

Social protection among the Afar pastoral and agro-pastoral communities in Ethiopia: Critical reflections on the multi-partner efforts, achievements, challenges and some lessons learnt

Zeremariam Fre and Naomi Dixon

Abstract In response to long-term food insecurity, the Ethiopian government has attempted to diversify from food aid reliance by introducing a Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP). Beginning in 2005, in conjunction with the World Food Programme, the objective is to support food insecure households to build more resilient livelihoods and sustenance that later enables them to graduate from the programme. The fourth wave of the PSNP began in 2015 and while it is running with tangible measures of success across various regions in Ethiopia, the Afar region (which is also incidentally one of the most deprived areas of the country) is experiencing disproportionate barriers to implementation. Research has already been undertaken to understand this regional disparity. That is, the Social Protection for Inclusive Development in Afar (SPIDA) is a two-year research project conducted by Adigrat University, Pastoral and Environmental Network in the Horn of Africa and University College London; supported by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research. The research aims to analyse the programme's contribution to poverty reduction and food security, enhance social services, identify implementation difficulties, and assess the overall socio-economic situation of the Afar Region, to complement a smooth execution of the programme among the Afar pastoral communities in Ethiopia. The purpose of this review with some field-based reflections is to add value to the SPIDA research project by considering newly available documents by multiple stakeholders operating in the Afar Regional State of Ethiopia and other agro-pastoral/peasant communities in other parts of Ethiopia. By further evaluating the programme, we hope to provide alternative policy options for inclusive development that considers both the economic and socio-cultural significance of the Afar region.

Key words: Afar, Ethiopia, Pastoral and agro-pastoral, PSNP, social protection

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1. INTRODUCTION

ETHIOPIA: CURRENT STATE AND FUTURE CHALLENGES

ETHIOPIA is both the largest landlocked country within Africa and the second most populated country within the Sub-Saharan region, with a current estimated population of approximately 100 million

(CIA, 2017). Historically, as is witnessed across the African continent, the region has been considerably disadvantaged by wider socio-economic processes. The nation is marginalized in the globalised liberal trade economy while also being disproportionately impacted by the effects of climate change. Despite proportionately high rates of economic growth which, the World Bank (2017) estimated at nearly 11% per year between 2003 and 2015, the country has a low Human Development Index, ranking 174 out of 185

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countries (HDR, 2017). Furthermore, over 25 million Ethiopians are categorized as living in poverty. Estimates regarding the pastoralist community vary, as they are often an invisible demographic in both national and international statistics; however, The World Bank estimates there to be at least 12 million pastoralists and agro-pastoralists in the country of Ethiopia. So far, there has been little opportunity for livelihood diversification and smallholder agriculture still accounts for up to 80% of the population's employment (Wondifraw *et al.*, 2014). The economic contribution of the pastoralists has been consistently undermined but livestock trade contributes 45% of agricultural GDP in Ethiopia and 12% of national GDP. At least 19% of this is pastoralist contribution, according to the UN News Agency (NEW workshop).

Ethiopia has extreme geographical variations including both tropical and desert climactic zones. For example, the north of the country receives less than 5% precipitation than the south-western highlands, with average rainfall being 100 mm per year and 2200 mm per year respectively. The country has long been susceptible to drought and in turn, regularly experiences food insecurity. Historical trends show that Ethiopia's temperature increased by up to 1.3°C throughout the last century, with average projections predicting increases of up to 2.2 °C by the mid-century (IPCC, 2013). It is expected that significant weather events will become more severe and more regular. Changes to conditions could cause further land degradation, making it both harder to grow crops, but also to locate vegetation to sustain cattle. Farming is a cornerstone of Ethiopian livelihoods and relies on predictable rainy seasons and consequently the country is increasingly at risk of food insecurity and chronic famine in the coming decades. The sustainable development of Ethiopia is further strained by the impact of rapid population growth. Fertility rates (average births per woman) are currently at 2.45 (World Bank, 2015) and so, if it maintains its current growth rate, the country's population will exceed three hundred million by 2050. Already cultivated land has expanded widely to meet population sustenance needs. Forests, wood and grasslands have been considerably depleted, leading to considerable land degradation. Ethiopia is now one of the countries in the Sub-Saharan region most seriously impacted by environmental degradation (Shiferaw *et al.*, 2013; Gashaw *et al.*, 2014). Productive Safety Net Programme PSNP is an attempt by the Ethiopian Government and the World Food Programme to aid the country's development process by supporting long-term resilience to food shortages.

2. UNDERSTANDING AFAR: A REGIONAL PROFILE

2.1 Economy and Trade

The Afar region is an arid lowland area found in the north of Ethiopia bordering Djibouti and Eritrea and is predominantly comprised of pastoralists (90%) and agro-pastoralists (10%) with over 95% of the region's 1.5 million population depending almost entirely on livestock production for its livelihood. Poverty in the area has differed in previous decades, with the drought of the 1970's being the worst in living memory. In 1973/74 alone, it is estimated that the Afar lost 25% of their livestock and over 30% of their human population (ILCA, 1981). The drought this decade, exacerbated by the recent El Nino effect, has again been reducing herd sizes. Humanitarian assistance has been required to survive different periods of drought so regularly that it has become institutionalized within government policy, with the assistance of external donor agencies.

Predominantly, the Afar rely on the following economic activities for sustenance: animal husbandry, trade (such as wood and charcoal), remittances, daily labour work, agriculture and the Productive Safety Net Programme. Livestock and livestock products are traded at market, which usually occur once per week. Livestock are purchased in the summer season when animal fodder is available and sold in winter season when there is shortage of water and fodder. Moreover, for profit purposes, livestock are ideally bought when they are most affordable and are sold when their price increases. However, there is a general lack of transport and travel distances can be significant, meaning that products must be sold at market whether or not the price offered is favourable. This is exacerbated in times of drought, when livestock must be sold to mitigate against weather shocks and there is no livestock by-product to offer.

Richer pastoralists have greater ability to diversify income sources to increase returns and hedge against livestock risks. Off-farm activities are limited but include selling firewood and charcoal, daily labour for construction and unloading grain sacks from the tracks (as part of the PSNP). When construction work is available, it is usually completed by highland workers who travel to the area as they can offer a more established skill set. Furthermore, there is a general lack of micro-finance institutions and loaning is often forbidden due to such being forbidden for religious reasons. Instead people use an informal system for relatives and clan members. When borrowing is permitted clan members will share the costs if an individual loan is defaulted.

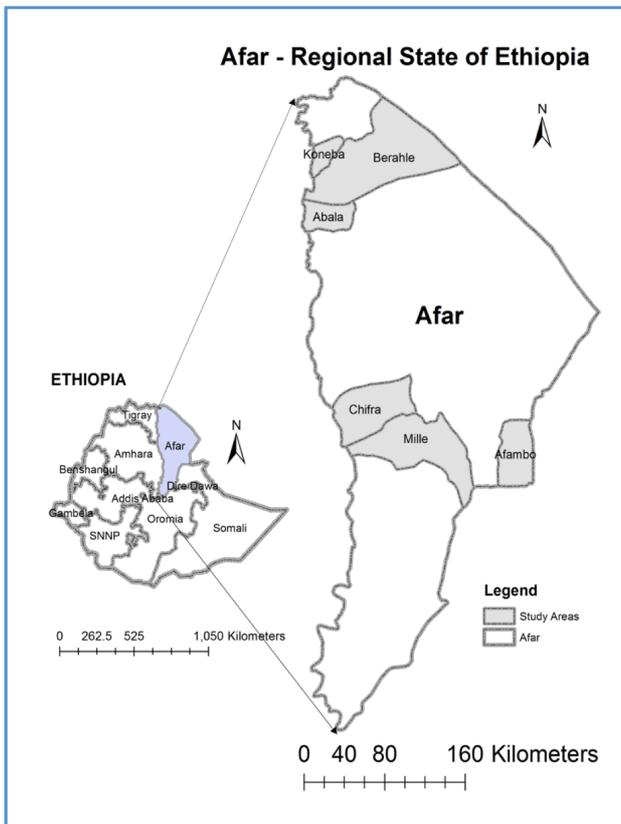


Fig. 1. Afar Regional State Map and SPIDA Selected Districts and villages, Map Credit: Zubairul Islam, Adigrat University

Migration offers access to improved infrastructure, including better health and education, and the opportunity of an alternative, more resilient income that is not weather dependent. Furthermore, it could grant the opportunity for workers to send funds home to family and clan members. However, as well as socio-cultural and linguistic barriers, migrants are required to gain the permission of district officials before they can access state services. Youth unemployment remains high and so many young Afar chose to migrate to the city, or internationally (primarily to Djibouti, Saudi Arabia and Yemen), for better economic prospects. But still, inequality within the city is pronounced and pastoralists often become socially and economically marginalised. For the past 50 years the Ethiopian state has been converting communal grazing areas to irrigated agricultural land, particularly along the Awash River. Many Afar pastoralists are encouraged, both through lack of grazing pastures and government policy, to consider irrigated agriculture and sedentary living as an alternative livelihood from traditional pastoralism (S. Eriksen & Marin, 2015).

2.2 Climate and Agricultural Impact

The Afar region experiences a hot, dry climate and is located in the northeast of Ethiopia, bordering Eritrea and Djibouti. There is considerable topographical variation, with altitudes ranging from 1500m above sea level to 120m below sea level and in turn temperatures ranging between 20°C to nearly 50°C between the highest and lowest elevations. Much of the rainfall (between 150 and 500mm per annum) occurs between mid-June to mid-September, with shorter showers primarily from March to April (*suggum*) and October to November (*dababa*) (Eriksen & Marin, 2011). Consequently, the Afar Pastoralists partake in seasonal migration patterns that are dictated by the availability of pasture.

Pastoralists have long been sustainable custodians of the natural resources of the dry lowland region. But the drought has become more severe. However, the Afar region has experienced increasing drought during the *suggum* period throughout the last two decades (Viste, Korecha, & Sorteberg, 2013). In turn, livestock holding sizes have been steadily declining. This is caused by both the change in climactic conditions but also the management and distribution of available resources. Seasonal mobility usually occurs between December and May but in some cases, this has been abandoned because there is no reachable pasture land. As it is becoming harder for pastoralists to find both water and graze for their livestock, food insecurity, asset and resource depletion has become more common. Instead, pastoralists are forced to buy animal feed, such as wheat bran (*frusca*). The only months they do not buy *frusca* are during the two summer (rainy) months.

The loss of grassland and forest cover has greatly impacted the ability of the Afar to maintain livestock. Forest cover has been lost to climate change (either through dry spells or flooding caused by heavy rains on the hard soil); overgrazing of the forestland due to population growth (firewood for trade and construction); and drought (for livestock fodder and charcoal). As the forest cover shrinks, so does the other vegetation that forms the grazing fields. Indigenous species have been lost to with invasive species, such as the *Prosopis Juliflora*, which cannot be used for grazing. Furthermore, the pastoralists have lost the fertile land surrounding the Awash River, which was vital for dry-season livestock migration, to irrigation agriculture. For example, between 1972 and 2007 alone, the grassland cover in Northern Afar decreased by 88% for cultivation purposes (Tsegaye *et al.*, 2010).

Many pastoralists have found it necessary to diversify to agricultural practices or are now highly dependent on external support/aid. Deteriorating conditions of Afar pastoralist environments derives the need to implement robust adaptation strategies that strengthens the local adaptive capacity and reduce the root causes of vulnerability should (S. Eriksen & Marin, 2015). In 2011, Ethiopia committed itself to plan a Climate Resilient Green Economy Strategy (CRGES). Through a green economy, Ethiopia hopes to become a middle-income country by 2025, and this economic growth should occur in an environmentally sustainable way to limit the effects.

2.3 Health Risks for Humans and Livestock

The Afar people usually maintain a good condition of health between December and April, but rates of Malaria, Cholera and the Common Cold become prevalent during rainy periods. One of the indirect impacts of climate change has been the decrease of available livestock by products and the impact this has had on human nutrition. Without sufficient butter, meat and milk, there has been a deterioration of health, which proves a particular threat for old people, women and children. Consequently, pregnancy and child birth can prove to be particularly risky. Traditional midwives are still common practice in the Afar region. Due to multiple factors, including high infant mortality and the need for future assets, an Afar woman may be expected to produce six to fourteen children. Contraception is usually forbidden and birth spacing is not a common practice if the woman is healthy.

Access to ambulance services is often limited, sufficient resources are often a considerable distance away and the lack of reliable electricity prevents medication from being stored or medical equipment from being utilised. Nurses may be present in the pastoralist communities, but are not always available and may be newly trained. They often provide awareness training on subjects such as nutrition and malaria. This proved to be particularly impactful regarding HIV/AIDs, in which government supported training programmes has gone some way to changing the attitude towards carriers, who were previously subjects of stigma and marginalisation. On the other hand, health workers have attempted to raise awareness in regards to sanitation and hygiene, but have not made considerable progress. There remains poor access to potable water, including reliable water pipes, and latrines; consequently, most households rely on open defecation. With heightened risks of disease and water contamination, waterborne diseases

are common.

Diseases are not just a significant threat to the Afar people directly, but also to their livestock. The animals are susceptible to Peste des Petits Ruminants (PPR), Pasturellosis, Shoat Pox, ORF (contagious Dermatitus), Camel Respiratory Disease Complex (CRDC) as well as parasites and diarrhoea. Veterinary experts visit villages administering free vaccinations, which keep outbreaks under control, but cases do increase during times of drought.

2.4 Society: Addressing Youth, Gender and Pastoralism

The Afar people are known for the social cohesion amongst ethnic groups. Each Afar locality is both identified with a major clan and inhabited by a mixture of clans, which proves to be an effective support network in times of social, economic and political strain. They have their own traditional and informal methods for providing for the members of the clan that are experiencing hardship. As predominantly Muslim, the Afar adhere to the duty of Zakat, in which they provide resources to the Mosque leader which is then redistributed to the poor. These resources can be used for: providing the daily sustenance and medication for the sick and disabled; covering funeral expenses for those that have died; contributing livestock to settle debt in the case of a member of another clan being killed; rebuilding assets for those families who have drought or migration induced losses; covering the engagement and marriage expenses. Also, the Afar people maintain economic and cultural relationships with the external communities of the Amharas, Tigrigna and the Somalis, which offers alternative sources of income and employment during times of drought. However, due to the concurrent drought almost all households are focused on supporting themselves.

Women and men delegate tasks according to gender. The men are primarily in charge of managing and migrating with the livestock as well as managing the household and community activities. In most cases, men are responsible to visit market places for trade and in doing so, maintain spending power. Women focus on domestic tasks, childcare, weaving and other handicraft activities such as jewellery making. Women can contribute to discussions of mobility and child rearing, but men remain the final decision makers. Women are under increasing strain as water is proving harder to source and they are often required to search for alternative income to help sustain the household during periods of drought.

The Afar people experience barriers to their social, economic and political integration. They are isolated practically, living in remote areas far from decision making centres with very little infrastructure. The contact they have had with the state has appeared inconsistent - as political parties (and therefore political leanings) have changed throughout previous decades, different state and development actors have pursued different development agendas and policies, whilst those in power had little to no lived experience of the pastoralist lifestyle. Historically, this has been justified due to the practices of the Afar being considered to be culturally regressive, particularly when considering expectations and divisions based on gender (NEW workshop). There is a growing recognition of pastoralist communities and their way of life, both nationally and internationally.

However, maintaining a sufficient and nomadic herd, considered true pastoralism, is no longer always achievable and so some have adopted sedentary living. With climactic stresses, land management changes, resource depletion, as well as other economic and political factors, some Afar claim to have 'given up' pastoralism. Livestock are both practically and culturally significant for the Afar and so the loss of livestock has both a practical and cultural impact. The reduction of livestock limits undermines social norms such as slaughtering cattle in order to provide meat for visitors and cultural celebrations. As the clan's social cohesion and support networks have been undermined by drought and resource depletion, some elders consider the Afar identity to have been weakened:

"Afar are free-moving people. Now we live here in these conditions because we were defeated by federal forces, it is not out of choice...Historically, we could not be controlled by any government. We used to have independence" (Botterli, 2015).

However, the younger population consider the pursuit of traditional pastoralism less important than their elders. 58% of the population in Afar and Somali regions are reported as under the age of 19 (Devereux, 2006) and so, as they re-evaluate what it means to be 'Afar', it is possible that the economic and social fabric of the region could change considerably in the coming decades. For example, consider *Absuma* marriages, cross-cousin marriages practiced within Islam which strengthen clan relations. Ethiopian state law and Islamic law ensures that the marriage is only valid if the woman accepts, but to refuse such a marriage is both socially stigmatised and requires financial compensation. Refusals of these marriages have been

increasing, largely attributed to the increasing visibility of women in both education and employment that allows their individual choice to be valued alongside clan loyalties.

2.5 Education: Barriers to Supply and Demand

Education is a powerful tool in social and economic development processes. It promotes access to alternative livelihoods, either in urban or rural environments, while female education encourages gender equality and is also directly linked to decreased fertility rates, particularly relevant in a community in which population growth is one of the biggest challenges. Furthermore, education can equip pastoralists with the skills and language to engage in political empowerment, which will in turn, albeit probably quite slowly, grant them access to decision making positions, on a national or international platform.

However, despite education being assured for all Ethiopian children, there are few schools in the Afar region and those that are available are usually of low quality. In some areas, up to 90% of adults are illiterate. 15% of Afar men have some primary education, compared to 30–40% in the highland regions. For women, only 7% have some primary education (McPeak *et al.*, 2011). Boys will tend to drop out in search of employment to help support their household or to participate in seasonal mobility, whereas girls will drop out to devote time to marriage, domestic chores and childcare. There is a social element present that also discourages girls from continuing education, as spending time away from the home can decrease the value of the dowry her family can request.

The negative association of education is in part due to previous development policies that saw children forcibly removed from their communities to fulfil enrolment quotas, as seen all across the Sub Saharan region in previous decades. However, the demand for education is increasing as attitudes towards education change. But still, there are considerable barriers regarding the supply of standard education, particularly in the remote and arid Afar region. The teachers provided are often short term, unpaid, under resourced or newly trained. By measuring only enrolment or literacy rates, we only have a sparse picture of education within these regions.

Qur'anic Schools prove to be impactful and trusted institutions in the community and could be adapted to include basic literacy and numeracy. Mobile schools

have been difficult to maintain, as the pastoralists within Afar perform irregular migration patterns, meaning social groups disconnect and reform, so long term contact with students is almost impossible. Barriers to the success rates of boarding schools include the social stigma of pastoralist livelihoods that prevents children integrating fully, linguistic barriers caused by differences in dialect, and the separation of the children from their own community and culture. For example, children assume a prominent role in herding and related activities, with boys learning through 'the college of the camel'. In doing so they become familiar with the Afar system of knowledge, but to be removed from this means that they do not have a chance to learn the traditional, pastoralism that offers both ethnic identity and economic sustenance (NEW workshop).

2.6 Power and Politics: Formal and Informal Networks in the Afar

Valuable institutions of power commonly found within the Afar communities includes: Mosque – for daily prayers, sharing of information, teachings and resource donation/distribution (*Zakat*); Village Administration – gathering and relaying information from the regional government; School – for formal education and to relay information back to the community; Pastoral or Agricultural Office – PSNP supplies and coordination as well as livestock supplies; Health post - medical provisions and awareness training; Afar People Democratic Party office – political enquiries and activities; Village Federation Office – communication between the district office and community. Valuable Institutions that reside outside of the villages include: Non-governmental organization (NGOs), police, District pastoral/agricultural office, District Markets, District Health Centre, District High School, and University.

The Afar share information in a variety of ways, including the increasing use of modern mobile telephones, through the village council or the mosque as mentioned above, or using an information exchange system called *Dagu*. This is an informal communication network within in which news is shared between passing members of the ethnic group and in doing so, can travel great distances, including to clan members who have migrated. *Dagu* can pass between men or women (not youth) but only if the information could not incur fighting. Clan leaders are responsible for the security of each clan member and must ensure good standards of behaviour. In times of conflict, which can occur in disputes over grazing land, peace committees are established to allow for

discussion. Trade, conflict resolution, community management and social provisions are coordinated and managed by the clan leaders wherever possible.

While NGO's offer (supposedly) partisan services, functioning beyond the remit of the state and often across international borders, the activities are managed by non-local experts, either outside the Afar community, outside of Ethiopia or even outside of the African continent. So, the power of decision-making is retained by those who have little tangible understanding of pastoral existence. State managed development can also manifest in the same power dynamic. Historically, pastoralists have been subjected to socio-political programmes. During the Derg regime in the mid-1970's and 1980's there was action to organise rural populations for bureaucratic convenience and productivity. Since then, various state policies have pursued development trajectories by encouraging pastoralists to settle, offering improved infrastructure and services in exchange for their traditional, nomadic way of life.

3. PRODUCTIVE SAFETY NET PROGRAMME: AN OVERVIEW

Chronic food insecurity in Ethiopia is not just a modern problem, but is one that has been recurrent throughout history; for example, it is believed that a third of the population perished in the Great Famine in the late 19th century. But, as climate change worsens the regularity and severity of weather events, it has become a priority for the Ethiopian government to address. As agriculture is the cornerstone of the economy, the state has had to design seasonal policies to mitigate for when harvests are poor. Between the years of 1998 and 2005, anywhere between 5 and 14 million of the country's population have relied on food aid. (Devereux *et al.*, 2006). This may have supported the basic survival of beneficiaries, but it was assumed to create aid dependency as it failed to offer any long-term solutions or to protect household assets, the depletion of which left households even more vulnerable to poverty.

The Millennium Development Goals, launched in the year 2000, set tangible targets for global development that included the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger. These were then renewed by the Sustainable Development Goals, which began in 2015 and will be reviewed in 2030. In line with this, the Ethiopian government has pursued various development policies to increase agricultural productivity, improve disaster prevention and management, diversify livelihoods and

increase food security with the aim of achieving sustainable growth. One such policy was the Productive Safety Net Programme, launched in 2005, alongside the World Bank and various development partners. This initially targeted food insecure households in various highland regions and was then expanded to the lowlands of Afar and Somali in 2009, at which point the programme integrated with the Climate Smart Initiative (CSI) to prioritise climate resilience (House of Commons, 2011)

As it stands, the programme assumes a multifaceted approach to mitigating against food insecurity as, in the most basic sense, it serves to promote livelihoods, prevent impoverishment and protect against hunger. In doing so, it hopes to increase resilience to drought and in turn, allow beneficiaries to escape cycles of humanitarian aid dependency. It does this by providing food and cash transfers for households that cannot feed themselves for at least three months per annum, to protect household assets (as beneficiaries will not have to sell their livestock, or their by-products, or assume high interest loans in order to purchase food). This is mostly given in exchange for labour, known as public works. These work-for-resource programmes have long been utilised by the Ethiopian government to mobilise a large supply of unskilled labour to fulfil the infrastructure deficit (for example, The Employment Generation Scheme (EGS) and Project 2488 as supported by the World Bank). The labour has supported the development of social infrastructure (such as educational and health buildings) that are investments in future human capital. Those households without able-bodied members are not required to work, but instead receive Direct Support payments.

It was believed that dependable cash transfers over an extended period would lead to better spending and saving which in turn can stimulate growth: “Through the provision of cash transfers rather than food, the programme will enable smallholders to increase consumption and investment levels and stimulate the development of rural markets” (DFID 2005: 1). However, the loss of purchasing power, as the relative value of the cash transfers has decreased over time, has resulted in many beneficiaries preferring food transfers. Typically, transfers are usually 3 kg of grains per day per person for up to five days a month. The PSNP transfer period runs primarily from January to June with able-bodied persons providing labour for approximately 6 hours (5 hours for women) per day. During droughts, the program has a contingency fund that allows for new beneficiaries, as well as to

increase the length of time they will receive benefits from five to seven months. Since the programmes implementation, the government has established a network of staff that work at both the district and national level.

The PSNP has so far been praised for providing a productive approach to addressing the food gap, in which households are more able to maintain their assets. Where the drought has undermined the ability of communities to provide for each other, the community has been brought together to develop their communal resources, in line with public works. A 2006 review of the first wave of PSNP found that three-quarters of PSNP households reported consuming more food, or better-quality food. (Devereux *et al.*, 2006: 46). While many PSNP households still resorted to the selling of assets to sustain themselves, 62% of PSNP households reported that their assets were effectively protected against 'distress sales', while nearly a quarter (23%) increased their assets throughout the year.

So far, PSNP is reported to have benefited nearly 8 million Ethiopians. The multi-faceted impacts of the programme were demonstrated in a 2015 report: Soil erosion and sediment losses have decreased 50%, the average household food gap decreased from 3.6 months to 2.3 months, 40,000 kilometres of rural access roads (dry weather roads) were constructed and/or maintained, 600,000 km of soil and water structures were rehabilitated, 200,000 ponds and 35,000 hand-dug wells for rainwater harvesting were built, 2,800 kilometres of canals were provided for small-scale irrigation as well as access to water for households, 4,000 classrooms and 600 new health posts were built and/or rehabilitated constructed (European Commission, 2017).

The PSNP is now in its fourth phase, which will be implemented between 2015-2020. During 2015/16, the country experienced the most severe drought in 50 years. The Ethiopian government managed a wide-scale response, providing 18.2 million people, 20% of the country's total population, with food or the cash to buy it with, in part due to the PSNP. However, the government is still not adequately able to provide for the population's food needs. In response, the World Bank has since approved another \$100 million to the PSNP; on top of the extra \$100 million it gave the programme last year.

3.1 Productive Safety Net Programme: A Regional Evaluation

The PSNP is regularly evaluated to analyse the impacts of the donor investment, with regional reflections and recommendations on how to improve implementation. A large amount of literature was produced as the programme transitioned into its fourth phase to ensure past successes and challenges were taken into account. The World Bank oversees the Joint Review and Implementation Support Mission, which consists of various outputs including Aid Memoires, Discussion Papers and Working Papers that take into account Regional and Federal context, including some attention at Kebele level (the smallest administrative unit of Ethiopia, similar to a ward). One output of the Joint Review and Implementation Support Mission (JRIS) is the Aide Memoires that serve to enable better engagement with regional-level political stakeholders and identify what is beyond the remit of regional staff and therefore must be considered at federal level. It is framed as a multi-stakeholder product rather than a state or development product. Progress Reports serve as logistical analysis, focused on Human Resources, wages, data collection and storage, processes of targeting, consultancy agreements, financial and risk management systems and procurement. Quantitative data is pulled from the bi-annual surveys that have been conducted since 2006 while key informant interviews (at federal and regional level), presentations and working groups have furthered the reporting.

The following Working Groups have been formulated for targeted discussions:

- Systems: targeting, graduation, communication, early warning systems and contingency planning;
- Resource Management & Transfers (cash and food);
- Public Works;
- Livelihoods;
- Coordination and Management;
- Gender & Social Development and Nutrition.

Programme wide goals for PSNP 4 include the following:

- Facilitating tailored client livelihoods through three pathways: crop and livestock, off-farm income generation, and employment;
- Expanding upon sustainable community assets and access to social services;
- Prioritising instruments and tools in place to support an effective system for Social Protection and Disaster Risk Management;

- Addressing the underlying causes of food insecurity and contributing to economic growth.

3.2 PSNP in Ethiopia: Programme-Wide Feedback

The following general factors have been identified as requiring attention for improving the PSNP programme: fair and transparent client selection; timely, predictable and appropriate transfers; integrating the PSNP into local systems; providing a scalable safety net (in the event of shocks); using cash payments as a first principle to stimulate markets and addressing gender equity. (See Annex 9) Staff turnover, a lack of accountability, lack of engagement from wider stakeholders and low salaries all contribute as barriers. (See Annex 8) This is further exacerbated by challenges of retargeting and reporting, which make it difficult to effectively evaluate the programme. It has been highlighted that the JRIS Mission is continuing to discuss recurrent issues that are not being addressed in any tangible way (See Annex 9).

Transfer and Food Management (See Annex 29) reporting highlighted inconsistency in resource transfers, with cash transfers being more dependable than food transfers, but food transfers being subject to considerable delays in the Afar region. The previous years have been noted for the severity of the drought which has resulted in the contingency budget being utilised. However, PSNP only provides for up to five members within a single household, so larger households are insufficiently supported.

Federal level barriers include for **Nutrition** include: limited training on nutrition sensitive interventions, lack of attention granted to pastoral levels, delays in adopting programme linkages with Financial Transparency and Accountability. At Regional Level partners have a limited capacity for implementation. It is noted that there is multi-sectoral coordination is weak; there is a general lack of understanding about Nutrition issues and a lack of awareness of PSNP clients of their rights and responsibilities (See Annex 31).

General implementation issues regarding **Food Security** (See Annex 24) include: delays in placement of livelihoods institutional arrangement; delays in targeting; delays in client card distribution to clients and the occurrence of drought and flash floods.

Regarding **Financial Management and**

Procurement (See Annex 28), grain procurement is dependable upon changing prices and the availability of storage. Due to the procurement of food grain occurring multiple times a year, it will be more effective to use approved suppliers and adopt frame work contracts for a certain time period.

In order to aid capacity building regarding **Livelihoods** (See Annex 32), the following progress was made: The Livelihoods Transfer Guidance Note drafted, reviewed and final document was approved by the Federal government. Training was provided pilot to Woreda, zones and regional staff. At total of 24,707 Kebele food security task forces and staff of which 7,672 females have received training on PSNP 4 design, so more can be done to address the gender disparity.

Regarding **Public Works** (See Annex 33): There is a federal and regional lack of awareness regarding Behaviour Change Communication implementation (BCC) that aims to link public works to sessions regarding health, nutrition and sanitation. Federal level staff training and technological systems have been inadequate. The Afar region was highlighted for particularly poor performance in public works implementation and reporting. There is an absence of flexible plans for pastoral regions.

3.3 PSNP in the Highlands: Oromia, Amhara, Harari and Tigray Regional Feedback

The PSNP was first implemented in the Highland regions, which are already considered to be more economically developed than the lowland regions of Ethiopia and has reported higher rates of success regarding the PSNP. It is important to consider regional differences, comparing PSNP implementation, in order to gain a comparative understanding of which of these barriers are more pronounced within the Afar region and which are general for the entire programme. The highland regions include Oromia, Harari and Dire Dawa, Amhara and Tigray.

In general, food security is improving across the Highlands. The food gap has halved in Tigray and Oromia and diet has improved; the selling of assets for necessities has decreased; household consumption rates have increased which in turn has improved housing, following investment in quality roofing. Households that receive food payments are on average more food secure than those that receive cash payments, but the multitude of factors involved (value

of payment, frequency of payment) make it impossible to compare fairly. The new road network, as provided by Public Works, is responsible for an increased the flow of trade and goods. Beneficiaries noted an increased access to a variety of social services, education, healthcare, and to a lesser extent veterinary services, and childcare. Availability to clean water for human consumption has improved and there has been considerable increase in the access to credit and financial services. Targeting for the PSNP is considered effective as beneficiaries are correctly from more poor households than rich households. Payments have become timelier and more consistent over the research period and Direct Support payments are most prevalent in the homes of elderly widows, so are being used to support the most vulnerable of the community. The majority of PSNP households have been enrolled for at least three consecutive years but this has fallen ten percentage points since the 2012 survey.

On the other hand, there is no evidence that PSNP has increased agricultural outputs; the average graduated household reports a marginal improvement on food security status, although one quarter report a lessening of food insecurity after leaving the programme and only 36% respondents note that they are confident in the predictability of payments. Beneficiaries cope with programme failings through borrowing, reducing food consumption and distress asset sales. Drought remains the leading cause of beneficiaries requiring support, but the application of contingency budgets is hindered by the lack of technical and staff capacity to analyse early warning data, further exacerbated by staff and financial shortages. The graduation process is not transparent and seems to be inconsistent. Graduation targets have had a distortionary impact on the process of implementing graduation, leading to households being prematurely graduated. Record keeping has deteriorated, to a significant level in some regions, making tracking the PSNP difficult and further hindering accountability and transparency.

The PSNP works alongside another social programme known as HABP (the Household Asset Building Programme) which supports the diversification of livelihoods. While this is a separate entity, shortcomings in one programme impact the other. While there has been some training provided through HABP regarding marketing off farm production and financial management, very few households in the highlands (only 3.9%) reported preparing a household asset business plan. Some repayments of HABP loans were disrupted by beneficiaries believing it to be non-

repayable aid. This kind of miscommunication and inefficiency needs to be improved to support the implementation of the PSNP.

The following is feedback for each specific region:

Oromia (See Annex 22) is the largest state in population and area and includes the state capital of Addis Ababa. The region is geographically significant, as Oromia shares a boundary with almost every region of Ethiopia except for Tigray. As of the 2007 census, 11.3% of the population are urban dwellers and there are on average 4.8 persons to a household. Nearly half of the population are Muslim and a third are Orthodox Christian. Regarding the local economy, over half of the country's coffee is produced in the Oromia region.

Targeting has been effective in this region, which has resulted in good levels of gender equity in the livelihoods pilot; however, implementation of the regular livelihood component in general is very weak, with demotivation being accredited to the lack of credit to finance business plans. Communities are actively participating in the process in terms of prioritizing Public Work activities to be implemented in their localities, though more efforts are needed to strengthen proactive engagement of all implementing stakeholders in the planning process. For this particular region, the following needs to be addressed: delays in client card printing; the weakness of Kebele Appeal Committees; delays in procurement auditing, livelihood coordination and a shortage of loan-able funds. (See Annex 17)

Harari (See Annex 21) has the smallest land area of all of the Ethiopian states, and is also the only state in which the majority of its inhabitants are urban dwellers. More than 60% of the population identify as Muslim and the majority of the remaining population are Orthodox. Literacy rates are high compared to the national average while infant mortality is much lower (66 per 1000 births, compared to 77 per 1000 births (REF))

Due to the severity of the drought, there are no graduate beneficiaries that are due to leave the program within 12 months of the 2015 report. As the drought is so widespread, some vulnerable households are without support, as well as those whom exceed the PSNP beneficiary limit of 5 persons per household. Human Resources, food and cash transfers were well coordinated in the region. Shortage of admin and management budget is a serious problem. The

following areas need attention: transfer times of both food and cash; the monitoring of transfers; delays in procurement; transportation issues regarding transfers; planning for the contingency budget; providing tailored and sustainable support; slow rates of loan payments and recovery. (See Annex 15)

Amhara (See Annex 23) is considered one of the most hospitable states due to receiving 80% of Ethiopia's total rainfall. It also includes the country's largest inland body of water, the source of the Blue Nile, Lake Tana. The majority (approximately 80%) of the population is rural, with a regional average of 4.3 persons per household. A quarter of Ethiopia's cattle reside in the region. Literacy rates represent a large gender disparity, with over half the population of men being literate, but only a quarter of women having comparable levels. Infant mortality is considerably higher than the regional average, at 94 deaths per 1000. Amhara is largely Orthodox Christian, which comprises approximately 80% of the population.

There is a general weak coordination and collaboration among key actors at Woreda and Kebele levels regarding food security and a limited follow-up of business plan implementation. More needs to be done to communicate how best to handle the graduation process. Regional discrepancies include: staff salary scales; distances required for clients to reach food distribution points; poor documentation and information gathering; stock taking of physical resources; maintenance of transport vehicles; poor monitoring of public works; poor implementation of different livelihood pathways; low credit fund availability.

Tigray (See Annex 27) is the most Northerly state of Ethiopia and the fourth most populated, bordering Eritrea, Sudan and both the Afar and Amhara regions. The average household includes 4.4 persons, with two thirds of men, but only one third of women, recorded as literate. The infant mortality rate is reported as 67 per 1000 births, lower than the national average. An overwhelming majority of the population (over 90%) follow Christian Orthodoxy. While rainfall is high, most of the region's water is lost downstream. In recent years the state has organised wide spread terracing and damn building in order to manage and retain this water supply.

Key issues in Tigray regarding PSNP implementation include: limited resources; a low administrative budget; lack of appropriate transportation; staff turnover; inconsistencies in food transfers; the quality

of public works plans; insufficient support for off-farm clients; poor filing and reporting on beneficiaries.

3.4 PSNP in the Lowlands: Afar and Somali Regional Feedback

Both the Afar and Somali lowland regions are benefiting from the Productive Safety Net Programme but both are experiencing similar barriers to implementation and success. For this reason, some of the programme reporting refers to both regions simultaneously.

Somali (See Annex 26) has on average 6.8 persons per household and a population of which nearly 40% are believed to be pastoralists. Adult literacy rates are low for both men and women (20% and 10% respectively) but the infant mortality rates are low compared to the national average, at 57 per 1000 live births. Nearly the entire population identifies as Muslim. Much of the state populations identify as Somali and the region contains multiple refugee centres for those who enter the country through the Ethiopian-Somalian border. Historically, such ethnic politics has resulted in pressures to remove Ethiopian state rule.

The humanitarian situation caused by chronic drought has clearly impacted the performance of the PSNP programme in Somali. In certain incidents, Public Works were halted until the rains arrived. The transfers have been delayed and when the heavy rains did arrive, this disrupted access to food distribution. There needs to be a greater understanding of officials and technical staff of how to readily respond to these conditions. There have been delays implementing public works, cash transfers, staff salary transfers, and there is a general lack of resource management (with vehicles in particular).

The Impact Reports (See Annex 2) note that the food gap has generally decreased across both Afar and Somali. Furthermore, there is a general increase in trade, with public works contributing to considerable crop cultivation development and improving access to markets, water, and social and educational services. However, progress has been uneven and some areas have experienced an increase in food insecurity. Consequently, there is no clear evidence that PSNP can be credited for directly improving conditions of food insecurity. Asset protection has not been successful, with livestock holdings of the Afar have been declining; while wealth disparity is pronounced. The wealthiest ten percent of Afar households own

five times the average livestock (See Annex 4) Targeting has been poor in the region, with wealthier households receiving resources and poor households not being sufficiently supported. Transfers of cash have been inconsistent, both with amounts and with timings. The majority of the highland and Somali households can find a transfer point in less than three hours of their home, but this does not apply to nearly 40% of the Afar people.

The JRIS Mission (See Annex 12) noted that some Woredas in Afar and Somali have started planning for a livelihoods component, but lack guidance as a result of a lack of clear direction from the federal level. Furthermore, the memoire addresses the project history of implementing highland methods to the lowland region which will remain until tailored programmes have been designed. It also offers a more attention to gender inequity and attributes this in part to social and cultural reasoning. For example, the highlands focused Community-Based Participatory Watershed Management Guidelines were implemented in lowlands areas until 2012 when Guidelines for Public Works in Pastoral Areas were developed. The Guideline notes that gender inequalities in pastoral areas, in terms of access to and control over resources, contributes to increasing impoverishment because it undermines women's productive capacity. For example, apart from the powerlessness of women in political and economic affairs of society, the physical and psychological trauma of women due to deep-rooted socio-cultural norms in pastoral areas further marginalizes them in poverty reduction efforts.

It was recommended that local areas should decide on transfer arrangements acknowledging diverse cultural contexts. PSNP Coordinators could pilot new approaches to transfer, while strengthening awareness on how to address cases of abuse of transfer. It has been noted that payment to women does not automatically correlate to an increase in household decision. One way of further addressing this gender inequity is to hire of gender and social development experts at woreda level.

In regard to general programme coordination in Afar, the drought situation is considered critical and in turn has severely impacted the effective implementation of the PSNP. There has been insufficient targeting and delays in addressing this when trying to support the population most in need. Technical software is not yet fully functional in most of the PSNP kebeles; there are delays and a low quality of reporting and the

procurement plan is poor, both at Woreda and regional level. There have been severe delays in food transfers, largely accredited to the lack of available transport; consequently, many of the beneficiaries have had to sell some household assets to survive further depleting community resilience to future drought.

The Public Works element has gone some way to mitigate against the resource deficit. For instance, consider a school in Da'ar, of which four of the eight classrooms were built using the PSNP labour force. Similarly, houses have been provided for teachers in Eruhna Adegahnu and Da'ar. Furthermore, in Urkudi, PSNP coordinators have been playing a significant role in introducing and expanding latrines. As many still rely on open defecation, the PSNP coordinators have also been trying to create awareness on the benefits of improved sanitation. Public Works has also created temporary employment for the youth demographic, which helps them continue their studies and provide for their food needs.

However, some public works sub-projects have been reported as being low quality (feeder roads, water harvesting structures, diversion and irrigation canals, conservation structures). Public Works planning and reporting has also been inadequate. Livelihood opportunities in the region are not yet properly assessed or mapped. (See Annex 13). Public Works reports were found to be almost non-existent within the Afar region (only 4 of 32 Woredas submitted one of the three pending quarterly reports). The public works programmes that have been implemented, with a focus on terracing, soil and water conservation, are based on nearby highland models, which may not be appropriate for conditions in the arid lowlands. Furthermore, there has been no progress on livelihoods component. It was requested that funds could be re-routed to deal with the drought activities specifically. However, this is hindered by the fact that changes in the approved budget they need to submit a revised budget that will be discussed at Federal level and flexibility can only then be explored. Of all the actions advised in the JRIS Mission Meeting, across the board there is either no or marginal progress made.

4. CHALLENGES FOR THE AFAR REGION

Henceforth, the implementation barriers to PSNP experienced in the Afar region will be further examined.

4.1 Programme Design and Regional Relevance

There are many practical (logistical and resource based) barriers that effect the implementation of PSNP

across the entirety of Ethiopia, including lack of funds, staff turnover, transportation deficiencies and transfer delays. The following general elements of the PSNP design have been specifically critiqued by Afar beneficiaries (SPIDA):

- a) The PSNP is for 6 months of the year and does not consider what can happen in the remaining 6 months, which is particularly for problematic for those who have no other agricultural activity and/or crop production throughout the year.
- b) Because of the limitedness of PSNP beneficiaries, polygamous households receive only as much as one household. Likewise, one household is assumed to comprise of a maximum of 5 persons, regardless of the total number of family members of the household.
- c) Supply of conservation tools and equipment is not matched with the demand of the public work participants.
- d) The PSNP only provides food to sustain the daily life of the beneficiaries. It is not supported by credit or related asset building interventions. The safety net program should be supported with different income diversification opportunities like off-pastoral income generation and asset building activities e.g. cooperatives. Unlike other regions, the Household Asset Building Programme has yet to be implemented in Afar.
- e) The PSNP is not tailored to the production and livelihood system of the people, that is, the PSNP transfers and public works do not consider the environmental condition of the villages.
- f) Beneficiaries selected include those with better livelihood status, as opposed to the poor.

There is a perpetual issue with the programme design, in that PSNP is being generically applied to each region despite considerable differences in living. It cannot be assumed that what is applicable in the lowlands is also applicable in the highlands, when there are considerable geographical/socio-cultural/economic conditions. For example, are the crops that are being produced compatible with the regional diet? Is Public Works recruitment conflicting with the seasonal labour demands of local farms? The Household Asset Building Programme has not been implemented due to the region being religiously inclined to avoid borrowing. Can the programme, or a similar initiative be constructed that takes this into consideration?

The PSNP has been designed in some way to consider the social differences of the Afar region by including

clan leaders in the decision-making process, a process that does not occur in the highland regions. Clan leaders have a big role in screening residents, within the appeal committee and regarding beneficiary selection. They work side-by-side with the formal task force to smooth the PSNP transfers and public work activities. Targeting criteria is gender sensitive and considers those most vulnerable. While traditional leaders play a key role, they are not supposed to override formal protocol. On one hand, this process grants value to the clan structure of the Afar community, strengthens social ties (which have been consistently undermined by the drought, grants community autonomy in the development process and apply provide local knowledge to a large-scale development programme. On the other hand, this leaves the PSNP open to manipulation in which social connections, authority, social ties, or influence can impact the decision making process. Rather than equating these practices as problematic, it is more important to question who is more appropriate to make decisions for the community and whether the programme is correctly resourced so that everyone can be effectively provided for.

4.2 The Knowledge Deficit

The Multi-stakeholder reports as included in the previous chapter go some way to highlighting logistical issues to PSNP at both regional and federal level, but more is needed to build a thorough understanding the specific causes of the implementation barriers, in order to better improve the programme in the future. Data collection is hindered by practical challenges such as staff turnover and the lack of technical equipment or knowledge. Pastoralist communities lack access to regular energy supplies, which hinders the use of electronic equipment, while paper documentation is prone to degradation.

The availability of data differs from region to region, but is particularly pronounced in the Afar Region. The revised Regional Atlas (a joint product of the Afar Finance and Economic Development Bureau and Amhara National Regional State Finance and Economic Development Bureau) attempted to address this knowledge deficit. The Main objective of this Atlas is to show the spatial distribution of regional resources. The detail objectives are: to give direction for future sectoral development, by showing the existing distribution of social and economic sectors of each woreda; to help planners and policy makers on pastoral activity, by showing the needed and the available animal feed; to show the pressure /density/ of human and livestock population on area (this helps

to compare the available resource and the existing pressure on that specific area); to help NGO's and Donors where to use their resources, by showing the existing distribution of such activities.

However, the following still needs to be measured in the future: The Actual position of each social and economic sectors will need to be collected using Global Positioning System (GPS); the kebele boundary of each woreda needs to be finalised; sectoral information needs updating This data scarcity is exacerbated both by the remote nature of the region's population and so requires greater resources. As just one example, the average herd sizes have been previously estimated by using satellite imagery, rather than by polling herders (See Annex 34).

This information deficit impacts development reporting, which in turn can undermine our understanding of the impact of the PSNP? For example, although the basic format and methodology of the Rapid Response Mechanisms are the same, you can see the differences in reporting, which will make it difficult to truly compare – some reports give more detail, others give more attention to factors such as gender, while others visit more woredas and kebeles. (See Annex 22).

The PSNP programme is impactful in that it takes into consideration multiple factors, including assets, climate change and food security, that effect the resilience of beneficiaries to poverty. Even so, the reporting grants more value to the economic processes of development, as is common in global development, but does little to acknowledge socio-cultural data collection or reflection. There is no recognition for how the project should be adapted to regional differences. As before, it is economically focused and so omits the need to address social and cultural barriers to implementation. In doing so, it assumes it frames development as an economic issue, with no attention given to the welfare or satisfaction of beneficiaries.

Despite reporting being divided by region, comparisons cannot be truly effective without addressing regional differences. There is a gaping knowledge gap for qualitative input, particularly when dealing with social factors such as gender inequity. The Aide Memoire (See Annex 12) does better than previous reports by drafting a 'social accountability plan'. A March 2014 Workshop brought together federal and regional gender specialists to discuss bottlenecks for gender mainstreaming and develop the

Gender Action Plan mentioned above to address them, but with the brief style of reporting this is referred to in a fairly reductionist way. The report refers to the 'trauma' of these cultural norms, without any further detail or data to contextualize this, which in turn undermines the autonomy of Afar women and frames the Afar culture in a negative light. Such claims must be fairly justified with detailed references. The programme reporting goes some way to consider youth and gender demographics, but these socio-cultural factors need socio-cultural research to be truly understood. They cannot merely be framed in statistics, gains and losses.

Furthermore, qualitative data is needed to highlight cases of sharing of food and resources within clan structures, as is socially customary. It is significant here as sharing between PSNP and non-PSNP beneficiaries limits the benefits of the programme for those that are registered. Furthermore, it allows those that are not supported by PSNP that clearly need assistance, to continue to go unrecognized.

4.3 Power and Development

When we consider the term progress, it is always vital to ask the question 'progress for whom?' As the global development agenda begins to place greater value on participatory approaches, we must take note of who the key decision makers are and how can we challenge and transform these processes to ensure those being 'developed' have their interests and needs protected. Then, in a much wider sense, we must consider who are the key figures in deciding 'what is development?' Development, as with all sectors, follows trends in thinking and in practice, which are subject to change over time. The resultant policies are carried out by development professionals, who often have access to educational resources, or practical resources, the beneficiaries of these programmes do not. Pastoralists across the world have often been omitted from demographic data and historically widespread attempts have been made to sedentize these communities within the development agenda. More must be done to ensure that the community gains recognition and has access to platforms to ensure they have autonomy within the development process.

As well as adding to the knowledge gaps, as addressed above, it is important to make the reporting of the data accessible to beneficiaries as well as development stakeholders, so that this information can be disseminated and challenged if necessary. The primary aim of the JRIS Aide memoire is to be a clear and concise, 2 to 3 page document that outlines

regional implementation issues and actionable responses in regards to the PSNP. Both the Rapid Response Mission (RRM)'s and the Aide Memoire's have addressed the desire to be accessible in both approach and format. The report still adopts technical language and style and so is unlikely to be accessible to beneficiaries, but it does enable at least state actors and international development partners to work alongside one other. However, it does need to be addressed that these development partners are included in the reporting process (including a member of the World Bank on an RRM committee (See Annex 22). While it has the benefits of self-reflection, it can undermine the ability of the reporting to be objective.

As it stands, federal and regional remain responsible for implementing change onto the beneficiaries, rather than creating a clear empowerment plan for how they can become involved in the development process. Adjustments can be made with Regional Cabinet approval regarding spending but while this ensures funds are spent in adherence to the project goals, it makes the PSNP inflexible to change and further maintains the unequal power relationship between donors and beneficiaries.

4.4 Sustainability and Long-Term Growth

The PSNP has had measured success in beginning a multi-faceted approach to addressing the food gap, but when considering the Afar region, one of the most globally vulnerable regions to the expected impacts of climate change, we need to consider whether the programme is addressing long-term adaptation.

As it stands, the programme has insufficient resources to provide for all the food insecure households within the country, which is partly being combated by an increase of funds as granted by the World Bank. As well as sustaining the survival of the Afar, the programme needs to be evaluated in its capacity to produce graduates that are resilient to poverty in the future. This is somewhat undermined by the sharing that occurs between PSNP and non-PSNP beneficiaries as members of the community attempt to support their peers. Furthermore, in cases of very poor pastoral are, which contradicts with the saving and asset building element of the PSNP. This is further exacerbated by graduation targets, in which regional stakeholders may graduate beneficiaries before they are appropriately resilient. As it stands, there is no proof that the assets that are retained by PSNP beneficiaries are sustainable and how vulnerable these are to depletion following graduation, as is highlighted in the proportion of the community who

report worsened food security after leaving the programme.

So far, the food and cash transfer element of the PSNP has received the most attention and so many of the communal Public Works assets are below technical standards. More must be done to map these resources and who is benefiting from them and how they will be maintained in the future and whether this would be better managed if it occurred as a programme in its own entity. The way in which this labour is sourced and managed also needs to be considered. It is not that the Afar region experiences a labour deficit, in that there is plenty of work to be fulfilled, but more that they are labour constrained, in that they have limited access to the resources to do so and a disproportionate resource return for this labour. Public Works plans have primarily been tailored to the needs of the Highlanders, so work needs to be tailored to pastoralist needs. Yet, it does not fully utilise its capacity to develop long term infrastructure to mitigate against climate change.

In a much larger sense, debates occur between whether development programmes that occur in high risk areas like Afar should be conservative in their approach, to minimise possible losses with smaller returns on poverty reduction, or take a more aggressive approach to growth. The PSNP coordinator for the Somali region, Ahmednur Daud, says that there is very little to distinguish between beneficiaries of the PSNP and food aid programs, other than the technical terms adopted. The PSNP itself arose for a state desire to diversify from aid dependency, but Regarding the PSNP, the link between food and investments can have ambiguous results. Rises in food prices on one hand assist the growth of net producers, but those who struggle to meet their subsistence needs (those who must resort to purchasing food on top of their own agricultural products) are made more vulnerable by such cost increases. So rising food prices are generally good for agriculture but bad for food security, so paradoxically, improve economic growth but increase reliance on social safety nets such as the PSNP.

In terms of improving the PSNP, the JRIS Mission takes note that despite the same issues recurring, little to no action is being taken to instigate tangible improvement, particularly in the Afar region. On a nationwide scale, policies still actively discriminate against, or discount the importance of, pastoralist communities and their way of life. Then at the regional level, vulnerable groups must be better

targeted to ensure development occurs evenly and for those that need it most. For example, even though women may be included in the meetings to help mitigate against gender inequity, cultural conditions may prevent them from participating equally: “Women are allowed to go to the meeting, but the men did not give us an opportunity to talk, so we could not talk. We are generalized with men and men talk for us” (female informant village 12 Dec. 2013). Furthermore, as the next generation of the Afar, the youth need to be targeted for tailored interventions to support them in their future ambitions – whether this is the sustaining of pastoral living, or equipping them with the skills to migrate to urban centres.

5. LOOKING TO THE FUTURE: RECOMMENDATION FOR INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT IN THE AFAR REGION

- Despite separate reports on regional impact and implementation, these are not written in interaction with each other. To elaborate, we do not know whether the development of one region is at the expense of another. If they are developing unevenly, is this the cause? How is trade and infrastructure aiding or abating regional divides and how is this affected by politics? More integrated analysis is needed.
- The programme goes some way to consider youth and gender demographics, but these socio-cultural factors need socio-cultural research to be truly understood. They cannot merely be framed in statistics, gains and losses.
- Other demographics should also be considered – for example, the sustainable development goals have now included disability (which impacts 1 in 7 of the global population) and so this should be integrated into all development projects.
- Many of these issues can be abated by the implementation of proper energy supplies and thereafter, giving them reliable and stable access to technology and software. Funds should be designated for technological infrastructure.
- The reports should reference the global context of the programme – for example, what are the regional implications of international remittances and how can these be better utilised.
- Due to the nature of the project, all approaches and feedback are Economic focused, when other factors such as wellbeing should be considered to give a real insight

into 'development'. Reporting could be supplemented by mapping data, where are the roads being built, where are the markets, where are the schools etc. and how can this be paired with qualitative data?

- Is the PSNP creating an environment of long-term, sustainable capacity building?
- The project is focused in the immediate, but needs to address the long-term reality of drought and climate change for the Afar in particular.
- Development agencies should recognise the value of sovereign knowledge and in doing so; incorporate nomadic communities into an autonomous development process.
- There needs to be reinvigorated attempts to diversify the economy, as so far business plan writing is poorly understood and not implemented.
- Efforts need to be made to ensure these reports are more accessible, particularly to those who are subject to reporting. Lack of accessibility, transparency and methods of empowerment are undermining the autonomy of the people to lead their own development.
- The political context of the programme needs to be addressed to understand the wider factors impacting programme implementation.
- An organizational analysis is needed, of donors and the agencies involved, highlighting institutional bottlenecks. This will aid transparency to the project, which is vital for both donors and beneficiaries. It is important to note that as mentioned above, reporting is top-down. Most of the reports have been commissioned by, or contributed to by state agents, so in that sense they cannot claim to be objective.
- There is a lack of transparency with graduation (alongside poor levels self-reported food stability gains among PSNP graduates) that requires investigation.
- Recognize the critical relevance of traditional resource-sharing practices and coping mechanisms.
- Understand pastoral livelihood production system: The transfer period, public works schedule and activities, and payment of transfers should be tailored to pastoral communities.
- Improve targeting by considering the allocation of resources in polygamous households.

- Focus on alternative income generation approaches: As the resilience of pastoral livelihoods declines, serious consideration should be given to the establishment of financial and credit institutions that have a greater understanding of the needs of pastoralists.
- There are multiple interventions going on in the Afar region mainly the PSNP and Emergency Aid. Thus, it should be better in exploring ways of bringing them together.
- Consider providing social protection without the need for a labour requirement altogether. The poorest and most vulnerable households are typically labour-constrained rather than unemployed. Tying them into such work prevents other activities that will enable long term self-sufficiency.
- The programme should focus further on developing youth and gender components. However, it cannot be assumed that either the work of Afar women is unvalued, or that sedentization/urban living provides a gender equal lifestyle.

APPENDIX

SUMMARIES OF REPORTS BY MULTIPLE STAKEHOLDERS WORKING IN THE AFAR REGIONAL STATE AND OTHER REGIONS WITHIN ETHIOPIA.

1) The Implementation of the Productive Safety Nets Programme, 2014: Highlands Outcomes Report

Guush Berhane (International Food Policy Research Institute), Kalle Hirvonen (International Food Policy Research Institute), John Hoddinott (Cornell University and International Food Policy Research Institute) November 30, 2015.

This impact report documents the impact of the Productive Safety Nets Programme (PSNP) in the Highland regions of Ethiopia, Tigray, Amhara, Oromia and SNNP. It updates material presented in previous assessments of program. It addresses the terms of reference by analysing the longitudinal community- and household-level data collected bi-annually since 2006, from approximately 3,600 households. It reports that across the board food security is improving. The following key points have been made: Food security has

improved in all regions. In Tigray and Oromia, the food gap experienced by PSNP beneficiaries has more than halved since 2006, as has diet quality; PSNP works payments have been considered to make a considerable impact on the household consumption rates; there has been a general decreases in the distress sale of livestock and livestock holdings have increased; housing has improved following investment in quality roofing materials from beneficiaries; very few households (only 3.9%) reported preparing a household asset business plan; there is no evidence that PSNP has increased agricultural outputs; since the increase of direct support payments in 2010 the food gap has fallen considerably, but short term nature of direct support beneficiaries means it is difficult to assess and compare regional data; households that receive food payments are on average more food secure than those that receive cash payments, but there are two main factors (value of payment, frequency of payment) involved to compare the two transfer modalities fairly; the average graduated household reports a marginal improvement on food security status, although one quarter report a lessening of food insecurity after leaving the programme.

In general, the report provides a comprehensive analysis of the statistical impact of different areas of the PSNP, commonly using graphs and bar charts to demonstrate this. Its weakness is in its lacking to engage with the residents themselves and in doing so, the data is missing real insight into why these changes have or have not occurred. By omitting any qualitative feedback from residents there is no space for respondents to reflect critically on the programme, which undermines their autonomy and propagates the unequal power relationship between donor and beneficiaries.

2) The Implementation of the Productive Safety Nets Programme, 2014: Lowlands Outcomes Report

Neha Kumar, International Food Policy Research Institute, John Hoddinott, Cornell University and International Food Policy Research Institute, November 30, 2015.

Same as format as the document above, except this impact report documents the impact of the

Productive Safety Nets Programme (PSNP) in the Lowland regions of Afar and Somali. The key findings are as follows: the food gap has fallen generally across the regions but progress has been uneven with some areas having worsened over the research period; there is no clear evidence that PSNP leads to the direct improvement of food insecurity; while livestock holdings in Somali have remain unchanged those of the Afar have been declining; wealth distribution is uneven across the lowlands, with the wealthiest ten percent of Afar households owning five times the average livestock; PSNP has no significant impact on livestock holdings in the region. Data for this report was analysed by creating statistical comparisons between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries within similar community groups through observable characteristics. While this may assist in understanding the general impact of the programme across the region, it is a rather reductionist way of comparing individual lifestyles. This also assumes that a comparable group of non-beneficiaries exist, but also that the lack of PSNP enrolment is the only factor creating differences in observable characteristics. In comparison to the previous paper that responded to over thirty of the research questions, this report only addresses two. This implies that there is a difficulty of obtaining data within the lowland region, but both the lack of data and the reasons for this are omitted from the report.

3) The Implementation of the Productive Safety Nets Programme and the Household Asset Building Programme in the Ethiopian Highlands, 2014: Program Performance Report

Guush Berhane, Kalle Hirvonen, John Hoddinott, Neha Kumar, Alemayehu Seyoum Taffesse, Yisehac Yohannes International Food Policy Research Institute

Jeremy Lind, Rachel Sabates-Wheeler, Alastair Strickland, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Mulugeta Tefera, Biniyam Nishan Dadimos, November 30, 2015

The same format as the two papers above, but addressing the PSNP and Household Asset Building Programme across the Highland regions, with 24 research questions addressed. The report accepts the skew created by data

improvement methods across the period of the bi-annual surveys. Most recently that included the change from paper data collection to electronic made possible by 100 Asus notebooks being provided by CSA, with possible drawbacks being the risk of exposure to viruses and the difficulty of storing such a large amount of data. As was missing from the previous reports, qualitative data has been analysed. Key informant interviews were held at the federal and regional level and at all four regional levels. These were designed to deepen contextual understanding of implementation and outcomes and complimented the focus group data. Focus group discussions were held at the kebele level in all regions. Five types of focus groups were interviewed which helps address demographic differences: chronically dependent households, graduates, women's group, men's group and a youth group. This was added to with specific household case studies.

Key findings are as follows: PSNP correctly targets more poor households than rich households; participation in Direct Support rises in correlation with age of the head of household, being most prevalent in the homes of elderly widows; Direct Support payments have increased, being triple the payments made in 2010 in some areas; payments have become timelier and more consistent over the research period however only 36% respondents note that they are confident in the predictability of payments which consequently undermines their ability to plan ahead; beneficiaries cope with programme failings through borrowing, reducing food consumption and distress asset sales; women are usually moved from Public Works to Direct Payment at 6 months of pregnancy until their child is approximately ten months of age; the majority of PSNP households has been enrolled for at least three consecutive years but has fallen ten percentage points since the 2012 survey; Agricultural production failures resulting from drought remained the principal rationale for requests for risk finance; there is lack of integration and common understanding of the principles and procedures of risk financing at all levels; the application of contingency budgets is hindered by the lack of technical and staff capacity to analyse early warning data and the poor quality of early warning information, exacerbated by staff and financial shortages;

Public Works have stimulated markets, with the road network being the most celebrated aspect of the programme which has increased the flow of trade and goods but may not be sustainable.

There has been considerable increase in the access to credit and financial services; some repayments of HABP loans were disrupted by beneficiaries believing it to be non-repayable aid; there has been some training provided through HABP regarding marketing off farm production and with financial management but unsure whether this is sustainable, rather on-farm technologies continue to focus largely on the use of fertilizer and modern inputs for crop production and on livestock fattening; there were testimonies within the focus group of successful enterprises that were borne out of HABP services; qualitative research indicates that PSNP public works are perceived to have increased access to a variety of social services, in particular, education, healthcare, and to a lesser extent veterinary services, and childcare; PSNP is perceived to have improved availability to clean water for human consumption and to the rehabilitation of natural resources; the graduation process is not transparent and seems to be inconsistent and there are minor cases, as supported by both quantitative and qualitative data, of graduates having improved livelihoods to PSNP households; While there were a range of regional views on whether targets are given or not, all woreda-level and these targets have a distortionary impact on the process of implementing graduation, leading to households being prematurely graduated; officials interviewed for this evaluation reported that they have received graduation targets from the regions record keeping has deteriorated, and in some localities this deterioration is significant; young people have a good understanding of the PSNP, however, they have not been involved in targeting decision.

As is obvious from the key points listed, this report offers a much more comprehensive reflection on the impact of the project, as it is both supported by quantitative and qualitative data. However, the breadth of the report means that it loses in the depth of the information. While focused groups were split into demographics of gender and data, there is

much more that could be addressed in how these features impact programme success. Judging by the quotes included, the focus groups were purely results driven and more could be done to understand the social and cultural impact and causes of the programme. In general, the report does take note of when the programme cannot take credit for increases in development indicators. While there reporting marginal gains or household losses, it avoids addressing the reasons for this in a self-critical way.

4) The Implementation of the Productive Safety Nets Programme in the Ethiopian Lowlands, 2014: Program Performance Report

Guush Berhane, Kalle Hirvonen, John Hoddinott, Neha Kumar, Alemayehu Seyoum Taffesse, Yisehac Yohannes International Food Policy Research Institute.

Jeremy Lind, Rachel Sabates-Wheeler, Alastair Strickland, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Mulugeta Tefera, Biniyam Nishan Dadimos, November 30, 2015.

As above, but in reference to the Afar and Somali region. Again, the report is more comprehensive in that it is supplemented by qualitative data; however, it is relatively limited in scope when compared to the highland region, without any real explanation as to why this is. Key findings are as follows: targeting has been poor in the region, with high levels of rich participation and many poor households unsupported; payments have been unpredictable, inconsistent and often below entitlement; whereas practically all of the highland and Somali households can find a transfer point in less than three hours of their home, this does not apply to nearly 40% of the Afar people; the risk financing mechanism was poorly implemented and did not protect beneficiaries from household asset depletion; there is a general increase in trade in the lowland areas with public works contributing to considerable market access improvements, access to water, crop cultivation and increased access to social and educational services. Much less detail is given than on the previous report regarding the nature of collecting qualitative data. While the reporting clearly outlines the lack of attainment of the Afar region, there is no real reflection as to why.

There is a complete lack of analysis of the programme in its entirety, on whether its methods that have proven valuable in the highlands, are appropriate for the lowland region. The reporting cements the one-size-fits-all approach of the programme itself and does not address cultural or political reasons for regional differences.

5) PSNP-HABP Final Report, 2014

John Hoddinott, Jeremy Lind, Guush Berhane, Kalle Hirvonen, Neha Kumar, Biniyam Nishan, Rachel Sabates-Wheeler, Alastair Strickland, Alemayehu Seyoum Taffesse, Mulugeta Tefera, Yisehac Yohannes November 30, 2015

This document summarises material found in four documents prepared as part of the 2014 evaluation of the impact of Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme, the Performance reports which focus primarily on operational aspects and the Outcomes reports that examine impact. Each chapter directly compares the recorded impact, as supported by quantitative and qualitative data, between the highland and lowland regions. In general, it provides a broad report on the general uptake of the programme; however, it offers no reflection of self-critique on regional differences. It is useful as a foundation but needs other agencies (should be external to circumnavigate bias) to give in depth insight into the key knowledge gaps.

6) Productive Safety Net Programs (PSNP IV) Annual Work Plan and Budget for 2015/16 (2008 EFY)

Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, December 2015

This work plan and budget is made to consolidate the 2008 EFY (2015/16) PSNP IV plans and budget requirements submitted by the respective eight regions, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Early Warning and Response Directorate, Extension Directorate (mainly the livelihood intervention) and the Natural Resource Directorate. This annual work plan and budget used reporting from the previous five-year programme to inform 2015/16 (2008 EFY), with the next stage being the 2015-2020 implementation. This second stage is focused on the following four outcomes:

- Clients' livelihood opportunities facilitated through three pathways: crop and livestock, off-farm income generation, and employment;
- Sustainable community assets built up and access to social services enhanced;
- Appropriate, timely and accessible transfers received by male and female clients;
- Prioritized instruments and tools in place to support an effective system for Social Protection and Disaster Risk management

There are attempts to ensure improvements of the following: fair and transparent client selection; timely, predictable and appropriate transfers; Primacy of transfers; improving the productive safety net (addressing the underlying causes of food insecurity and contributing to economic growth in its own right); addressing tailored livelihood solutions; integrating the PSNP into local systems; providing a scalable safety net (in the event of shocks); using cash payments as a first principle to stimulate markets; addressing gender equity. The drawback of this report is its complete focus upon statistical and economic frameworks to judge the progress and plan for the future of the project, highlighting the km of road built, or the kg of crop produced. There is a gaping knowledge gap for qualitative input, particularly when dealing with social factors such as gender inequity.

7) Productive Safety Net Programs (PSNP IV) Nine months Progress Report, 2015/16, Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, May 2016

Following on from above, this is the nine month progress report for the implementation of the 2015/2016 budget and work plan, largely referring to the preparatory processes and planned activities. Therefore, it focuses on broader logistics of the programme, including Human Resources, wages, data collection and storage, processes of targeting, consultancy agreements, financial and risk management systems and procurement. While this grants insight into the wider project management, it highlights the one-size-fits-all development

approach. There is no recognition for how the project should be adapted to regional differences. As before, it is economically focused and so omits the need to address social and cultural barriers to implementation. In doing so, it assumes it frames development as an economic issue, with no attention given to the welfare or satisfaction of beneficiaries. There is no long-term strategy of how to create real, tangible, long term sustainability in any of these regions.

8) Food Security Coordination Directorate, 2008 (2015/16) Nine month progress report of the productive safety net program, presented to joint review and implementation supervision mission, Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, May 30 2016

PowerPoint Presentation, reporting the Nine Month Progress Report (2008 EFY) as described above to the Joint Review and Implementation Supervision Mission. Public Works have been adapted to include participatory methods by using the knowledge of 78 regional experts. This still reinforces hierarchies of power and authority granted to 'professionals' and does not acknowledge the autonomy or sovereign knowledge of the beneficiaries themselves, which could be particularly useful in pastoralist communities. Challenges so far have been delays in reporting, retargeting processes, sector integration and staff placement. Preparatory activities for the Afar region have not commenced, but no explanation as to why. Priorities are given to meeting the JRIS Mission but do not address regional differences or lack of implementation in the Afar region.

9) Introduction to PSNP JRIS Mission, Federal Workshop Presentation, 30 May 2016

PowerPoint Presentation. Objectives of the JRIS as follows: assess implementation progress of the EFY 2008 PSNP annual plan to assess progress towards the activities of PSNP4; assess whether PSNP4 is on track to deliver its Outputs, and whether assumptions, including about drought from Nov 2015 JRIS, held true; agree on key priorities and actions that will be incorporated into the PSNP Annual Plans for EFY 2009 with a focus on being drought sensitive as required. JRIS includes 5 days of regional consultations, 7 days of

regional briefing for officials, 4 and half days of federal meetings and aide memoire writing. November JRIS evaluation provided some useful feedback: too many of the same issues raised time and again in JRIS with little evidence of them being acted upon in the meantime – for example salary and benefits, staff turnover, institutional issues; positive engagement requested from federal officers to issues being raised where they are responsible; too little tracking of progress with previous agreements, and less accountability; the need for better participation from wider stakeholders such as MOFED and other sectors.

10) Terms of Reference, Joint Review and Implementation Support (JRIS) Mission, May 2016

Terms of Reference for JRIS in order to measure impact and progress of the PSNP, including aide memoires, federal and regional meetings and presentations and the following working groups:

Group 1: Systems: targeting, graduation, communication, early warning systems and contingency planning

Group 2: Resource Management & Transfers (cash and food)

Sub-Group (a): Transfer (cash & Food)

Sub-Group (b): Financial Management and Procurement

Group 3: Public Works

Group 4: Livelihoods

Group 5: Coordination and Management

Group 6: Gender & Social Development and Nutrition

11) Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP-4) Joint Review and Implementation Support Mission November 23-December 4, 2015 Aide Memoire, no authors cited

A Government of Ethiopia (GOE) and multi-partner Joint Review & Implementation Support Mission (the Mission) met from November 30 to December 4, 2015. The objectives for the Mission were to: (i) assess the extent of the progress the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) and Household

Asset Building Programme (HABP) made towards their outputs prior to closing on June 30, 2015, and outstanding issues remain for closure; and (ii) agree on key priorities and actions that will be incorporated into the programme's Annual Plans in order to increase the likelihood that the PSNP-4 will achieve its objectives. This Aide Memoire records the agreements reached and updates actions from previously agreed Aide Memoires. The Aide Memoire goes some way to highlight the discrepancies in the Afar and Somali region. As an implementation issue, despite retargeting efforts following the 2012 evaluation, there has been no improvement in the 2014 evaluation.

The memoire calls for the expansion of the livelihoods component to Somali and Afar, yet planning for livelihoods in pastoral areas has not begun in earnest. The Mission noted that some Woredas in Afar and Somali have started planning for the livelihoods component, but lack guidance because of a lack of clear direction from the federal level. Pastoral livelihoods were included in the design document and PIM but no additional guidance was given to these Regions to date.

Furthermore, the memoire addresses the project history of implementing highland methods to the lowland region until tailored programmes have been designed. It also offers a more attention to gender inequity and attributes this in part to social and cultural reasoning. For example, the highlands focused Community-Based Participatory Watershed Management Guidelines were implemented in lowlands areas until 2012 when Guidelines for Public Works in Pastoral Areas were developed. The Guideline notes that gender inequalities in pastoral areas, in terms of access to and control over resources, contributes to increasing impoverishment because it undermines women's productive capacity. For example, apart from the powerlessness of women in political and economic affairs of society, the physical and psychological trauma of women due to deep-rooted socio-cultural norms in pastoral areas further marginalizes them in poverty reduction efforts. This may be true, but the rather reductionist way in which the report refers to the 'trauma' of these cultural norms, without any further detail or data to contextualise this,

undermines the autonomy of Afar women frames the Afar culture in a negative light.

The Aide Memoire does better than previous reports by drafting a 'social accountability plan'. A March 2014 Workshop brought together federal and regional gender specialists to discuss bottlenecks for gender mainstreaming and develop the Gender Action Plan mentioned above to address them. Many of the agreements are relevant to lowlands areas, but need to be further explored and verified. The Workshop agreed:

- Local areas should decide on transfer arrangements acknowledging diverse cultural contexts;
- Payment to women does not automatically result in increased household decision-making power on how to spend it;
- Strengthening awareness raising activities on household use of transfer at community and household level in addition to appeals committee on how to address cases of abuse of transfer;
- Strengthen implementation of joint Client Card and sensitization around household use of transfer;
- Possible piloting of new approaches to transfer receipt through community-driven processes; and
- Hire of gender and social development experts at world level.

12) Ethiopia Food Security Programme Joint Review and Implementation Support Mission for the Productive Safety Net Programme Afar Regional Aide Memoire, November 2015

The primary aim of the JRIS Aide memoire is to be a clear and concise, 2 to 3 page document that outlines regional implementation issues and actionable responses in regards to the PSNP. These are composed by various Working Groups and identify what is beyond regional control and in doing so, identifies what requires federal action. These have been written in for the next coming 'transfer season' in order to better aid preparation and assure for timely transfers. It is written to be accessible in order to enable better engagement

with regional-level political stakeholders.

The aide memoire is a record of key points and agreements arising from the regional workshop. It differs from the federal JRIS aide memoire, which is a negotiated agreement on issues and ways forward between government and development partners. The regional aide memoire is not negotiated and does not require approval from Regional Cabinet as it is a multi-stakeholder product rather than a government or development partner product.

These regional workshops are useful as they offer clear reporting on variant impact and issues experienced across the areas of programme implementation. It also offers clear routes of action to tackle each of these areas. There is an obvious lack of data and regional-federal communication in the Afar region which hinders its progress. The weakness of this report is that all actions take a top-down approach, with regional and federal bodies being responsible for implementing change onto the beneficiaries, rather than creating a clear empowerment plan of how beneficiaries can become involved in the development process.

This specific memoire highlights the following key issues in the Afar region: delay in targeting and re-targeting exercise; low numbers of FDP /store in PSNP woredas; technical software is not yet fully functional in most of the PSNP kebeles; inadequate number and capacity of store keeper and distribution experts at FDP level; delay and low quality of reporting from woreda to region; confusion on semi-skilled labour contract bidding process and reaching agreement on awarded bidders; Poor quality of woreda and regional procurement plan; low quality of some public works Sub-projects (Feeder roads, water harvesting structures, diversion & irrigation canals, S&W conservation structures); Low quality of PW planning and progress reports at woreda and kebele level; inadequate capacity building trainings from Region to Woreda staff (2008 EFY plan); absence of LH institutional Arrangement at regional and woreda levels; Livelihood opportunities in the region are not yet assessed /mapped.

13) Introduction to the Regional Aide-Memoire & Ethiopia Food Security Programme Joint Review & Implementation Support Mission for the Productive Safety Net Programme Amhara Regional Aide Memoire November 23-27, 2015

Same as above but with the following regional Amhara discrepancies: Concern on regular food security and early warning staff salary scale; incomplete client targeting; travel distance to collect their food entitlement from distribution points; Inadequate documentation and information gathering; Limited participation of new implementing stakeholders; Due attention is not given for stock & physical resources and program resources are mingled with regular assets; Delay of PIM training for leaders & managers; Absence of preventive maintenance for vehicles and motor vehicles and usage for non-program activities; Inadequate monitoring and evaluation of Public Works (Pws); Low implementations of ESMF, GSD and nutrition; Weak Operation and Maintenance management mechanism undermine sustainability of PWs; Concern on the readiness of employment and off-farm pathways implementation; Inadequate coordination among implementing agencies and low effectiveness of platforms; Concern on credit fund sources for livelihoods pathway.

14) Ethiopia Food Security Programme Joint Review & Implementation Support Mission for the Productive Safety Net Programme Dire Dawa and Harari Regions Aide Memoire November 2015

Same as above but with the following regional Dire Dawa and Harari discrepancies: Need to Harmonize public work and MLM; Timely transfer of cash and food commodities; preparations for the transfer; Food and cash transfer to beneficiary; Monitoring; Delay in Procurement; Transportation problem during transfer payment; Lack of physical plan for Contingency budget; Staffing; provision of tailored and sustainable support to clients; Slow rate of loan recovery/recovery; Weak loan disbursement rate.

15) Ethiopia Food Security Programme Joint Review & Implementation Support Mission for the Productive Safety Net Programme 4 Tigray Regional Aide Memoire November 2015

Same as above with the following regional Tigray discrepancies: Reporting Inconsistency on food movement & transfer status; Food security has faced a problem to coordinate the program at all levels; Insufficient quality of community level Public Works (PWs) plans; Nutrition activities may not be planned in PSNP to a desired level; Inadequate support and monitoring of PWs at woreda level; Lack of business plan consideration in loan provision by some DECSI branch & sub-branches; Insufficient support for off-farm clients in rural areas; Inadequate filing and documentation system of PSNP beneficiaries

16) Ethiopia Food Security Programme Joint Review & Implementation Support Mission for the Productive Safety Net Programme Oromia Regional Aide Memoire, November 2015

Same as above but with the following Oromia regional discrepancies: Delay in client card printing; Kebele Appeal Committees (KACs) in most woredas remain weak; Inadequate Internal control; Delay in taking action and closing of procurement audit findings; Revision of PW annual plan following re-targeting; Livelihood implementation coordination unit is not in place at Region, Zone and woreda level; Shortage of loan-able fund

17) Ethiopia Food Security Programme Joint Review & Implementation Support Mission for the Productive Safety Net Programme [Somali] Regional Aide Memoire, November 2015

Same as above with the following Somali regional discrepancies: PASS is not implemented in the woredas; Delay of booklet card for PSNP4; Delay of piloting cash modality transfer; Delay in transfer of salary from region to Woreda; Lack of proper resource management especially vehicles and motor bikes; Public work implementation time; Delay in implementation of preparatory works of livelihood

18) Ethiopia Food Security Programme Joint Review & Implementation Support Mission for the Productive Safety Net Programme SNNP Regional Aide Memoire, November 2015

Same as the above with the following SNNP regional discrepancies: timely completion of earlier PSNP transfers; Caseload difference between federal and region; Delay in awareness training on PSNP 4 design document; Inadequate procurement follow up and support to zones and woredas; Weak follow up of audit finding and corrective measures; Inadequate procurement support or training from federal to regions; Technical design not maintained; Capacity gap at kebele level; Institutionalization of the livelihood component in line with PIM requirements not yet implemented; Very low repayment rate of the HABP fresh loan; Delayed provision of training and awareness creation for leaders and experts.

19) PSNP 4 Rapid Response Mission (RRM) Field Assessment Report Afar Region, 21-24 April 2016

RRM Members: Nurhusen Molla (PWCU/MOANR), Sebhatleab Amanuel (MoFAC), Fatima Naqvi (DCT), Luis Lechiguero (EU), Ousman Mohammed (Afar PSNP FMO), Kadir Abdella (Afar Disaster Prevention and Food Security Programmes Coordination Office (DPFSPCO))

The April 2016 RRM is to give insight into the status of the agreed actions from the November 2015 JRIS Mission. Discussions were conducted at regional, woreda and kebele levels. For the Afar region, this began with a regional level discussion at the Afar Regional Food Security Office in Samara. A brief overview was given by the Regional Disaster Prevention & Food Security Coordination Office Head and it was emphasized that they should focus on technical discussions with the relevant teams. The Gender and Social Development (GSD) expert as well as the incident control unit (dealing with humanitarian response) were not available for meetings but the RRT members did manage to include the NGO Save the Children regarding humanitarian response and livelihoods.

According to regional and Woreda officials the drought situation in Afar is critical. This is mainly due to failure of the two major rainy seasons of the region and consequently, there is no graze for the animals and high shortage of water. There were severe delays in transfers and the full amount of food requested was not

received. The main reason for delay of transfer was explained as mainly related to lack of transport. Beneficiaries have had to sell some household assets or cattle to meet food needs due to delays between each round of transfer. PW reports were found to be almost non-existent within the Afar region. Of 32 woredas only 4 submitted one of the three pending quarterly reports. Remoteness of woredas coupled with limited communication facilities said to hinder regional compilation of data. In one way or the other, it also relates to capacity gaps at woreda and kebele level due to inadequate training on pastoral PW guideline. There has been no progress on livelihoods component – no work has happened on preparatory activities. It was requested that funds could be re-routed to deal with the drought activities specifically. However, if the Regional Cabinet requires further changes in the approved budget they need to submit a revised budget that will be discussed at Federal level and flexibility can only then be explored. Of all the actions advised in the JRIS Mission Meeting, across the board there is either no or marginal progress made.

This report is claimed to be 'accessible' in its approach and format, but it is in English and still contains technical terms. Nothing has been done to make this information engaging. Regional discussions have been minimal (one woreda and one kebele), which shows the lack of tangible feedback from the ground. Is this field engagement purely a box ticking exercise? There is not enough data to determine how engaging and truly participatory these discussions are. The fact that little or no progress has been made on any of the JRIS Mission actions (which has not occurred in other regions) highlights the severity of the disparity of the Afar region and should call for more in-depth research. Instead, more actions are called in the same way. Any changes to budget violate the contractual donor agreements. Adjustments can be made with Regional Cabinet approval but while this ensures funds are spent in adherence to the project goals, it makes the PSNP inflexible to change and further maintains the unequal power relationship between donors and beneficiaries.

20) SNP Joint Rapid Response Mission on PSNP-4 Harari Region Report, April 20-25 2016, Food Security Coordination Directorate, April 2015

Same as above, but for the Harari region. As such, the Mission in Dire Dawa and Harari Regions focus on the Regional level, including a rapid field visit to 2 Kebeles in each Region. It was also reported by the region and the kebele members that due to the severity of the drought, there are no graduate beneficiaries that are due to leave the program within 12 months of the report. However; as drought has affected majority of the rural population in the region, there are vulnerable households that have not been addressed. Additionally, PSNP households' members above the household cap (5 members) are not treated under any support hence they are not included on the humanitarian roster. Although logistics, human resources food and cash transfer timeline were well coordinated in the regions. Both the PSNP and humanitarian food resources are managed using the existing FDPs but most of the FDP stores holding capacities are not sufficient to serve both programmes food resources at the same time. Apart from the establishment and staffing of MoLSA at the woreda/cluster level, most of the agreed actions of from November 2015 were implemented accordingly by the given deadline. Shortage of admin and management budget is a serious problem in Dire Dawa region, the region explained as there is miscalculation of their admin + management budget from federal side.

21) SNP Joint Rapid Response Mission on PSNP-4 Oromia Region Report, April 20-25 2016, Food Security Coordination Directorate, April 2015

RRM Members: Fikru Tesfaye (World Bank), Manyazhal Shegaw (FCA), Filie Kedida (Oromia BoA)

The team visited two woredas, and two kebeles of the region from April 19-26, 2016. The team learned that gender equity has been maintained during selection of male and female clients for the livelihoods pilot. Clear guidance from the region, as well as strong effort from zones and woredas to create adequate awareness on the targeting process has contributed to this positive achievement. However, Implementation of the regular livelihood

component in the visited woredas is very weak. Lack of credit to finance business plans is found to be the major factor demotivating woreda level stakeholders. The 2009 annual plan preparation template has reached to all woredas and communities. Communities are actively participating in the process in terms of prioritizing PW activities to be implemented in their localities, though more efforts are needed to strengthen proactive engagement of all implementing stakeholders in the planning process

This region has experienced far higher rates of actionable gains, why is this not being compared directly to suffering regions like the Afar to find out why. Although the basic format/methodology of the RRM are the same, you can see the differences in reporting, which will make it difficult to truly compare – some reports give more detail, others give more attention to factors such as gender, some visit more woredas and kebeles. One of the members on the committee is a member of the World Bank, which ultimately undermines the credibility of the RRM to be truly critical.

22) SNP Joint Rapid Response Mission on PSNP-4 Amhara Region Report, April 20-25 2016, Food Security Coordination Directorate, April 2015

Same as above, but for the Amhara region. After a brief introductory meeting with the regional officials, the RRM team started its field visit from bottom (Kebele level). It did extensive discussions with community members (beneficiaries and CFSTF), and kebele officials. Next the team has made debrief (feedback) to woredas on its findings from sample kebeles visited, followed by exhaustive discussion with the woreda FSTF members (comprising of agriculture head, WoFED, PSNP and Livelihood focal persons, and ACSI staff). In the last day of its mission, exhaustive discussion was made with regional stakeholders so that to further verify findings from kebeles and woredas, to then reach consensus and agree on the way forward. There is a general weak coordination and collaboration among key actors at woreda and kebele levels, Limited follow-up of business plan implementation (diversion of credit use by livelihoods clients), and confusion on how to handle graduation in future planning.

This highlights the reporting differences – this document gives far more weight to the regional stakeholders by prioritising woreda and kebele discussions.

23) SNP Joint Rapid Response Mission on PSNP-4 Regional Report, April 25) 20-25 2016, Food Security Coordination Directorate, April 2015

The mission held discussions with PSNP clients, Kebele food security task forces, appeal committees, Woreda food security task forces and Regional food security task forces. The Kebele and community levels discussions were held in the presence of Kebele chairman, manager, agriculture office and school heads, health extension workers, development agents, a social worker, religious representatives, and PSNP clients. Grass roots level discussions helped the mission to understand what is on ground, the extent of community involvement in terms of the actual program management and overall reality check.

Woreda discussions include key program implementers such as woreda administration, agriculture and natural resources, health, early warning and food security, education, finance and economic development, labour and social affairs office heads. It was noted that at woreda level women and children, youth and sport affairs, micro and small enterprise were not invited for the meeting but do not address why. General implementation issues (which are commonly occurring across all regional reports) include (i) delays in placement of livelihoods institutional arrangement; (ii) delay in targeting, (iii) delay in client card distribution to clients, (iv) occurrence of drought, (v) flash floods and (iv) security in Konso special woreda. In fact, the region has taken corrective actions to some of these issues by way of speeding up targeting and client card distribution. Despite the absence of regional staff participation, the mission has met its objective. The mission concludes that EFY 2008 program implementation specifically transfers and public work activities were on track.

24) SNP Joint Rapid Response Mission on PSNP-4 Somali Region Report, April 20-25 2016, Food Security Coordination Directorate, April 2015

Same as above, but for the Somali region. Based on the above objective and priority areas, 7 people drawn from FSCD, DFID, WFP and Afar Region have carried out field assessments in three Woredas and three kebeles from April 20 to 25, 2016. The team first contacted Regional Food Security Task Force and briefed the regional officials on objectives of the mission. The humanitarian situation has clearly impacted the performance of the PSNP programme. In some woredas of the Siti zone, where drought impact is severe, implementation of PSNP lags. In Shinile woreda, client card was not distributed, PASS is not as functional as it is in the other two woredas visited by the mission, public works were put on hold until the 'Gu' rains (i.e. Monsoon rains during March) arrives and condition improves.

PSNP transfer has been delayed. In some woredas food distribution faced problems because of accessibility disruptions caused by heavy rain. The level of understanding on the continuum of response is very minimal at even officials and technical staff level. PSNP and humanitarian beneficiary targeting and registry needs close follow-up and assistance from region to woredas.

Close follow up is needed to realise full implementation of the PASS system in all woredas. Regions plan to receive cash for second and third round transfer. MOFED needs to communicate and provide close assistance particularly on how and where microfinance should be utilised for cash disbursement.

25) SNP Joint Rapid Response Mission on PSNP-4 Tigray Region Report, April 20-25 2016, Food Security Coordination Directorate, April 2015

Same as above, but for the Tigray region. The team met and had a discussion with the food security head of the region on the mission objectives and a detailed technical discussion was made with the regional technical team and implementing partners at regional level.

Key issues are the following: Limited resources, Shortage of Admin Budget, Transportation problems, Staff turnover.

26) PSNP Joint Review and Implementation Support (JRIS) Mission May 23-June 3 2016; Financial Management and Procurement Discussion Paper

Discussion Papers – Issues regarding financial management and procurement include the following:

Unclear institutional setup for PSNP food purchase. The FSCD needs to establish a permanent system on how to smoothly handle the food purchases. So, it needs to establish a permanent set-up and oversight body (Tender Endorsing Committee) for this activity within the RJOCFSS.

The Procurement of food grain: it was observed that procurement of food grain is carried out through modified ICB procedure more than four or five times a year depending on the quantity of food required annually and depending on the availability of food grain storage. This process is found to increase transaction cost going forward it was agreed to use the prequalified suppliers for specified period or use of framework contracts.

Again, these reports are framed purely from the top down approach. They only deal with the logistical improvements to the project.

27) PSNP Joint Review and Implementation Support (JRIS) Mission May 23-June 3 2016; Transfer and Food Management Discussion Paper

Same as the above but regarding transfer and food management:

Timeliness of transfers

There was a mixed performance on timeliness of resource transfer to beneficiaries. A cash transfer in most of the regions was on track whereas food transfer is significantly lagging, particularly in Afar region.

Response to the current drought situation

EFY 2009 is regarded as an unusual year due to a severe drought situation. The PSNP tried to respond to the resulting shock using its existing risk management tools; mainly by engaging in a joint planning with HRD implementers and through its contingency budget. As per the RRM targeting of beneficiaries between HRD and PSNP could be

regarded as one of the achievements despite few challenges observed in the process. PSNP and HRD beneficiaries are targeted separately, PSNP as usual targeting chronically food insecure and the poorest of poor households in the kebeles with transitory needs addressed by the contingency budget. In most occasions, PSNP households' members above the household cap (5 members) are not treated under any support hence they are not included either in the PSNP or the humanitarian roster.

28) Productive Safety Net Program-4 May 2016 JRIS mission Draft Final Working Paper for The System Development component

A working paper regarding system development. To facilitate the transition to system development. System Development Technical Committee (SD-TC) is one of the technical committees that have been established and become operational in EFY 2007. This is a joint program coordination mechanism between donors and GOE to provide ongoing management, technical and implementation support to output 1 of the PSNP-4. The SD-TC will also ensure that the design and delivery of the activities for Output 1 of the PSNP IV consider other relevant initiatives and contributes towards the systems approach of the overall Program, including those overseen by the National Social Protection Platform. However, actual implementations of all the activities under Output 1 are managed by the responsible government agencies, particularly MOLSA and the MoANR.

29) PSNP 4 May/June 2016 JRISM GSD and Nutrition Working Paper

Working Paper regarding Nutrition. Issues are considered at regional and federal level. Federal level barriers include:

There is Limited Capacity on nutrition linkages across the program at all level: There were limited training provided on GSD and nutrition sensitive interventions. Most training was only provided up to regional level—with PSNP process owners, PW experts and sometimes with health experts. No capacity development efforts carried out yet for the pastoral areas. Training remained at regional level and did not trickle down to districts and

Kebele level

Weak reporting on the nutrition sensitive and GSD provisions:

Delay in roll out of the Communication Strategy

Linkages with Financial Transparency and Accountability and Grievance Redress Mechanism: While there has been significant progress establishing linkages with Social Accountability, progress to establish linkages and harmonize with Financial Transparency and Accountability and the wider system of Grievance Redress in Ethiopia is slow and should be sped up.

Issues to be discussed at Regional Level:

Limited capacity of PSNP process owner at all level; Limited capacity of PSNP implementation partners; Weak multi sectoral Coordination mechanism; low numbers of Woreda level GSD experts; There is a gap in terms of awareness of PSNP clients of their rights and responsibilities; Inadequate awareness about Nutrition issues

30) Productive Safety Net Program IV (PSNP- 4) May/ June, 2016 JRIS Livelihoods Working Paper

The aim of this working paper is to guide the May/June, 2016 JRIS livelihoods working group participants discuss and assess (a) whether the livelihoods implementation of EFY 2008 achieved its annual targets (b) any impacts on the current drought situation on livelihoods implementation and (c) propose key priorities and actions that can be incorporated into the Regions and Federal level annual plan for EFY 2009. The working paper also helps to pay due attention to the quality of the program implementation and identify if there is concerns around that.

The working paper is thus structured in such a way that it highlights key achievements of EFY 2008.

In order to aid capacity building, the following was proposed:

- Eight pilot livelihoods transfer woredas (Oromia, Amhara, SNNP and Tigray) has been selected and endorsed by Regional and Federal government

- Livelihoods Transfer Guidance Note drafted, reviewed and final document approved by the Federal government
- Training provided pilot to woreda, zones and regional staff
- PSNP Livelihoods client identification and related activities were underway and transfer budget has been released to Regions
- At total of 24,707 kebele food security task forces and staff of which 7,672 females have received training on PSNP 4 design and PIM documents.
- As part the EFY 2009 planning process planning workshop conducted and regional and Woreda staff, including from Afar and Somali, attended the training.

31) PSNP 4 May/June 2016 JRISM Public Works Working Paper

Issues for federal level discussion:

- Inadequate awareness about BCC implementation both at woreda and kebele levels
- Inadequate functionality of PW technological systems,
- Inadequate training
- Regional level Issues:
- Staffing levels at regional and woreda levels,
- Low performance of BCC implementation in most of the regions,
- Poor progress on nutrition sensitive PW in pastoral regions,
- Slow PW implementation and reporting pastoral regions, particularly in Afar region,
- Absence of flexible plans for pastoral regions – both PW implementation and transfer season
- Low performance of handover of completed PW subprojects to sector offices and communities

32) Regional Atlas of the Afar Region, Bureau of Finance and Economic Development, March 2009

The revised Regional Atlas is a joint product of the Afar Finance and Economic Development Bureau and Amhara National Regional State Finance and Economic Development Bureau. The Atlas contains most of the regional physical, social and economic information. Most of the information is collected for budget allocation and others are obtained from woody Biomass Inventory and Strategic Plan Documents. The Main objective of this Atlas is to show the spatial distribution of regional resources.

The detail objectives are: to give direction for future sectoral development, by showing the existing distribution of social and economic sectors of each woreda; to help planners and policy makers on pastoral activity, by showing the needed and the available animal feed; to show the pressure/ density/ of human and livestock population on area (this helps to compare the available resource and the existing pressure on that specific area); to help NGO's and Donors where to use their resources, by showing the existing distribution of such activities.

The following measures will need to be made in the future: the actual position of each social and economic sectors will need to be collected using GPS; to finalise the kebele boundary of each woreda; update sectoral information, adding comments and other supplementary information.

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