ORGINAL ARTICLE

BENEFICIARIES' ATTITUDE TOWARDS PRODUCTIVE SAFETY NET PROGRAM IN SELECTED RURAL KEBELES OF EBINAT WOREDA, NORTHWEST ETHIOPIA

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ABSTRACT

The Ethiopian Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP) is the biggest social protection schema in Sub-Saharan Africa as Ethiopia has remained the largest recipient of food aid. This paper examined the attitude of beneficiary households towards PSNP in selected kebeles of Ebinat woreda by using mixed research methods. In-depth interview, focus group discussions and questionnaire survey were used to collect the data while Likert Rating Scale and thematic analysis were employed to analyze and interpret the data. The result shows that the majorities of respondents have a strong feeling of dependency about the program itself and are keenly aware of how PSNP is important to them. However, they have a negative attitude towards the services they are gaining from PSNP and its implementation process. Specifically, the amount of cash, working time, school access to children, livestock accumulation and availability of food were found to be the lowest. Although the beneficiary households are extremely dependent on PSNP's aid, the majority of them still complain about its services. Therefore, awareness has to be created to break their strong dependency and attachment towards aid by empowering them to search for sustainable and alternative livelihood strategies.

Key Words: Attitude, Ebinat woreda, productive safety net program

1.Introduction

Food insecurity resulting from poverty, persistent drought and soil degradation are worldwide problems. Studies indicated that there have been unexpected and seasonal shocks which affected the lives and the food security status of several people in the developing countries since 1980s. Historically, these devastating emergencies result in individual illness, death of household heads, and decline of the income level of the people and food security status. To counterbalance these crises, formal insurance services were non-existent. Thus, informal institutions were unable to cover the problem on a larger scale with some smoothing mechanisms such as reciprocity agreements at a community or lower level because of poor infrastructure and the absence of risk remedy technologies for the people (Bene et al., 2012).

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Nowadays, food insecurity problem remained to be the challenge deterring human, social, and economic development throughout the Sub-Saharan Africa. However, there is an increased international concern about the issue of food security through humanitarian assistance in the form of cash. food or mix of cash and food aid for those undernourished rural households aiming to address basic food needs. This mechanism also boosts agricultural production, improve the resilience capacities of poor farmers to sudden shocks, prevent asset depletion, rehabilitate natural resources, encourage women's participation in public works, build community assets, and promote rural development (MoARD, 2010). Moreover, literatures underlined that the program has broad aims beyond tackling food shocks and vulnerability. World Bank (2004) in its report notes that PSNP should include social services including health and education, social insurance programs all publicly funded transfers (cash transfers such as family allowances, and in-kind transfers like food subsidies) and income generating activities (Yitagesu c. i., 2014).

Conversely, some other literatures pointed out that PSNP has negative impacts on food insecure rural households particularly on labor supply, resource and saving. In this regard, for instance it was found that unwillingness to invest their potential time and resources to improve their livelihoods and reluctant to look at other alternative activities as a result of availability of food aid for a long time enhance dependence syndrome (Aschale et al., 2012).

Despite the debates, the government of Ethiopia has channelled PSNP in 2005 and currently this program covers 8 food insecure regions out of nine (World Bank, 2006). Amhara region is among the national regional states of Ethiopia, which is categorized under food insecure regions. According to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (2010), as noted by Menberu (2016), there are 2.5 million chronically food insecure people in Amhara Region. The region is also characterized by high levels of vulnerability caused by repeated shocks allied with erratic rainfall, frequent drought, and limited access to infrastructure, especially north *Shewa*, south and north *Wollo* of the region have been known by the worst famine event (Arega and Woldeamlak, 2013).

This study was conducted in some selected food insecure rural *kebeles* of Ebinat woreda, south Gondar administrative zone in Amhara region. Ebinat is one of the most vulnerable *woredas* to food insecurity in Amhara region with more than 1/3 of the total population being undernourished as a result of dependence on rain-fed agriculture, absence of alternative income generating activities, frequent drought, poor soil fertility, small land size, and limited access to credit and saving facilities. Taking this situation into account, 37% of the rural population of the *woreda* received support from PSNP (Aschale et al., 2012). This is the rationale behind selecting this *woreda* as the study area.

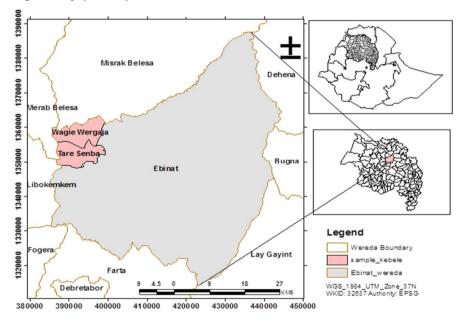
Though Ebinat *woreda* is still remaining one of the most chronically food insecure *woredas* in the region, there have been few studies conducted on the vulnerability to food insecurity and local coping strategies (Rediet,

2011) and dependency syndrome(Aschale et al., 2012). Therefore, assessing beneficiaries' attitude towards the program is the initial step for better understanding of the problem and to design successful food insecurity interventions in order to build up resilience capacities to emergencies. This issue has not been addressed by previous researchers. Such gap inspired the authors to conduct this study in Worgaja and Taresinba *kebeles* of Ebinat *woreda*.

Study Area

Ebinat *woreda* is one of the 11 *woredas* within the south Gondar administrative zone, Amhara region. It is bordered in the south by Farta *woreda*, in the southwest by Fogera *woreda*, in the west by Libo Kemekem *woreda*, in the north by north Gondar zone, in the northeast by the WagHemra zone, in the east by northWollo zone, and Lay Gayintin the southeast. It is located at a distance of 109 km away from Debre Tabor, 122 km from Bahir Dar and 714 km away from Addis Ababa. This *woreda* covers a total of 249, 427sq.km. Of the total areas of land, 62,350 hectares are cultivable and 37,846 hectares are grazing lands (Rediet, 2011).

Figure 1: Map of the Study Kebeles



Source: CCA (2007)

Worgaja, one of the study *kebeles*, is located in the north-east part of Ebinat *woreda* by 22 km, which is bordered by east Belesa in the north, Taresinba in the south, LiboKemkem *woreda* in the west and Ababqila *kebele*in the east.Taresinba, the other study *kebele*, is located in the north-west part of the Ebinat *woreda*, is bordered by Woftuma *kebele* in the south, Wagie *kebele* in the north, Ababqila in the east and Libo Kemkem in

the west (Ebinat Woreda Culture and Tourism Office, 2016).

Ebinat *woreda* is structured by 37 *kebele* administrations. 35 of them are rural and the remaining two are urban. From this, the rural population takes the highest percentage. According to the information obtained from the *woreda* Finance and Economic Development Office (2016), the total population of the *woreda* is 255,266; in which almost 93 percent are rural population. In this population, women account for 48.7% (124, 412) and men share 51.3% (130, 854).

Research Methods

The study used both quantitative and qualitative research approaches. The primary reason is to capitalize the strengths of both methods whilst offsetting their weaknesses by having multiple ways of sensing the social world -- thinking the research problem in terms of numerical and subjective nature (Creswell and Plano, 2007). Survey, observation, key informant interview, and focus group discussions were the major data collection methods of this study.

The study employed multi stage sampling procedures by selecting the study *kebeles* down to households at the village level. Sampled PSNP beneficiaries were selected using the formula with confidence interval 95% and a 5% margin of error.

$$n_i = \frac{N_i * n}{N}$$

Where, n = stands for sample size
N = number of population
Z = 1.96 (with 95 % confidence interval)
W = 0.05 (for 5% margin of error)
P = 0.5 (prevalence rate of study respondents)

This formula is advisable if the population is less than 10,000. In this case, the population of this study was 809 households, 484 were female and 325 male households. Therefore, the sample size for this study was 260. The sample size of each *kebele* was determined by using proportional sample size allocation formula \therefore Based on this, n₁= 166 were from Worgaja *kebele* and n_2 = 94from Taresinba *kebele*.

$$n = \frac{n}{1 + (\frac{n}{N})}$$

Where, i = 1, 2, 3..., k for selected *kebeles* n_i = number of individuals to be sampled in each *kebele* N_i = total number of household beneficiaries in each *kebele* n = the overall sample size N = total population of all selected *kebeles*

Data Collection Methods

The data were collected from both primary and secondary sources. As part

of the primary data collection methods, this study employed field observation, key informant interview (with 15 key informants), FGD (five group discussions) and survey. Secondary data sources were also collected through extensive review of published and unpublished documents, previous related researches, contemporary news and magazines, academic journals and annual reviews. Apart from these, training manuals, seminars, workshop proceedings of selected organizations that are working on this area were consulted. Other key documents that are related to the research objectives have been reviewed and incorporated to enrich the final finding.

Methods of Data Analysis

Both the qualitative and quantitative data were analyzed using different data analysis techniques. Thematic and discourse analysis were used to analyse the qualitative data. For the quantitative data, Likert Rating Scale (LRS) was used. According Amelework (2014) LRS mostly consists of two parts, namely the item part and evaluative part (categorical responses). Likewise, in this study variables that could measure the attitudes of beneficiaries were prepared having five points of LRS. Such scales were from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). Thus, the formula to calculate the mean score of responsesis presented as:

 $LRSy = \sum_{N=1}^{N} X j / N$ (1)

Where, LRSY= Likert rating scale for household Y Xj= 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 variables that indicate attitude

N=number of indicator variables Then, the mean can be calculated as:

Therefore, using 0.50 interval scale, the upper limit was determined as 3.00+0.50=3.50 while the lower limit was from 3.00-0.50=2.50. Based on this, mean score <2.50 ranked as low satisfaction or negative attitude, between 2.50 to 3.49 represents moderate and mean score >3.50 is taken as high satisfaction or positive attitude. However, it does not mean that both qualitative and quantitative data were analyzed separately. Instead, both data were organized and analyzed jointly in order to reach at a meaningful conclusion about the problem.

Results and Discussion

This section presents major findings regarding the attitude of beneficiary households towards PSNP and its overall services such as the amount of payment, working time, timing of aid, social services (education, health), the participation of women, and the communication between men and women particularly in public work and the likes.

In the past, as stated by a key informant of Worgaja *kebele*, every song or conversation of the people and everything that has been talked about Borana's wheat and sorghum went from children to elders through

herdsman. Such poems were conveyed on the memories of Borana's (a place in Oromoiya region, which was formerly known by wheat products) wheat and its major contributions to the poor sections of the country at the time of famine. For example, it has been said in the following manner:

Amharic	English
<i>የቦረናው ስንዴ ይጦጣል ቢ</i> ሉኝ	When they told me Boran's wheat is
አቅማዳየን ይዤ ውርጭ አደረብኝ	coming Endured I the freezing night carrying my bag waiting for its arrival (MKI1, Worgaja kebele, 2016).

In addition to its aid and contributions, wheat/sorghum also sealed its print in the social life of the communities since long time before the introduction of the current safety net program and other emergency food assistance organizations in the country. Borana's wheat saved the life of many rural households when several Ethiopians in the rural parts of the country have been suffering from extreme starvation. Moreover, Borana was known for its large amount of wheat production during that time. But, recently PSNP has arrived to solve problems quickly and then the paradigm or the song or what has been sung for Borana's wheat is now used for PSNP.

Amharic	English				
ጨርቄ ተቀዶብኝ ከንለበቴ ላይ ቶሎ ያለብሰኛል ወረደ/ቸኮለ በላይ	My cloth got tore at my knee Worede/ Chekole Belay shall dress me quickly				
	(FKI3, Taresinba kebele, 2016).				

The main message attached in the above poem according to the interviewee is that the PSNP will arrive with its help to solve our economic problems quickly during the time of starvation. As of the poem, the Amharic term "*ThA NAL*" simply refers to PSNP's quick response to those starved people. So, the term is signalling to PSNP. The lines mean that it also clothes them when they have nothing to wear, or their clothe being torn. Their hope depends on Chekole Belay (PSNP).

Similarly, FGD discussants explained that PSNP is better than relatives who do not ask when they faced problems. Their deep sentiments to PSNP can be shown in the following poem:

Amharic			English
ወረደ በላይ ሞተ	ከሚሉኝ		Instead of hearing the death of Worede
የ <i>እናቴ ልጅ</i> ይምጣልኝ	ሙቶ	<i>መርዶ</i>	Belay I would rather hear the death of my own brother (FGD4, Taresinba, 2016).

The above two lines indirectly emphasize the idea that even one's brothers, sisters, families and nearest relatives may not help if one is poor. But, PSNP can help so that the death of brother is preferred than the death of Werede *Belay* (white sorghum). It is surprising how much the beneficiaries attached their mentality to the aid from PSNP; that is, PSNP more important than their kin. This is also noticed by Aschale (*et al.*,2012):

Research findings indicate that, the given households' experience with food aid transfer for over two decades, food aid beneficiary households have developed a dependency syndrome as a result of the decade's long availability of food aid transfers(2012:15).

In the following poem clients express their indebtedness to God for the aid they have received from PSNP. In fact, God has a special place for them in rural people. For every occasion, work and aid from PSNP they cite the miracle of their almighty God. They frequently pray for his mercy in the time of the shocks or disasters, and they try to send their thanks to God when they receive aid from PSNP during natural disasters such as epidemics, starvation, drought and the forth.

Moreover, the female interviewee at Worgaja *kebele* also described her deep feeling about PSNP as follows:

Amharic ምን ይከፈለዋል ለእዚአብሔር ውለታ ዕርዳታ በማግኘቱ ተሰማኝ አፎይታ

English

What tribute shall be paid to the kindness of God For I received an aid, I have gained a relief

(FI4, Worgaja kebele, 2016).

I lived with PSNP for the last eleven years starting from its introduction. PSNP helps us not to sell our beloved animals, assets, not to migrate to other areas but stay here in our homeland; safety net is supporting us fatherly and motherly/ like a father and a mother that other relatives even cannot do. It also serves as a bridge to transfer us from bad conditions to that of good.. Generally, we are living because of the PSNP (FI2, Worgaja Kebele, 2016).

Similarly, there are related stories that describe the aid dependency of beneficiary households on PSNP. In this regard, a 30 year old farmer presented a story as follows:

Amharic መጣሁ ሰለል ብየ ንባሁ ሰለል ብየ መጣሁ ቀስ ብየ የንዛት አህያ ታልቅስለት ብየ

English

I came gently; I entered unaffected; I came slowly (when I heard the news of his death) Telling myself let the donkey he bought shall cry for him (MI4, Worgaja kebele, 2016). One day a poor woman begged her brother to lend her some money, but he refused her appeal, and he immediately bought a donkey with that money. Later on, her brother died. During the funeral, she kept silence and people asked her; why don't you cry for your brother? Lastly, she responded to them with the following powerful poem publicly:

The important idea of this poem is that instead of one's own brother or own blood-kin, social safety net will reach during the difficulty. In other words, one's brother may not treat his fellow siblings as safety net does to the society in need. The poet adds:

Amharic

English

ለበደረኝ ዘመድ ቁሜ አለቅስለታለሁ ለዘነልኝ ዘመድ እኔ አዝንለታለሁ የእናቴ ልጅ ቢሆን ምን አደርንዋለሁ But what would I do if it was my own brother?

This means: I will be softhearted for PSNP that helped me and arrived with its fast response to my problem. Besides the above findings regarding the attitudes of the people towards PSNP, the following table presents the survey result:

Statements	Response %					
	SD	D	N	Α	SA	Mean
The amount of work is fair	14.2	78.8	1.5	5	0.4	1.98
I am aware of the importance of PSNP for me	2.7	5.8	3.5	73.1	15	3.92
Now I feel I can feed my family	9.2	56.9	18.5	15	0.4	2.40
PSNP helped me to send my children to school	5	73.8	7.3	11.9	1.9	2.32
Now I can buy further livestock because of PSNP	10.4	74.6	8.5	5.4	1.2	2.12
It increased food availability for my family	12.3	57.3	11.5	18.1	0.8	2.38
I can pay for social obligations like <i>Idir</i> , <i>Ikub</i> , <i>Mahiber</i>	3.5	28.8	32.3	31.2	4.2	3.04
Women are empowered because of PSNP	3.8	22.7	40.4	28.5	4.6	3.07
Women participation in public work is acknowledged	5	25.4	39.6	26.9	3.1	2.98
It creates good communication between men and women	2.7	21.2	35.8	34.6	5.8	3.20
In general, it gave me the opportunity to change my family life	15.8	66.9	7.3	8.5	1.5	2.13

Table 1: Attitudes of Sample Beneficiary Households towards PSNP

Source: Field Survey 2016

Key: SD=strongly disagree (1), D=disagree (2), N= neutral (3) A=agree (4), SA=strongly agree (5)

Table1 presents the resultsregarding the attitudes of sample beneficiary households analyzed using Likert Rating Scale. It is clear from the table that the mean score less than 2.50 indicates low satisfaction or negative attitude, 2.50-3.49 imply moderate satisfaction level and the mean score 3.50 and above indicate a high satisfaction or positive attitude towards PSNP (Amelework, 2014).

As shown in Table 1, respondents were asked eleven attitude questions about the general services of PSNP. Thus, in line with the amount of cash and timing of aid, the finding indicates that the mean score of all responses is 2.35 and perhaps most of the beneficiaries are complaining on the amount of payment and timing of aid. Obviously, it shows that greater numbers of respondents do have a negative attitude and are really unsatisfied with the amount of cash and even with its unpredictable nature of PSNP's aid.

However, MoARD (2010) in its implementation manual for Safety Net Program underlined that the basis for the level of transfer is a minimum cereal or cash allocation to each household that can allow them to have sufficient food in each month and, therefore, to guarantee food consumption. The cash transfer must accurately reflect the purchasing cost of food in order that the PSNP fulfils its consumption smoothing function; whereas a failure will result in PSNP clients to buy food (MoARD, 2010). But, in practice, this study has found that the amount of payment, work and family size are not matched.

This implementation manual of MoARD (2010) in relation to timing of aid also underlined that:

The timing of the transfer has to be flexible because there is a variation across food insecure woredas, for example, in terms of rainy, peak agriculture and hungry seasons. PSNP then aims to provide transfer when they are most needed. Thus, timing of transfer should be driven by bottom-up planning process in which woredas express their requirements (MoARD, 2010).

Similarly, for the third item (the amount of work), 93% of the respondents have both strongly disagree and disagree. Only 5.4 % replied agree and strongly agree. The rest 1.5% were neutral. However, the mean score of this item is 1.98 that is below the expected mean (2.50). So based on LRS, the majority of respondents are being dissatisfied with the amount of work in association with the amount of payment. Hence, though beneficiaries are sensitive about the importance of PSNP still most of them have negative attitude towards the amount of payment and its unpredictable nature of aid. But, theoretically, PSNP is expected to be adequate, predictable and timely in giving aid as compared with other food emergency organizations.

Furthermore, respondents were also assessed their attitudes towards the importance of PSNP and the mean score is 3.92, greater than 3.50; this in

turn, reveals that respondents have highly recognized the importance of PSNP though there are many grievances from the people on its service delivery. Although the majority of the respondents (88.1%) accepted the importance of PSNP and the majority of them (73.4%) are complaining on the imbalance of payment, work and timing of aid. Possibly, forecasting the program itself is important though it has problems in terms of service delivery process.

The greater number of study participants (66.1%) responded strongly disagree and disagree, in that they cannot still feed their own family members after joining PSNP even if they acknowledged the benefits of the program. Besides, those respondents who were unable to say disagree or agree accounts for 18.5% and the rest of them were on the side of agree and strongly agree (15.4%). Perhaps, the mean score is 2.40 then majority of respondents have negative attitudes and unsatisfied due to the reason that PSNP is failing to provide the sufficient amount of transfer or payment particularly for those households having large family size.

In addition, in terms of schooling access for children, the mean score is 2.32 which notify that many household beneficiaries are not satisfied as in table 1. For this reason, the female interviewee who engaged in informal economy (mainly prostitution and selling local drinks) stated that "*I could not send two of my children to school since I do not have enough money to cover the costs for school equipments such as pen, pencil and exercise book throughout the year*"(FI5, Worgaja *kebele*, and March/2016).

Ideally, according to the World Bank (2004) as cited in Yitagesu (2014) social safety nets should include:

Social services, including health care and education, social insurance programs such as pensions, all publicly funded transfers (cash transfers such as family allowances, and inkind transfers such as food subsidies), and incomegeneration activities targeted to the poor such as public works. Social transfers are perhaps also among social safety net programs (Yitagesu, 2014).

Moreover, regarding livestock, the majority of respondents (85%) asserted that they could not buy further livestock until now because of PSNP followed by 8.5% respondents who chose none of the two alternatives disagree and agree. But, lesser number of households (6.6%) believed that the program helped them to buy further livestock with the mean score of 2.12 which is less than the expected indicating the respondents' high dissatisfaction level as shown in table 1.

According to food availability assessment result the mean score of strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree and strongly agree is 2.38 indicating beneficiary households' very high dissatisfaction with food availability. Nearly 69.6% of the respondents stated that PSNP did not increase food availability for their family while 11.5% of them reported to be neutral. The remaining beneficiary households (18.9%) decided to agree and strongly

agree about the increment of food availability because of PSNP. It implies that the availability of food for poor households still has not increased even after they joined the program leading the beneficiary households to negatively perceive PSNP.

In relation to fulfilling social obligation, the mean score is 3.04 which is between 2.50 and 3.49, indicating beneficiary households' moderate satisfaction after they joined PSNP. Using the resources obtained from PSNP beneficiary households were able to pay for social obligations like *Ikub, Idir* and *Mahiber*. Respondents were also asked about their attitude towards PSNP concerning gender related issues, simply the participation of men and women in the program. The mean results for question number 10, 11 and 12 are 3.07, 2.98 and 3.20 respectively, which lie between 2.50 and 3.49. On average, it is possible to state that many beneficiary households are moderately satisfied with these three items. Finally, respondents were asked a general question whether the program has provided opportunities for changing their family's life or not. The mean score is 2.13 that lies below the middle point 2.50 implying that the majority of respondents are not satisfied with the opportunities brought by PSNP.

Conclusion

Currently PSNP is the largest social protection program in poor countries like Ethiopia along with other coping strategies of the people. This study analyzed beneficiaries' attitude towards PSNP in selected rural *kebeles* of Ebinat *woreda*. To this end, the primary data were collected using focus group discussions, in-depth interview and sample survey with 260 households. While secondary data were collected from previous researches, documents and annual reports from *woreda* food security office, LRS and thematic analysis techniques were used to analyze both quantitative and qualitative data.

The finding of this study indicates that the majority of respondents do have complains over the services or implementation process of PSNP, starting from beneficiary targeting, timing of transfer, ways of experts' treatment, and graduation process. Local officials are largely the actors in the selection process and mostly they favour their relatives, friends and neighbours. In addition, local officials usually forced PSNP beneficiaries to work more than the expected hours, days and months without balanced payment. Though beneficiaries are not satisfied with PSNP's services and have negative attitudes towards it, still they need to be beneficiaries of the program with high recognition on the importance of PSNP for sustaining their family life. Based on the finding, beneficiaries are extremely dependent on supports obtained through PSNP. Although the majority of PSNP beneficiary households are still complaining upon its services, they have a belief that the program is just like as "a father or a mother". Thus, awareness has to be created for beneficiary households to break their strong dependency syndrome and attachment towards aid and empower the people to search for other sustainable and alternative livelihood strategies; otherwise, it will be a major psychological crisis for the present and the coming generations.

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