

# RAPID DESK BASED STUDY:

Evidence and examples to build  
resilient livelihoods in the South  
Sudan Context



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# Introduction

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Building resilience to weather and conflict shocks in South Sudan requires investing inside and outside the agriculture sector in order to promote sustainable livelihoods development and income diversification. This includes strengthening productive sectors, improving basic social services, and establishing productive safety nets. Establishing productive safety nets involves providing predictable income sources to vulnerable households through cash transfers, food transfers, or paid labour within a public works programme. Furthermore, climate change adaptation should be an integral part of the conflict prevention and food-security strategies, partly because climate change is expected to significantly increase the likelihood of future conflict.

DFID South Sudan is preparing a business case for the second phase of the Building Resilience through Asset Creation and Enhancement (BRACE) Programme in South Sudan. This phase is expected to start in August 2015 in order that there will be a smooth transition from phase 1. Building on learning from phase 1, phase 2 will focus more on climate adaptation and conflict sensitivity. Resilience in South Sudan mainly revolves around food security. Phase 1 was focused on food for assets, phase 2 is looking to scaling up cash for assets; but this will need to be handled in a sensitive way given risks in the operational context.

To this end, the Economic Policy Research Institute (EPRI) was invited by Evidence on Demand to undertake a rapid desk-based study to provide evidence and examples to build resilient livelihoods in the South Sudan context.

## 1.1 Objective

The objective of this rapid desk-based study is ‘to identify evidence on livelihoods options that can be meaningfully used in the South Sudan context to build resilience to shocks and increase food security, in order to inform phase 2 of the BRACE programme’. The evidence is required to inform the development of a DFID business case (strategic and appraisal case in particular) and support the development of key aspects such as the Theory of Change and the logframe. The study will be structured to focus on five key questions:

- a. What does resilience look like in the South Sudan context?
- b. Which shocks can we build resilience to in a meaningful way?
- c. What is the evidence that compares food for assets to cash for assets when building resilience?
- d. How can public works build resilience?
- e. Why are some other approaches not suitable for South Sudan?

## 1.2 Methodology

This desk-based study is based on the identification and analysis of key documents through a literature search and advice from key informants within Evidence on Demand (EoD) and the UK Department for International Development (DFID). Furthermore, the study employs a backwards and forwards snowballing process that draws on references in the relevant documents. The literature review process includes evidence on efficient and effective shock-responsive social protection interventions in fragile and conflict-affected states, specifically focusing on examples of interventions from the Horn of Africa and other conflict affected countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.



The full list of documents identified and reviewed is included in the reference list. The main sources of the core resources for this review are from DFID, IFPRI, World Bank, the Independent Evaluation, and UNICEF. Additional context on the scope of the study is captured from reviews of the BRACE programme documents including the phase 1 Business Case, annual reviews of phase 1, the concept note to ICF, BRACE impact evaluations and an outline of the phase 2 Business Case.

### 1.3 Geographical Focus

Examples of interventions and evidence were sought from South Sudan and other Horn of Africa countries experiencing protracted conflict situation or shocks such as Somalia, Ethiopia, Northern Kenya, and Northern Uganda. Additional relevant evidence was explored from other post-conflict and crisis states in sub-Saharan Africa such as Serra Leone and Liberia.



## Evidence and examples of interventions to build resilience in the South Sudan Context

Shock-responsive social protection interventions	Findings/Examples of Interventions to build resilience relevant in South Sudan context	Authors and Country (Full reference in endnote).
<p>Cash for Assets (CFA) (Conditional or unconditional)</p>	<p>North Kenya’s Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) helped households retain livestock, increased consumption expenditure, and reduced extreme poverty (after 24 months) despite a very severe drought. That is HSNP is acting as a vital safety net, mitigating the negative impact of drought and other adverse shocks for HSNP households.</p> <p>The HSNP is an unconditional cash transfer programme that aims to reduce poverty, food insecurity and malnutrition, and promote asset retention and accumulation in northern Kenya. The HSNP delivered regular cash transfers to beneficiary households through community based targeting and dependency ratio targeting. The pilot programme operated under the Ministry of State for the Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands and was delivered by several contracted service providers, with financial support from the DFID.</p> <p>To determine the impact of the interventions HSNP used a randomised controlled trial approach where 20 treatment and 20 comparisons sub-locations were randomly selected and followed for two years. A total of 1,224 HSNP households and 1,212 control group households were selected for the final impact analysis.</p> <p>The evaluation of HSNP further provides evidence that cash transfers have positive impacts without creating dependency (no impact on labour supply), even in difficult conditions such as north Kenya where climate-related shocks and conflict-related shocks are common. HSNP households are 10 percentage points less likely to fall into the bottom national poverty decile than control households. The evaluation also demonstrated that impact is stronger for smaller and poorer households and during shock periods across a variety of domains including food security and asset retention.</p> <p>One of the challenges using cash transfers for crisis response is the requirement of data for targeting. In northern Kenya, where formal information is scarce, community-based targeting was</p>	<p>Merttens et al. (2013)<sup>1</sup>, North Kenya, Kenya</p> <p>Anna McCord (April 2013)<sup>2</sup></p>

<sup>1</sup> Fred Merttens, Alex Hurrell, Marta Marzi, Ramla Attah, Maham Farhat, Andrew Kardan and Ian MacAuslan (2013): Kenya Hunger Safety Net Programme, Impact Evaluation Report, <http://www.oecd.org/derec/unitedkingdom/Evaluation-of-the-Hunger-Safety-Net-Programme-Kenya.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> Anna McCord (March 2013): Public Works and Resilient Food Systems, ODI. <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8603.pdf>



Shock-responsive social protection interventions	Findings/Examples of Interventions to build resilience relevant in South Sudan context	Authors and Country (Full reference in endnote).
<p>Public Works (Cash for work)</p> <p>Public Works (Food for work)</p>	<p>used as an alternative option to identify the most vulnerable.</p> <p>Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) started in 2005 as a new approach after 30 years of emergency food programmes. It targets chronically food-insecure households in known famine-prone areas in rural Ethiopia. It is managed by the Ethiopian government but most of it is donor-funded and the government's contribution is the cost of the civil servants managing it. The programme started with 4.5 million beneficiaries in 2005 and now has about 8 million beneficiaries in around 1.5 million households. This is about 10 per cent of the country's population.</p> <p>PSNP provides transfers to food-insecure households equivalent to 15 kilos of cereal per household member per month for six months a year. Households that are required to work for this transfer must work for five days to receive the transfer for one person. Thus a household of four members can receive a transfer equivalent to 60 kilos of cereal but has to provide 20 days of labour to earn it. The programme practically guarantees work and, through that, income to those who have been targeted. PSNP targeting happens through high levels of involvement on the part of the local community.</p> <p>Households that are not able to supply labour but are chronically food-insecure receive an unconditional transfer referred to as "direct support". The size of the transfer is identical to the ones received by households that have to work. Households where adult members are too old or too sick to work, or that have no adults, are not required to work in PSNP. About 20 per cent of the beneficiary households in PSNP receive direct support. The transfers to households generally take the form of a combination of food and cash.</p>	<p>Maikel Lieuw-kie-song (2011)<sup>3</sup>, Ethiopia</p> <p>Berhane et al (2011)<sup>4</sup>; Ethiopia</p> <p>Coll-Black et al (2011)<sup>5</sup>; Ethiopia</p> <p>Hoddinott (2012)<sup>6</sup>, Ethiopia</p> <p>Gentilini et al. (2014)<sup>7</sup>, Ethiopia</p>

<sup>3</sup> Maikel Lieuw-Kie-Song (2011): Integrating public works and cash transfers in Ethiopia, Implications for social protection, employment and decent work, UNDP Working Paper number 84, <http://www.ipc-undp.org/pub/IPCWorkingPaper84.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> Guush Berhane, John Hoddinott, Neha Kumar, and Alemayehu Seyoum Taffesse (2011): Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net and Household Asset Building Programmes (2006-2010): A synthesis of findings. USAID Policy Brief, [http://www.jfoehmke.com/uploads/9/4/1/8/9418218/ethiopia\\_psnp-habp\\_impacts.pdf](http://www.jfoehmke.com/uploads/9/4/1/8/9418218/ethiopia_psnp-habp_impacts.pdf)

<sup>5</sup> Sarah Coll-Black, Daniel O. Gilligan, John Hoddinott, Neha Kumar, Alemayehu Seyoum Taffesse, and William Wiseman (May 2011): Targeting Food Security Interventions When "Everyone is Poor": The Case of Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme, ESSP II Working Paper 24, <http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/esspwp24.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> John Hoddinott, Guush Berhane, Daniel O. Gilligan\*, Neha Kumar and Alemayehu Seyoum Taffesse (September 2012), The Impact of Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme and Related Transfers on Agricultural Productivity, Journal of African Economies, Vol. 21, number 5, pp. 761–786 doi:10.1093/jae/ejs023 online date 26 September 2012, [http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Neha\\_Kumar4/publication/234025298\\_The\\_Impact\\_of\\_Ethiopia's\\_Productive\\_Safety\\_Net\\_Programme\\_and\\_Related\\_Transfers\\_on\\_Agricultural\\_Productivity/links/0912f50e5a336af708000000.pdf](http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Neha_Kumar4/publication/234025298_The_Impact_of_Ethiopia's_Productive_Safety_Net_Programme_and_Related_Transfers_on_Agricultural_Productivity/links/0912f50e5a336af708000000.pdf)

<sup>7</sup> Gentilini, Ugo; Honorati, Maddalena; Yemtsov, Ruslan. 2014. *The state of social safety nets 2014*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2014/05/19487568/state-social-safety-nets-2014>



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	<p>Some 60 per cent of public works projects are in soil and water conservation. PSNP also has a 20 per cent contingency budget that is used as a first-line response for the transient food-insecure.</p> <p>Households that received five years of support from the PSNP public works programmes have seen an improvement in food security of approximately one month per year. In the drought-prone areas where people have experienced two or more droughts in the past five years, the food security has improved by 0.93 months per year compared to those who did not participate in the programme for five years. The same households experienced an improvement in livestock holdings of 0.39 tropical livestock units (TLU) compared to those not participating in the programme.</p> <p>Households that received five years of support from the PSNP public works programmes have seen an improvement in food security; participants 20 percentage points more likely to use fertilisers and invest in land improvements (i.e. households have also registered livelihoods improvements).</p> <p>PSNP impact evaluation finds that the programme enables participants to significantly (statistically and materially) increase investments in tree-planting, due to the forestry skills the associated public works projects provide and the risk management benefits provided by a secure income source that lengthens the investment horizon of the vulnerable households.</p>	
	<p>Despite similarities in the type and frequency of climate-related shocks both Ethiopia and South Sudan experiences, Ethiopia has strong government structure, political commitment, and implementation capacity – among the key factors for a successful social protection programme. The lack of such capacity in South Sudan could make adaption a failure. Drawing evidence from other countries where, like South Sudan, infrastructure and basic services are almost ‘non-existent’. Newly-initiated public works programmes (PWPs) are unlikely to function as effective crisis-response interventions. A Cash for Work (CFW) temporary employment project in Liberia,</p>	<p>Andrews et al. (2011)<sup>8</sup>, Liberia Andrews et al. (2012)<sup>9</sup>, Sierra Leone  Andrews et al., (2011: 1)<sup>10</sup></p>

<sup>8</sup> Colin Andrews, Prospero Backiny-Yetna, Emily Garin, Emily Weedon, Quentin Wodon and Giuseppe Zampaglione (July 2011), Liberia’s Cash for Work Temporary Employment Project: Resonding to Crisis in Low Income, Fragile Countries, World Bank SP Discussion Paper NO. 1114 [http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2011/07/21/000333038\\_20110721013630/Rendered/PDF/634010NWP0Box361516B00PUBLIC001114.pdf](http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2011/07/21/000333038_20110721013630/Rendered/PDF/634010NWP0Box361516B00PUBLIC001114.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> Colin Andrews, Mirey Ovadiya, Christophe Ribes Ros, and Quentin Wodon (2012): Cash for Work in Sierra Leone: A case study on the Design and Implementation of a Safety Net in Response to a Crisis, World Bank Social Protection and Labor Discussion Paper No. 1216 <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SOCIALPROTECTION/Resources/SP-Discussion-papers/Safety-Nets-DP/1216.pdf>

<sup>10</sup> Colin Andrews, Elena Galliano, Carolyn Turk and Giuseppe Zampaglione (August 2012): Social Safety Nets in Fragile States: A Community-Based School Feeding Program in Togo, World Bank SP Discussion Paper, NO. 1117, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SOCIALPROTECTION/Resources/SP-Discussion-papers/Safety-Nets-DP/1117.pdf>





Shock-responsive social protection interventions	Findings/Examples of Interventions to build resilience relevant in South Sudan context	Authors and Country (Full reference in endnote).
	<p>developed jointly by the World Bank and the government employed members of 17,000 households out of 400,000 absolute poor households (4%), providing 40 days of support for each participant. The full work provision was completed only by mid-2010, some 18 months after the project was initiated and almost two years after the crisis struck. A similar programme developed and implemented in Sierra Leone did not provide employment to its target of 16,000 households until 2010. Clearly, the shock-response capacity of new PWP is limited by the time taken to develop and roll out such programmes. This timescale risks compromising both social protection and social stabilisation objectives and, therefore, undermining the rationale for programme implementation.</p> <p>Hence, building safety nets on existing informal mechanisms based on the commitment of communities and civil society can be an adequate solution in fragile states and in situations where there is weak and fragmented government capacity to deliver services to disadvantaged and vulnerable communities.</p>	
Food for Training and Skill Development	<p>BRAC South Sudan in collaboration with World Food Programme (WFP) implemented a food for training and skill development programme. The idea is to use the food ration provided to household by WFP as a strategic entry point during in which BRAC South Sudan will provide training on income generating activities. The aim is to give poor households a source of regular income and thus an opportunity to build resilient livelihoods.</p> <p>The impact evaluation followed a household level randomised design. Once the eligible households were finally selected, 500 households were selected randomly for the intervention and the remaining 549 households were assigned as a control group.</p> <p>Informal mechanisms are known for their importance in risk-sharing until formal safety net programmes are developed. In conflict contexts such informal insurance mechanisms can be non-existent as conflict and displacement usually reduce informal risk-sharing to smooth consumption. In such situations, external assistance may allow them to invest in rebuilding these networks. Despite the theoretical literature that states such formal assistance/transfers is likely to crowd out altruistic private transfers, evidence from randomised evaluation in South Sudan shows otherwise.</p>	<p>Munshi Suleiman (2010)<sup>11</sup>, South Sudan</p> <p>Maria and Andres (2010)<sup>12</sup></p> <p>Munshi Suleiman (2010), South Sudan</p> <p>Babken Babajanian (2012)<sup>13</sup></p>

<sup>11</sup> Munshi Suleiman (2011): Incentive and Crowding out effects of food assistance: Evidence from randomised evaluation of food for training project in Southern Sudan, London School of Economics and BRAC, [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1735188](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1735188)

<sup>12</sup> Maria, I. A. and Andres, M. (2010) "Vulnerability of Victims of Civil Conflicts: Empirical Evidence for the Displaced Population in Colombia" World Development, Vol. 38(4): 647-663

<sup>13</sup> Babken Babajanian (June 2012): Social Protection and its contribution to Social Cohesion and State Building, Overseas Development Institute, for Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/7759.pdf>



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	<p>In the South Sudan BRAC assessment, there is a positive impact on both the likelihood and value of transfer given out by the treatment households. The types of transfers indicate that increased transfers result to a greater extent from transfers in-kind rather than cash transfers. This corroborates the finding that the results are an effect of receiving food transfers. Moreover, there is a strong positive correlation between receiving and giving out transfers by households, which suggests reciprocity. Consequently such reciprocity and cooperation between different groups and individuals in a society with a notion of wellbeing, equity and solidarity has shown great impact on social cohesion.</p> <p>BRAC's food for training programme has found no effect of food-for-training on the hours of work or the type of the economic activities of the adult members. However, a significant negative impact on income (about 13%) was observed, mostly happened through a reduction in child labour.</p>	
	<p>An environmental audit by the UK Government describes Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) as the "largest climate change adaptation programme in Africa". The country's heavy reliance on agriculture for both GDP (45%) and livelihoods (80-85% of the population) increases vulnerability to intensifying climate shocks.</p> <p>The Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) was created as a new approach after 30 years of emergency food programmes. It provides recipients with a predictable source of household income either via cash transfers, food transfers, or paid labour within a public works programme. This programme works in combination with the Household Asset Building Program (HABP), which links people in the PSNP with the agriculture extension service that disseminates technological packages and on-farm technical advice. By building institutions to plan and manage public works, integrating public works into <i>woreda</i> [County] development plans and early warning systems, and working with communities to determine beneficiaries, the PSNP builds resilience into government structures and strengthens capacity for better governance. The PSNP is also building resilience into the natural resource base by focusing on tree planting, rehabilitation of stream beds and gullies, and terracing to prevent erosion.</p> <p>The clearest evidence supports the PSNP's adaptation impacts. Climate change increases the vulnerability of poor households in Ethiopia, and the Productive Safety Net effectively mitigates this</p>	<p>House of Commons Environmental Audit Committee (2011)<sup>14</sup>, Ethiopia</p> <p>Hoddinott (2012), Ethiopia</p> <p>Hoddinott (2012), Ethiopia</p> <p>World Bank (2011), Ethiopia</p> <p>Derek Headey and Adam Kennedy (2011)<sup>15</sup></p>

<sup>14</sup> House of Commons Environmental Audit Committee (June 2011): The impact of UK overseas aid on environmental protection and climate change adaptation and mitigation, Fifth Report of Session 2010-12 Volume I <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmenvaud/710/710.pdf>

<sup>15</sup> Derek Headey and Adam Kennedy, Enhancing Resilience in the horn of Africa (2011); Horn of Africa; Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Djibouti.



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	<p>by improving household food security. Some evidence indicates that farmers participating in the programme also increase their investments in high-yielding seed varieties, helping to directly offset the economic impact of climate change [<i>over the project period of 5 years – the evidence was from the 5 year project impact evaluation</i>]. Other studies provide evidence that while the Productive Safety Net generates important impacts, benefits need to be increased and the programme further expanded in order to adequately address the increasing intensity of climate shocks.</p> <p>An evaluation of the Productive Safety Net aimed to answer the question of whether household participation in the programme discouraged or supported investment in tree-planting. This reflects a general trend in integrating environmental and/or climate change criteria into social protection evaluation designs: the environmental outcome is usually directly linked to economic and social objectives.</p> <p>The study finds that the programme enables participants to significantly (statistically and materially) increase investments in tree-planting, due to the forestry skills the associated public works projects provided and the risk management benefits provided by a secure income source that lengthens the investment horizon of the vulnerable households.</p> <p>Generally, Natural Resource Management integrated social safety net programmes have been shown to work best when integrated within multisectoral approaches—combining economic development, improved farming practices, clear incentives, and increased awareness and behavioural change. In addition, community ownership was identified as critical, particularly because of the often high labour efforts and costs involved in such projects.</p>	
	<p>Cooperazione Internazionale (COOPI) implemented a voucher based cash transfer programme in 14 districts targeting 15,000 vulnerable households in Somalia. In the COOPI SOMALIA Cash based safety Net Programming study – participants were found to strongly (29.4%) or somewhat (40.7%) prefer a cash transfer over a goods transfer. Furthermore, given the restricted humanitarian access in most areas of Somalia, cash transfers are more feasible than direct food disbursements.</p>	COOPI (2014) <sup>16</sup> , Somalia
	<p>An employment programme for rural ex-fighters in Liberia reduced the likelihood of engaging in criminal activities and improved social cohesion. After 14 months, treated men shifted hours of illicit resource extraction to agriculture by 20 percent, turning high risk-youth into farmers.</p>	Blattman and Annan (2012 <sup>17</sup> ), Liberia

<sup>16</sup> COOPI (2014): Safety Net Study in Somalia, <http://foodsecuritycluster.net/sites/default/files/SOM%20-%20COOPI%20-%20Cash%20Based%20Safety%20Net%20Programming%20Study%20%20.pdf>

<sup>17</sup> Christopher Blattman and Jeannie Annan (2012): Reintegrating and Employing High Risk Youth in Liberia: Lessons from a Randomised evaluation of a Landmine Action Agricultural training programme for ex-combatants. [https://www.poverty-action.org/sites/default/files/blattman\\_annan\\_ex-com\\_reintegration\\_ipa\\_liberia\\_1.pdf](https://www.poverty-action.org/sites/default/files/blattman_annan_ex-com_reintegration_ipa_liberia_1.pdf)



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Food for Assets (FFA) (In-kind transfers)	<p>Anaemia among girls enrolled in the school feeding programme was 20 percentage points lower compared to girls not participating in the programme. Preschool age children in the Food for Education participant community have a significant higher z-score improvement in height-for-age.</p> <p>DFID funded “Building Resilience through Asset Creation and Enhancement” (BRACE) Programme, through food and cash transfers to households.</p>	Adelman et al. (2010), North Uganda, Uganda
	<p>The results from BRACE mid-term evaluation in South Sudan demonstrate particularly strong results in terms of participation in the Food for Assets component, mitigating worsening levels of severe food insecurity, improving the reliability of livelihoods strategies, and strengthening resilience (as measured by reduced reliance on coping strategies).</p> <p>There was a decrease in the rate of overall food security among measured households from nearly 65% at baseline to around 60% at midterm.</p> <p>There was considerable improvement from the baseline in food consumption score, 64% of the treatments and 60% of the controls have an acceptable food consumption score. The paper hypothesises the improvement in control areas due to proximity to treatment locations. This also could be as a result of reciprocity. Similar food transfer interventions in South Sudan found strong positive correlation between receiving and providing transfers by households, which suggests reciprocity (Munshi Suleiman, 2010).</p> <p>Midterm findings show households participating in the Food for Asset (FFA) were less likely than non-FFA households to have used a coping strategy in the seven days preceding the assessment. The proportion of poor (60%) and very poor (47%) households having used at least one coping strategy in the seven days before the assessment was higher than the better-off/midline income households (39%). In previous rounds of data analysis, it was also found that participating in FFA reduced reliance on coping strategies.</p> <p>Asset creation: in a large number of locations, projects were not implemented properly or issues with food distributions existed, hence assessment of asset creation status was incomplete. (This is a risk inherent in evaluations based on midline surveys, when evaluation activities are not calibrated or powered to generate robust results at midline, and in an environment where implementation</p>	BRACE Mid-term Report (2014) <sup>18</sup> , South Sudan

<sup>18</sup>

Impact Initiative (2014) Resilience and Food-for-Asset Activities: An Impact Evaluation of BRACE, [http://www.reach-initiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/BRACEPhaseIIBaselineReport\\_2013\\_Final1.pdf](http://www.reach-initiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/BRACEPhaseIIBaselineReport_2013_Final1.pdf)



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	<p>arrangements are particularly challenging.)</p> <p>A higher proportion of households with a poor income source reliability and sustainability score were found in the control (39%) than in treatment locations (35%), suggesting that FFA activities may have contributed to helping households move away from less reliable income sources.</p> <p>Conflict did not affect control and treatment areas differently. A significant number of communities reported being affected by the conflict (69%), the fact that a large percentage of communities living a considerable distance from conflict-affected areas reported being directly affected illustrates the far-reaching impact of the conflict.</p>	
<p><i>What factors cause chronic vulnerability to food insecurity in South Sudan?</i></p>	<p><b>Weather shocks: Exposure to flooding and droughts</b></p> <p>With over half of the population affected, frequent floods and drought cause chronic vulnerability to food insecurity in South Sudan. Every year, South Sudan is struck by seasonal floods. Heavy rains in June to October cause rivers to overflow, destroying houses, crops and belongings, and temporarily displacing people from their homes. Even without rains, heavy rains in neighbouring Ethiopia affect South Sudan. In the first nine months of 2013, nearly 200,000 people were affected by floods and needed assistance. Though the impact was lower than during the same period in 2012, when 260,000 people were affected, floods continue to have a severe impact on already vulnerable communities.</p> <p>Livestock, particularly cattle, goats and sheep, are important social and economic assets in South Sudan. Using goat densities as a proxy for the presence of pastoral and agropastoral ethnic groups, Calderone and his colleagues (2013) showed the vulnerability of livestock to temperature shocks. In terms of food insecurity, in 2011 the five states that were most severely affected were the drought prone states of Eastern Equatorial, Warab, Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Lakes and Jonglei.</p> <p><b>Conflict-related shocks:</b></p> <p>Due to underdeveloped management practices, weak and unenforced property rights institutions, common property resource governance, and greater competition for resources has led to increasing incidences of violent conflict. In some cases conflict over resource ownership and use has led to displacement of populations to other areas, further exacerbating resource-related conflict. In cases where displacement has not taken place, conflict arises from unequal access to resources by</p>	<p>National Household Baseline Survey (2009) UNOCHA South Sudan, (2013)</p> <p>Calderone et al (2013)<sup>19</sup>, South Sudan</p> <p>Derek Headey and Adam Kennedy, Enhancing Resilience in the Horn of Africa (2011); Horn of Africa; Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Djibouti.</p>

<sup>19</sup> Margherita Calderone, Jean-Francois Maystadt and Liangzhi You (2013): Local Warming and Violent Conflict in North and South Sudan, IFPRI Discussion Paper 01276 <http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/ifpridp01276.pdf>



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	<p>competing groups.</p> <p>Violence continues to de-stabilise parts of the country and disrupt the lives of tens of thousands of people. In the coming year, civilians will continue to bear the brunt of inter-communal fighting and cattle-raiding, as well as state versus non-state armed actor violence.</p> <p><b>Interlocking vulnerabilities between weather shocks and conflict:</b> In occasional times of hardship, people usually have something to fall back on: income, savings or livestock assets to sell. But for some people, the hardship comes every year and their livelihoods and assets are eroded until they have nothing left to fall back on. Sometimes they become unable to put food on the table. Falling into a downward spiral, even in the good years for some part of the year they have to rely on external support to feed their family. They have become 'Chronically Food Insecure'. The additional shocks brought by climate change will speed up this process. It will also elongate the hungry periods.</p> <p>Broad overlaying of poverty maps and conflict map showed that the natural resource related conflicts were the major drivers of crisis. In their paper published in 2013, Calderone and his colleagues estimated the effect of a weather shock on conflict in South Sudan. Based on the results, a change in temperature anomalies of one standard deviation increases the frequency of violent conflict by 31 percent.</p> <p>Similarly, on the relationship between weather shocks and conflict, Harari and La Ferrara showed that negative weather shocks (proxy by drought index), occurring during the growing season of the main crops, significantly increase the incidence of conflict.</p> <p>There is evidence that estimates the long term effect of protracted conflict crisis. Looking at the long term effect of civil war in Rwanda, Serneels and his colleagues finds that households and localities that experienced more intense conflict are lagging behind in terms of consumption (resulting food insecurity) six years after the conflict.</p>	<p>UNOCHA (2013); Consolidated appeal 2014-2016; South Sudan</p> <p>Calderone et al (2013)<sup>20</sup>, South Sudan</p> <p>Harari and La Ferrara (2012)<sup>21</sup></p> <p>Serneels et al. (2012)</p> <p>Bozolli et al. (2011) World Bank (2011a)</p> <p>Justino (2011)<sup>22</sup></p>

<sup>20</sup> Margherita Calderone, Jean-Francois Maystadt and Liangzhi You (2013): Local Warming and Violent Conflict in North and South Sudan, IFPRI Discussion Paper 01276

<sup>21</sup> Mariaflavia Harari and Eliana La Ferrara (August 2012): Conflict, Climate and Cells: A disaggregated analysis, MIT and Bocconi University, [http://www-2.iies.su.se/Nobel2012/Papers/LaFerrara\\_Harari.pdf](http://www-2.iies.su.se/Nobel2012/Papers/LaFerrara_Harari.pdf)

<sup>22</sup> Justino, P. (2011) 'Carrot or Stick? Transfers versus Policing in Contexts of Civil Unrest'. IDS Working Paper No. 382. Brighton: Institute for Development Studies.



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	<p>An econometric analysis of survey data from Northern Uganda (while not focused specifically on basic services) shows that conflict intensity has a negative effect on individuals' expectations of economic recovery. The 2011 World Development Report emphasises the negative impact of conflict on trust, especially in public institutions.</p> <p><b>Social protection as peace building:</b> A recent study based on empirical data supports the assertions about the peacebuilding potential of social protection. Justino (2011) analyses panel data to examine the relationship between social transfers, policing and civil unrest in fourteen states in India between 1973 and 1999. Her analysis suggests that redistributive transfers represent an effective and cost-effective method in reducing civil unrest.</p> <p><b>Lack of basic services:</b> In addition to climate-related shocks, the inability to harness the full potential of food-security is attributable to the effects of decades of political and economic marginalisation, erosion of capacity, destruction of rural infrastructure and service delivery systems, and collapse of social and economic facilities including urban-rural market linkages.</p> <p>Ineffectual governance (including inefficient and/or inappropriate policies) poses a clear constraint to achievement of greater household and community resilience in countries undergoing protracted crisis. Notable and common outcomes of policy and governance failures in such situations include conflict over natural resources, inefficient agricultural and livestock marketing, insecure land rights, and inadequate provision of services and infrastructure. In situations of protracted crisis the lack of state capacity to deliver services, specifically an effective police force and transparent judicial systems, often enables the continuation of civil unrest and internal conflict. In many of these environments, the weak capacity of the state to provide such services is compounded by the gradual erosion of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms.</p>	<p>FAO (2013)<sup>23</sup></p> <p>Helland. J. (2006)<sup>24</sup></p> <p>Humanitarian Policy Group (2006)<sup>25</sup></p> <p>South Sudan Bureau for Community Security and Small Arms Control and UNDP (2012)<sup>26</sup></p> <p>BRACE Mid-term Report (2014)<sup>27</sup></p>

<sup>23</sup> FAO (2013): To end drought emergencies in the Horn of Africa, Country Programme Paper, South Sudan, <http://resilience.igad.int/attachments/article/243/South%20Sudan%20CPP%20June%202013.pdf>

<sup>24</sup> Helland. J. 2006. Land Tenure in the Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia. International Livestock Research Institute Campus. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

<sup>25</sup> Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG). 2006. Saving lives through livelihoods: critical gaps in the response to the drought in the Greater Horn of Africa. <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/2041.pdf>

<sup>26</sup> South Sudan Bureau for Community Security and Small Arms Control, and UNDP. 2012. Community Consultation Report: Eastern Equatorial State, South Sudan. South Sudan Peace and Reconciliation Commission (May 2012)

<sup>27</sup> Impact Initiative (2014) Resilience and Food-for-Asset Activities: An Impact Evaluation of BRACE, [http://www.reach-initiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/BRACEPhaseIIBaselineReport\\_2013\\_Final1.pdf](http://www.reach-initiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/BRACEPhaseIIBaselineReport_2013_Final1.pdf)



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	<p>The BRACE Mid-term evaluation found positive correlation between food security and household size; the bigger the household size, the more likely it was to be food secure.</p>	
<p>Resilience and humanitarian approaches in protracted crises.</p>	<p>In protracted crises such as South Sudan, food aid is generally aimed at protection and tends not to have broader objectives. As the UN's FAO puts it, where state capacity is especially weak or violence is perpetuating the crisis, the possibility of handover to a responsible and responsive state may be distant, but assistance itself still serves to protect human and community assets.</p> <p>Drawing on the experiences of PSNP, BRACE 2 could improve its resiliency programming by beginning to better integrate relief programming with development initiatives. Building resilience is a process and as such it requires long-term commitment (especially given that the impacts of many resilience programmes are not seen until five or optimally between ten and twenty years), less obsession with graduation, and building stronger partnerships with regional governments and other international bodies. Without that long-term commitment, expecting mutual commitment from partners is unrealistic.</p> <p>Resiliency can be seen at different levels and in different domains such as the individual, household, or the ecosystem. People should also be able to adapt to adverse events or shocks without permanent consequences. We must also remember that resiliency is not just about economics and requires the development of government institutions, building appropriate social structures, maintaining a natural resource base, and developing human capital (health, nutrition, education). Finally, initiatives that build resilience involve reducing the likelihood and severity of adverse events, enhancing the magnitude and speed of the response to cope with shocks, and diminishing the impacts of adverse events.</p> <p>"You are dealing with very poor households in poor communities, experiencing frequent drought. Yet, despite that, the programme is improving food security and asset holding. In other words, we begin to see that this programme is improving resilience." Quote by John Hoddinott, a Senior Research Fellow and Deputy Director of the Poverty Health and Nutrition Division at IFPRI.</p> <p>International experience suggests that in order for social safety net systems to be scaled up in crises, some building blocks would need to be in place. These may include the following:</p>	<p>FAO (2010)</p> <p>John Hoddinott, a Senior Research Fellow and Deputy Director of the Poverty Health and Nutrition Division at IFPRI.</p> <p>World Bank (2013b) Hobson and Campbell (2012)<sup>28</sup></p>

<sup>28</sup>

Hobson and Campbell (2012) How Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) is responding to the current humanitarian crisis in the Horn, Humanitarian Exchange Magazine, Issue 53.





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	<p>(a) Linking early warning systems to programming;            (b) Establishing contingency plans;            (c) Establishing contingency financing; and (d) building institutional capacity ahead of crises.</p> <p>Connecting and integrating these blocks requires well-defined coordination mechanisms among a network of ministries and agencies. For example in Ethiopia, the Ministry of Agriculture coordinates disaster risk management and food security related activities including its flagship Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP). Different directorates under the Ministry have linkages to the early warning system, humanitarian response, and emergency relief and to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development for management and disbursement of cash resources. Using the Productive Safety Net Programme risk financing facility, the Government of Ethiopia rapidly extended support to an additional 3.1 million people in response to the 2011 drought.</p>	
	<p><i>Success factors: Lessons learned from the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP)</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. High level political commitment to social protection is crucial, especially for larger programmes and those using government systems. This must go beyond the commitment to resolving a particular problem (food or livelihood insecurity, exclusion from services, etc.) to accepting some form of social protection as the solution. This can be achieved through discussion, evidence, long-term financial commitment and other political incentives.</li> <li>2. Agreeing objectives is a political process, not a technical exercise. Key elements of programme objectives and design will be influenced by ideological perspectives, such as ‘dependency’ (resolved by having public works rather than unconditional transfers for households with labour capacity and linking the PSNP with the Household Asset Building Programme), and other political motivations such as the pressure to deliver results. Negotiations between government and donors and among donors themselves are fundamentally political processes. The final shape of a programme may be a compromise that is politically acceptable to all parties.</li> <li>3. Disagreements and conflict among international actors about programme objectives and design stemming from different incentives and institutional perspectives can be overcome, if the will to achieve an overarching goal (such as a desire to move beyond the annual cycle of emergency appeals in Ethiopia) is strong enough.</li> <li>4. Don’t confuse entry points with the end point. A clear shared vision from the start is helpful, but not essential. As long as key players share a motivation for change and a space for</li> </ol>	<p>World Bank (2014)<sup>29</sup>, Ethiopia</p>

<sup>29</sup> World Bank (2014) The State of Social Safety Nets 2014, Washington, DC: World Bank, <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2014/05/19487568/state-social-safety-nets-2014>



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	<p>dialogue exists, the detail can be worked out over time. Before the inception of the PSNP, it was clear what the transition was from but less clear where it was leading to. However, decisions were taken to buy into the process anyway with the expectation that, over time and with growing experience and trust, a common vision would emerge.</p> <p>5. Be opportunistic. Shocks, crises or political changes can shift government and popular attitudes towards social protection and alter the incentives faced by leaders.</p>	
	<p>The Waso Borana pastoralists have persisted in northern Kenya for over a century based on extensive livestock production. In the past they used herd diversification was made possible due the existence of productive and diverse rangelands. According to scholars herd diversification was a basic strategy for wealth accumulation and risk management methods to help the Borena protect themselves against food insecurity and drought. Through time, the Borane pastoral system has undergone a tremendous socio-economic transformation due to land degradation and overpopulation. The risk of conflict due to limited rangeland resources was mitigated and resilience was built through the introduction of livelihood diversification programmes—through providing training and capacity building activities.</p> <p>Food for Hungry (FFH)'s Arid and Marginal Lands Recovery Consortium (ARC) programme in Kenya decided that with the right investments there was the potential for positive change in the pastoralist areas. This project strove to increase agricultural productivity, to protect and diversify household asset bases, and to strengthen livelihood options to increase household purchasing power by making strategic investments in creating livestock markets. At the end of 24 months of the intervention, market prices for livestock have gone up due to key contributions from the programme to improving community veterinary services, raising the quality of animals, regularisation of market days, and transparent market information.</p> <p>BRACE mid-term evaluation reported 80% of respondents have at least 2 sources of income (no difference was observed between treatment and comparison locations).</p>	<p>Jillo, A., A.A. Aboud, and D.L. Coppock. (2006), North Kenya, Kenya.<sup>30</sup></p> <p>Derek Headey and Adam Kennedy (2011)<sup>31</sup></p> <p>BRACE Mid-term Report (2014)<sup>32</sup></p>

<sup>30</sup> Jillo, A., A.A. Aboud, and D.L. Coppock. 2006. From herd diversification to livelihood diversification as a response to poverty: The case of the Waso Boran of northern Kenya. Research Brief 06-05-PARIMA. Global Livestock Collaborative Research Support Program. University of California, Davis. 4 pp. [http://digitalcommons.usu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1201&context=envs\\_facpub](http://digitalcommons.usu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1201&context=envs_facpub)

<sup>31</sup> Derek Headey and Adam Kennedy, Enhancing Resilience in the Horn of Africa (2011); Horn of Africa; Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Djibouti. [http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/cp\\_hornofafrica.pdf](http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/cp_hornofafrica.pdf)

<sup>32</sup> Impact Initiative (2014) Resilience and Food-for-Asset Activities: An Impact Evaluation of BRACE