93.1 percent avoided selling household assets to buy food items, to pay for medication and children education costs now than before. About 91.67 percent of those were due to PSNP while only 8.33 percent was due to other reasons. However, 85.3 percent of the total respondents in all Kebeles have no extra money to save.

About 78.4 percent of household heads buy food items sometimes while only 21.6 percent does not. Regarding the sources of the money to buy food items, 87.9 percent get it from PSNP while the rest 12.1 percent get from other sources like trade, credit and other sources which were not mentioned.

About 87.9 percent said that their household assets improved currently while only 12.1 percent still do not improve their household assets. 99 percent was improved due to PSNP while only one percent was due to reasons other than PSNP. “Livelihood or household Package” which was one of components of other FSP played a great role in building household assets. Before and after households were included in the PSNP cows, poultry and sheep were the most three livestock for households in the six Kebeles. The cows increased almost three times than before households were included in the PSNP. Poultry and sheep were also almost doubled.

Regarding the community assets, 97.4 percent of respondents said that the community assets improved in their Kebeles currently while only 2.6 percent said not improved. 98.2 percent said that it was due to PSNP. Different types of sustainable productive activities were undertaken through public works component of PSNP to build community assets. These were soil and water conservation activities, forest development, forage development, infrastructure construction, water and irrigation development, and roads and bridges construction. The activities done by the PSNP has to some extent quality problems however the community takes the responsibility of protecting it from unwise

uses. 93.7 percent said that the natural environment rehabilitated and enhanced currently. 98.2 percent said it was due to PSNP while only 1.8 percent said due to other reasons.

The majority of the households work the public works around their home. Only 14.1 percent walk for more than 2 hours and they said that they faced problems due to this long journey. About 81.5 said that they face problems due to the work. 60 percent face time shortage for their household activities while the rest 40 percent said that they work beyond their capacity. About 87 percent of those who participate in public works said that they work for 6 months while the rest 13 percent said that they work for all the 12 months. Both of them i.e., those who said that they work for 6 months and 12 months said that working in these months has negative impact on their life.

The payment was not made on time. 73.3 percent said that the transfer was not made on time while 26.7 percent said that it was. The Payment was being made late because of two main reasons - delay in the submission of reports from the Kebeles and financial activities problem. In times of late payment households take different measures. About 66.4 percent take credits from traditional lenders while 68.1 percent sell their domestic animals and household assets. The transfer was made in cash and 50 percent of the respondents said that they face problems during the time of cash transfer.

About 91.4 percent of those who said that they faced problems during the cash transfer said that commodities become expensive in that season while 87.9 percent said that it was difficult to find food items in that season. Majority of the respondents prefer to receive cash only because cash transfer helps them to pay tax and other social costs, for education costs to their children and medication costs, buy assets like domestic animals and build better houses, pay for package costs and buy fertilizers, they claim that money can be easily put for future use, and they have no physical capacity or ability to bring the food transfer to their home and hence purchase from near market was advantageous for them.

About 51.1 percent said that they face problems during the public works. Working in January to June has no negative impact on the majority of the beneficiaries. About 66.3 percent of the respondents said that they do not face problems due to working from

January to June while 33.7 percent said that they face problems. Again, working more times on PSNP has no negative impact on production of food items for the majority of the respondents. About 68.5 percent said that working more time on PSNP has no negative impact on production of food items while 31.5 percent said it has negative impact. The households said that the payment was not comparable to the work. Giving cash or/and food transfer to the households does not negatively affect working behavior for the majority of beneficiary households. About 63.8 percent of the total respondents said that giving cash or/and food transfer to them does not negatively affect working behavior of them. On the contrary, 36.2 percent of the households said that it negatively affects working behavior of some beneficiary households.

The price of commodities and outputs increased currently in the Kebeles in which this study was conducted. About 95.7 percent said that the price of commodities and outputs increased currently in their Kebeles. As a result, the market condition reduces the value of the transfer that the households receive from PSNP. However, PSNP has very little effect on it. About 94.8 percent of the respondents use the cash to buy household commodities and goods while 80.2 percent of them use it for the purpose of other social issues and 62.1 percent of them use it to buy basic food items. On the contrary, small number of them uses it for unintended purposes. Graduation was less in the study areas for a number of reasons and the PSNP to some extent encourage dependency in the area.

PSNP has generally both positive (intended) and negative (unintended) impacts on the lives of the beneficiaries. Positive impacts were: Different infrastructures were built, social status of the poor increased, the poor teach their children, the poor have assets now, encouraged market development to some extent, increase in purchasing power for the poor, smoothed consumption to some extent, slight reduction in the number of chronically poor, bridged food gap to some extent, those who work for others now work for themselves, and they constructed better houses for themselves, etc. On the other hand, the PSNP has unintended (negative) impacts on the beneficiaries lives. These were: it sent some wrong messages to have more children initially; provision of transfers in the form of cash leads to some social problems like conflict and alcoholism; discourage hard

work to some extent; confusion over who should undertake developmental activities; encourage dependency to some extent; and leads to more debt.

4.2. Conclusion

With exception of small number, all of the household heads who were participating in the Public Works in the study area were not children and not very old people. In other words, on the basis of age, they all were capable of working. Additionally, almost all of the household heads who were beneficiaries of the PSNP were very poor before they were included in the programme. This implies there was little selection error during inclusion of the respondents in the programme.

The PSNP was planned by the government initially to bring different positive impacts on the beneficiaries' lives. Accordingly, starting from 2005 in which the PSNP started, it has different impacts on the beneficiaries' lives in the study area. This research found different impacts with evidences which show it. Thus, it has both positive (intended) and negative (unintended) impacts on the beneficiaries lives. However, the evidences were unexpectedly equivocal for some impacts. In other words, for some household heads it shows positive while for others negative. Hence, conclusions were done with taking into consideration the majority principle for some aspects while for others taking in to consideration the criticality of the issues.

The positive impacts were, therefore, firstly, it has positive impact on consumption and other related social issues. It smoothed and improved food consumption for those who properly used the transfers. Evidences for it, as this study found, were food intake status of the household heads improved for the majority because of the programme. In other words, the majority get enough food items now than before because of PSNP and behavioral change. Additionally, due to PSNP, the majority have better money to pay for medication costs, and send their children to schools better than before. Furthermore, it bridged food gap to some extent; those who work for others now work for themselves; and they constructed better uses for themselves.

Secondly, it improved household assets and prevented it from depletion at household level. Evidences for it, as this study found, were the majority avoided selling household assets to buy food items, to pay for medication and children education costs now than before. Additionally, though not saved in cash, the majority bought different assets. Moreover, the majority improved their household assets especially livestock but the household package played a great role to this end. As a result, livestock increased in all Kebeles.

Thirdly, community assets were also improved and rehabilitated with little quality and ownership problems. Different new community assets were created and as a result increased in number. Moreover, different productive and environmental protection activities were undertaken in addition to different developmental activities. Different infrastructures like farmers training centers, roads and schools were also built.

Fourthly, though the number was small, it reduced the number of chronically poor people. Evidence for this was in 2009, 78 households graduated from PSNP. Generally, it addressed chronic food insecurity for those who properly used the transfer; the rich avoided sharing their resources with others; promoted market and increased purchasing power of the poor; living status of the poor enhanced and their living condition changed; the poor were empowered to take credits; and social status of the poor increased.

On the other hand, PSNP resulted in different unintended results. In other words, it has unintended or negative impacts. Most of the negative impacts were as a result of public works component of the PSNP. Moreover, others were due to the mode of the transfer (cash transfer) while still others were a result of the programme itself. Firstly, half of the households face problems or challenges because of cash payment. Specifically, those negative impacts caused due to cash transfer were: though seasonal commodities and goods especially food items became expensive and it was difficult to find food items after the payment of the transfer. In other words, seasonal inflation happens. Additionally, provision of transfers in the form of cash leads to some social problems like alcoholism and as a result conflicts between household members and with the community happens.

Secondly, unintended results caused as a result of public works component of the programme. Though not the majority, some face problems due to participating in public works. Primarily, they work beyond their capacity especially during maintenance of roads. This has adverse effect on the physical wellbeing of households. Secondly, they face shortage of time for their household activities. They work for the 12 months without payment. Hence, they not properly undertake their household activities. Thirdly, Kebele administrators assign works beyond their capacity. The responsibilities which were not shouldered by the public were assigned to them. Furthermore, though the majority works around their home, some walk a long distances and as a result face problems.

Thirdly, it sent some wrong messages to have more children initially, discourage hard work to some extent, confusion over who should undertake developmental activities, encourage dependency to some extent, and leads to more debt. Additionally, the communities' commitment to developmental activities reduced as a result of the programme.

Regarding the impact of PSNP on household's production of food items, their output markets and working behavior of beneficiaries, this research has something. Accordingly, spending more time on public works, though not for the majority, has negative impact on production of food items for one third of the household heads. This was due to shortage of time for household activities.

Price of goods and commodities was also increasing. In other words, output markets were highly increased in the Kebeles in which this study was conducted like other parts of the country and hence the market condition reduces the value of the transfers that the households receive from the programme. However, PSNP has little effect on increasing the prices of commodities or it causes only seasonal inflation. Hence, this study found other three main causes for the upshots in price in these Kebeles. These were: increase in population, increase in consumers than producers and because of kilogram. Giving cash and/or food transfers to the beneficiaries does not negatively affect the working behavior of the majority. However, for more than one third of the beneficiaries it does. This was due to firstly; some see the transfer as a salary and not commit their energy to their

household works especially production of food items. Secondly, some instead of working want to purchase their needs from markets by the transfer. Thirdly, there were some households who do not want to change their life by themselves.

Generally, in the Kebeles of Dera Malo Woreda in which this study was conducted, not all households work only in January to June. The transfer was also not made on time. This lead household heads to take credits from different traditional lenders on high interest and lead them to sell household assets and equipments. Except once, in all years the transfer was in cash without undertaking any market assessment. The mode of the transfer does not made by taking into account the preferences of households. Majority of the households prefer to receive cash only for different reasons. The payment was not enough especially for those who have small household size. Cash transfer lead to inflation only for 2 or 3 ‘markets’ but it was not the only cause for it. For a small number of the households, the PSNP developed a sense of dependency and this was the reason for low graduation in the area. The impact of the programme differs with the mode of the transfer. This was because most of the unintended impacts were due to cash transfer.

4.3. Recommendations

Upon completion of the study, this research provides different recommendations. Most of them will help to maximize or upgrade the achieved positive impacts and will help to minimize the unintended impacts. In order to maximize the positive impacts of the programme, different things should be considered. Firstly, it was better to include the whole household members so that all family will be benefited and increase its coverage to reach the whole food insecure people in the society. Currently, retargeting programme was not started to include the new family members born after the selection. Hence, it should be considered.

Secondly, the payment of the programme was not comparable to the payment in the labor market. It was less than the payment in the labor market. Even it was not fair with the activities of public workers and it did not taken into account the current costs of living. Hence it was better to increase it. However, the rate of addition should not as large as to affect the market. The payment was also based on the number of household members.

Those who have more family size receive more cash and/ or food transfer and vice versa. However, this has drawbacks. Firstly, for example, if the household head was under the benefit of public works and have 5 children who were incapable of working. Assuming that 5 members were included in the PSNP, then the household head was required to work 25 days (5 days per month for each member) per month. This means, the household head spent more than 83 percent of 30 days on public works and only less than 17 percent was left for him/her for household work. This will negatively affect his/her work.

Secondly, if the family size was small, for example only one, then the payment was insignificant because it was based on the number of family members. In this case, it will not benefit more, especially those who were direct beneficiaries and have no any other sources of income. Therefore, in order to solve the first problem, this research recommends that maximum time limit which will not affect large families' household activities should be predetermined for the public works. For the second problem, it was better to fix the payment at more than the present scale for direct support beneficiaries (especially for those who have one or two family members) so that the poor households benefit more from it. Also timely payment was necessary.

Thirdly, the beneficiaries should stay for the stated period. This was because for different inappropriate reasons some households were being fired-off. Retargeting programme should be started to adjust selection errors. Furthermore, the payment would be better if it was for the 12 months because those beneficiaries of direct support have no any source of income for the 12 months.

Fourthly, the type of the transfer would benefit better if it was based on the household's preference. Additionally, market assessment should be undertaken before giving any form of transfer. Moreover, need assessment at individual household level should be done before giving either cash or food transfer. Giving cash or food to the whole household will not satisfy each one's needs. Those who need cash should get cash and those who need food should get food. Because some say that the money they received were all spent on food purchase. Furthermore, Because of the differences in living standards among

households, the payment should be different for those who live in different living standards. Some were deeply poor while others were less poor.

Finally, the programme comes with giving high focus on capital budget, for example, to build schools and constructing roads. In other words, instead of focusing on the beneficiaries it focuses on development, but it should balance its focus. More concern on watershed activities should be undertaken to prevent the effects of environmental change. The selection should be based on voluntary for the public works.

To minimize the negative impacts, the principles and rules of the programme should be strictly applied. Teaching those who inappropriately use the transfer was necessary. At the same time, teaching the officials was also important because some of the implementation problems might occur due to misunderstanding of the programme by them. Taking discipline measurements on those who not effectively work their household activities was also necessary. Payment should be given for both husband and wife. Changing the cash payment in to different materials was better. There should be autonomy for the DAs to take measures on those who improperly use the transfer. Finally, the working hour/day should decrease because they work more hours and it affects their household activities.

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APPENDIX