Achievements and Challenges of Productive Safety Net Program in Overcoming Chronic Food Insecurity in Ethiopia: A Reflection

Messay Mulugeta^{*}, Teferi Mekonnen^{**} and Bechaye Tesfaye^{***}

Abstract

Food insecurity has been one of the critical socioeconomic problems in Ethiopia. Recently, there are about 18 million food-insecure people in Ethiopia, of which around eight million are in emergency situation; while the remaining are in stressed conditions. Cognizant of this fact, the government of Ethiopia, together with donor organizations, formulated National Food Security Strategy in 1996 and is currently implementing the Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP). This paper was, therefore, designed to reflect on the overall successes and challenges of PSNP in Ethiopia. Data were collected from relevant literature and organizations. The findings indicate that PSNP has registered significant achievements including consumption smoothening, asset protection, rural infrastructure development, and environmental conservation, though there are growing concerns and challenges including lack of adequate awareness among stakeholders and the community, nepotism, dependency syndrome among beneficiaries, poor quality of infrastructure, debatable graduation processes, low staff quality and turnover, budget deficiency and inflation of food prices. The overall contemporary situations related to the existing food insecurity problems and the resultant safety net program in Ethiopia call for significant transformation of the agricultural sector. In any way, PSNP of this magnitude should not be a long-lasting strategy for poverty alleviation in Ethiopia though, with the current situation, safety net programs are compulsory to protect the poor from further impoverishment and famine-induced deaths. To make the best of the program, comprehensive planning, well-thought-out genuine beneficiary recruitment manuals, an adequate understanding of the practices, efficient utilization of resources and competent leadership are vital.

Keywords: Food in/security, poverty, productive safety net, 'graduation', Ethiopia

^{*} **Messay Mulugeta (PhD)** is Associate Professor of Socioeconomic Development and Environment at Center for Food Security Studies, College of Development Studies, Addis Ababa University. Email: <u>mesay.mulugeta1@aau.edu.et</u>.

^{**}**Teferee Mekonnen (PhD)** is Associate Professor of Population and Development Planning at Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, College of Social Sciences, Addis Ababa University. <u>Email: teferimak@yahoo.com.</u>

^{***} **Bechaye Tesfaye (MSc)** is a Senior Lecturer at Center for Food Security Studies, College of Development Studies, Addis Ababa University. He is also a PhD Candidate at Twente University (Netherlands). Email: <u>tbechaye@yahoo.com</u>.

1. Introduction

The concept of food security has become a focal issue to the academicians, development practitioners, political parties and policymakers since the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights (UN 1948). According to Article 25 of the Declaration, food is one of the core elements of an adequate standard of living. The concept of food security has been defined and redefined since mid-1970s in view of this declaration. According to Degefa (2008) and Smith *et al.* (1993), there are over 200 definitions of food security these days. The most commonly adopted food security definition that was approved by the World Food Summit in 1996 is: *'Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life'* (FAO 1996). Given this definition, food insecurity is one of the indicators of rural poverty in Ethiopia.

Unfavourable conditions such as extreme weather events, environmental degradation, improper policy framework, population pressure, and low level of agricultural technology adoption are frequently mentioned as the major drivers of food insecurity in Ethiopia. As indicated by Devereux (2000) and Amogne et al. (2018), extreme weather events, particularly recurrent droughts, have been echoed as major causes of famine and chronic food insecurity in the country. Historical records of drought cycle in Ethiopia show that Ethiopia is facing a drought in every eight to ten years at a growing incidence throughout the past many decades (Liou and Getachew 2019) even though significant trends are not clear. As indicated in Jjemba et al. (2016), for example, in 2014/15, the spring (belg) and summer (kiremt) rains were severely delayed and erratic, affecting 9.7 million Ethiopians. This specific drought incident of 2014/15 was an extremely rare event that only happened about once every few hundred years in northeaster and central Ethiopia, and again, the rainfall scarcity in 2019, for example, exposed about 8.5 million people to food insecurity perils (GNAFC and FSIN 2020). When this was added to the 8 million chronically food-insecure people under the PSNP in the same year (World Bank 2019), the number of food insecure people in Ethiopia amounted to 16.5 million.

Food insecurity has been a widespread concern both in rural and urban areas of Ethiopia for generations. However, it has been receiving high attention only after the fall of the Imperial regime in 1975. Many long and short-term programs such as relief supply, environmental protection programs, environmental rehabilitation activities, water resource management projects, employment creation schemes, resettlement programs and rural credit provisions have been attempted since the mid-1970s. Nevertheless, the number of people falling into transitory and chronic food insecurity had been increasing throughout that time. Thus, by the end of the 1990s, it was recognized that these programs were overwhelmed with various challenges (Mulat et al. 2006). Hence, the Government of Ethiopian (GoE), in collaboration with non-governmental organization (NGOs) and development partners, has begun working on poverty reduction and food security enhancement schemes both at national and household levels. The Agricultural Development Led Industrialization (ADLI) strategy formed the basis for the Poverty Reduction and Food Security Program (PRFSP). Given the fact that Ethiopian economy is predominated by smallholder agriculture, ADLI emphasizes on agriculture and rural development schemes. It presupposes that the enhancement of agricultural production and productivity through the adoption of labor-based technologies increase the domestic income of smallholders. This, in turn, augments the ability of agriculture to supply raw materials for processing industries and develop a market for a domestic manufacturer. Moreover, ADLI has emphasized creating enabling conditions for food self-sufficiency at the National level. The strategic directions of ADLI have become part of Agriculture and Rural Development Policy and Strategy (ARDPS) provided in 2003 (FDRE 2003; Diriba 2018).

Ethiopia, together with donor organizations, has come up with Food Security Program (FSP) in 1996 to significantly reduce the number of chronic and transitory food insecure people in the country. National Food Security Strategy (NFSS) was first developed in 1996 and updated in March 2002. This strategy tries to address both the demand and supply side. As it is indicated in the NFSS document, the strategy is based upon three basic pillars: (1) to increase the availability of food through increased domestic production, (2) to ensure access to food for food-deficit households; and (3)

to strengthen emergency response capabilities. The first pillar gives more attention to areas of reliable rainfall to increase domestic production and transform subsistence farming to market-oriented agriculture. The second pillar focuses on drought-prone, moisture deficit and pastoral areas that require a 'more comprehensive and appropriate package of intervention to cater for their situation'. The third pillar acknowledges the need for emergency assistance in times of need. Therefore, the government has committed itself to strengthen the capacity for monitoring, surveillance and early warning systems, relief transfer and distribution, strategic grain reserve and others (FDRE 2002; Messay 2012).

The principal response to the persistent food insecurity incidents before 2005 was emergency food aid through unpredictable appeal system in Ethiopia. As indicated in MoARD's Food Security Programme document (MoARD 2009), following the drought of 2002/3, which inflicted more than 13 million people to food insecurity perils, Ethiopian recognized that the emergency food aid appeal system had saved lives, yet it had not been able to protect asset depletion and break the cycle of emergency request. As a result, the government established the New Coalition for Food Security to approach food security problems in the country more comprehensively. This process resulted in the formulation of the Food Security Program (FSP) in Ethiopia that was launched in 2003. The government strives to eliminate poverty through boosting economic growth and capacity building schemes. For this to happen, different development strategies have been designed so far through the involvement of various development actors. The PSNP is one of the strategies designed to ensure that all responsible actors in different phases and all segments of the society focusing on pro-poor people are actively involved in the development endeavours. The program has been implemented since 2005 and passed through different implementations cycles. Initially, it was a life-saving strategy. Then it transformed into the production scenario. Although the objectives of the program in each phase vary, ensuring resilient and food secured society, immune from natural and man-made calamities, has been the overall intent of the PSNP program.

The Food Security Program was designed in an integrated way with four principal components namely: (1) Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP), (2) Other Food Security Program (OFSP) which was, later on, modified and re-named as Household Asset Building Program (HABP), (3) Resettlement Program, and (4) the Complementary Community Investment (CCI). It was formulated to attain food security for the chronically food insecure and to

considerably improve and sustain overall food security of the transitory food insecure population of the country within a short (FDRE 2002). In fact, since 2016 a specialized form of PSNP, known as the Urban Productive Safety Net Program (UPSNP), has been in progress targeting to mitigate the food security problems of the urban poor (FUJCFSA 2018).

Despite the fact that the Ethiopian FSP has its achievements in some aspects (Fekadu et al. 2009; Messay 2012; Guush et al. 2017; Chala 2019), the program has been challenged by several adverse factors including lack of adequate awareness among the stakeholders and the beneficiaries, nepotism, delay of transfers both in cash and kind, security problems in case of delivery, and many more. Whatever the challenges are, PSNP in Ethiopia is acclaimed for its huge contribution in protecting resource depletion, food security enhancement, environmental protection and protection of the poor from famine-related forced displacements, unlike the case in the recent Ethiopian famine history. With this introductory understanding, this paper was designed to reflect on the achievements and challenges of the PSNP program based on relevant literatures and primary interview data obtained from pertinent organizations. It was with these scenarios in mind that the researchers have tried to assess literatures and the views of top-level individuals regarding the achievements and challenges of PSNP in overcoming chronic food insecurity in Ethiopia.

The conceptual framework (Figure 1) depicts problems related to food availability as well as the underlying determinants which the PSNP is designed to mitigate in Ethiopia. On the other hand, drastic changes in food access, due to drought or social conflict, may seriously disrupt production strategies and threaten the ability of the households to access food with severe consequences that affect future productive potential of the households. PSNP is designed to mitigate such a challenge. In Ethiopian context, the amount of food production and cash income is determined by the availability and status of natural capital (such as farmland, quality and availability of water, climatic conditions and soil fertility) or household asset status (cash, farm animals and equipment, seed reserve, and manure/compost/dung stock) and human capital (working group of the household). Finally, food utilization and its determinants result in poor health and nutrition, which have effects on labour productivity and household income-earning potential (Riely et al. 1999; FAO, 2008; Messay 2012).

Messay, M. Teferee, M. & Bechaye, T. Achievements and Challenges of PSNP in Overcoming....

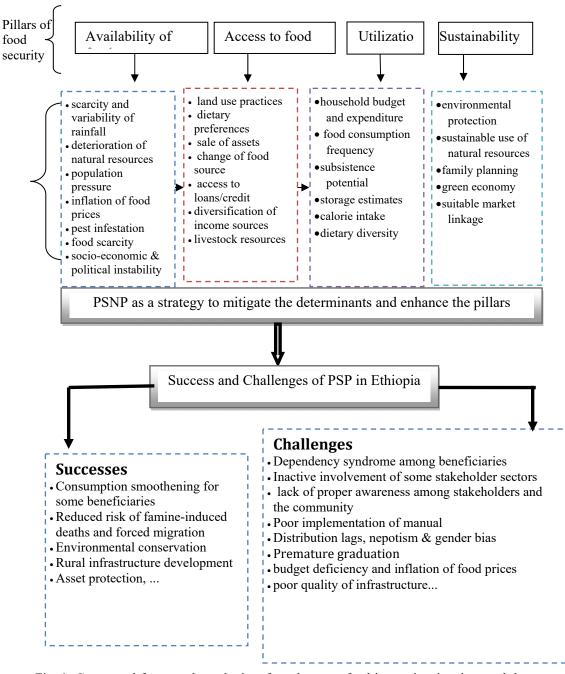


Fig. 1: Conceptual framework on the interfaces between food insecurity situations and the PSNP intensions

Source: Summarized based on reviewed literatures and primary data

2. Methodology: Data sources and Analysis Techniques

Principally a qualitative approach, with some complementary numerical secondary data from various sources and desk reviews, were employed in this paper. High-level experts working in pertinent governmental and nongovernmental organizations were purposively selected for the interview and relevant documents therein were reviewed. These included Consortium of Christian Relief and Development (CCRDA), Food Security and Environmental Facility (FSEF) Steering Committee members of the CCRDA, Federal Urban Job Creation and Food Security Agency (FUJCFSA), Ministry of Agriculture (MoA), National Disaster Risk Management (NDRMC), Oromia Urban Job Creation and Food Security Office (OJCFSO), Ministry of Finance and Economic Cooperation (MoFEC), Oromia Office of Agriculture and Natural Resources (OANR), The Hunger Project Ethiopia (THP-E), Agency for Co-operation and Research in Development (ACORD), Save Our Soul Sahel (SOS Sahel-Ethiopia), Selam Environment Development Association (SEDA), World Vision-Ethiopia (WVE), Ethiopian, Rural Self Help Organization (ERSHA) and Organization for Rehabilitation and Development in Amhara (ORDA). Pre-designed semi-structured Key Infomant Interview Guide was used for the interview.

Descriptive analysis was based on statistical data obtained from secondary sources that had some records of PSNP in Ethiopia and were analysed by using percentages, summations, frequency and ratios. Content analysis was based on verbal and/or text data obtained from the interviewees and relevant documents. Data were coded, categorized and summarized to provide meanings and explanations to the experiences and insights of the key informants in the context of the achievements and challenges of PSNP in overcoming chronic food insecurity in Ethiopia.

3. Perceptions on Ethiopia's PSNP

PSNP is the major component of the Food Security Program (FSP) in the country. It is a multi-year program that makes predictable resources (cash or

food) transfer to chronically food insecure people in chronically food-insecure *woredas* (MoARD 2009).

As defined in MoARD (2004) Program Implementation Manual, the major objective of Ethiopia's PSNP is

'to provide transfers to the food insecure population in chronically food-insecure woredas in a way that prevents asset depletion at the household level and create assets at the community level... address immediate human needs while simultaneously (i) supporting the rural transformation process, (ii) preventing long-term consequences of short-term consumption shortages, (iii) encouraging households to engage in production and investment, and (iv) promoting market development by increasing household purchasing power'.

According to the manual, PSNP has two components: (1) direct support and (2) public work. The program makes food and/or cash transfers to food-insecure households in chronically food-insecure *woredas* in exchange for labour-intensive public works, and unconditional direct support transfers to labour-poor households (in terms of age, disability issues and sex composition). The program originally targeted chronically food insecure rural *woredas* that were identified based on their relief history records. *Woredas* that had been receiving food aid for at least three consecutive years before the commencement of the PSNP in the area were considered to be chronically food insecure. The beneficiary households are required to be resource-poor households and those who are not able to produce enough food even in case of normal rains (MoARD 2004). Accordingly, chronically food-insecure households are defined as households that:

"...have been assessed by a mix of administrative guidelines and community knowledge to have faced continuous food shortages (usually three months of food gap or more) in the last three years and received food assistance. This also includes households that suddenly become more vulnerable as a result of a severe loss of assets and are unable to support themselves (in the last one-two years). ... [It may also include] any household without family support and other means of social protection and support". In line with the aforementioned definition, the number of chronic food insecure rural people in Ethiopia was 5.2 million in 2005, raised to 7.2 million in 2006, 7.8 million in 2017 and 8.5 million in 2019 (Desalegn 2013; WFP 2017; OCHA 2019). The PSNP has been implemented phase by phase since its commencement in 2005. The first and second phases ran between 2005 and 2009. The third phase started in January 2010 and was meant to end in five years, yet it was extended by six months and ended in June 2015. PSNP is now in its fourth phase, running in all regions of the country except Benishangul-Gumuz and Gambella regions. PSNP IV is expected to end in 2020. Moreover, Urban PSNP has also become operational in Addis Ababa and other selected regional cities.

Regarding the benefit that PSNP has brought to the Ethiopian poor, a key respondent, selected from an NGO, stated that

"...past history of the PSNP strategies indicated that the program had substantially contributed to achieving some of its purposes. Specifically, the program contributed to improving the average months of households' food security from 8.4 months in 2006 to 10.1 months in 2012. Important developments were registered in rural infrastructures and environmental protection. Other contributions included improvements in access to education and health services as well as better watershed management. However, the quality of rural infrastructure is questionable...'

Likewise, regarding the benefit that PSNP has brought to the Ethiopian poor, an interviewee from FUJCFSA indicated that PSNP had a positive impact on the livelihoods of the poor households in that it enhanced the level of infrastructure and contributed to environmental rehabilitation and watershed management across the project. Gender sensitivity was also enhanced as 51.4% of the beneficiaries were females in 2018. Members of the beneficiary households had improved access to education and health services and developed better resilience to climate change and socioeconomic shocks. Similarly, Guush *et al.* (2017) and Asnake and Irenso (2018) showed that PSNP had enhanced the livelihoods and nutritional status of the rural poor though it was full of challenges and growing concerns.

3.1. Unique Features of PSNP IV

PSNP IV was introduced in January 2015. This specific program target subcomponents were (1) permanent direct support, (2) public works and links to social services, (3) livelihoods, (4) social accountability and complaints and grievances, and (5) risk management. The key donors supporting the program are the World Bank, the government of Ethiopia and USAID (MoA 2014). According to the interview held with experts working in various organizations, different stakeholders, from federal to woreda/kebele levels, are responsible to act on the program for its effective implementations. These include: Federal Food Security Coordination Directorate of the MoANR, National Disaster Risk Management Commission, Federal Urban Job Creation and Food Security Office, Regional Urban Job Creation and Food Security Bureaus, Woreda Urban Job Creation and Food Security Offices, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Regional Food Security Offices, Woreda Food Security Task Force, Woreda Food Security Desk, Non-governmental organizations such as World Vision Ethiopia, ORDA, CARE, SOS Sahel, etc, and PSNP committees established from national to community level from different sectors such as agriculture, health, education, water resource development, land administration, road authority and others.

The envisaged outcome of the PSNP in this fourth phase, according to MoA (2014) is: 'Enhanced participation in an improved rural safety net, livelihood, and nutrition services by food insecure female/male-headed households'. As it is described in this design document of MoA (2014), the outcome is assumed to be achieved through the combination of expanding the scale of the program and improved quality of implementation. This phase's program has come up with some new and modified elements that are considered to improve program outcomes. Some of these elements are the incorporation of the livelihood's component replacing HABP with a start-up capital transfer to enhance graduation; increased transfer size; yearround permanent support to direct support beneficiaries; gender and nutrition services; and expansion of the program to new woredas to cover more chronically food-insecure households. PSNP IV has not yet been evaluated for its achievements and challenges.

A key informant working for an NGO characterizes PSN IV as follows:

"...it is a program characterized by bringing together more enormous resources as compared to the previous phases. PSNP IV is supporting the transition from a series of time-bounded programs to a system development scheme through adopting different relevant initiatives.... Integration of innovative development approaches and working in partnership with international research institutes like IFPRI and academic institutions are also vital in the fourth phase of PSNP. It covers larger areas and program participants...'

According to a KI from FUJCFSA, PSNP IV is characterized by integration of livelihood components with PSNP, increment in value of transfer, twelve months of support for permanent direct support beneficiaries, strengthened continuum and response, greater flexibility in public work, expansion of conditionality beyond previous PSNP focus, support to three livelihood pathways to graduation, assurance of permanent direct support by Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA), strengthened focus on gender equality, and gradual increase of financial support from the Government of Ethiopia.

According to the interview data obtained from Oromia Bureau of Agriculture and Natural Resources (OBANR), the direct support period has been extended from six months to 12 months in case of PSNP IV. Behavioural change has been given more attention. Tailored trainings have been given to the beneficiaries in childcare, housekeeping, nutrition and hygiene. Beyond food security, PSNP IV also targets issues like sustainable resource creation, life skill development, income generation, maternal healthcare services, and child nutrition services. If properly implemented, this may reduce the fear of creating dependency syndrome owing to longterm provision of aid to people in need of assistance.

3.2. Urban Productive Safety Net Program (UPSNP)

PSNP IV is a unique phase in that it is an urban food security component known as Urban Productive Safety Net Program (UPSNP) encompassing three major interrelated sub-programs. These are unconditional direct support, public work, and livelihood sub-programs. The government has introduced UPSNP as a major component of PSNP IV guided by the National Social Protection Policy (FDRE 2012) and based on the successes of the preceding rural PSNP. Consistent with the poverty reduction and economic development objectives of the national GTP II and the NSPP, the UPSNP framework seeks to guide implementation of interventions that will alleviate the various needs of the urban poor. The long-term objective of the program is reducing poverty and vulnerability among the urban poor living below the poverty line by implementing productive and predictable urban safety nets and complementary livelihood interventions over 10 years and beyond (FUJCFSA 2018). According to UNDP (2018), urban headcount poverty in Ethiopia was 14.8% in 2016.

Beneficiaries in				
No	Cities	1st & 2nd years	Public work	Direct support
1	Addis Ababa	323,918	272,091	51,827
2	Mekele	10,000	8,400	1,600
3	Semera	1,500	1,260	240
4	Dessie	12,000	10,080	1,920
5	Adama	17,000	14,280	2,720
6	Jijiga	10,885	9,143	1,742
7	Asosa	3,750	3,150	600
8	Hawassa	22,000	18,480	3,520
9	Gambella	5,052	4,244	808
10	Harari	6,780	5,695	1,085
11	Dire Dawa	28,000	23,520	4,480
	Subtotal	440,885	370,343	70,542
	Special needs	8,000		8,000
	Total	448,885	370,343	78,542

Table 1. Number of public work and direct support beneficiaries after the second round of targeting (2016 - 2018)

Source: FUJCFSA joint review and supervision mission aide memoire (April 2018)

According to the data obtained from FUJCFSA, UPSNP constitutes the first phase of the long-term strategy of the government which aims to support over 4.7 million urban poor living in 972 cities and towns. This first phase of UPSNP focused on putting in place basic safety net building blocks and targeted to reach over 600 thousand people in 11 major cities such as

Adama, Addis Ababa, Asosa, Dessie, Dire Dawa, Gambela, Hawasa, Harar, Jigjiga, Mekele, and Semera. The first phase of the project is targeted to run between 2016 and 2021 focusing on putting in place basic safety net building blocks including productive and predictable transfers through public works, livelihood interventions and capacity building. In this phase, over 600,000 people (about 55% of the people living below the poverty line in these 11 cities) are targeted through a gradual roll-out plan for five years. In fact, as of April 2018, about 448,885 people are addressed, of which about 370,343 are selected for public work sub-component and the remaining 78,542 are considered for direct support. The main components of UPSNP are: (i) Safety Net Support; (ii) Livelihood Services; and (iii) Institutional Strengthening, Project Management and Coordination.

The major activities designed for public work and livelihood development sub-components in UPSNP include urban greenery, solid waste management, and watershed management activities. UPSNP offers targeted poor people with unskilled work for cash on investments that contribute directly to urban infrastructure and the urban environment, which in turn will make the cities/towns more efficient and competitive in economic growth and job creation endeavours.

4. Major Achievements and Challenges of PSNP

PSNP has been implemented phase by phase in Ethiopia since its commencement in 2005. The first two years (2005 and 2006) were considered Phase I; the years from 2007 to 2009 were Phase II. Phase III ran from 2010 to 2015). The fourth phase which was started in 2016 is expected to phase out in 2020. Thus, the program has already been implemented for 14 years in four phases. All the reviewed documents and the interviewed respondents for this research inform that PSNP in Ethiopia is characterized by both enormous achievements and challenges. Due to time and space limits, this paper does not go into phase by phase description of the achievements and challenges observed through all the program implementation phases.

4.1. Major PSNP achievements

Despite some drawbacks, the food security program in general, and the PSNP in particular, have been playing a significant role in addressing persistent food insecurity problems in the country. Millions of people have been benefiting from PSNP food and /or cash transfers that have enabled them 'to meeting consumption needs, reducing the risks they faced and providing them with alternative options to selling productive assets' (MoA 2014). Empirical studies conducted on the determinants of graduation by using descriptive statistics and econometric techniques (Yibrah 2013; Gilligan et al., 2009; Chala 2019) showed improved food consumption of the beneficiaries while the program was running. Progress evaluation conducted by Berhane et al. (2011) has also identified several achievements. According to their findings, the number of months that a household covered its food gap from its own production improved, households' asset holding levels increased, distress sale of assets decreased, and the subjective measure of well-being for chronical food insecure households was better in 2010 as compared to 2008.

Thousands of households benefited from government and donor supported credit facilities financed through other food security/household assetbuilding programs (MoA 2014). The resettlement program also assisted thousands of households to get access to more fertile land in moisture sufficient areas (Messay 2012; MoA 2014). Similarly, Zemzem *et al.* (2020) indicated that participation in PSP was used to leverage greater protection to vulnerable households. The ideas of many of the interviewees concur with the research findings in that, in the *woredas* where there has been better leadership and well-integrated PSNP and other programs, households have been able to save and accumulate assets only because of the interview.

The interview data acquired from Oromia Bureau of Agriculture and Natural Resources (OBANR) shows that PSNP in the region has contributed greatly to, *inter alia*, soil and water conservation schemes and infrastructure development. School, health facilities, dry-season roads connecting some *kebeles* and water points have been constructed. In the same way, Federal Job Creation and Food Security Agency (FJCFSA) interviewees also

appreciated the mitigated food gap and relatively enhanced food security status of the poor through UPSNP. The ideas of the interviewees concurred with MoA (2014) reports. The food security situation of PSNP participants in the highland areas showed improvement from 8.4 months/year in 2006 to above 10 months at the end of 2012 as a result of the intervention. The MoA (2014) also showed that the public work component of the PSNP had contributed to the improvement of rural infrastructure and watershed development. This included improved access to education and health services. It supported the livelihoods of the households through construction and rehabilitation of ponds, springs, hand-dug wells, irrigation canals and improved market access.

Ethiopia is one of a few sub-Saharan African countries that has achieved the first MDGs and made progress towards the target of halving undernourished people by 2015. It has increased food availability by 41%, decreased poverty level by 33% (1999-2010), showed consistent progress towards decreasing stunting (FAO, IFAD & WFP 2015). Though it is not identified how much of these successes are attributed to FSP in the country, it is clear that PSNP and HABP played great roles in the registered achievement. In spite of these progresses, the Global Food Security Index /GFSI/ (2016), measuring annual global food security status, ranked Ethiopia at 98th out of 113 countries. This may be because nearly half of the 27 million people identified as vulnerable to absolute poverty live in non-PSNP *woredas* of the country (MoA 2014).

The well-accomplished activities by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Cooperation (MoFEC) are worth mentioning in this regard. Interview with a few experts of MoFEC regarding PSNP revealed that the adoption of PSNP as a channel program to strengthen the livelihoods and food security status of the poor as well as its environmental protection schemes were something vital to the country at large. The program has prepared different standard manuals such as Program Implementation Manual (PIM), Procurement Manual (PM) and Financial Manual (FM) for proper implementation, clarity and accountability. In addition to regional supervision by development partners and MoFEC, several task forces are supporting the implementation

activity. The program is subject to internal and external audit review that has helped to maintain the quality of accounting and recording functions and the series of timely corrective actions taken on audit findings.

The MoFEC's interviews indicate that MoU has been signed between MoFEC and regional Governments of Ethiopia for the proper implementation and monitoring of the program. Financial transparency and accountability activities are carried out for the program budget, and reports are delivered on time and with an acceptable standard. Adequate staff is in place with all the necessary supplies to carry out the activities to the level best, and continuous and hands-on training has been conducted to improve the quality of PSNP implementation. Technical support and on-the-job training have been conducted to strengthen the reporting and controlling functions, and new computers and printers are distributed to all regions and woredas as well. The program has a financial management manual to govern its activities. Timely payments, cash-first and predictable transfer to the beneficiaries are core elements of the PSNP program. This has been partly carried out by the electronic payment mechanism to simplify and get the process faster. Currently, around 66 woredas are included in the electronic payment scheme. Interviewees further disclosed that PASS software was used to prepare attendance sheets and payrolls for beneficiaries. Training has been given to accountants and food security of experts in this regard. ToR has been prepared to strengthen the implementation of PASS to mitigate some weaknesses of the software.

The interview at FJCFSA and the document analysis therein showed the achievements obtained in Urban Productive Safety Net Program (UPSNP). First and foremost, direct support beneficiaries receive payments within 5-7 days of the following month in almost all the cities, an impressive better performance in its first full year of implementation. There has been good progress with public works in all the cities selected for UPSNP. All the eleven cities are at good standing in completing annual public works plan with significant progress of implementation. The public works prioritize sub-projects in five main areas: solid waste management, urban beautification and greenery, urban integrated watershed management, urban

agriculture as well as urban social infrastructure and services. A revised guideline on norms and standards has been accomplished and disseminated to the cities.

The FJCFSA's and the document analysis therein also show that training on the public work guidelines have been provided to all cities. The minimum work requirement for a beneficiary is set to be four to five hours per day. Second round targeting has been completed in most cities. Important progress has been made in cash transfer in case of both public works and permanent direct support beneficiaries. Good progress has also been made on impact evaluation. A project-specific Management Information System (MIS) is expected to be developed to facilitate the generation of credible information for implementers and managers and it is expected to be operational both at federal and regional levels. Most of the project structures have been well established and are all functional even though some staff positions still require to be filled. Awareness creation about the project started with the preparedness for targeting activities in all cities and at all administrative levels within the cities for proper citizen engagement; financial management review was carried out for the project at federal and regional levels. Lastly, the project has given due attention to gender and social development issues. Gender specialist was recruited and Gender and Social Development Taskforce was established and started to follow up issues related to gender equity.

The contribution of NGOs/CSOs in the PSNP program is also meaningful. A case in point is the work of SOS Sahel in Sidama Zone (SNNPR) targeting 15,441 households. Out of this, 9,332 households were chronically food insecure and registered as beneficiaries of PSNP, of which 36% were female-headed households. The strategy of SOS Sahel in Sidama includes creation and protection of productive household asset (wealth) through on-farm and off-farm businesses such as beekeeping and poultry as well as herding sheep and goat. Tailored training in financial management and life skills, and credit services are also in place. Besides, the SOS Sahel is working together with local institutions as a strategy to support and respond

to women's needs and priorities through various capacity building and discussion forums.

The interviews with many other experts in different NGOs/CSOs and the document analysis therein show that they are significantly contributing to the effective implementation of the program in all aspects. Specifically, they comply with the goal of the program: 'Resilience to shocks and livelihoods enhanced, and food security and nutrition improved for rural households vulnerable to food insecurity.' The entire sample NGOs/CSOs are found to be going along with the principles and components of the PSNP. They are working towards improving the livelihoods of the poor. It is also found that they have good experiences working with the community and development actors. Hence, the government can take up the best lessons while working with them to transform the livelihoods of vulnerable households through innovative and integrated initiatives to achieve the program objectives. NGOs/CSOs can contribute significantly in terms of capacity building schemes such as strengthening the capacity of institutions and individuals at national, regional and local levels that are actively engaged in resiliencebuilding initiatives.

4.2. Major PSNP challenges

Devereux and Cook (2009) question whether social policy in the South meets social needs. They argue that, '...in poor countries, social policy as conventionally designed and delivered leaves the needs of the poor inadequately addressed...'. They identified two key reasons why this is happening. 'The first is that northern models of social provisioning were transplanted to poor countries with little adaptation to local realities. The second arises from the top-down and sectoral nature of social policy. The result is a mismatch between the provision of social goods and services and actual needs...'

As it has been mentioned earlier, the key goal of FSP in Ethiopia is to improve the food security status of the poor households. Emphasis was given to graduation from PSNP that was envisaged to be achieved at scale within the first and second phases of the Program (2005-2009). According to the intention of the program, about one million chronically food insecure households would have graduated to food secure status and two million more households would have improved their food security status within three to five years of the first and second phases of the program (MoARD 2004). However, there were only 280,000 individuals graduated between 2007 and 2009 (MoARD 2016). According to the arguments in MoARD (2016), the limited progress to graduation from PSNP is 'likely the result of the general reliance of the Government on single household loans combined with the complexities associated with taking very poor households out of food insecurity in a sustainable fashion'. On the other hand, the government and donors understood that achieving food security at the household level took much more time than initially agreed and thus decided to extend the PSNP program for another five years (Pankhurst and Dessalegn Rahmato. 2013). In the third phase (2010-2014), too, PSNP and other FSPs were designed complementarily with Household Asset Building Program (HABP) to achieve graduation at large scale. However, progress towards proper graduation at each phase had not been achieved and was a challenge (Coulter 2011; Devereux et al. 2014).

There is a contradiction between government-based reports and empirical research findings regarding graduation from PSNP. Many government reports indicate that hundreds of thousands of rural households graduated from PSNP based on the standard set in the implementation manual and/or based on significant resource they accumulated during their PSNP life. Contrary to this, Chala (2019) indicates that many of the reported graduated households were prematurely removed from the program before achieving graduation. Most of the so-called graduated households were still in food insecurity status. A study by Sabates-wheeler *et al.* (2012) in four *woredas* of Tigray and Oromia regions revealed that many of the beneficiaries under the program had no confidence to graduate, indicating that 25% graduates in two sample *woredas* in Oromia region and around 33% in sample *woredas* in Tigray had no confidence to continue without PSNP.

There are varied views on the low performance of the graduation targets. Officials at different levels were found to be complaining of dependency syndrome that the beneficiaries developed during their PSNP life (Sabates-wheeler *et. al.*, 2012). Chala (2019) wondered whether the program created

dependency on parts of beneficiaries and speculated 'the fact that there has so far been, contrary to the expectations of program planners and decisionmakers, only a small number of graduates suggests that dependency is a concern and will become a serious problem in the years ahead'. Though some qualitative studies mention some signs of dependency on PSNP (Chala 2019), they need further verification. On the contrary, one report done for CARE on enablers and constrainers of graduation from PSNP in Ethiopia (Sabates-wheeler *et.al* 2012) indicated that participants were unwilling to graduate for the 'fear of drought; lack of adequate assets in the house; being too poor to graduate, and limited opportunities to access credit easily after graduation', as opposed to officials' perception of participants having developed transfers dependency. The findings of Devereux and Ulrichs (2015) concur that '...*beneficiaries want to graduate, but lack the necessary attributes or resources to do so. ...they will try to stay in the programme ...so as not to lose their benefits*'.

As clearly depicted in the conceptual framework designed for this paper (Figure 1), vulnerability contexts are very appalling issues constraining the graduation of households from PSNP. Similarly, Devereux (2010) observed the adverse impact of persistent drought and rain failure on graduation in Ethiopia as follows: '... after three years of steady progress, most of the gains made in terms of income growth and asset accumulation were lost in 2008/09 when rain failure led to two successive failed harvests in several highland regions. What do 'graduation' and 'resilience' mean in such inherently vulnerable and unpredictable livelihood contexts?' It means nothing.

The other problem related to graduation challenges is integration between the existing food security programs on conditions of complementing one another. A case in point was the interface between PSNP and HABP. It was the HABP that was designed to build the capacity of beneficiary households to be able to generate and accumulate assets to graduate from PSNP. However, the integration between PSNP and HABP was not incorporated, as anticipated, uniformly across all the regions (Berhane *et al.*, 2011). But if properly synergized, as noted in Zemzem, *et al.* (2020), with the joint effects of public works and health insurance programme in Ethiopia, the two social protection interventions would provide greater protection to vulnerable households.

The views of respondents from NGO/CSO and governmental organizations indicate that there has been considerable conceptual confusion on *graduation, graduation measurements and graduation benchmarks* that impacted the implementation of graduation from PSNP. Inadequate awareness of graduation guidelines across regions, weak institutional capacity to bring together resources in different food security programs and activities at different levels, and quota oriented graduation practices in some regions have been challenging the implementation of PSNP in general and *'graduation'* in particular.

We asked a key informant in a government office for his views:

"...some sector offices are fairly quick to respond. They actively take part in all phases of the program (planning, implementation, monitoring and follow up) and properly act as per the implementation principles indicated in the manual; whereas others are lagging behind. Some institutions/sectors are running for resource scrambling (both financial and physical) than primarily acting on how to collaboratively integrate activities towards achieving the program goals. Information barrier is also a common and critical problem in PSNP processes...'

Similarly, an interviewee from Oromia Bureau of Agriculture and Natural Resource (OBANR) also mentioned challenges related to lack of integration between the stakeholders and coordination predicaments as major challenges in PSNP in Ethiopia. Challenges related to scarcity, inconsistency and delay of funding are also critical. Moreover, it is a challenge to see recurrent drought prohibiting the beneficiary not to graduate as per the targeted period. Another key challenge that OBANR's interviewee mentioned is the inability to accommodate all the household members in case the family size is over five.

In the same way, an interviewee in the Strategic Food Reserve Agency (SFRA) articulated lack of coordination and overlapping of duties and

responsibilities as challenges. A case in point is the fact that both SFRA and National Disaster Risk Commission (NDRC) receive aids, purchase, and store food, which is an overlapping activity creating problems in many ways such as requesting food loans. SFRA complains on NDRC for its negligence in collecting the requested food amount. Sometimes, '*we are forced to wait for NDRC for about a year to collect what it promised to collect within 15 days*' said an SFRA interviewee. This may lead to unnecessary damage/spoilage of food amidst huge food gap in this country. Generally, it is found that there is a lack of coordination and integration between these two very important organizations in issues related to the food supply in this country.

The interviewees in NDRMC claimed that NDRMC was not working directly on the PSNP program during the course of this study. It used to work on it but it transferred this specific duty to Ministry of Agriculture (MoA). So its responsibility, in this regard, is limited to the provision of logistics based on the request coming from other organizations working on PSNP. In case of its activities related to logistics, NDRMC interviewees mentioned challenges like lack of adequate resources, transportation problem (for example road quality), security predicaments (for example, the current conflicts across the country resulted in frequent delays), less capability of contracting transport agents, less number of transportation trucks as compared to the existing high demand to transport food aids, weather and climate-related problems, as some of the roads were only seasonal, overlapping of the programs, limited capacity of Djibouti.

MoFEC is one of the most important stakeholders in Ethiopian PSNP. Correspondingly, the interviewees in this organization pointed out three major categories of challenges the organization was facing related to PSNP: (a) general challenges; (b) reporting and accounting challenges; and (c) payment challenges. Under the general challenges, the interviewees pointed out unexpected and frequent revision in budgeting as basic. Under reporting and accounting category, they had a concern on poor narration in terms of variance analysis and data consistency. Though IBEX software was used for recording, reporting and budget control, it was not fully implemented in all PSNP *woredas*. Turnover of trained finance and management experts in some *woredas* was indicated as a major challenge. Some task forces were limited to the federal level, consequently limiting some supervision activities to the federal level. Regarding payment challenges, PASS software, intended to prepare payroll and attendance sheet, had some weaknesses to properly run the intended duty. Some regions did not distribute client identification cards on time resulting in risky payment to beneficiaries. The use of electronic payment was not as fast as expected owing to poor internet connectivity. Absence of internal audit and the resulting weak internal control was mentioned as a major challenge by interviewees from MoFEC.

Alike the key informants in the governmental offices, interviewees from NGOs/CSOs indicated a few challenges related to PSNP in Ethiopia. The security issue came at the top agenda. 'Over the last three years', said one of the key informant interviewees, '...as a result of the political crises in the country and the resultant security problems here and there across the country, we have been forced to work below capacity'. They particularly mentioned lack of funding organizations as a severe challenge, starting from the declaration of Charities and Societies Proclamation in 2009. This proclamation had put excessive restrictions on the work of the organizations, making funding very hard to get. According to the interviewees, lack of awareness among the beneficiaries had created dependency syndrome as a result of which the beneficiaries were becoming very reluctant to graduate from the program. This, in turn, had put more burdens on the program, in general.

The interviews and document analysis of the Federal Job Creation and Food Security Agency pointed out some challenges observed over the last few years. The imbalance between the existing huge demands and resources available for the program in almost all the beneficiary cities/towns was mentioned as a major challenge. Problems regarding poor health conditions and age-related constraints as well as inadequate cash transfer were other key challenges in addition to the delays in reporting progress from the beneficiary cities. Some beneficiaries in Addis Ababa were a bit sceptical about the sustainability of the intervention. The existing large rural-urban migration was a burden to the program as well. This was because new comers to the cities were eligible for inclusion, on the condition that they met all project inclusion criteria (being among the poorest and most vulnerable) and had been living in the city for some months. Also, food price inflation was found to be one of the key challenges while slow progress in the operationalization of the livelihood services component and low budget utilization in some cities were major challenges. The slow banking service was also an emerging concern adversely affecting the timely transfer of cash, auditing and reporting.

The Ethiopian PSNP, though widely acclaimed, is not free form criticism. Fekadu and Mberengwa (2009), for example, indicated nepotism in the process of targeting in which high non-poor households were included in the programme. Most interviewees agreed that there were some valid criticisms which focused on cases of nepotism and dependency syndrome among beneficiaries. PSNP's strategy to ensure food security through cash transfers is against building sustainable schemes through which citizens could be uplifted from food poverty by their own efforts. The implementation approach should have been in a way that it motivates and inspires the community and for self-reliance endeavours. As it stands now, in most cases, the beneficiaries would like to remain PSNP dependent throughout their lifetime. The program shall focus on how to pull away the people from dependency syndrome while working to ensure self-reliance.

In a nutshell, related to PSNP challenges and criticisms, most interviewees and the investigated documents indicate dependency syndrome, premature graduation and the inconsistency therein, lack of coordination between stakeholders, underutilization of the program, delayed budget approval, poor watershed management practices and infrastructure development, lack of commitment of some stakeholders, staff turnover owing to poor salary, retargeting problems, political interference, security problems in some areas and shortage of storage facility as major challenges in PSNP in Ethiopia.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

The Ethiopian Productive Safety Program (PSNP), which was originally designed to address about 5 million chronically food-insecure people in targeted chronically food insecure rural *woredas*, gradually expanded to most parts of Ethiopia including urban areas. PSNP is now benefiting about 8.5 million poor Ethiopians, *i.e.* about 8 million rural and close to 500,000 urban poor. The PSNP objective of food consumption smoothing and asset protection at the household level has been satisfactory. There is no evidence of famine-induced deaths and forced displacement of people at least in the PSNP target *woredas*, unlike the previous history of Ethiopia. Though '*graduation*' is criticized as premature and unsustainable, the program has more or less contributed to household asset protection and accumulation. The public work component has essentially contributed to the provision of rural infrastructures and conservation of natural resources. In the same way, the recently (in 2016) introduced UPSNP is well-underway with various successes and some drawbacks.

The findings of this study reveal that PSNP (including UPSNP) is underway in line with the policy and strategy targets of Ethiopia such as the Growth and Transformation Plan II (2014/15-2019/20). It also contributes to the currently launched Homegrown Economic Reform (HEP), which aims at transforming Ethiopia from a largely agrarian low-income country to an industrialized lower-middle-income country by 2030. This is because, in general terms, the policies and strategies of Ethiopia are targeting to significantly reduce the poverty levels and boost up the overall economic development and livelihoods of the people. In line with this, it is logical to argue that the PSNP strategy is performing well. However, the implementation of the program is not free from challenges and drawbacks. The program has been challenged by several adverse issues such as premature and unsustainable 'graduation', dependence syndrome, lack of awareness among stakeholders and beneficiaries, favouritism in case of selection, political interferences, inadequate skill, and delay of transfer, among others.

In light of the findings, the following policy suggestions are forwarded. Short-term strategies to enhance the benefits of U/PSNP could include ease of constraints related to delay of transfer and distribution as well as provision of tailored services and items based on the specific characteristics of the beneficiary households. Revision of burdensome planned resettlement rules that obstruct resettlement of farmers inter-regionally across Ethiopia; revision of the PSNP graduation manual to fit to each agro-ecological zone; socio-cultural setups and the livelihoods systems; and improving regulatory quality, including the beneficiary selection framework to reduce favouritism are vital. Likewise, the long-term schemes could include clarity on the responsibility of each stakeholder on the objectives of the program, and participatory approach as a means of implementation technique.

The government of Ethiopia is recommended to work towards redressing broader development bottlenecks such as corruption, political/social instability and income inequality at different levels. Establishment of largescale agricultural zones to produce adequate food internally and substitute food importation are vital to sustainably improve the food security status of the people. Heavier taxation of luxury goods and furtherance of diaspora trust fund to augment government income towards self-reliable safety net funds for the poor and avoiding the mentality of dependency are also vital. Putting right directions to enhance the staple food preferences of the people in addition to the existing most constant foodstuffs is essential. Policies geared towards family planning to curb the alarmingly increasing population size and enhanced awareness creation activities on issues of saving, minimalization of extravagant traditional feasts are timely for Ethiopia. Good governance is the panacea for most of the predicaments observed in PSNP program. Hence, policies and other regulations at all levels must be geared towards transparent planning and improved implementation and reporting processes at all levels.

References

Amogne Asfaw, Belay Simane, Ali Hassen, Amare Bantider. 2018. Variability and Time Series Trend Analysis of Rainfall and Temperature in Northcentral Ethiopia: A Case Study in Woleka sub-basin. *Journal of Weather and Climate Extremes*, 19: 29-41.

- Asnake Ararsa Irenso and Gudina Egata Atomsa. 2018. Implications of Ethiopian Productive Safety Net Programme on household dietary diversity and women's body mass index: a cross-sectional study, *Journal of Food and Nutrition Research*, 62, doi: 10.29219/fnr.v62.1574.
- Berhane, J. Hoddinott, Kumar, A. Seyoum, M. Tadele, *et al.* 2011. Evaluation of Ethiopia's Food Security Program: Documenting Progress in the implementation of the Productive Safety Nets Programme and the Household Asset Building Programme. Washinton Dc: International Food Policy Research Institute [Un-published].
- Chala Wordofa. 2019. Determinants of Graduation from Safety Net Programme: A Case Study in Chiro District, Oromia National Regional State. PhD Dissertation Submitted to Center for Rural Development of the College of Development Studies, Addis Ababa University.
- Coulter, L. 2011. Draft Guidelines: Graduation Estimation Tools. Addis Ababa: The Food Economy Group, available at www.feg-consulting.com.
- Degefa Tolossa. 2005. Rural Livelihoods, Poverty and Food Insecurity in Ethiopia: A Case Study of Erenssa and Garbi Communities in Oromia Zone, Amhara National Regional State. Published Doctoral Thesis for the Degree of Philosophy, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Faculty of Social sciences and Technology Management, Department of Geography. Trondheim
- Degefa Tolossa. 2008. Understanding the Realities of Urban Poor and their Food Security Situations: A Case Study at Berta Gibi and Geemchu Safar in Addis Ababa City, Ethiopia. Vrf Series.
- Devereux, S. 2000.Famine in the Twentieth Century, Institute of Development Studies (IDS) Working Paper 105.
- Devereux, S. 2010. Dependency and Graduation, Frontiers of Social Protection Brief, Number 5. Johannesburg: rhvp.
- Devereux, S., Sabates-Wheeler, Mulugeta Tefera, Sabates, R., & Feyera Sima .2014. Graduation from Food Security Program in Ethiopia: FAC Ethiopia, Final Report, Working Paper 080, Future Agriculture, available at www.future-agricultures.org.
- Devereux, S. & Martina Ulrichs. 2015. Stakeholder Perceptions on Graduation in Ethiopia and Rwanda. *IDS Bulletin*, 46(20): 145-154.
- Devereux, S. and Sarah Cook (2009). Does Social Policy Meet Social Needs?, *IDS Bulletin*, 31 (4): 63-73 (https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1759-5436.2000.mp31004007.x

- Diriba Weltej. 2018. A Critical Review of Rural Development Policy of Ethiopia: Access, Utilization and Coverage. *Journal of Agriculture & Food Security*, 7:55 https://doi.org/10.1186/s40066-018-0208-y.
- Federal Democratic Republic Ethiopia /FDRE/. 2002. Food Security Strategy, Federal Democratic Republic Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.
- FDRE. 2003. Rural Development Policy and Strategies. Ministry of Finance and Economic Development Economic Policy and Planning Department, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.
- FDRE. 2012. National Social Protection Policy of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.
- FUJCFSA 2018. Urban Productive Safety Net Program Joint Review and Supervision Aide Memoire, Federal Urban Job Creation and Food Security Agency. Addis Ababa.
- Fekadu, Nigussa and Ignatius Mberengwa. 2009. Challenges of Productive Safety Net Program Implementation at Local Level: The Case of Kuyu Woreda, North Shewa Zone, Oromia region, Ethiopia. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 11 (1): Corpus ID: 167675953.
- Food and Agricultural Organization /FAO/. 1996. Rome Declaration on World Food Security and World Food Summit Plan of Action. World Food Summit. Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 13-17 November 1996. Rome.
- FAO. 2010. The State of Food Insecurity in the World. Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, http://www.fao.org.
- FAO, IFAD and WFP 2015. The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2015, Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations /FAO/, International Fund for Agricultural Development /IFAD/ & World Food Program /WFP/. Rome.
- Frank, R., M. Nancy, C. Bruce, B. Laura, and K. Eric. 1999. Food Security Indicators and Framework for Use in the Monitoring and Evaluation of Food Aid Programs, Food Security and Nutrition Monitoring Project (IMPACT), U.S. Agency for International Development.
- Gilligan, O.; Hoddinott, J. & Alemayehu Seyoum. 2009. An Analysis of Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Program and Its Linkages. Washington, *D.C*, International Food Policy Research Institute.
- GNAFC and FSIN 2020. Global Report on Food Crise: Joint Analysis for Better Decisions. Global Network Against Food Crises /GNAFC/ and Food Security Information Network /FSIN/. 2020.
- Guush Berhane, John Hoddinott and Neha Kumar. 2017. The impact of Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme on the Nutritional Status of

Children: 2008–2012, ESSP Working Paper, International Food Security Research Institute (IFPRI), Washington, DC.

- Havas, K. and Salman, M. 2011. Food Security: Its Components and Challenges', International Journal of Food Safety, Nutrition and Public Health, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp.4–11.
- Jjemba, E. Roop Singh, and Julie Arrighi. 2016. Extreme drought in Ethiopia Stretches Drought Management Systems, Red Cross Red Crescent Climate Centre, https://cdkn.org/wp-content/uploads/.
- Liou, Yuei-An Spatio and Getachew Mehabie Mulualem. 2019. Spatiotemporal Assessment of Drought in Ethiopia and the Impact of Recent Intense Droughts, *Remote Sensing*, *11*(15), 1828; https://doi.org/10.3390/rs11151828.
- Maxwell, D. 1996. Measuring Food Insecurity: The Frequency and Severity of Coping Strategies, *Food Policy*, 21(3): 291–303. https://doi.org/10.1016/0306-9192(96)00005-X.
- Menberu Teshome. 2014. Population Growth and Cultivated Land in Rural Ethiopia: Land Use Dynamics, Access, Farm Size, and Fragmentation, *Journal of Resources and Environment*, 4(3): 148-161.
- Messay Mulugeta. 2012. Resettlement and Food Security Nexus in Ethiopia. A Case Study from Nonno District, PhD Dissertation, Addis Ababa University.
- MoARD. 2004. Productive Safety Net Program: Program Implementation Manual. Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.
- MoARD. 2009. Food Security Programme 2010-2014. Addis Ababa: Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Addis Ababa.
- MoA. 2014. Productive Safety Net Programme, Phase IV Programme Implementation Manual, Ministry of Agriculture. Addis Ababa.
- Mulat Demeke, Fantu Guta, Tadele Ferede. 2006. Agricultural Development and Food Security in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), Building a Case for More Public Support: The Case of Ethiopia. Policy Assistance Unit of the FAO Sub-Regional Office for East and Southern Africa, Rome.
- Riely, F., Mock, N., Cogill, B., Bailey, L. & Kenefick, L. 1999. Food Security Indicators and Framework for Use in the Monitoring and Evaluation of Food Aid Programs. United States Agency for International Development.
- Sabates-Wheeler, R.; Mulugeta Tefera and Girma Bekele. 2012. Assessing Enablers and Constrainers of Graduation: Evidence from the Food Security Programme in Ethiopia and Working Paper No 044. Brighton: Future Agriculture Consortium.

- Sen, A. 1981. Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation (Oxford, Clarendon Press).
- Smith, M., Pointing, J., & Maxwell, S. 1993. Household Food Security: Concepts and Definitions: An Annotated Bibliography, *IDS Bibliography Series*, No. 8.
- UN. 1948. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. United Nations General Assembly.
- UNDP 2018. Ethiopia's Progress Towards Eradicating Poverty. A paper Presented to the Inter-Agency Group Meeting on the Implementation of the Third United Nations Decade for the Eradication of Poverty (2018-2027), United Nations Development Programme, 18-20 April 2018, Addis Ababa.
- OCHA 2019. Ethiopia Humanitarian Bulletin, Issue No 20. United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Addis Ababa.
- Pankhurst, A. and Dessalegn Rahmato. 2013. Introduction: Food Security, Safety Nets and Social Protection, in Dessalegn *et al.* (eds), Food Security, Safety Nets and Social Protection in Ethiopia. Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies.
- World Bank. 2019. Ethiopia Productive Safety Nets Project 4 (PSNP 4): Implementation Status & Results Report, Addis Ababa
- WFP 2017. Ethiopia 2017 Emergency Situation No 2, March and April 2017, World Food Program. Addis Ababa.
- Workneh Nigatu. 2008. Food Security Strategy and Productive Safety Net Program in Ethiopia, in Taye Assefa (ed) Digest of Ethiopia's National Policies, Strategies and Programs. Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies
- Yibrah Hagos. 2013. Graduation Determinants of Productive Safety Net Program Beneficiary Households: A Logistic Analysis for Tigray-Ethiopia. European Journal of Business and Economics 8(4). DOI: 10.12955/ejbe.v8i4.423.
- Zemzem Shigute, Christoph Strupat, Francesco Burchi, Getnet Alemu & Arjun S. Bedi. 2020. Linking Social Protection Schemes: The Joint Effects of a Public Works and a Health Insurance Programme in Ethiopia. *Journal of Development Studies*, 56(2): 431–448.

EDITORIAL POLICY

- 1. The *Ethiopian Journal of Development Research (EJDR)* is a bi-annual journal dedicated to serve as an avenue for sharing useful findings in the multi-disciplinary study of development problems and issues focusing on Ethiopia in particular and the developing countries in general.
- 2. EJDR publishes original peer-reviewed articles that traverse through wide areas and themes of development. It also publishes short communiqué, synopses of major researches, dissertation abstracts, book reviews, and evidence-based commentaries, which may have both theoretical and empirical contents drawn using scientific methodological approaches. As such, it provides scholars, scientists and researchers in development research with an avenue for sharing and reflecting on research results.
- 3. EJDR publishes research articles that contribute to scholarly dialogue on the economic, social, political, and related problems of development in Ethiopia, and elsewhere. In addition to their scholarly quality, therefore, the major criterion used for selecting the articles to be published in EJDR is their contribution to the growth of knowledge about development in Ethiopia and other similar set ups.
- 4. Priority will be given to articles that deal with development practices, policies, strategies and institutions, especially those focusing on rural development. However, articles concerned with other development issues of the country and Africa are also welcome for publication so long as they have scholarly merit.
- 5. All articles submitted to EJDR will be referred by at least two scholars of proven competence in the particular field/s. Where the two may give divergent recommendations, a third opinion is sought. In short, the journal comes through rigorous peer-review and editorial processes and procedures.
- 6. However, the Editorial Board reserves the right of final acceptance, rejection and demanding editorial correction of papers submitted and the final decision regarding their publication.

- 7. All manuscripts should be set in the required style and format and should be submitted to the Managing Editor.
- 8. The responsibility for the views expressed in the articles that appear in EJDR is solely that of their authors, not of the editors or of the College of Development Studies, Addis Ababa University.
- 9. Multiple authorship articles receive priority over works by a single author.
- 10. EJDR does not accept articles and other contributions that have previously been published (be it in paper-based formats or Internetbased media, such as open-access journals) or are currently under review by other journals.
- 11. Articles submitted for publication in the EJDR must conform to the technical requirements set out in the "Guide to Authors" and the "Style and Format". It is not the editors' responsibility to correct style, incomplete references or factual fallacies.
- 12. Authors shall thus sign anti-plagiarism declaration both at initial submission of articles and when they submit the final revised version of same.
- 13. In addition to the regular issues, CoDS may publish special issues of the EJDR that will be devoted to specific themes or programmes selected by the editors.
- 14. All articles submitted to the EJDR will be acknowledged, and status communicated to authors, but those not accepted for publication will not be returned to the authors.
- 15. Authors of published articles will receive two copies of the particular issue and five off-prints of their articles.
- 16. The copyright on all the contributions published in EJDR is retained by the College of Development Studies, Addis Ababa University.
- 17. CDS shall consider requests of authors to reprint their contributions elsewhere provided that the request is made in writing and the conditions stated in the copyright agreement are fulfilled.

- 18. Plagiarism, including self-plagiarism and reproducing once-own work, is a serious academic dishonesty; and therefore, CoDS is opposed to it. Committing such an offence shall entail litigations leading to a series of severe consequences, including loss of all rights resulting from the plagiarized work, compensations for the harm caused to the original sources, compensations for the image damage caused to EJDR and the costs incurred in producing and disseminating that particular issue of the Journal.
- 19. For non-commercial purposes, such as research and teaching, articles can be reproduced and used with due acknowledgement.
- 20. Authors are required to strictly adhere to the Editorial Policy of the Journal.

Ethiopian Journal of Development Research (EJDR) Language and Style Guides

I. General

Contributors are encouraged to submit good scientific papers, which should:

- present an accurate account of the research investigation;
- be clearly written and easily understood;
- follow the particular style of the scientific discipline;
- be free of jargon and local slang;
- have appropriate, relevant and adequate illustrative material;
- not contain any plagiarized material (plagiarism is a serious offence and is a serious charge against an author).

Length: the manuscript should

- be double spaced on A4 paper size with 2.5cm margins on all sides (left, right, top and bottom).
- be 20–30 pages (for articles); 7-10 pages (for critical reviews and feature articles/commentaries); up to 3 pages (for book reviews and short communications).
- contain proportional and adequate presentation of the major sections of an article.
- contain well-balanced graphics (tables, graphs, illustrations) and textual elements.

Before submitting the manuscripts for publication in EJDR, authors are required to follow the following styles and formats, which are widely used in academic journals in development studies and the social sciences.

Structure: articles should follow the TAIMRAD(C/R) format, where the acronym stands for: 1) Title page; 2) Abstract; 3) Introduction; 4) Materials and Methods; 5) Results and Discussion (either harmonised together or presented as subsequent sections); and 6) Conclusions/Recommendations, followed by the References section.

II. Specific Details

1. Title Page

- 1.1. The Title Page shall contain the following shall details:
 - a. full title of the article, which should:
 - contain not more than 250 words;
 - ➤ avoid abbreviations, formulas and jargon;
 - specify the study period (for articles based on longitudinal and historical data);
 - b. name(s) of the author(s);
 - c. the titles(s), academic position(s), address (institutions of their affiliation, postal address, telephone, e-mail etc., for correspondence) of the author(s) footnoted at the bottom of the page with the use of asterisks;
 - d. other relevant information such as name and address of a corresponding author, if the paper was presented at a meeting or is part of a series study, should be noted at the end of the manuscript.
- 1.2. Information on authorship and degree of authors' contribution. It is the responsibility of the authors to list their names according to the degree of contribution made by each of them, in a decreasing order of contribution. Normally, the following rules apply:
 - Equal contribution is presumed when the names are written in alphabetical order; or
 - The degree of contribution shall be determined by the order in which the names appear, unless indications are given by the authors to the contrary.
- 1.3. All correspondences will be made with the author whose name appears first (unless otherwise specified).

2. Abstract

The manuscript should have an abstract:

- not exceeding 250 words;
- that briefly introduces the problem, research gaps and the study area;

- that outlines the methodology, mainly the study design, approaches, sampling strategies, materials used and methods of data collection and analysis;
- containing the key findings of the study, their implications and conclusions or key recommendations.

3. Introduction

In this section, the author(s) should:

- give background to the study problem and the rationales;
- present statements of the problem, setting the contexts, the nature and extent of the problem studied;
- indicate the study area and objectives of the research;
- introduce the research questions or hypotheses;
- present adequate review of the literature (both conceptual —including theoretical and conceptual frameworks— and empirical) related to the research;
- do all these in no more than five pages.

4. Materials and Methods

In here, authors are required to present clear account of:

- 4.1. the philosophical underpinnings, study design, approaches, sampling strategies, and methods of data collection and analysis. In so doing,
 - standard methods need only be mentioned, or may be described by reference to the literature as long as it is readily available.
 - modifications of standard techniques should be described.
 - ☞ if the method is new, it should be described in detail.
- 4.2. design of the experiment, including the number of replications (if the article results from experimental or quasi-experimental research);
- 4.3. materials used, including:
 - chemicals, laboratory equipment with the necessary technical specifications; standard units of measurement;
 - any plants or animals involved, with exact descriptions of genus, species, strain, cultivar, line, etc.);
- 4.4. justifications as to why the materials and methods used were chosen over others.

5. Results and Discussion

Depending on the craft and choice of authors, as well as on what the subject matter warrants, results and discussion can be either intertwined together or presented under separate sections. In any case,

- > present only results that add new insights to existing knowledge;
- only results based on data and information scientifically-drawn from sources, but free from authors' personal dispositions and biases.
- ➤ results should be simply and clearly stated;
- reduce large masses of data to means, along with the standard error or standard deviation;
- include only tables, figures and graphs that are necessary, clear and worthy reproducing;
- repeat in the text only the most important findings shown in tables and graphs;
- > refer in the text each table and figure by its number;
- include negative data—what was not found— if they affect the interpretation of results;
- give only data that relate to the subject of the paper (in other terms, include concomitant/related findings only if they are important);
- provide adequate answers to all the research questions or pursue all the hypotheses/assumptions made at start of the study.

6. Interpretation of the Results

This section, which should preferably be embedded with the 'Discussion' section, should:

- > not repeat what has already been said in the review of literature;
- ➤ show significance of the results;
- relate the results to the initially-stated objectives and research questions or hypotheses that were set out in the introduction;
 - show how the results and their interpretations relate to (agree or disagree with) previous findings and their interpretations.

7. Conclusion and Implications/or Recommendation

This is the section where,

- the author(s) draw, based on the findings and discussions of their implications, logical conclusions about each research question or hypothesis;
- nothing (methods, observations or results) should come as a surprise (should not be mentioned for the first time);
- authors should avoid unnecessary detail or repetition from preceding sections;
- show implications for theory, policy, practice, and/or further research to follow up the results.

8. Citation and Referencing

- 8.1. All materials, referred to or quoted must be acknowledged properly. Plagiarism is a serious academic dishonesty, which is unethical and illegal.
- 8.2. EJDR uses the *author-date* system of citations in all of its publications. Thus, authors have to ensure that author-date citations in the text agree exactly with corresponding entries in the reference list and that all publication details are accurate.
- 8.3. Citation and referencing should be complete according to this Style Guide, which is adapted with modifications from the Chicago Manual of Style 16th Edition.

The author-date citation in a running text or at the end of a block quotation consists of the author's/editor's last name, and the year of publication. Examples:

- Author, year, page no.: (Johnson 1987: 22–25).
- Two sources, with one author having two works: (Sen 1999; Jenden 1978a&b).
- More than three authors/editors: (Kassoguè et al. 1996).
- Organisation, year, volume, page no.: (World Bank 1988, 2:47).
- 8.4. Direct quotations should be as short as possible and all details should be reproduced exactly (spelling, punctuation and paragraphing).

- Short quotes should be placed in quotation marks.
- Cong quotations should appear indented and centered in the text without quotation marks.
- 8.5. References in the text should read as follows:
 - * Brown (1975: 63) has argued that the ...

OR

* One economist (Brown 1975: 63) has argued that...

Use "*et al.*" when citing work by more than two authors. Example: A new treaty (Goody *et al.* 1976) suggests...

The letters a, b, c, and so on should be used to distinguish citations of different works by the same author in the same year. Example: Brown (1985a, 1985c) insist that...

8.6. Essential additional notes should be indicated by consecutive superscript numbers in the text and collected on a separate page at the end of the text, titled *End Notes* and placed before the 'References'.

Numbered notes should be used to denote clarifications about the references used, to include points left out in the text, to add some items which readers may want to know. If the citations or references in the text are too long, or consist of more than three names, it may be advisable to put them in the *Notes* at the end.

8.7. All references cited in the text and other supporting material should be listed alphabetically by author in a section titled <u>References</u>. Ethiopian authors should be listed alphabetically by first name first. Shiferaw Bekele, for example, should be listed under S and not under B. The same holds for Chinese names. Write out Ethiopian names in full in the Reference list (i.e., first and second names) as they are given in the publications cited. Do not abbreviate, for instance, as Shiferaw B. In the text, references may use first names only, or full names. Avoid, as much as possible, using honorific titles, such as Ato, Wzro, Dr., etc., in citations or references.

The following are examples of presenting bibliographical details of different entries

Section Articles in Journals

- Alemayegu Lirenso. 1988. Food Aid and Agricultural Production in Ethiopia. *Ethiopian Journal of Development Research*, 10 (1): 59–90. (The last parts of the Journal can also be given as *Ethiopian Journal of Development Research*, Vol. 10, No 1, pp. 59–90.)
- Cowley, R. 1967. The Standardization of Amharic Spelling. *Journal* of *Ethiopian Studies*, V. 2: 1–8.
- *Note:* The volume and issue numbers should be entered as they are given in the journals cited, i.e., if the numbers are in Roman or Arabic numerals, they should not be changed.

🖙 Books

- Bahru Zewude. 1991. *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, 1955–1974. London: James Curry.
- Clapham, C. 1988. *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Donham, D. and Wendy James (Eds.). 1096. *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Listing of several works by the same author should be by year of publication, the earlier work preceding the recent. example:

Levine, Donald. 1965. *Wax and Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_____. 1974. *Greater Ethiopia: The Evolution of Multiethnic Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Book chapters and other contributions in books

Wood, A.P. 1982. Spontaneous Agricultural Resettlement in Ethiopia, 1950–1974. In: J. Clarks and L. Konsinski (Eds.), *Redistribution of Population in Africa*, pp. 1150–82. London: Heinemann.

Contributions in proceedings

Taddesse Tamirat. 1984. Feudalism in Heaven and on Earth: Ideology and Political Structure in Mediaeval Ethiopia. In: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, University of Lund 26-29 April 1982, pp. 195–200, Edited by S. Rubenson. Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

Conference papers

Hyden, H. 1990. 'Ideology and the Social Sciences: The African Experience'. Paper presented at the OSSREA Social Science Conference, 8–10 May, Kampala, Uganda.

Unpublished works

- Messing, S. 1957. 'The Highland-Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia'. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Alula Abate, et al. [these should be listed]. 1986. Evaluation of the Impact of UNICEF-Assisted Water Supply Projects in Bale, Harerge, Shewa and Wello- Ethiopia. Programme Cycle 1980–1983. Research Report No. 30, Institute of Development Research, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa.

Official publications

- Central Statistical Office. 1975. *Results of the National Sample Survey Second Round, Vol. V. Land Area and Utilization.* Addis Ababa: CSA.
- World Bank. 1973. 'Agricultural Sector Survey, Vol. I, The General Report. Report no. PA-143a.' Washington: World Bank.

_____. 1989. Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth. Washington: World Bank.

Online sources

Further to the details in the above categories, include the date of access and the URL of the site whereat the material was accessed.

9. Format

A4 paper size with 2.5cm margins shall be the standard page size.

9.1. Title

Titles should be set in title case, NOT in all caps and should not contain acronyms and abbreviations.

9.2. Endnotes

Authors are advised to use endnotes instead of footnotes.

Endnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout each chapter or article, and placed at the end of a work, in a section titled "Notes", after any appendix and before the reference list.

9.3. Acknowledgements

These should be placed at the end of the text next to the appendix but before the endnotes.

9.4. Headings

Major chapter headings must be in Title Case and centered on the page. Sub-headings must also be in Title Case but aligned with the left margins. A manuscript with subsections should be presented as follows:

1.	2.	3.
1.1	2.1	3.1
1.2	2.2	3.2

However, authors are advised to avoid using more than three levels of subheadings unless the complexity of the argument warrants it. Preceded by the decimal notations indicated above.

- 1st level titles should be set in Times New Roman 14pts, bold;
- 2nd level titles should be set in Times New Roman 12pts, bold;
- 3rd level titles should be set in Times New Roman 12pts, bold-italics, run-on with text.

9.5. Text

Text should be set in Times New Roman, 12pt font size, double-spaced. Block quotes should be indented from both sides and set in 11pt font.

9.6. Tables and Figures

• Tables should be used only where the data requires at least 2 rows/columns by 3 rows/columns. Shorter details shall be presented in text form.

- All tables and figures should be consecutively numbered and referred at the right place in the text.
- Titles of tables and figures should short and not in form.
- Each column and row of a table should have a proper title.
- All footnotes to, and sources of tables and figures, should be placed below them.
- Captions to figures should be placed immediately below the figures, followed by source information and Notes (if any) on some variables in the tables/figures.
- Keys to the different components of figures or graphs shall be placed at upper right corner within the boundary of the figure.
- Tables and figures should be used to present details and thus they should not be duplicated in text form. Unnecessary and lengthy tables and figures should be avoided, or, if important, should be annexed.

9.7. Abbreviations

Avoid use of dots in all familiar abbreviations, such as CSA, EEC, FAO, UNESCO, USA. However, dots should be placed at the end of the followings: e.g., etc., *et al.*, and other similar entries.

9.8. Language

- English is the medium of the Journal. Use one form of spelling, preferably the UK English (English English), throughout the article. Do not mix or switch between the two forms.
- All authors must avoid gender-biased and racist language.
- Use of discriminatory, inflammatory, and unethical expressions (derogatory, inciting, defamatory, etc. language) is unacceptable.

10. Copyright

The copyright on articles that would be published in EJDR would be relinquished to and retained by CoDS, AAU.