

Ethiopia



Strengthening coherence between social protection and agriculture

The case of the Improved Nutrition through Integrated Basic Social Services with Social Cash Transfer/ Productive Safety Net Programme (IN-SCT/PSNP) pilot programme in Ethiopia

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Contents

Ac	knowl	edgements	V
Αb	brevia	ations and acronyms	vi
1.	Int	roduction	1
2.	Pol	icies and strategies in agricultural and social protection sectors in Ethiopia	3
3. Ca		ekground of the Improved Nutrition through Integrated Basic Social Services with Servi	
	3.1	Overview of Productive Safety Nets Project 4 (PSNP4)	6
	3.2 Trans	The Improved Nutrition through Integrated Basic Social Services with Social Cash fer (IN-SCT) pilot programme	8
4.	Ana	alytical methods and approaches	10
	4.1	Theory of change	10
	4.2	Institutional assessment	11
	4.3	Quantitative evaluation	12
5.	Ma	in findings	13
	5.1	Quantitative impact evaluation	13
	5.1	1 Access to Agricultural Production Inputs and Assets	13
	5.1	2 Agricultural production and Diversification	16
	5.1	3 Impact on household resilience to crop-related shocks	17
	5.1	4 Improved child feeding practice	17
	5.1	5 Child nutrition status	- 18
	5.2	Institutional analysis	18
	5.2	Coordination at the Federal level	18
	5.2	2 Coordination at Regional level	21
	5.2	.3 Coordination at Woreda level	22
	5.2	4 Coordination at Kebele level	22
6.	Ena	abling factors and barriers to coherence between social protection and agriculture	24
	6.1	Enabling factors	24
	6.2	Barriers	24
Re	feren	Ces	29

Figures

1. Labour availability and households' participation in PSNP safety net components	8
2. Theory of Change of the IN-SCT pilot	. 11
3. Overview of selected productive impacts of the PSNP/IN-SCT (mother and child sample)	16
4. Summary of PSNP coordination mechanisms as related to nutrition and service linkage for	on
temporary direct support and PDS, and the value addition of IN-SCT in improving such	
mechanisms	. 21

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Alejandro Grinspun (FAO) oversaw each of these studies and this final synthesis report.

Abbreviations and acronyms

ATVETs Agricultural Technical and Vocational education Training

AGP Agricultural growth programme

ADLI Agricultural development led industrialization strategy

BoLSA Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs
BCC Behavioural change communication

DPs PDS development partners
DAs Development Agent
DD Difference-in-differences
FTCs Farmer Training Centres
FGDs Focus group discussions

GTP Growth and transformation plan GSD Gender and social development

HEWs Health extension worker

IN-SCT Improved Nutrition through Integrated Basic Social Services

with Social Cash Transfer

IPW Inverse probability weighting
KIIs Key informant interviews
KFSTF Kebele Food Security Taskforce
LTC Joint livelihoods technical committee

MoA Ministry of Agriculture

MoLSA Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs

MoH Ministry of Health

NTF National nutrition taskforce NRM Natural Resource Management

OLS Ordinary Least Squares

PES Participatory extension system
PSNP Productive Safety Net Programme
PTCs Pastoralist Training Centres
PLWs Pregnant and lactating women

PWTC Federal level joint public works technical committee

PDS Permanent direct support

RDPS rural development policy and strategy

SWs Social worker

SNNP Southern Nations, Nationalities and People SLM Sustainable land management programme

SDT Joint social development taskforce

TOC Theory of change

UNICEF United Nation's Children Fund

1. Introduction

Neither social protection alone nor productive interventions can address rural poverty by themselves. The multidimensional nature of rural poverty necessitates the adoption of multi-sectoral strategies to enhance synergy and impact (Neely *et al.*, 2017). Existing evidence indicates that improved coherence between the two sectors – social protection and agriculture – improves the situation of the rural poor. Coherence in this paper refers to the "systematic promotion of complementary and consistent policies and programmes across sectors, thereby creating synergies to combat rural poverty and food insecurity more effectively" (FAO, 2016a).

According to AfDB (2020), it is highly unlikely that African countries will eradicate extreme poverty by 2030 without integrating social protection in national efforts to tackle poverty and inequality. Empirical studies based on data from 79 countries show that social protection in the form of cash transfers or targeted subsidies reduced the incidence of absolute poverty by 36 percent and relative poverty (the bottom 20 percent) by 8 percent (Ibid). A significant proportion of the rural population depends on agriculture to earn livelihoods. In Ethiopia for instance, over 85 percent of the population live in rural areas, while agriculture provides 70 percent of rural employment (NBE, 2019). A sizeable proportion of this rural population depends on social protection to bridge the food gap arising from recurrent drought and other shocks. This implies that both social protection and agriculture are important sectors to address food insecurity and poverty in rural Ethiopia. They should therefore be planned and implemented in an integrated and coherent manner.

Initiatives intended to provide social assistance to drought-affected rural people through cash or foodfor-work activities have been operational in Ethiopia since the early 1990s (Devereux and Guenther, 2009). In 2005, the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) was introduced by the Government in collaboration with development partners. The PSNP is the second largest social protection programme in sub-Saharan Africa. Unlike in other African countries, this large social protection programme is under the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA). This, indeed, is a unique feature of the PSNP, which sets it apart from similar programmes in the rest of the continent. One reason why PSNP was placed under the MoA was to ensure that it would contribute to communal asset building and a host of productive outcomes. The programme is expected to complement agriculture through protecting people's consumption at times of shock and building community infrastructure. According to the World Bank, the PSNP's direct transfer to rural households has reduced the national poverty rate by two percent (from 33 percent to 31 percent) during the period from 2010-2014. Apart from the direct effect, PSNP transfers have also been shown to increase agricultural input-use among beneficiaries, thereby supporting agricultural growth. The PSNP has further contributed to a reduction of about 40 percent of soil loss and an improvement of up to 400 percent in land productivity (World Bank, 2015; AfDB, 2020).

Since its inception in 2005, PSNP has progressed through different phases. According to IFPRI (2019), it initially evolved from being an irregular relief response to becoming a predictable and development-oriented intervention (PSNP1), followed by a phase of consolidation (PSNP 2), expansion (PSNP 3), and finally the transition to a social protection system (PSNP 4). These phases spanned 2005–2006, 2007–2009, 2010-2014 and 2015-2020, respectively. Over these four phases, the number of Woredas covered by the programme increased by over 50 percent, from 231 during PSNP 1 to over 350 woredas during PSNP 4. Close to 8 million chronically food insecure people are reached by the PSNP in 8

regional states of the country (MoA, 2014). During its first three phases, the PSNP was managed by the MoA alone, while Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA) joined during Productive Safety Nets Project 4 (PSNP4) to co-manage the programme. Collaboration between the two ministries was not foreseen from the beginning, which would later pose some challenges in terms of promoting articulation and coherence in subsequent phases of the programme.

Starting in 2015, too, MoLSA, with technical assistance from UNICEF and funding from IrishAid, started to implement a pilot, the Improved Nutrition through Integrated Basic Social Services with Social Cash Transfer (IN-SCT), which was nested within the larger PSNP managed by MoA. The pilot was implemented in two woredas of South Nations, Nationalities and People (SNNP), with the intention of strengthening the linkage to health and nutrition services for a distinct set of PNSP4 beneficiaries, namely, pregnant women, children and elderly persons. Two studies were commissioned to FAO to evaluate the UNICEF pilot: a quantitative impact evaluation, which sought to analyse the productive impacts of the IN-SCT as part of a larger evaluation (IFPRI, 2019; Prifti, 2019), and an institutional analysis that explored the institutional and operational arrangements that facilitated or hindered coordination between the PSNP and other sectors (Kebede, 2019).

The present report synthesises the findings from the two studies carried out by FAO in 2019. It uses the IN-SCT as a case study to analyse the extent to which, during its two-year existence, it was well articulated with the larger PSNP, and specifically whether it contributed to further the agenda of promoting greater coherence between the social protection and agriculture sectors. A key premise of this report is that improved coherence between the two sectors can strengthen resilience, foster productive inclusion and create pathways for food insecure and vulnerable rural households to move out of poverty and food insecurity.

The report is organized as follows. The next section presents the institutional and policy context of the social and agricultural sectors in Ethiopia. Following this, the PSNP programme and the IN-SCT pilot are described, including their objectives, theory of change, beneficiaries, design and implementation strategy. The fourth section presents the methods used to conduct the institutional assessment and the evaluation of the impacts of the IN-SCT/PSNP pilot programme. The fifth section summarizes the results of the two studies. Section six discusses the enabling factors and barriers to achieving greater coherence between the protective and productive aims of the two programmes, and their broader implications for Ethiopia's quest for strengthening resilience and addressing the persistent poverty and food insecurity that affect large swaths of its rural population. The final section provides recommendations on how to promote greater coherence and articulation between social and agricultural policies in the Ethiopian context.

2. Policies and strategies in agricultural and social protection sectors in Ethiopia

The country has pursued two successive social assistance or distributional models in which the government's agricultural and social protection motives are woven and affecting one another. The first model is an 'agrarian' distributional regime, which sought to provide welfare to **all smallholders** by granting access to rural land, farm inputs and technologies that are necessary to boost agricultural livelihoods. The second model was a 'productivist - pauperist' regime, which seeks to link social assistance initiatives with productive impacts and targets them to **the poor and vulnerable group** affected by drought and other shocks (Lavers, 2020). This section discusses these two distributional models, followed by their underlying policies and strategies. It also looks into how the country's agricultural and social protection policies are coherent and how this has been reflected in programmes and institutions, highlighting the gaps that remain.

The agrarian distributional model: The agrarian distributional model is rooted in Agriculture-Development-Led Industrialization policy (ADLI), which is a government-led, long-term development strategy that has been formulated to guide the broad-based socioeconomic development of the country since 1990s. According to this strategy, smallholder farmers, if supported, can produce surplus for market, and supply relevant inputs for industrialization (WB, 2016). This strategy also assumes that all smallholders have access to adequate land and labour that are key for agricultural production. The smallholders are expected to combine these two inputs with other marginal capital requiring technologies such as improved seeds, fertilizer and irrigation to boost their yield, contribute to improved national food security, and generate surplus to stimulate labour-intensive industry (MoFED 2003). To this end, the government designed a rural development policy and strategy (RDPS) in 2003 to complement ADLI and speed up commercialization of smallholders' production (Welteji, 2018). ADLI and RDPS have driven several successive development programmes and initiatives in the country that include the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Programme (SDPRP) that was implemented from 2002/03 through 2004/05 and the training and visit agricultural extension system implemented throughout 1990s.

At the core of ADLI is a state's distributional motive that was believed to be addressed through integrated social and economic objectives. State land ownership is central to ADLI's broad-based socio-economic objectives and the distributional regime that it entails. The country's land policy, as described in the constitution, has three key pillars that include: a) state ownership of all rural land to prevent rural displacement; b) ensuring equality through securing access to indefinite rural land user right to all smallholders (i.e. subsistence farmers); and c) productive role (i.e. improve yield of smallholders mainly through improved use of land, labour and farm technologies). Ensuring these pillars is believed to maintain agrarian distributional regime by which the state welfare is provided through the direct allocation of rural land and agricultural extension services to smallholders (Polanyian, 2001). To that end, there was a significant effort from the government's side to improve access to rural land for the smallholders including through land redistribution. Moreover, there were also significant push from the government to deliver extension services, inputs and technologies to all smallholders. Thousands of DAs; and 12,500 farmers training centres (FTCs) and 25 Agricultural, Technical and Vocational Training Colleges (ATVETs) were established across the country to ensure this (Welteji, 2018). The ATVETs and FTCs have trained thousands of DAs and farmers, respectively.

However, ADLI did not differentiate between smallholders. This is because it assumes that all smallholders are homogeneous, having adequate access to land and labour (MoFED, 2003) implying that one-size-fits-all type of agricultural interventions would benefit all. Like ADLI, the rural development policy and strategy has also considered smallholders as a homogeneous group that experiences similar access to resource, gaps and challenges (Welteji, 2018). However, in reality, smallholders were not homogenous; significant proportion of them have limited access to productive resources to improve yield (i.e. Land, labour, technologies) and therefore, on average, 4-5 million people encounter food gap annually (Lavers, 2020). This reality was not recognized and acted up on. The fact that specific agricultural technologies, inputs and services have not been designed and implemented for the food insecure segment of smallholders in the country indicates this. As a result, significant proportion of smallholders have encountered food gap and the proportion of affected people have shown significant increment over time. ADLI intentionally suppresses provision of relief support to this category of smallholders (MoFED, 2003). This was based on the government's deep ideological concerns about the dangers of free- handouts that would undermine work incentives thereby leading to dependency (Lavers 2019). Where such targeted relief provision was a must, it was meant to be aligned with the government's strong need for linking such supports with productive engagements such as food for work or cash for work schemes. The fact that a significant size of the food-insecure rural people were engaged in such schemes annually and that they are receiving food assistance from the 1990s through mid of 2000s reflects this. The increasing number of smallholders in need of relief support during this period coupled with the increasing rural land shortages arising from population growth, and limited access to farm inputs and technologies significantly undermined the capacity of the agrarian distributional model to ensure social protection for all smallholders. As a result, this model has given a way to the birth of Productivist-pauperist distributional regime from the mid of 2000s on to provide social protection to targeted segment of the poor and vulnerable smallholders.

The productivist-pauperist distributional model: This model came to being from the mid-2000s. During this period, the government has moved away from the original ADLI strategy that sought to raise the yield of all smallholders to a more focused approach that has emphasized specific potential groups, i.e., a) better-off smallholders that are in a good position to take advantage of new technologies, and b) agricultural investors employing capital-intensive production techniques. Agricultural strategies have increasingly been aimed at boosting commercialization of production focusing on high-value crops in high-potential areas (MoFED 2005). To this end, series of agricultural extension approaches have been developed and implemented to support the better-off farmers with improved inputs, services and technologies (Welteji, 2018). These approaches include the participatory extension demonstration methods, training extension systems and participatory extension system (ibid). The latter is the extension approach that has been guiding agricultural development among the better-off farmers since 2010. The Agricultural Extension Directorate within MoA and its structures in regions and woredas have been implementing these Extension approaches specifically focusing on the better-off smallholders. Other large-scale government agricultural initiatives such as Agricultural Growth Programme (AGP) and the Agricultural Transformation Agency have also been specifically focusing on boosting the productivity of better-off farmers.

However, significant number of the poor and vulnerable smallholders that have neither adequate land nor the capacity to engage in market-oriented farming are excluded from the extension services and subjected to transitory and chronic food insecurity (kebede, 2019). The recent assessment by MoA

indicates that over 25 million rural people are exposed to food insecurity (MoA, 2020). Thus, the government's productivist-pauperist distributional model has recognized the need to support these food insecure smallholders through provision of external social protection assistances. This model emphasises welfare provision should be strongly linked with productive engagements, i.e. the recipients should work to receive assistance (food/cash). Hence, the increasing number of social protection programmes that has been put in place since the mid of 2000s is expected to adhere to this provision. To this end, the government, supported by the development partners, designed a ten years' agricultural sector policy and investment framework (PIF) in 2010 and affirmed its commitment to transformation of smallholders' agriculture and to address food insecurity. Several priority government programmes in the areas of agriculture and food security came under the PIF including the agricultural growth programme (AGP), sustainable land management programme (SLM) and PSNP (USAID, 2013). MoA has been designated to implement such programmes including the PSNP through its institutional arraignment (IBID). This lies at the core as to why PSNP is instituted under MoA in Ethiopia.

While the government's productivist-pauperist distributional model and the placement of PSNP under MoA presents an opportunity to improve coherence between social protection and agriculture, however, several challenges remain to ensure this. The government agricultural extension system and approaches still prioritize the better-off farmers that have better access to land and other productive inputs and services. Specific crops and livestock packages were developed for these better-off farmers to boost agricultural yield and income. However, there is no specific agricultural extension package specifically designed for the food insecure smallholders in Ethiopia. Even the extension packages that were developed by the government for the moisture-deficit woredas consider all farmers in these areas as homogeneous and rarely consider the specific situation and capacity of the chronically food insecure people (Kebede, 2019). This implies the agricultural extension directorate within the MoA, that designs and implements agricultural extension packages and services, mainly works with the smallholders outside the PSNP clients. Whereas the PSNP clients are meant to get external social protection assistance through the Food Security Coordination Directorate within MoA. This directorate is also responsible for the coordination and implementation of the productive component of the PSNP at all levels. However, the extension directorate within same ministry and its decentralized structure at regional and woreda level, have very limited or no role in the implementation of these productive component of the PSNP. This implies the limited internal coordination within the MoA has undermined the coherence between social protection and agriculture thereby ultimately impacting on the food security, nutrition and income of the poor and vulnerable smallholders in the country. Overall, this review indicates that there are several opportunities for improved coherence between social protection and agriculture. The persistent government's desire to link social protection provision with productive activities such as improve soil and water conservation and irrigation is one such fertile ground in this regard. However, such opportunities could not materialize mainly because of limitations in policies and strategies as well as lack of internal coordination within the MoA.

3. Background of the Improved Nutrition through Integrated Basic Social Services with Social Cash Transfer / Productive Safety Net (IN-SCT/PSNP)

3.1 Overview of Productive Safety Nets Project 4 (PSNP4)

The government of Ethiopian launched PSNP4 in 2015. The programme provides regular food or cash transfers to around 8 million chronically food-insecure households in eight regions. Its objectives include smoothing household food consumption and protecting assets, strengthening household and community resilience to shocks, and breaking Ethiopia's chronic dependence on food aid. The PSNP transfer is conditional on participating in public works for households with able-bodied adult members, while those without able-bodied members receive unconditional 'direct support' transfers (Figure 1). The public works activities are planned and carried out with the objective of mitigating the causes of food insecurity. Areas of focus for the public works include activities aimed at watershed development such as soil and water conservation, rangeland management, and construction of community assets such as roads, water infrastructures, schools and clinics. These activities are expected to contribute to communal asset building and reduction of vulnerability to shocks (MoA, 2014).

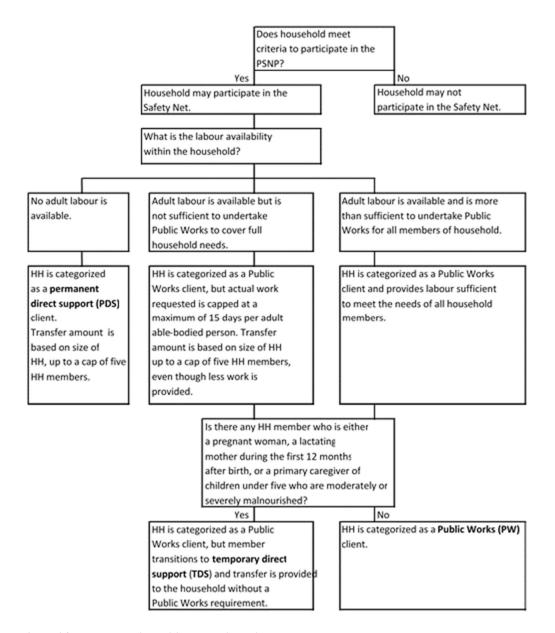
PSNP 4 also has a component that is intended to improve the livelihoods of its clients. Income generating activities (IGA), such as on-farm and off-farm employment, are promoted depending on the priority of the clients. Business development services such as training, IGA planning, accesses to credit services and small financial grants for poor clients are delivered as part of the programme's livelihoods components. The training at Farmer Training Centres (FTCs) or Pastoralist Training Centres (PTCs) covers areas such as technical and business/marketing skills, and paid employment. FTCs and PTCs serve as hubs for demonstrations of new technologies. Cooperatives and Microfinance Institutions (MFIs) provide savings and lending services as well as market linkage. PSNP PW clients are also expected to contribute to household livelihoods through conservation of farmland and water, and improved access to infrastructures that promote market and other services. These are generally the productive aspects of the programme that are primarily meant to improve the agricultural production and productivity of PSNP clients. The PSNP4 also includes food or cash transfers, access to health, nutrition and other social services to the on temporary direct support and PDS clients. According to the programme, these clients are entitled to receive unconditional transfer. However, they are obliged to participate in health and nutrition activities including behavioural change communication sessions (BCC) as their co-responsibilities that are intended to enhance access to services and ultimately improve the well-being of mothers and children.

PSNP4 has included several innovative approaches over the previous phases, which include the need to improve integration between nutrition and social protection, increased duration of social transfer for the Permanent Direct Support (PDS) clients, and improved involvement of public work clients in livelihood activities, particularly on agricultural production (IFPRI, 2019). During the earlier phases of the programme (PSNP3), fewer than 10 percent of PSNP clients had accessed agricultural inputs and services. PSNP4 planned to improve this by linking more PW clients with productive inputs and services (MoA, 2014). Under PSNP4, the PW and livelihoods components have been integrated into a single programme. This is meant to improve PSNP clients' greater participation in livelihood activities than before (MoLSA, 2016). The programme also has provision for continuum of support (i.e. transfer

period scale up from 6 months to 9 during crises, then scale down to 6 months during normal years) to ensure that clients meet their food requirements without being forced to rely on negative coping mechanisms, such as selling their agricultural tools and equipment to buy food. This implies that there is an intended coherence between social protection and agriculture in PSNP4 (Sabates-Wheeler and Kebede, 2019).

As a government owned multi-sectoral programme, PSNP, in its management and coordination, involves key government ministries such as MoA, MoLSA, Ministry of Health (MoH) and other sectoral ministries and their respective structures at regional, woreda and kebele levels. The programme is led by MoA; while MoLSA is given limited responsibilities and these relate to the management of the PDS social transfer, PDS and on temporary direct support social service linkage, and livelihoods-employment pathway. The majority of PSNP engagements are under MoA and these include programme management of budget, PW client transfer management and public works planning and implementation. In fact, the PSNP public works clients' account for 84 percent of all PSNP clients (UNICEF, 2020). The total programme budget is USD 3.625 Billion (World Bank, 2014). The programme relies on a multitude of funding sources that include the government of Ethiopia and eleven development partners: the World Bank, Austrian Development Agency, Canadian Government, Danish International Development Assistance, Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, European Union, Government of Ireland, U.K. Department for International Development, UNICEF, United States Agency for International Development, and World Food Programme (World Bank, 2017).

Figure 1. Labour availability and households' participation in PSNP safety net components.



Source: Adapted from MoARD (2014) by Erivin (2019).

3.2 The Improved Nutrition through Integrated Basic Social Services with Social Cash Transfer (IN-SCT) pilot programme

UNICEF provided support to the Improved Nutrition through Integrated Basic Social Services with Social Cash Transfer (IN-SCT) pilot project, designed as part of PSNP4 to test the health and nutrition service linkage components of the programme (UNICEF, 2014). The pilot focused on temporary direct support and permanent direct support (PDS) clients. The on temporary direct support clients include pregnant and lactating women (PLWs) as well as care takers of malnourished children. These clients were exempted from PW requirements for a specific period without losing their transfer (from the

third month of pregnancy until the new-born child reaches one year old for PLWs, and until the malnourished child recovers for care takers). During this period, support was provided to the PSNP clients so that they could access health and nutrition services. To this end, the pilot linked these clients with several health services. For the pregnant and lactating mothers, the priority health services included prenatal and postnatal follow-up, health education and immunization at local health facilities. Care takers of malnourished children also linked with the necessary health services (education and medication) until the malnourished child recovered.

The IN-SCT pilot also linked the on temporary direct support clients with improved nutrition services that included nutrition education, demonstration of appropriate child feeding practices, and nutrition sensitive agricultural activities such as home gardening and poultry. The PSNP's permanent direct support households (PDS) were also supported to participate in and benefit from the pilot's improved health and nutrition services. According to PSNP 4, the PDS clients are labour- short families that are entitled for 12 months' transfer without involving in public works implementation; whereas, the PW households are entitled for six months' transfer and (are) obliged to implement PW activities to receive the transfer. The on temporary direct support clients are members of PW households that are entitled for six months' transfer without implementing PW activities.

As noted earlier, the IN-SCT was an integral part of the PSNP4, which was designed to address the main causes of child malnutrition, not only those related to income constraints and inadequate food intake but also those which are due to the poor quality of diets, limited access to services and inadequate care practices. The pilot did this by introducing an integrated package of nutrition services, strengthening linkages to health services and implementing nutrition-sensitive agricultural activities. The intention was to pilot-test a model of multi-sectoral coordination that could then inform the roll-out of the PSNP4. It was designed at federal level by the national nutrition taskforce (NTF) led by MoLSA, with technical support from UNICEF and inputs from other government ministries such as MoH and MoA.

4. Analytical methods and approaches

This section discusses the theory of change and methods applied to assess the productive impacts of the pilot and how this has affected the coherence between social protection and agriculture.

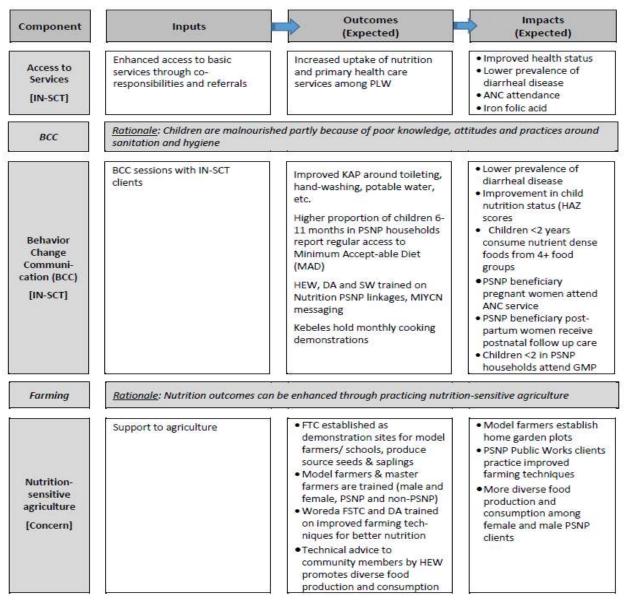
4.1 Theory of change

As schematically presented in Figure 2 below, the programme's theory of change consisted of social components (access to services and BCC) and agricultural (farming) components. The theory of change depicts the project's inputs, intermediate outcomes and impacts. Facilitating access to services was expected to have a direct impact on child malnutrition, by improving health, hygiene and sanitation, but only an indirect impact on production in the short run, mainly through time re-allocation. In fact, compliance with these activities can take away time that could otherwise be used for incomegenerating activities (crop, livestock or paid work). The BCC sessions can decrease the likelihood of diseases among the IN-SCT clients through improved use of potable water and sanitation practices including hand washing and toileting. It was also expected to improve dietary composition of children's foods, increase participation of PLW in prenatal and postpartum visits to health facilities, and improve mother's knowledge of nutrition and feeding practices, by taking part in trainings and cooking demonstrations given by HEWs, DAs and SWs.

The nutrition-sensitive agricultural interventions were expected to have a direct impact on crop production in the short run, by stimulating the adoption of improved technologies and farming practices or new crop portfolio allocations as well as through the direct transfer of crop and livestock inputs. The nutritional knowledge imparted by HEWs and the provision of fruit and vegetable seeds by DAs was also meant to motivate beneficiaries to grow diverse crops at their homesteads.

The IN-SCT relied on the PSNP stakeholders for its planning, implementation and coordination. The stakeholders could be grouped into those that participated in the designing, implementation, funding, oversighting and controlling. The national nutrition taskforce members (MoA, MoH and MoLSA) designed the pilot and contributed a lot during the development of various manuals (operational manual, BCC, field guides, etc). MoLSA and its structures at regional and woreda levels in SNNP managed the pilot implementation. Other government ministries such as MoH, MoA and CONCERN Worldwide also contributed during the pilot implementation through assigning frontline staffs that execute activities related to their sector. Furthermore, MoLSA and SNNP BoLSA took the lead role in programme oversight and control supported by UNICEF. The latter also played a crucial role in channelling and overseeing the programme fund coming from Irish Aid. The pilot test was implemented in two PSNP woredas of SNNP (Halaba Special zone and Shashago) under the management of MoLSA and the regional BoLSA.

Figure 2. Theory of Change of the IN-SCT pilot.



Source: Prifti et al. (2019) as adopted from Devereux et al. (2016a).

4.2 Institutional assessment

The institutional assessment was conducted using both secondary and primary sources of information. The secondary sources of data include programme documents, policies, directives and programme manuals; whereas, the primary sources include relevant actors involved in the design and implementation of the IN-SCT/PSNP programme starting from the highest government structure (federal level) to the lowest administrative structure (kebele level). Key informant interviews (KIIs) and Focus group discussions (FGDs) were used to collect the necessary data from the primary sources at all administrative levels. Data at the lower administrative levels were collected from two purposively sampled PSNP woredas in SNNP of Ethiopia – Halaba woreda from the IN-SCT areas; and Kedida

Gamella Woreda as a control against which improvements due to the IN-SCT were assessed. Moreover, four communities, two from each of the sample woredas, were sampled. The community focus group discussions (FGDs) were implemented in each of the sample communities. Moreover, interviews were conducted with key stakeholders at the federal, regional, woreda and kebele level.

4.3 Quantitative evaluation

This section briefly presents the quantitative techniques applied to evaluate the impact of IN-SCT/PSNP on productive and social outcomes as given in Prifti, Bhalla and Grinspun (2019) and IFPRI (2019). The analyses in both reports were made using a baseline and endline household level surveys conducted in four woredas of the SNNPR. The baseline household survey was conducted from April to May 2016, while the endline survey was conducted after 27 months, from August – September 2018. The surveys were conducted using two-stage cluster sampling, considering the selected woredas as sample strata. The first stage involved selection of Enumeration Areas (EAs) using random sampling from within each woreda. In the second stage, households were randomly sampled from the household listing according to the sample strata for that EA, based on PSNP beneficiary status and household demographic status (pregnant or lactating women or with a child aged 6–23 months).

The study design involved three arms: the treatment arm (T), made up of the IN-SCT beneficiaries, i.e., new and existing PSNP clients who would also start benefiting from IN-SCT package; the "pure control" group that included households in the same communities as the treated households but that were neither PSNP clients nor to be supported by the IN-SCT (C1); the PSNP4-only group made up of PSNP clients (new and existing) who live in woredas where the IN-SCT was not operating and would not benefit from IN-SCT (C2). The respective sample sizes for the mother-child are T = 672, C1 = 672, and C2 = 576.

Due to problems with sample comparability, the quantitative analysis was made only on the T vs C1 comparison in each sample. The Treatment (T) and Control (C1) arms were used to estimate the average impact of the PSNP and IN-SCT programmes on recipients of the PSNP4 programme, relative to a counterfactual in which similarly poor and food-insecure households received neither the PSNP4 benefits nor the IN-SCT package. Upon conducting a preliminary analysis, it was confirmed that T and C1 groups have a similar distribution of the probability of belonging to their respective arms. However, this is not true for the C2 group compared with T or C1. For the T vs C2 and C2 vs C1 comparison groups, significant differences continue to exist, despite using weights for the baseline samples. Therefore, this report presents the estimates of the impacts of PSNP/IN-SCT vis-a-vis those households that have not been recipients of the PSNP4 programme (T vs C1). Utilizing the repeated cross-sectional data from the two time periods (before and after the programme), a difference-in-differences (DD) approach with inverse probability weighting (IPW) was used to estimate the impact of the programme. Estimation was done via Ordinary Least Squares (OLS), with standard errors clustered at the level of the kebeles.

5. Main findings

5.1 Quantitative impact evaluation

Social cash transfers can serve as effective ways of achieving both social and productive goals especially in resource-constrained countries like Ethiopia, where allocation of resources between the two goals involve a real trade-off (Filipski, *et al.*, 2017). This means there is a way through which the IN-SCT/PSNP programme can positively impact on both agriculture and social protection. This section discusses the productive and social outcome of the IN-SCT/PSNP programme. More specifically, it looks into the impacts on beneficiary households' access to agricultural production inputs, services and technologies, asset holding, agricultural productivity and diversification, household resilience to crop related shocks, and nutrition and health outcomes. The visual depiction of the programme's impact on selected productivity outcomes is given in figure 2.

5.1.1 Access to Agricultural Production Inputs and Assets

Size of land operated by IN-SCT/PSNP household: As agriculture is the most important sector in the Ethiopian economy, land is a requisite resource for the rural poor to make a living. Those who are capable of engaging in farm production, keep their land under their management, while those unable to do so rent it out and sharecropping. In situations where access to land is lower than what would be operationally optimal, rental markets and sharecropping play an important role to acquire land for productive use. The decision on the alternative use of land (i.e. rent-in/rent-out, sharecrop-in/sharecrop-out) depends on access to labour and/or cash to acquire other necessary farm inputs. The quantitative assessment has estimated the impact of the programme on the land operated by the sampled households. The finding appeared to be at odds with the expectation. That is, the PSNP/IN-SCT had no effects on the operated land size in the mother-child household sample (Figure 2). This indicates that the programme did not provide enough incentives to alter land size. The ever-increasing land price renders sharecropping and land renting unaffordable given the amount of IN-SCT's cash transfer. Even when clients have cash, they rarely take risks by going into land rental because of land tenure insecurity (Holden *et al.*, 2001; Deininger and Ali, 2008). Moreover, the IN-SCT does not have specific interventions that aim to improve access to land.

Livestock Holdings: Livestock production has a significant role in the Ethiopian economy in general, and it is strongly linked to the livelihood of smallholder farmers in particular. It makes up a significant share of rural income, food and employment (Mirkena et al., 2019). The smallholder livestock systems in Ethiopia are characterized by low productivity and a low level of commercialization (Shapiro et al., 2017). Livestock production is a way of saving for smallholders particularly for those living in weatherrisk prone areas. This means they are meant for shock absorption and risk insurance at times of stress. People tend to invest more on small animals such as goats/sheep and poultry that are resilient to climate change shocks and easily turned into cash, rather than on large animals such as cattle that are susceptible to such shocks (Abay and Jensen, 2020).

Likewise, the quantitative assessment found that PSNP/IN-SCT led to significant positive impacts on livestock ownership in the mother-child sample. The PSNP/IN-SCT increased the probability of a household owning livestock by 19 percent (Figure 2). This represents a 26 percent increment over the baseline average. Similarly, the PSNP/IN-SCT led to significant increases in total livestock units, and the number of cattle, small ruminants and pack animals owned by a household. The institutional

assessment result also confirms this. According to the latter, the programme provided the pregnant and lactating women and caregivers of malnourished children with poultry stock and associated husbandry trainings. The PSNP clients also reported to save part of their cash transfer. This is in line with Berhane *et al.* (2015), who found that the pilot cash transfer increased the overall likelihood that a beneficiary household owned livestock by seven percentage points in Hintalo Wajirat of Tigray region (check this long sentence). This implies that the cash transfer programme, if coupled with livestock focused interventions, was more likely to lead to improved coherence between agriculture and social protection.

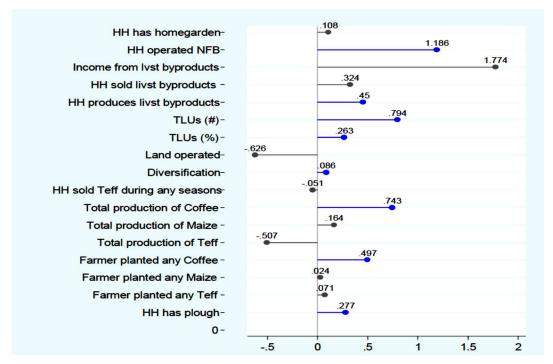
Agricultural Assets and Tools: Most smallholders in Ethiopia continue to rely on animal traction for the preparation of the plots, despite a recent acceleration of agricultural mechanization. For ploughing, 78.8 percent of plots are prepared by animals and 0.7 percent by machine, while for threshing, 50 percent of plots is worked manually, 47.9 percent by animals and only 0.8 by machines (Berhane et al., 2017, cited in Prifti, 2019). Along this, the quantitative survey result indicates PSNP/IN-SCT led to increased ownership of farm tools in the mother-child sample. The programme was found to increase the number of households that own at least one of four plough components (yoke, beam, lever, or blades) by 18 percent, which corresponds with a 28 percent increase in mechanization over the baseline average. The same pattern was observed for other agricultural tools such as miran, maresha, sickle, and shovel. IN-SCT's endline evaluation report from Tigray also indicated similar positive effect on agricultural tools (Berhane, et al., 2015). According to the survey result, the improvement in the probability of owning agricultural tools among the mother-child sample in SNNP was due to the increment in the most widely used tools. These tools were widely available in the local market and clients were more likely to buy them using part of their cash transfer. The institutional assessment result also indicated the IN-SCT programme had directly distributed small farm tools to families with on temporary direct support to engage in nutrition-sensitive farming and this increased holding size.

Access to farm credit service: Access to finance is one of the most critical factors for the adoption of improved agricultural inputs and technologies, which in turn can lead to improved productivity of land and labour. In Ethiopia, access to the services of large financial institutions such as banks is limited, with only one percent of rural households having a bank account (Mersha D., Ayenew, 2018; Gurmessa and Ndinda, 2017). Rather, smallholders mainly rely on MFIs and saving and credit cooperatives for credit services. The impacts of the cash transfer programme on access to credit service were assessed using the quantitative survey. The result indicates insignificant impact for households in the motherchild sample. There are several reasons for this. In Ethiopia, farm credit is a key input and instrument to implement the government's agricultural extension system. This means, it is the agricultural DAs based on the direction from woreda agriculture office, which organize and link farmers with the credit providers – MFIs and cooperatives. The latter mainly respond to the list of names of farmers given to them from the DAs. However, the DAs often focus on the better-off/model farmers outside PSNP clients as also prioritized in the country's extension system. The institutional assessment result also indicates the cash transfer programme did not attempt to work closely with the MFIs to improve the livelihoods of the clients. The fact that the MFIs were excluded from the IN-SCT coordination mechanism proves this. This implies the mother-child families who are also PSNP clients, are rarely given access to farm credit services. It also implies the exclusion of MFIs from the IN-SCT coordination mechanism has negatively affected the coherence between agriculture and social protection.

Moreover, access to credit from formal financial institutions requires collateral. The large-scale agricultural investors that are given land by the government for a certain investment period can present this investment land as collateral and get credit service. However, this does not work in the case of smallholders, including the PSNP clients, who enjoy indefinite user rights over the land they cultivate. The formal financial providers do not accept smallholder's land as a guarantor to provide credit because land belongs to the public and the government (EFDR, 1995; Nega, *et al.*, 2003). This implies public landownership significantly affects the complementarity and synergy between agriculture and social protection.

Access to agricultural extension, education and counselling: Extension services facilitate farmers' access to knowledge, information and technologies. As depicted in the TOC, encouraging agricultural activities that would diversify diets and incomes (livestock production, dairy, and poultry) is of a priority. The quantitative survey documented a significant increase in the access to education and counselling for the mother-child sample. This is so because the IN-SCT has directly intervened and provided a series of agricultural trainings and awareness creations to families with on temporary direct support according to the institutional assessment report. However, the quantitative estimates show that PSNP/IN-SCT had a slight negative impact on the engagement of households with the local Development Agents (DAs). This is not surprising given the peculiarities of the extension system of the country, where DAs services focused on the model and well-to-do farmers. Other existing sources also indicate that PSNP clients are the least recipient of DA's extension visit as compared to model farmers. This implies that the mainstream extension services are rarely responsive to the poor and chronically food insecure segment of the rural community and negatively affecting the coherence between agriculture and social protection.

Figure 3. Overview of selected productive impacts of the PSNP/IN-SCT (mother and child sample).



Notes: Blue bars indicate statistically significant impacts, while the grey ones refer to statistically insignificant impacts. The impacts are shown in terms of percentage change, i.e., the absolute impact on the outcome divided by the average outcome at baseline.

5.1.2 Agricultural production and Diversification

Crop Production and Diversification: Evaluations of PSNP show many significant contributions in terms of peoples' livelihood and agricultural productivity. Direct and indirect impacts from both PW and cash transfer components have been analysed (Berhane, *et al.* 2015, Filipski, *et al.* 2017). A comprehensive evaluation covering all Ethiopian regions where PSNP has been operational (Filipski, *et al.* 2017) indicated that the full PSNP components had increased crop yield by 6.4 percent out of which 5.6 percent was attributed to the cash transfer component only. In fact, the finding also underlined impacts vary among locations between 1.2 and 11.5 percent. Besides, PSNP caused a 12 percent increase in vegetable production and 18percent increase in income (Filipski, *et al.* 2017).

This suggests that the PSNP4, with the add-ons in IN-SCT, is expected to have similar or greater impacts. The impacts could be in terms of the share of farmers growing a certain crop (extensive margin), the amount of harvest (intensive margin) and crop diversification. The quantitative survey findings indicate mixed results in this regard. PSNP/IN-SCT has led to an increase in the share of farmers growing sorghum by 22.3 percent in the mother-child sample. Similarly, crop diversification has also increased by 8.6 percent in the mother-child sample. The fact that the IN-SCT has directly intervened and provided a series of agronomic trainings and awareness creation has led to crop diversification among the mother-child samples. However, the diversification could not translate into improved farm yield. The survey result indicates the PSNP/IN-SCT package had no effect on the harvest of major crops (teff, wheat, maize, sorghum, chat, enset, barely) in the mother-child sample. This is mainly because these PSNP clients have very limited or no access to productive inputs, targeting major

crops such as improved seeds and DA's technical support. According to the institutional assessment result, the IN-SCT input provision was limited to nutrition-sensitive farming such as home gardening and did not include input supply for major crops such as sorghum, maize and others. The mainstream extension system rarely reaches PSNP households with productive inputs because of its focus on the model farmers, and this has ultimately undermined the coherence between agriculture and social protection. Moreover, the PSNP woredas are generally susceptible to climate change shocks. According the institutional assessment results, Halaba woreda has been severely affected by drought and flush flood that occurred one after the other.

Nutrition sensitive agriculture: According to the TOC (Figure 2), the complementary services offered by the PSNP/IN-SCT include nutrition-sensitive agriculture. This includes provision of trainings, vegetable seeds, fruit seedlings and poultry for families with on temporary direct support. The study finding indicates IN-SCT/PSNP programme has no significant impact on the proportion of women practicing home gardening in the last 12 months. The programme's endline evaluation result also showed similar findings (IFPRI, 2019). Limited coverage of the inputs provision, insufficient rainfall due to climate changes and plant diseases are among the key factors underlying participation in home gardening.

5.1.3 Impact on household resilience to crop-related shocks

As is the case in other parts of Ethiopia, most farmers in the SNNP region plant uncertified seed saved from the previous harvest or borrowed from neighbours, which encourages the spread of new plant diseases. The main reason for such behaviour relates to traditions and high prices of certified seeds (Eshte et al., 2015 cited in Prifti et al., 2019). Plots of maize, sorghum, Haricot beans and coffee are often affected by the occurrence of such shocks, which depress production and productivity. According to the baseline report of IN-SCT/PSNP programme in SNNP, between 12 and 15 percent of households reported that their harvest was affected by plant disease (Prifti and Grinspun, 2017). Similar challenges continue prevailing despite the IN-SCT implementation. The quantitative survey result indicates the programme had no significant impact on reduction of farmers' exposure to crop shocks including diseases, insect and weed damages in the mother-child sample. The high prices of disease resistant varieties, pesticides and insecticides lie at the core of problem. The PSNP cash transfer is primarily meant to bridge the food gap, and rarely allows the receipts to go beyond and acquire expensive inputs like pesticide and insecticides. Moreover, according to existing sources, the real value of the PSNP cash transfer has also been decreasing because of inflation (FAO, 2019). Similar sources also indicate sustained and steep drop in real spending of PSNP households from 2005 to the present (Hirvonen and Hoddinott, 2020). The decline in real spending could reflect a mix of inflation and very high start-up costs when the programme started; and the value of the transfer is still lagging behind inflation (IBID). This implies that the high cost of farm inputs and reducing value of cash transfer due to inflation are negatively affecting the coherence between agriculture and social protection.

5.1.4 Improved child feeding practice

IFPRI (2019) has assessed the impact of IN-SCT on infants and young children's feeding practices. More specifically, the proportions of children that have access to minimum acceptable diet or dietary diversity were investigated by comparing children from the IN-SCT households with those of the neighbouring households outside PSNP (C1). The results indicate that the programme has statistically insignificant impacts on the child feeding practices and dietary diversity. The finding is not surprising

as improved child feeding practice is a function of both food accessibility and utilization (i.e. health/behavioural side). Despite improvements in health and nutritional behaviours of mothers due to the IN-SCT, the very limited access to productive inputs and services to programme clients have significantly undermined farm yield and income thereby weakening the capacity of clients to acquire the necessary food elements for their children.

5.1.5 Child nutrition status

Child nutrition status was measured to assess the impact of IN-SCT (IFPRI, 2019). Relevant data was collected on height and weight of children aged 6-23 months from the IN-SCT clients, (T) and neighbouring households outside the IN-SCT/PSNP (C1). This data was used to analyse the various aspects of child anthropometry that include height-for-age z-scores (HAZ), stunting prevalence (HAZ<-2), weight-for-height z-scores (WHZ), wasting prevalence (WHZ<-2), weight-for-age z-scores (WAZ) and underweight prevalence (WAZ<-2). The findings indicate statistically insignificant improvements because of the programme. This implies the IN-SCT has rarely contributed to improved child nutrition status in the pilot areas. The supply side factors, i.e. limited food production from own farming and shortage of income to buy the necessary food items from market are more likely to explain the lack of improvement in child nutrition. As noted earlier, the PSNP cash transfer does not allow the receipts to seek for diversified food.

5.2 Institutional analysis

As noted under the introduction section above, the IN-SCT was an integral element of PSNP. Hence, it primarily relied on PSNP coordination mechanisms at different levels (federal, regional, woreda and kebele) to meet its purpose. These coordination mechanisms were also expected to improve coherence between agriculture and social protection. Thus, this section of the report discusses the IN-SCT/PSNP coordination mechanisms and how these affected the coherence between the two sectors based on the findings from the institutional assessment. It also identifies key gaps and challenges observed in this regard.

5.2.1 Coordination at the Federal level

PSNP includes multi-sectoral interventions – social, economic and environmental/disaster risk reduction interventions. Hence, a multi-sectoral approach was adopted for planning, coordination and management of the programme. At federal level, the relevant coordination bodies are the joint social development taskforce (SDT), the nutrition taskforce (NTF), the federal level joint public works technical committee (PWTC) and joint livelihoods technical committee (LTC) (Figure 4).

The SDT comprises key ministries such as MoA, MoH and MoLSA and development partners like the World Bank and UNICEF. This committee is responsible for the overall guidance related to gender and social development (GSD), nutrition and social service linkage. NTF is a subset of SDTC, and it specifically led the nutrition component of PSNP and was in charge of the IN-SCT design and guidance as well. The aforementioned government ministries and development partners are also members of the NTF. Several manuals, such as those used by the IN-SCT for BCC and staff training manuals on social service linkage and case management were designed by the NTF and their implementation was overseen by the SDT. The NTF effort has contributed to improve coherence between access to health/nutrition services and social protection at federal level. It has also created a very good collaborative engagement between MoH and MoLSA at federal level.

The other important PSNP coordination mechanisms at national level that are active and much relevant to IN-SCT include the federal PWTC and LTC. The federal PWTC comprises several ministries that include MoA (i.e. the Natural Resource Management directorate and FSCD), MoH, Ministry of Education, Environmental Protection Authority, Road Authority and Women and Youth Affairs. The PWTC is an important coordination mechanism in charge of the design and implementation of public works and the associated soft conditionality. Soft conditions are obligations, which the on temporary direct support and PDS are encouraged to comply with in order to receive their transfer. The role of PWTC also includes encouraging PSNP clients to participate in nutrition-sensitive agriculture and ensuring public works' contribution to nutrition. This could be, for instance, through farmland conservation or through production and distribution of seedlings that have food value. This indicates the PWTC has a lot to contribute to the IN-SCT, in so far as its engagements are highly correlated with what IN-SCT has intended to achieve. However, the federal NTF that has led the pilot design, has failed to involve the federal PWTC in the IN-SCT process.

Similarly, the federal LTC is an important coordination mechanism that is relevant to support the IN-SCT. Members of the LTC included the MoA (i.e. the Extension Directorate and Food Security Coordination Directorate within the ministry), Federal Cooperative Agency, MoLSA, Women and Youth Affairs and other development partners such as the World Bank. This federal LTC, which is in charge of coordinating and oversee the implementation of the livelihood component of PSNP, was also not brought on board by the federal NTF to support the IN-SCT. The LTC, particularly the extension directorate within this committee, is pertinent to implement the nutrition-sensitive agriculture component. However, the programme has brought in CONCERN Worldwide instead of the LTC to implement the nutrition sensitive activities. The institutional analysis result indicates such efforts could not lead to much improvement in the promotion of nutrition-sensitive practices. Several factors play into this. On the one hand, the IN-SCT outreach to on temporary direct support clients with inputs was very limited and it was only 30 per kebele. On the other hand, CONCERN has very limited experience and expertise to promote nutrition-sensitive agriculture. The government local Agriculture office, which bears the ultimate responsibility for the local agricultural development, was excluded from the process according to the assessment result. This implies it was a wrong decision to design the nutrition-sensitive agriculture component of the programme for implementation through CONCERN. Rather, other actors that have better expertise and experience in the sector, like the FAO, could have come in to lead this comment.

The LTC was also excluded from the IN-SCT like the federal PWTC. Moreover, MoLSA is not a member of neither of these technical committees and this has limited the opportunity to liaise and secure the support of these committees for the IN-SCT. This implies that an opportunity to ensure coherence between social protection and agriculture was not utilized to full potential at federal level. This has also repercussions for the coherence between the two sectors at regional and woreda level as well. According to the institutional assessment finding, the two technical committees (PWTC and LTC) are rarely involved in and contributed to the IN-SCT both at regional and woreda level, implying limited coherence between the two sectors at lower level.

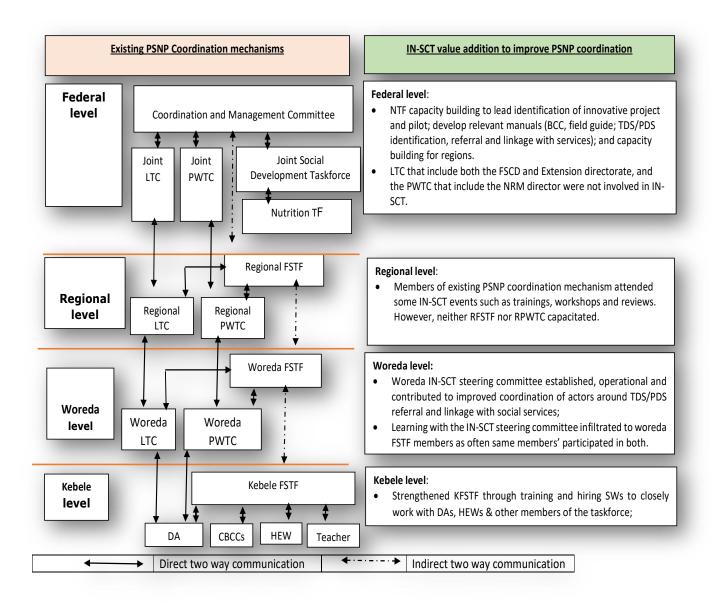
Moreover, the limited internal coordination within the MoA itself has also affected coherence between social protection and agriculture at federal level. For instance, the public works component of the PSNP is instituted under the Natural Resource Management (NRM) Directorate of MoA. This Directorate is in charge of the PSNP public works implementation in close consultation with other

PWTC members. This has laid a basis for improved coherence between natural resource management and social protection.

The livelihoods component of PSNP4, which offers huge potential for stronger coherence between social protection and agriculture is instituted under the federal FSCD within MoA. The food security and livelihoods staff within this directorate at federal, regional and woreda levels were implementing the PSNP4 livelihoods component including the agricultural activities. While the extension directorate at multiple level (federal, regional and woreda) that have the mandate and expertise in smallholders' agricultural development were almost removed from the PSNP4 livelihoods planning and implementation. The MoA officials noted, "The extension directorate of MoA had a greater stake during PSNP 3". During this phase, there was an initiative called household asset building program (HABP), which was intended to improve the income earning opportunity of the PSNP clients. The federal extension directorate and its decentralized structure at regional and woreda level were planning and implementing the HABP activities.

However, the role of this directorate was significantly shrunk during PSNP4. This is because the livelihood component of PSNP4 has moved to the FSCD and its decentralized structure at regional and woreda level. The role of the extension directorate is now restricted to participating in biannual or annual PSNP review meetings. It is only at community level where the frontline staffs (DAs) of woreda agriculture office were tasked to engage in PSNP livelihoods activities under the guidance of woreda Food Security office. As a result, the extension directorate mainly focuses on smallholders outside PSNP; while the FSCD and its structures below are taking care of the PSNP clients. Joint planning and implementation of agricultural activities between the Extension directorate and FSCD of MoA to improve the livelihoods of PSNP client is rarely the case during PSNP4." [KIIs with Extension directorate of MoA]. This shows that lack of internal coherence within MoA lies at the core of lack of integration and synergy between agriculture and social protection. Similar challenges were observed at regional and woreda levels as PSNP is placed under the Food Security Directorate. The reduce role of extension directorate in PSNP4 has been one of the key factors undermining access to farm inputs among the PSNP clients. Several PSNP annual review findings indicate PSNP clients have very limited access to improved farm inputs, services and technologies (MoA, 2018; MoA, 2019). Graduation from PSNP is also almost nil during PSNP4 (Ibid).

Figure 4. Summary of PSNP coordination mechanisms as related to nutrition and service linkage for on temporary direct support and PDS, and the value addition of IN-SCT in improving such mechanisms



Source: Kebede (2019) as adapted from PSNP coordination mechanism (2014).

5.2.2 Coordination at Regional level

As far as IN-SCT is concerned, the most important regional coordination mechanisms that can positively impact on the coherence between social protection and agriculture are the regional PWTC and the regional LTC. These are responsible for guiding the integrated planning and management of PSNP public works and livelihoods activities including the nutrition-sensitive agriculture. However, none of these have been involved in and contributed to the IN-SCT pilot for similar reasons to those mentioned above in relation to the federal level. The regional BoLSA, which had the ultimate responsibility for the IN-SCT planning and management at regional level, was not involved in any of

these TCs. Moreover, the Regional Agricultural Directorate has rarely engaged in the PSNP, with the IN-SCT operations suffering the consequences. This implies the coordination around improving coherence between social protection and agriculture is weak at regional level.

There are further explanations to the weak coordination at regional level. That is, the regional level coordination mechanisms are a bit removed from policies, strategies and programmes adopted at federal level and, hence, pay limited attention to their implementation. The level of commitment and buy-in depends on the level of understanding of the rationale behind such policies and strategies, which decrease as one goes down the ladder from federal to regions and woredas. Moreover, there is also a perception of the MoLSA being a 'non-productive sector' by other key stakeholders including MoA (UNICEF, 2020). The latter often tends to avoid genuine collaboration with the former because of such perception and this has been affecting coherence between social protection and agriculture.

5.2.3 Coordination at Woreda level

Like the ones at federal and regional level, the woreda PWTC and LTC were also not involved in the IN-SCT coordination. The decision made at federal level has affected the involvement of these committees in IN-SCT at grassroots level. Instead, the programme has established a new coordination mechanism called woreda steering committee in the two pilot woredas. The committee was composed of relevant woreda offices including WoLSA, Woreda Agriculture, Food Security, Health, Education, among others. The committee members were provided with clear roles and responsibilities as well as series of trainings to help them understand their roles and act on the basis of such knowledge. According to the institutional assessment result, this has led to a good coordination at woreda level. Woreda offices such as WoLSA, health, education and Food Security have integrated the IN-SCT plan into their own and have implemented it accordingly. This has significantly contributed to improved coherence between access to health/nutrition services and social protection. This implies the government structures that are closer to communities feel the need for collaboration. Nonetheless, the achievement was limited in terms of improving coherence between social protection and agriculture. Several factors underlie this result. As noted earlier, it is the FSCD and its structure at woreda level that has implemented the livelihood component of PSNP4. The extension directorate of woreda Agriculture office was not involved in the IN-SCT. The nutrition-sensitive agricultural component of the pilot was overtaken by CONCERN. However, the latter was failed to effectively deliver on this mainly due to limited experience and expertise on the subject. Moreover, some key institutions that are important for greater coherence with agriculture were also missed from the woreda steering committee (e.g. MFI). Improving access to credit service is unlikely without the support of MFI.

5.2.4 Coordination at Kebele level

At kebele level, KFSTF is the relevant coordination body that has supported the IN-SCT. Kebele FSTF is the existing PSNP structure, which was established to support coordination and implementation of PSNP. Members of the kebele FSTF include DAs, HEWs, Kebele chairperson, elders, religious leaders, youth and women. In the IN-SCT implementation kebeles, SWs were recruited by the programme and included in the kebele FSTF. These SWs worked closely with DAs, HEWs and school teachers to ensure the referral and linkage of on temporary direct support /PDS with social services. This was one of the key value additions of IN-SCT to PSNP 4 in the pilot woredas and not observed in non-pilot areas. The programme has provided series of trainings to DAs, SWs, HEWs, school teachers and KFSTF on roles

and responsibilities related to nutrition, service linkage and nutrition-sensitive agriculture. According to the institutional assessment finding, this support has led to very good and collaborative type of coordination among the relevant kebele level structures. This has particularly contributed to improved coherence between social protection and access to health and nutrition services. This implies clear guidance, including provision of roles and responsibilities coupled with the necessary trainings, can significantly improve the collaborative efforts among the frontline staff.

6. Enabling factors and barriers to coherence between social protection and agriculture

Findings from the quantitative and institutional assessment reports indicate some important enabling factors and barriers affecting the coherence between social protection and agriculture.

6.1 Enabling factors

- Government productivist orientation: There is persistent government desire to link social
 protection initiatives with productive engagements such as soil and water conservation,
 rehabilitation of degraded areas, and construction of community infrastructure such as irrigation
 schemes. This orientation and desire offer a very good opportunity for improving coherence
 between social protection and agriculture. The fact that PSNP is instituted under MoA reflects this.
- 2. Institutional arrangements. Some ministries like MoA and MoH have well-established and well-staffed institutional setups. They have a full-fledged staff structure at the federal, regional, woreda and community levels. For instance, both have an adequate number of experts at woreda level and 2-3 frontline staff at community level. These staff can be provided with minimum training to improve coherence between social protection and agriculture. These ministries also have frontline training colleges such ATVETs that can be used to train MoLSA's social workers to improve coherence. The institutional structure and staffing of MoLSA is also improving.
 - Staffing is a function of access to adequate government budget, which varies from ministry to ministry. For instance, the overall federal government budget for 2019/20 was 387 billion birr, of which 3.7 percent was allocated to MoA and 3.3 percent to MoH. The share of MoLSA was insignificant and only 0.1 percent (Cepheus, 2019). This is well aligned with the institutional assessment finding that indicates MoLSA as an under-resourced government ministry.
- 3. Lower level bureaucracy and frontline staff. The experience from the IN-SCT pilot indicates that the provision of clear roles and responsibilities for lower level bureaucracy and frontline staff is key to operationalizing more integrated and coherent approaches between social protection and agriculture. MoUs with clear role and responsibilities were prepared and shared with woreda steering committee members along with the necessary trainings to ensure understanding. Similarly, a detailed description of roles was developed and shared with frontline agents (DAs, HEWs and SWs) coupled with trainings. This has significantly contributed to improved coherence between social protection and health and nutrition services. According to the institutional assessment result, collaborative engagement among frontline staff has improved access to health and nutrition services for the on temporary direct support. A similar approach, if adopted between the Extension Directorate and FSCD of MoA at multiple level, can work to improve coherence between social protection and agriculture in PSNP setting.

6.2 Barriers

1. **Limitations due to policies and strategies**. The limited coherence between social protection and agriculture in Ethiopia is rooted in the government ideology, policies and strategies. Old policies that were developed in the 1990s (e.g. ADLI), the Rural Development Policy and Strategy (2003)

and Agricultural Policy Investment Framework (2010) are still guiding and framing the country's socio-economic development. The country has embraced social protection as a development agenda decades later (in 2010) after these policies were in place. These policies and strategies have given limited space for integration of agriculture and social protection. According to the institution assessment finding, access to improve farm inputs, services and technologies is insignificant for the PSNP clients because the existing extension system favours the model farmers. The fact that tailored and PSNP focused agricultural extension package is missing and the Extension Directorate of MoA is focusing on smallholders outside the PSNP clients indicates this. MoLSA's social protection policy and strategy that encourages greater coherence with agriculture could not go far because of other overarching policies and strategies that undermine coherence.

- 2. Extension system. Ethiopia's agricultural extension system is less responsive to the situation and priorities of the food insecure smallholders. The country hosts over eight million chronically food insecure people. This number doubles when the transitory food insecure people are considered. As the number of food insecure smallholders comprise a huge segment of the rural communities, a specific extension approach and packages that consider their needs and priorities should be put in place. However, this is not the case now in Ethiopia. The existing government extension system through the Extension Directorate of MoA is pro-model farmers. The PSNP clients were marginalized from the regular extension programme as a result. Evidence indicates that PSNP has contributed to improved land fertility, reduced degradation and increased vegetation coverage. However, such improvements were not translated into improved production and income for the chronically food insecure people. This is mainly because the PSNP clients have limited access to extension services, inputs and technologies. This has hampered complementarity between social protection and agriculture.
- 3. Perceptions about MoLSA and its structures. Traditionally, MoLSA and its structures at regional and woreda levels were perceived as an institution that focused on freehand outs for citizens outside productive category (i.e. people with disability, the old age people). It was often associated with pension payment for the retired and old age people. As a result, the government stakeholders, particularly MoA, MoH and their structures at various levels were reluctant to genuinely cooperate with MoLSA and its structures at regional and woreda levels. This was noted by MoLSA and its structures at various levels as a major hindrance to improve coherence between agriculture and social protection. This is particularly visible at lower levels, where the Office of Agriculture sees itself as better positioned to take care of PSNP than WoLSA. Moreover, MoLSA and its structure at regional and woreda levels are also provided limited budget mainly because of such perception. The institutional assessment result indicates that MoLSA and its regional and woreda structures were excluded from the key PSNP coordination mechanisms (e.g. PWTC) because of such negative perception.
- 4. Weak coordination at mid-level bureaucracy: Government structures at the regional level rarely see the value of coordination to ensure coherence between social protection and agriculture. The fact that some of the key regional PSNP coordination mechanisms such as the livelihoods technical committees are not functioning to the expected level and weak indicates this. Committee meetings are irregular, less frequent and often focuses on routine technical matters than strategic issues such as improving coherence between social protection and agriculture. This is because the regional stakeholders have limited understanding of policies and strategies designed at federal level. For instance, the value of coherence between the two sectors and how this affects reduction

- of food insecurity and poverty is not well infiltrated at regional level according to the institutional assessment result. Without this understanding their genuine buy-in and commitment is unlikely.
- 5. **MoLSA lack adequate frontline staffs (SWs) at community level**: These SWs are important to closely work with MoA development agents to improve coherence between social protection and agriculture. While the DAs are available in almost all kebeles, however, SWs are missing in majority of the areas mainly because MoLSA lack adequate budget to ensure this.
- 6. Limited access to finance: The PSNP clients have serious shortages of capital to acquire productive inputs. Hence, a limited number of IN-SCT clients have adopted improved farming inputs and services, mainly because of limited access to necessary financial services from the MFIs and other providers to acquire the required farm inputs and services. Several challenges underlie this. On the one hand, the local MFI institutions were often excluded from the local PSNP coordination mechanisms or remained inactive when included. On the other hand, MFIs are reluctant to lend to PSNP clients due to fear of risk of default. As a result, the PSNP clients have limited access to finance to pursue productive opportunities including farming. Ultimately, this has affected the prospect for improved coherence between social protection and agriculture.

It is also important to note that inflation over the years has eroded the real value of the PSNP transfer. By doing so, it has contributed to undermining both the 'protective' and 'productive' functions of the PSNP. In fact, the lesser the value of the transfer over time, the less that the PSNP could succeed in playing its role as a safety net and the less, too, that one will expect to find the productive impacts that are built into the program's logic.

7. Recommendations

The importance of promoting articulation and coherence between social protection and agriculture in order to improve synergy and contribute to reduction of food insecurity and poverty. In Ethiopia, the role of coherence is increasingly understood at higher levels, which has led to the design and implementation of the IN-SCT/PSNP programme comprising of both social and agricultural objectives. Moreover, there are also several other opportunities that can be utilized to improve the coherence between the two sectors. Based on the findings from the impact evaluation and the institutional assessment of the IN-SCT pilot and its linkages with the broader PSNP programmes, this report put forth a number of recommendations geared towards strengthening coherence and articulation between social protection and agricultural interventions targeting chronically poor and food insecure smallholder families in Ethiopia. The main recommendations from this study are:

• Ensure access to improved agricultural inputs, services and technologies for PSNP clients. Ethiopia has been implementing PSNP, which is the second largest social protection programme in sub-Saharan Africa. The fact that the country's MoA, which manages the smallholders' agriculture, is also leading the PSNP offers a great opportunity to ensure improved coherence between social protection and Agriculture. However, such opportunity could not be turned into reality due to several reasons. On the one hand, agricultural packages that are responsive and tailored to the priorities and capacity of the PSNP clients are not put in place. On the other hand, the FSCD and Extension Directorate within MoA are not actively working together to improve the situation of the PSNP clients. The Extension Directorate is primarily focusing on provision of farm inputs, services and technologies to smallholders outside the PSNP clients, leaving the latter to the FSCD. Joint planning and implementation between the two directorates is missing and this has

affected the coherence between social protection and agriculture in PSNP setting. In order to improve this, the livelihoods component of PSNP4 should move back to the Extension directorate. This is particularly important as the agricultural component of the PSNP livelihoods accounts for over 80 percent of the activities. The FSCD can continue overseeing the overall PSNP, leaving the technical livelihoods planning and execution to the extension directorate. The FSCD has did same thing with regard to the PSNP public works component and moved all public works to the NRM directorate within the MoA. Moreover, tailored extension package should be designed for PSNP clients for implementation through the extension directorate. The two directorates (i.e. the FSCD and Extension Directorate) should actively work together to ensure this and ultimately improve the coherence between social protection and agriculture in PSNP setting.

• Put in place clear roles and responsibilities for relevant actors. Improved coherence between social protection and agriculture requires not only establishing committees at multiple levels, but also defining clear roles and responsibilities for each of the participating actors at multiple levels. The fact that the woreda level steering committees and frontline staff have performed well to ensure coherence between social protection and access to health and nutrition services in the pilot areas indicates this. The clarity of roles and responsibilities of actors participating in the coordination mechanisms particularly at woreda level and among frontline staff is crucial to ensure coherence between social protection and agriculture as well. Also, the necessary incentive structure should be put in place for the frontline staff to improve performance.

Moreover, the PSNP coordination space should go beyond technical matters ("how many", "how much") and include the programme strategic orientation – strengthening coherence, designing collaborative tools and mechanisms, and developing shared vision and expectation.

• Ensure that the right actors are included into the coordination mechanisms. Improving coherence between agriculture and social protection requires partnering with the right stakeholders that have the necessary experience and expertise. For instance, UNICEF has partnered with CONCERN to implement the nutrition sensitive agriculture. However, the latter has neither the expertise nor the experience in agricultural development, and this has undermined the pilot's contribution to agricultural yield.

Moreover, financial institutions, particularly the MFI, are important to be included into the local coordination mechanisms to address the capital shortage of the PSNP clients. These clients need credit service to acquire productive inputs and engage in improved farming. However, the MFIs were excluded from the pilot coordination mechanism (i.e. woreda steering committee) in the pilot woredas. This has affected provision of credit service to PSNP clients and thereby undermining their engagement in improved farming. The effort to improve coherence between social protection and agriculture should not underestimate the role of financial service providers. Providers such as the MFIs should be included into the local coordination mechanisms to facilitate access to financial service for PSNP clients.

• Address weak coordination at mid-level bureaucracy. Efforts to improve the coherence between social protection and agriculture should give adequate focus to mid-level bureaucracies such as those at the regional level. These should be capacitated to understand the value of coordination and how this positively affects stronger coherence between social protection and agriculture. The value of coordination is better perceived among the relevant ministries at federal level because these are part of the policy and/or programme design. Similarly, the importance of coordination

is emphasized among relevant actors at lower level because these actors feel this is key for effective implementation at grass roots level. However, coordination is given limited attention among the mid-level bureaucracy at the regional level because these are neither close to the policy/programme design nor grass roots implementation of the designed policies and programmes. As these mid-level bureaucracies are crucial to provide coordinated supports (i.e. technical and managerial) to the grass roots level implementers, the necessary trainings and capacity building effort should be provided to them to ensure this.

- Increase MoLSA's workforce at the grassroots level. The presence of MOLSA operational staff at community level can contribute to the quest for improved coherence between agriculture and social protection. In the IN-SCT pilot areas, significant improvements were observed in ensuring coherence between social protection and access to health and nutrition services, mainly because of increased number of social workers. These have closely worked with other frontline staff, resulting in a positive influence on the programme's effectiveness. However, existing evidence (UNICEF, 2020; IFPRI, 2019) indicates that MoLSA is the least staffed particularly at grassroots level compared to other ministries (MoA and MoH) in all PSNP areas. Severe shortage of budget lies at the core of under-staffing within MoLSA and its lower structures. Therefore, it is crucial to properly resource MoLSA including the deployment of an adequate number of frontline staffs. Moreover, the wrong perception about MoLSA and its structures at various levels should be addressed. In this regard, the contribution of social protection for development should be well understood by others as a means to portray the roles of MoLSA.
- Adjust the value of the PSNP transfer. Efforts are needed to address the impact of inflation on the PSNP transfer. Evidence indicates that the inflation rate topped 20 percent in the last one year in Ethiopia (March 2019 March 2020). As a result, the real value of the transfer received deteriorated over time and could not allow the recipients to acquire sufficient productive inputs and engage in farming. The transfer rate should consider price changes over the years to make sure that the real value does not fall.

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FAO, together with its partners, is generating evidence on the impacts of coordinated agricultural and social protection interventions and is using this to provide related policy, programming and capacity development support to governments and other actors.

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