

**Impact of Cash Aid as a Humanitarian Intervention Strategy:
A Case for Nyanga District, Manicaland Province, Zimbabwe**

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Master's in Disaster Management**

In the

Disaster Management Training and Education Centre for Africa

At the

**UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE
BLOEMFONTEIN**

STUDY LEADER: ALICE NCUBE

2011

DECLARATION

I declare that this research study is my unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree in Masters in Disaster Management at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein in South Africa. I further declare that the work is submitted for the first time at this university/faculty and that it has never been submitted to any other university/faculty for the purpose of obtaining a degree. I hereby cede copyright of this product to the University of the Free State.

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On..... day of2011.

DEDICATION

To my loving husband, Ferdinand Everest, my two sons, Mufaro and Ngoni; my two nieces, Makanaka Beverly and Tadiwanashe Nicole; my father, Bonifas Pikitayi Makono and my mother, Eginet Mandirutsa Makono and my brother, my son, my friend, Tizirayi.

We have come a long way, and we are still very much around

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May God bless you all

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The project is about the use of cash aid as a humanitarian measure to fight hunger. Many approaches have been used to fight hunger. Over the years it has been observed that the approaches used have their deficiencies, and the researcher resolved to examine cash aid with the objective of ascertaining its strengths and weaknesses as an intervention measure to fight hunger. The researcher is aware that there is an ongoing debate on the usefulness and effectiveness of various forms of aid. Food aid has been criticized, mainly because it creates a dependency syndrome and tends to benefit the donor countries rather than the recipient nations. In light of these deficiencies aid now comes in two forms, which are food aid and cash aid. However, the researcher felt that there was the need to examine and evaluate cash aid in terms of the objective of alleviating hunger in areas affected by humanitarian catastrophes. The key argument of this project is that other forms of aid used hitherto have shortfalls. The researcher attempts, not only to look at cash aid, but engages in a critical analysis of cash aid in the process comparing it with other forms of aid. A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was used to arrive at the data. Questionnaires became our major tools of collecting information. The questionnaires were administered to beneficiaries of food aid as well as those responsible for distributing of food aid. In the final analysis an effort was made to evaluate cash aid, particularly in comparison with other forms of aid. The appropriateness and usefulness of cash aid was established.

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ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CFSAM	Crop and Food Security Assessment Mission
CPR	Chronic Poverty Report
CSB	Corn Soya Blend
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DFID	Department for Foreign and International Development
EC	European Commission
ECA	Eastern and Central Africa
FAC	Food Aid Convention
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
GTZ	German Technical Zimbabwe
HIPA	Holistic-Inclusive Participatory Approach
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSNP	Hunger Safety Net Programmes
IDIs	In-Depth Interviews
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOHCW	Ministry of Health and Child Welfare
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Programmes
STERP	Short Term Emergency and Recovery Programme
TFAT	Triangular Food Aid Transaction
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNOCHA	United Nations Office of Coordination and Humanitarian Affairs

USA United States of America
USAID United States Agency for International Development
WFP World Food Programme
ZESN Zimbabwe Election Support Network
ZIMVAC Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Since 2000, Zimbabwe food production has been inadequate. There are a number of reasons given for this inadequate food production, but generally the reasons for inadequate production centre around economic and political crises as well as natural disasters. According to a food and crop assessment mission carried out by the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) and World Food Programme in 2010, Zimbabwe had a national food gap of 428 000MT. The Ministry of Health and Child Welfare reports of 2010 showed that 13.7% of the population was affected by HIV and Aids. Food productivity levels therefore continued to be compromised. Expectations for the 2010 harvest were 60 to 70 per cent of the national requirements. In 2009 a multi currency system was introduced and the availability of the basic foods was improved. However, cash availability remained a problem (Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee, 2010).

The World Food Programme through its various partners has been providing food aid to the communities in Zimbabwe since 2002. In light of the need to continuously improve their efforts; providers of food aid have been exploring the most effective ways of providing food aid. The general sentiments and observations emanating from the Food Aid Convention of 2002 are that food aid alone is inadequate in achieving sustainable solutions to food insecurity. The newly adopted approach by donors such as Usaid seeks to combine food support, cash transfers and vouchers. Zimbabwe requires a rigorous and comprehensive programme in order to reduce the food gap. Taking into account the fact that, Zimbabwe is a low income food deficit country ranking 151 out of 177 countries (United Nations 2007-2008).

The complexity of the situation lies in the fact that the crisis has natural and political dimensions. The crisis was first ushered in by the erratic rainy season. Cyclone Eline in 2000 caused extensive flooding, which affected three provinces in Zimbabwe. A total of 63 000 hectares of crops were washed away. In 2002, Matabeleland South and Masvingo province experienced extremely low rainfall leading to a bitter drought. Natural factors therefore negatively affected food production during those early years of the onset of the problems. (Zimbabwe. Ministry of Agriculture, 2003).

1.1.1 Land reform programme

Politically, the land reform programme has been labelled as having adversely affected food production. The land reform programme was used as a tool for retaining political support (Dawes, 2010). It led to insecurity of land tenure and in turn affected production. Peasants who were settled on commercial farms were unable to secure loans for farming inputs. Inadequate government handouts in the form of seed and fertilizers were given. The result was that the seed and fertilizers found their way to the black market thereby affecting food production.

On the economic front, there were ever increasing prices of commodities due to a trade deficit and an acute shortage of foreign currency. Zimbabwe as a nation had to import inputs and equipment for the agricultural sector. Farmers who were resettled were not capable of achieving meaningful harvests according to the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe monetary policy of 2008. Food insecurity became common not only in rural areas but also in urban areas. Price controls which were instituted in 2002 resulted in a shortage of food stuffs leaving urban dwellers exposed to hunger. In 2009, when the multi-currency regime was introduced, the high food prices left a lot of people unable to purchase food stuffs (Zimbabwe Annual Report, 2010).

Programmes by the government such as the agricultural mechanization programme were reported to have been affected by political bias. Beneficiaries were not objectively selected. The Human Rights Forum and the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) 2002, both recorded allegations of politicization of food aid in the run up to the local authority Elections of September 2002.

While it was broadly agreed that food aid was necessary in Zimbabwe by all political parties, the question was how to make aid more effective. The Minister of Finance in his midterm Fiscal Policy Review of 2009 felt that food aid had its drawbacks and therefore there was the need to continuously improve. The 2009 Crop and Food Security Assessment Mission (CFSAM) indicated that 2, 8 million people in Zimbabwe would need food aid before the 2009/2010 agricultural season harvest. The report gave recommendations that cash transfers should be explored as an option in responding to food insecurity in Zimbabwe, given that there was liberalization of the market and dollarization of the economy (Crop and Food Security Assessment Mission, 2009).

1.1.2 Cash transfers

The cash transfer pilot project started in Nyanga District in November 2009. In Tombo (ward 15) and Ruwangwe (ward 4), beneficiaries were given cash. The amount of cash given was equivalent to the value of the World Food Programme standard food basket (comprising of 10kgs cereals, 1.8kgs pulses, 6kgs vegetable oil), at the local market and it varied from month to month (World Food Programme, 2009).

It is against this background that there has been an effort to find a way of countering long term dependency. This paper attempts to examine cash aid as a possible way of reducing dependency in the long term. While accepting that food aid can indeed reduce hardships related to food insecurity, it also has to be accepted that it can create long term dependency.

1.2. Description of the Study Area

Nyanga district is located in the northern part of Manicaland Province in eastern Zimbabwe as seen in Figure 1.1. The district is characterized by five different agro-ecological regions, these are: region 1 is Nyanga north, region 2 is Nyanga east, region 3 is Nyanga west, region 4 is Nyanga central (Tombo) and region 5 is Nyanga north (Ruwangwe). The dry regions 4 and 5 are characterized by average to below average rainfall, leached soils filled with gravel and sometimes crops are planted between rocks (Munowenyu, 2002). These are the areas where WFP intervention is required. Nyanga has a total land area of 589 782 hectares of which approximately 501 857 hectares are

arable. It is home to Zimbabwe's biggest plantation estates covering about 16 350 hectares (FAO, 2005). Livestock kept in the area include cattle, goats and pigs while crops grown include maize, potatoes and fruits like apples and plums are also grown mostly in regions 1 and 2 where there is high rainfall. It has a total population of **119 370** people according to 2002 census (Central Statistics Office, 2002).

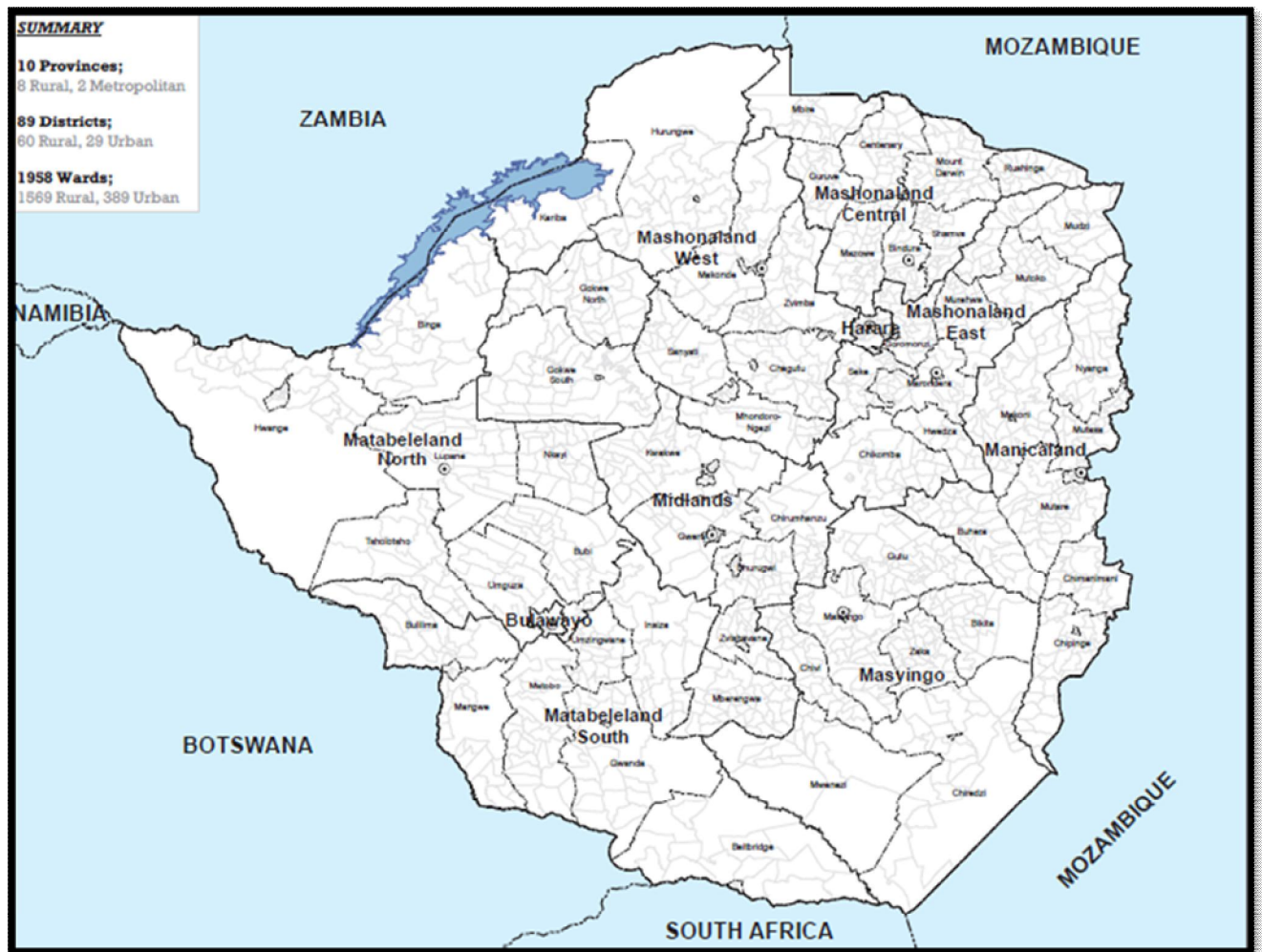


Figure 1.1: Map of Zimbabwe (UNOCHA, 2010)

Nyanga is one of Zimbabwe's 89 districts and one of the 60 rural district located north east of Zimbabwe as indicated on the Map in Figure 1.1 above. It is within two wards of the district, where the study was conducted as shown in Figure 1.2.

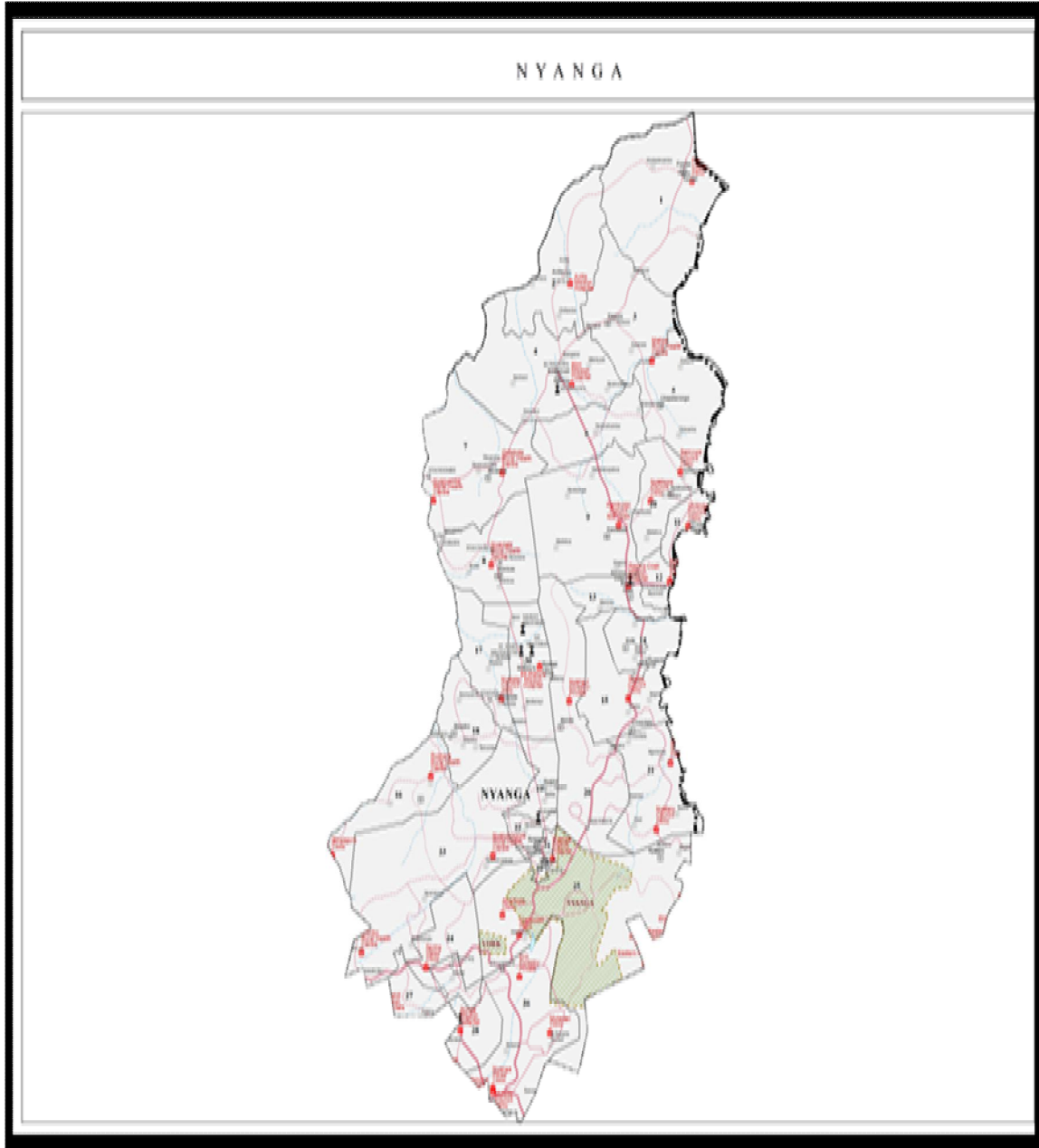


Figure 1.2: Map of Nyanga district (UNOCHA, 2010)

About 41 099 beneficiaries had been targeted to receive food aid assistance which is 34.4% of the population. The low levels of food availability were as a result of adverse weather conditions during the 2007/08 agricultural season (incessant rains followed by a prolonged dry spell) late and untimely delivery of inputs also severely affected production levels. It was due to chronic levels of poverty in the district exacerbated by a deteriorating economic situation in the country (high prices and the scarcity of basic

commodities). An upsurge in the cases of malnutrition among the under fives was reported and World Food Programme assistance aimed to significantly contribute to averting the situation from deteriorating further. The Grain Marketing Board (GMB), which is the national strategic reserve was supposed to provide food to the people, but there were no adequate stocks to meet the demand (Zimbabwe. Central Statistics Office, 2009; Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, 2009).

Reported cases of negative coping mechanisms (eating vegetables only, withdrawal of children from school, disposal of productive assets among others) increased the necessity of intervention (World Food Programme, 2009). The district had not been spared by the effects of HIV/Aids. The new phenomenon of child headed households within the context of a deteriorating economic situation was a real challenge (World Food Programme, 2009). It was hoped cash intervention would go a long way in mitigating some of the effects of the pandemic.

1.3 Problem Statement

The United Nations with the assistance of donor nations is tasked with ensuring food security for vulnerable individuals and nations. The challenges that face efforts towards food security are the ineffectiveness of intervention measures. The major problem lies in the shortfalls of food aid. Food aid has created dependency on that particular type of aid. Countries have remained dependent on food aid for longer than envisaged.

The problem or challenge therefore lies in the ineffectiveness of the humanitarian strategies being employed. These strategies are not limited to cash and food aid. A number of studies that have been carried out show that intervention strategies do not address the problems that they are supposed to address. Problems such as dependency and misdirection of aid have been associated with most intervention strategies despite the Food Aid Convention (FAC) guidelines, should benefit the recipient countries. Clay (2002) does not believe that the recipient countries are benefiting. It has become an issue of concern in many spheres that despite all the good intentions, the effectiveness of food aid remains questionable.

1.4. Hypothesis

Cash aid is more effective as a tool of alleviating hunger as compared to food aid.

1.5 Key research questions

This study has the following questions derived from the research topic:

- a) Is food aid effective as a method of alleviating hunger?
- b) Does the distribution of cash aid alleviate hunger?
- c) Which are the vulnerable elements within this community?
- d) Is there anything in addition to food or cash aid that can be done to alleviate hunger?
- e) What resources including local institutions are at this community's disposal to anticipate, cope and recover from potential disasters?
- f) What type of aid do beneficiaries prefer?

1.6. Objectives of the research

The general aim of the research is to examine the impact of cash aid as an intervention strategy to eradicate famine in Zimbabwe.

1.7. Sub-Objectives

Key words in objective:

1. Cash aid/cash transfers/cash payments refers to monetary handouts.
2. Food aid/food assistance refers to aid in the form of food handouts.

The following sub-objectives are drawn from the main objectives:

- To establish whether cash aid is effective in reducing hunger.
- To find out how cash payments can enhance livelihoods.
- To find out how cash aid can break the donor dependency syndrome.
- To establish whether cash transfers are preferred by beneficiaries.
- To establish situations where cash aid is more appropriate.

1.8. Significance of the research

Zimbabwe has been receiving food handouts since 2002. However, a lot of debate surrounds the effectiveness of food aid. In terms of Article 11 of Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1963) which Zimbabwe ratified in 1991, food is a basic human right, and is fundamental to human life according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1963). Every government has a moral obligation to provide food for its people. The food that feeds the inhabitants of a country emanates from local production, imports and food aid from donor countries. The central object of giving food aid or cash aid is to offer short-term assistance with the view of withdrawing and allowing a nation to receive its local production as well as imports (Devereux, 2005). Contrary to this notion a study on dependency by Moore (2003) reveals food aid has been unable to reduce long-term dependency

From a policy perspective it is important for the donor community to establish and determine an intervention strategy that does not create dependency. Most of the studies on the effectiveness of donor aid have been embarked on in the past, but the need to embark on this particular one was induced by a number of reasons. The first reason is donor programmes aimed at arresting food insecurity have been protracted over long periods. These programmes have lost their characteristics of being short term and being aimed at particular disasters. The second reason has been that donor agencies have attempted to streamline and improve these programmes. Food aid is being distributed long after the disasters have passed according to Food and Agriculture Organization 2005. These improvements have been the introduction of cash aid and food aid. The third reason for embarking on this research is that donor aid has been associated with political manipulation and interference. The research will also aim at finding out the effectiveness of cash aid in the face of political interference.

The fourth reason for embarking on this research is the realization that donor aid is driven by tax payer money. In the face of the global financial recession which ensued in 2007, accountability of taxpayers' money becomes important. Good corporate governance dictates that donor money should be put to the most effective use. Increasing scarcity of resources has sharpened the donor countries' appetite for scrutiny such that accountability is now more important.

In the light of these facts, the researcher has decided to assess or evaluate cash aid as a possible method of improving donor aid effectiveness. It is the desire of the researcher to ascertain whether cash aid enhances accountability, destroys dependency syndrome and is not easily manipulated politically.

Once these issues are examined, only then can policy makers adequately address the issue of whether cash aid is effective. The study is expected to make progress towards establishing whether cash aid is effective as an intervention measure by examining the strengths and weaknesses of cash aid as compared to other intervention methods. The issue of cash aid was studied with a view to establish whether it would reduce dependency syndrome and therefore emerge as an effective aid tool. The situation on the ground is that cash aid was introduced in 2009, in Nyanga district, Zimbabwe. In short, the issue of cash aid is being brought under scrutiny for the purposes of finding out whether it will prove to be an effective food security intervention.

1.9. Limitations of the Study

Beneficiaries of aid may come up with misleading answers because they are not sure of the objectives of the questions are such that they might come up with answers that they think you want to hear. Perception of success of the programme to beneficiaries might be different to the researcher's perceptions. Lastly, this study is not funded, as such the researcher has to bear the total costs. The researcher shall try to be tactful and to be open to the respondents to assure them that the information supplied is not to be used to their disadvantage. Political interference may affect food aid as some beneficiaries perceive food aid as a political tool. Food aid supplied by USAID is often associated with pro-western political parties. The whole effort of providing aid is reduced to nothing more than a political effort whose objective is vote buying instead of a way of improving lives. The researcher has therefore chosen Nyanga district where the political situation is relatively calm.

1.9.1. Delimitations

The distribution of cash aid was researched within Nyanga district. It is hoped that based on this research conducted in Nyanga district, helpful results will be gleaned and

generalizations pertaining to the distribution of cash aid in Zimbabwe can be made. The case of Nyanga will be used as a reference point when dealing with the other districts. The case of Nyanga is representative of the rest of the districts in Zimbabwe.

1.9.2. Research Methodology

Research methodology is the logical plan of the processes to be conducted in a research. Lichtman (2006:219) defines methodology as the various techniques, methods and procedures used in conducting research. McNeill (1990:14) concurs when he says that methodology is the theoretical study of the logical basis of research of collecting data, interpreting and analyzing the findings. Therefore research can be understood to mean the layout and detailing of the research processes. In that regard this proposal will highlight the sampling, data collection and analysis techniques to be used in the study.

1.9.3 Population

It is defined as the broad group whose characteristics are under research. Schulze (2002) defines population as the totality of persons, events, organizational units, records or other units subject to sampling with which a research problem is concerned. With particular reference to Schulze's definition, the population for this study was derived from the beneficiaries of cash and food aid in Nyanga district from November 2009 to December 2010.

The study population consisted of those families who had been identified as being incapable of feeding themselves due to constraints in resource mobilization. The World Food Programme has its method of determining this status. The major determinants are the absence of livestock. Recipients of food aid also include individuals affected or infected by HIV and Aids and those who have been displaced from their areas. Such people are seen throughout Zimbabwe; hence, it becomes imperative to restrict the geographical area without seriously comprising the representativeness of the sample.

1.9.4 Sampling

A total of two wards were randomly selected out of the 15 wards that make up Nyanga district. An assumption will be made that the two wards represent the characteristics of the entire population. In order to ensure that the two villages were randomly selected to produce a representative sample, each village was assigned a number. A computer

randomly generated a number which was used to draw two different numbers that were assigned to two different villages. (Kwesu, Nyatanga & Zhanje, 2002). The two wards that were randomly picked then became our samples. It was within these samples that questionnaires were distributed.

A random sample is appropriate for this study because the wards within Nyanga district are similar in terms of demographic characteristics such that the chosen two wards will represent those wards which are not chosen, secondly the nature of humanitarian intervention is similar in all the Nyanga districts. The demographic characteristics that are similar are gender, age, birth rates and mortality rates.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Definition of Food Aid

Lowder and Raney (2005) acknowledge the fact that defining food aid is an elusive undertaking. Food aid comes in a lot of forms and the terms are often loosely defined. Food aid experts have been engaged in protracted arguments when it comes to defining food aid. At a meeting in Berlin food experts defined food aid as "all domestic actions and domestically funded distribution of food as well as non-food resources used in combination with good for food security purposes". Lowder and Raney believe that food based interventions "are food distribution, market intervention or financial transfers which are funded nationally or internationally and which improve too security".

Barret and Maxwell define food aid as "the international sourcing of concessional resources in the form of or for the provision of food". (Barret & Maxwell, 2005). The researcher will use the definition coined by the food experts at a meeting in Berlin in 2003 which is broad, and encompasses various forms of aid. This definition includes interventions such as cash transfers and even where project interventions are used.

2.2 Aid As A Tool Against Hunger

Traditionally, food aid has been regarded as the solution to hunger. However, there is a number of other methods such as cash aid, the relief to development or food for work method. The emergence of other methods of countering hunger was prompted by the perceived weaknesses of food aid. Some of the weaknesses are the dependency on food aid and distraction of local markets.

2.3 Food Aid Dependency

Sources of food for any nation are its imports, aid inflows from donor countries and organizations and also domestic production. According to Winston, Moore and Sunielle Stanford (2010), "food aid can be distributed freely, in the form of a loan or a scale below market place". The primary goal of giving food aid is to provide short-term assistance to

recipient countries. Over time it is expected that the development process of these countries would be enhanced thereby reducing long-term dependency.

While it is accepted that food aid or any form of aid can reduce a country's hardships it is also a fact that it can lead to dependency. Schultz (1960) maintains that "boosting suppliers in cereals, depresses local prices and reduces the returns to local production". Farms will become increasingly unproductive as a nation now depends on aid. If the problem underlying food insecurity is poor policies or distribution of resources, food aid can allow governments to avoid or postpone politically difficult reforms. Lary (1990), notes that there is a close relationship between food production and aid. However, he disproves the notion that food aid reduces food production.

2.4 Challenges of Food Aid

Most societies accept some responsibility to provide food assistance for the disadvantaged (Kols & Uhl, 1985). Despite this perception the method of offering food assistance is at times questionable. Humanitarian, moral and economic grounds encourage the issuing of food aid. However Kols and Uhl (1985) note that "Public food assistance programmes affect farmers, food marketing firms and consumers. Some food programmes actually include some foods that some people would not otherwise purchase. Such programs can increase the total demand for food. Food aid simply displaces what would otherwise have been purchased or forces income to purchase non-food products.

The food aid that was offered in the United States of America was in programmes that attempted to distribute surplus commodities in a manner that would not interfere with normal marketing or sales. Milk distributed to school children probably does not displace home sales of milk. However, the food distributed by charitable organization in Zimbabwe is often distributed outside these commercial channels, and tends to be in competition with local sales. Kohl and Uhl (1985) are therefore echoing the debate that food aid destroys the local market, adding credence to the argument that cash and aid do not negatively affect local sales. In fact, it actually promotes local sales when people purchase foods.

The agricultural trade policy may influence trade in a certain fashion either by regulations or promoting it. The question is why purchase from abroad when products can be produced domestically+ (Kohl and Uhl, 1985:134). In this instance a nation can control its imports. But when imports are in the form of aid, a nation may not control them in the way it does normal imports.

Roberts (2008) maintains that, food aid was the showpiece of US generosity but like most charitable programs before and since it had more of its patronizing errors+. Roberts notes that the United States of America wanted to free the world but he notes that cattle are fed, babies are fed, and human adults eat+. What the author is saying is that no human being adult wants to be fed. For any adult it is humiliating to be given food like a cow or a baby. People want to be proud and self-reliant when it comes to it. People do not mind someone paying more taxes to educate their children or cover their unemployment insurance, but it cuts deep to depend on charity for food+. Dependence is especially resented if it is for food. Cash aid appears to be more dignified in this respect.

There is no doubt in Roberts's (2008) works that some key players behind food aid have some deal in mind, either future considerations in later purchases, or actual shifts in local diets to accommodate US exports+. If you analyse it further you will be persuaded to realize that some of the foods that are being brought as food aid are not indigenous to Zimbabwe. We may end up dependent on these foods, making us future markets for US exports+ (Roberts, 2008:112.) This shows that food aid is being used to create markets.

Many analysts believe that food aid plays the role of the Trojan horse in Greek mythology, encouraging countries to let down their guard until it was too late. Then their own farmers will be bankrupted by competition from under-priced US imports and leave their farms to find work in the city (Roberts, 2008). This is because their own consumers became used to Western grain-based diet. The ideal African scenario is that of subsistence economies where food is not a traded commodity. Against such a background, cash aid can be in a position to promote local products and indigenous diets. The traditional market for American grains was in Europe before food aid was developed. Countries in Asia, Africa and South America remained self-sufficient in grains before world war two. By 1950 60% of US exports were financed as aid going to the

developed countries encouraging people to leave their farms and work in factories. By 1968 poor countries of the world took 78% of US exports according to Roberts (2008).

The Malawian situation is used by Roberts to show that food aid is not the panacea. The government of Bingu-WA-Mtharika in 2006 decided to refuse food aid. In 2005 five million people in Malawi depended on food aid in the form of international emergency aid following failure of their 2005 maize crops. It was realized that soil infertility was the immediate cause of the 2005 crop failure. We knew that farmers lacked money to buy fertilizers+(Roberts, 2008). Bingu-WA-Mtharika used US\$58 million to buy fertilizer using some discount coupons to purchase the fertilizer. In 2006 the harvest doubled and in 2007 the harvest tripled and there was surplus to export US\$120 million worth of maize. What this example shows is that cash injection is the answer to food deficiencies as opposed to giving people food. This is the best agrarian program in years says Richard Petantchere of the Malawi Economic Justice Network. We have the land, we have the water we have everything but that doesn't matter if you just cannot buy seeds or fertilizer+(Roberts, 2008). This demonstrates the importance of cash in any agricultural undertaking.

Food production and food security are inextricably intertwined. A definition of food security along the lines of the World Bank says that food security means always food security, enough food to eat. People reach food security by having land and other resources to grow food or having employment which pays to buy food. A synthesis of most of the definitions of food security reveals that the fundamental properties of food security are sufficient availability and accessibility of food either through direct production, storage or through domestic market and international trade ò +(Mkandawire & Matlosa, 1993).

Africa's food crises in the fifteen year period from 1970 to 1984 can be captured in a single statistic. Food production grows at half the population growth rate during this period. The increasing importance of food aid also had a hand in these deficiencies. As a result of the role played by food aid a number of questions have arisen:

- i. Does food aid help sustain unviable land tenure and production systems?
- ii. Does food aid effectively contribute to nutrition employment and food security?
- iii. Does food aid entrench external dependence on food supplies?
- iv. Does food and aid distort agricultural pricing policies?
- v. Does food aid really reach the targeted social groups effectively and unconditionally? (Mkandawire & Khabele, 2008).

These thoughts have cast a shadow of doubt on food aid as an effective tool to combat food insecurity. However, there are primarily two schools of thought in regard to food aid. The first school of thought is that food aid plays a pivotal role in African agriculture. It is argued that food aid plays a role in sustainable food security. Mellor (1987) concludes that food aid can facilitate growth in agriculture. This can be done through food for work. Food aid may be used as a tool to meet agricultural development needs such as a lack of rural infrastructure. In Zimbabwe people build roads, and in turn they are given food. The positive effect of such programmes helps to pave way for the multiplier effects on agriculture growth to expand income and employment.

In order to stimulate development in developing countries the European Union has adopted a Food Aid Policy based on United Nations status for food aid. Under this setup there are countries which they can use for local and/or regional food purchasing according to their own dietary food patterns. This stimulates the local and regional food production and food markets of a nation. According to the Development Cooperation Directorate of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD DAC) (2004), it would save more time and money if the allocated funds for food aid could be spent to buy this food locally or regionally. This is in view of the fact that food aid is handled by giant processors such as Cargill, Archer Daniels Midlands and other shipping companies who transport the food at inflationary rates of up to 80%. It is to be noted that food aid takes up to five months to be transported across the world.

The Food Aid Convention established in 1967 aims at attaining best practices covering the management and design of food aid programmes. This includes ensuring that food aid should only be provided when it is the most effective and appropriate means of

assistance. Harmful effects on local production and eating habits of the beneficiaries should be avoided. According to the Food Aid Convention Report, %Donors might make available cash contributions to purchase food in the recipient country itself in order to assist deficit areas in the country+(FAC, 2005).

The position of the European Commission is that food aid is for the purpose of alleviating hunger. However, %available statistics show that one third of food aid provided by donors is being sold on the market, meaning that food aid was not targeted at the most vulnerable groups+. There is a negative relationship between international prices and food aid flows. Food aid volumes increase when international food prices are low and decrease when prices are high.

Studies of food aid targeting over the past decade have repeatedly shown that food aid is redistributed or shared. Providing people with money can prove an appropriate alternative or complement to food aid and other forms of in-kind assistance, (Survey, 2007). Policy positions, for example of most European agencies, have been revised to include cash transfers within broader definitions of food assistance, and in practice the use of cash in responding to disaster is growing. Cash transfers, however, still only constitute a small proportion of overall humanitarian assistance.

Patterns of global food insecurity have continued to change dramatically over the past decade, with a rise in the number of extreme natural disasters. Ten countries in sub-Saharan Africa including Zimbabwe, have declared a food emergency every year for the past ten years. At the same time, the nature of the response has changed, as key donors move from in-kind food aid to local and regional procurement. Cash transfers have increased and social protection and hunger safety nets, such as the Ethiopia Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) and the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) in Kenya which are playing an increasingly important role (Darvey, *et al.*, 2010).

2.5 Food and Cash Aid: Best Practices

Gebreselassi of the Future Agriculture Consortium puts forward a very strong argument for the use of both food aid and cash aid. In Ethiopia food has played a pivotal role when it comes to environmental rehabilitation or creation of development assets such as

feeder roads. Arguments put forward by Gebreselassi (2006) suggest that by supplying food the necessity to earn a living from unsustainable exploitation of resources is reduced. Food aid is a useful way to boost agricultural products and kick start the rural economy, if seen as part of a long-term productive safety net approach. If food aid is targeted at providing safety nets it can trigger production. There has to be a system whereby there is a graduation from programme to programme. This ensures that issues to do with dependency do not arise. External inputs such as food in kind or cash aid may allow people to invest in productive options at community and household levels, which may allow them to escape from the poverty trap. It has been noted that programmes that failed, focused on productive investments and environmental rehabilitation. It is more important and effective to invest in targeted efforts that follow a holistic approach.

An excessive focus on technical and administrative issues could neglect policy-related issues such as the issue of land, nonfarm employment and migration. Problems related to institutions also need to be looked at in the provision of aid. Governance issues can affect the effectiveness of technical inputs, financial resources and sustainability of programme outcomes.

Gebreselassi of Future Agriculture Consortium contends that continuous food aid needs to be ceased and reserved for any extreme humanitarian emergencies. By this, one would suppose that he was talking in particular with reference to situations such as those in Somalia at times . where children may die in scores on a daily basis if there is no intervention. Transitory insecurity problems are ideally supposed to be tackled by food aid programmes that are ideally designed as relief programmes. A relief programme is meant to cater for % problems which affect households occasionally and temporarily+(Gebreselassi, 2006).

Even in such communities relief programmes should not have economic disincentive effects such as encouraging aid dependency syndrome. They should avoid depressing local food prices and discouraging local production and development programmes and institutions. Aid must be discontinued when it is established that the crisis is over. Continued programmes lose their focus and purpose. Food aid efforts have to be limited because it is accepted that even if there is targeting and timing disincentives at household and institutional levels, they will continue to undermine economic reform in

rural economy. The credibility and significance of food or cash aid programmes are affected by the fact that they maintain people in areas where they do not have livelihoods. Long-term solutions are to enhance livelihoods in these areas. Long-term food aid, in what form, as direct relief or as part of safety net programme, is not going to solve the problem. Indeed it will encourage people and government officials to externalize responsibility and accountability and consequently to delay the seeking of solutions while more and more people suffer+(Gebreselassi, 2006).

2.6 History of Food Aid

Singer (1987) believed that the disincentive effects attributed to food aid were not inherent, but rather resulted from poor planning and administration. Properly designed food aid can promote local agricultural production and social development. In the 1960s Singer and others turned their efforts to establishing an independent multilateral food aid agency that the food and agricultural agency together with the United Nations had been advocating for. Vice President Richard Nixon and Senator John F. Kennedy also supported food aid. Provision of food surpluses to food deficit peoples through the United Nations system appealed greatly from a moralistic point of view. At that time there was no evidence to the effect that the enormous volume of good that had gone to Western Europe under the Marshall Plan, and to many developing countries, had prevented them from increasing their own domestic food production. Therefore in the 1960s there was limited opposition to food aid.

Singer (1987) viewed the debate about whether food aid was inferior to financial aid as being largely irrelevant and beside the point. Food aid was available whereas financial aid was limited. The question was therefore whether food aid could help achieve economic growth, create employment and relieve hunger. Singer contended that even though food aid originated from developed countries whose motives were not exactly beneficial, in the absence of an alternative method, food aid was the only option.

Singer has remained a strong supporter of multilateral food aid, and still believes that despite its difficulties and shortcomings the World Food Programme has a lot of achievements. The first one being that it has depoliticized food aid. Food aid has served the purpose of development aid as well as relief in conflict and emergency situations.

The World Food Programme enabled food aid to be a multilateral effort instead of a bilateral effort. Bilateral efforts are usually uncoordinated, conflictive and exploitive in nature. Singh acknowledged the fact that the World Food Programme has established a policy framework for food aid for both development and emergency situations. It has developed guidelines and criteria for food aid, which, although not always followed by bilateral food aid programmes still provided the best available policy framework. Singer asserts that the World Food Programme started the project approach to food aid through labour intensive food for work programmes and the development of human resources through providing support for nutrition, health education and training projects for vulnerable groups and objectively poor (Singer, 1987).

2.7 Food Aid for Development

Development plans can weigh heavily on the budget of a nation. Food aid can lift the constraint on growth and self-reliance by providing resources. This can assist by reducing inflationary pressure. Food aid can assist disadvantaged members of society through nutrition improvement, food for work projects or food subsidy programmes. Food aid can assist governments in setting up food reserve and price stabilization. Food aid, balanced with nonfood aid can contribute to increased investment, employment and output.

According to Singer, India was once the largest recipient of food aid. In India, food aid supported agricultural policies. India had a strong commitment to agriculture, backed by political will and sound policies. India used food aid and other forms of aid to support agricultural development efforts. Singer (1987) compares financial aid and food aid. He notes that financial assistance is better if it has no strings attached. But most financial aid is explicitly or implicitly tied. Financial aid can be tied to catapult goods which benefit the donor country rather than the recipient country. He notes that financial aid is complex and at times may prove to be more devastating to unsuspecting recipients. Contrary to that, food aid is simple and comes to the substantive stage of commodity transfer in a shorter period.

2.8 Mode of Distribution of Food Aid

From the onset it is important to understand that the mode of distribution for food aid largely depends on the situation on the ground. The first scenario pertains to project food aid, which is food aid distributed for free (or in exchange for work) to participants in programmes typically run by nongovernmental organizations or the World Food Programme that intended to promote agricultural or economic development.

Lowder and Raney (2005) highlight that programme food aid is either donated or sold at a concessional price to the government of a recipient country which then sells the food on the market (Clary, 1990). Examples of project food aid include food for work, school feeding and mother child nutrition centres. Emergency food aid is distributed to the food insecure in times of crisis such as war or famine. The difference between emergency and project food aid may not be easily distinct. From the foregoing discussion we can infer that the use of cash in distribution may be useful in some instances while food is useful in other instances.

2.9 Mode of Procurement

There are a number of ways in which food aid is procured. Sometimes food is sourced or procured in the donor country. Lowder and Raney (2005) refer to this as direct transfer. However, some food aid is locally purchased. At times food aid is the result of what is known as a triangular food aid transaction (TFAT) (Lowder & Raney, 2005). A TFAT involves a donor country giving food or cash to an organization that procures food in another country. This is referred to as monetization of aid. Emergency situations usually receive food aid in the form of food supplies from the donor countries.

It is to be noted that emergency aid is for a short period of time. Ball and Johnson (1996) view food aid in a different light. They disaggregate it into three major components. They differentiate food aid according to objectives and whether the motivations underlying food and shipments have changed over time (Ball & Johnson, 1996). The donor interests and values determine the type of food aid to be administered.

2.10 The Role of Food Aid within Zimbabwe Policies

The government's Mid-Term Plan for 2010- 2015 aims to stabilize the macro- economic situation, and restore capacity to produce goods and services, competitively building on the Short- Term Emergency and Recovery Programme (STERP). The Mid-Term Plan has the following priorities:

- (i) Promote economic growth and ensure security.
- (ii) Provide basic services and infrastructure.
- (iii) Strengthen and ensure the rule of law and respect property rights.
- (iv) Advance and safeguard basic freedoms through legislative reform and constitutional process.
- (v) Re-establish, international relations.
- (vi) Create employment.

Food is a basic right and it is one of Zimbabwe's policies to provide basic rights and freedom. Food is a basic service. Food aid is being used in projects to ensure provision of basic services and infrastructure. Food aid uses food as a means of paying very poor and disadvantaged groups in recipient countries for work performed on social and economic development activities, such as rural road construction. These efforts go a long way to meeting the goal on improving infrastructure.

2.11 Cash Aid as the Preferred Option

Designed projects can be both effective and efficient forms of assistance for disadvantaged and poor groups. Food is only attractive to those in greatest need according to the Australian agency for international development. Food is less likely to be diverted than cash. Diversion of food comes about when assistance is given to countries, which do not need the food so much; where food is not the most appropriate resource to assist development. The Australian Agency for international development identifies instances in which cash transfers are more effective. Cash transfers are effective if the projects are for the purpose of a general income transfer not specific food supplementation.

Cash transfers are effective where there is the need to target specific groups such as women or children. At times there are social conditions, which require specific cash transfers. Cash transfers are effective if food is available to buy on the local market. Distribution mechanisms of food have to be effective. If there are serious distortions in market prices this can create complications for cash transfers, for example inflationary conditions on the local market. Cash payments actually do not clash with fiscal policy as they actually serve as additional resources for budgetary support.

Donor agencies and government officers should be capable of adequately handling expenditure and auditing of funding. The possibility of diverting funds has to be curtailed, although food commodities are least likely to be diverted as compared to cash. Cash aid according to the Australian Agency (AUSAID), is more specific when it targets a particular section of society, for instance peasants in a particular area. Cash is not likely to foster a dependency syndrome there and phasing it out will not bring problems.

Auditing of cash is less laborious than auditing shipments of aid in kind such as food. Food aid to a community involves the use of shipping agents and carriers. Leakages may occur somewhere in the supply chain, and it requires meticulous auditing to detect such leakages. Food aid in kind can bring taste changes in people which may be difficult to sustain. Nongovernmental organizations that have experience in emerging relief operations have made strong cases for cash payments instead of in-kind food aid. For instance, it was argued that cash transfers are faster, more cost effective and provide more culturally appropriate foods than most food distributions.

Nearly half of the World Food Programme's tsunami-relief budget of US\$20 million has been allocated to pay for logistics involved in transporting and storing the food (Oxfam, 2005). A number of studies documented that food aid is quite often converted to cash at a highly discounted rate by recipient households. This signals their preference for local food stuffs or non-food items, and hence it follows that providing aid in less appropriate form results in recipient household welfare loss (Reed & Habicht, 1998; Clay, 2003; World Food Programme, 2004; Barrett, Barret & Maxwell, 2005).

2.12 Conditions For In Kind Distributions

Some projects aim to increase food intake. Certain nutritional values may be lacking in the diet and as such we need to ensure that certain people access certain food types. Cash transfers do not guarantee that people attain a certain level of food intake. In fact, cash transfers are liable to diversion of funds. Targeting within households can only be successful with food. Cash transfers may not satisfy the needs of specific members within a household, for instance HIV positive members of a household.

There are critical situations such as droughts where food is not available. At times there may be civil disturbances. In this instance there are few options and the most viable option would be to bring food from outside.

Governments' bureaucratic managerial capacity is more suited to handling food in kind than cash. Funds risk diversion by the government system. The very poor within society tend to benefit more from food aid as opposed to cash, because their needs are immediate and basic. Food is a temporary measure and is therefore easier to phase out without outcry. People understand that by nature food handouts are for particular periods.

2.13 Evaluation of Cash Aid

The main aim of cash programmes is to increase the purchasing power of disaster-affected people to enable them to meet their minimum needs for food and non-food items or to assist in the recovery of people's livelihoods. (Oxfam GB, 2002). Food aid as a resource transfer is sometimes highly inefficient. It is not always the right response even when the disaster-affected populations are unable to meet their immediate food needs (Lothike, 2005). It is mostly supplied from donor countries, which means that the commodities are not necessarily appropriate to the culture of the recipients. It may take four to five months to arrive in the disaster-affected area, by which time it is too late to meet immediate needs. Food aid which arrives late or is delivered when there are no actual food shortages may adversely affect local markets. It reduces food prices and therefore risks increasing the vulnerability of food producers and traders. (GTZ, 2005).

According to the Sphere Minimum Standards for Disaster Response, there is a guidance note on the first food security standard: general food distribution may not be appropriate when adequate supplies of food are in the area (and the need is to address obstacles to access). A localized lack of food availability can be addressed by the support of market systems (Sphere Project, 2004).

Cash transfer interventions are increasingly considered by donor and humanitarian agencies as an appropriate emergency response to meet immediate needs for food and non-food items and to support the recovery of livelihoods. Cash transfers often meet the needs of people more quickly than commodity distribution because they reduce the logistics involved. They also stimulate the local economy. It is more dignified to receive cash than in-kind distributions (such as food aid). After receiving cash, the disaster affected populations have an option of spending according to their own priorities like they get to buy their usual staple food (Levine & Chastre, 2004). Nowadays, almost everyone lives in a cash economy: people earn wages, sell goods or services and buy what they need with the cash. Giving people money is therefore the most obvious and simple way of providing assistance in emergencies.

Cash interventions are derived from Sen's Entitlement theory (1981). According to this theory, a close study of people's coping strategies in response to emergencies was made. The Entitlement theory postulates that famines are often caused not by lack of food, but by individuals' inability to get access to whatever food exists. Entitlement failure could occur through loss of income or loss of employment or high food prices or reduced food availability. Famines or food insecurity is therefore as much a result of people's inability to buy food as it is caused by a decline in overall food availability or food production. Hence, it is only logical to conclude that if famine results from lack of purchasing power, it can be addressed through income transfers (Devereux, 1988).

Peppiet, Mitchell and Holzman (2001), examined the entitlement theory by Sen (1981). In their view they ascertained that in some cases people did not have access to food because they did not have the money to acquire food. They went on to say at times the food might be available, but there was an absence of purchasing power. In such situations donor communities needed to boost purchasing power by resorting to cash

aid. Some have argued that the usefulness of this theory is compromised by the fact that there is overemphasis on the fact that food is available.

Disasters affect several aspects of people's livelihoods, their capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. Needs may range from essential livelihood assets such as agricultural inputs, livestock, tools and raw materials, to a range of food commodities and to non-food needs such as hygiene items and clothes (Sperling & Longley, 2002).

Cash transfers as a form of famine relief and disaster relief are not new. In 1948, the British colonial administration in Sudan distributed cash, coffee and train tickets to famine affected populations. In Bangladesh there is a long history of cash relief. Also in many developed countries, cash transfers are a part of social welfare systems (Khogali, 2001).

Some evaluations conducted have revealed that cash aid is far cheaper than the distribution of commodities. For example, a study in Ethiopia found that cash transfers were six to seven per cent cheaper than local food purchase and between 39 and 46 per cent cheaper than imported relief food. Similarly, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, it cost \$15.00 to deliver an amount of imported food aid, which could have been purchased on the local market for \$1.00. This inefficiency increases when beneficiaries use food relief as a resource to meet other household needs – that is when they sell their food relief to buy other food items, to pay for health care and education or to meet other essential needs (Jones, 2004).

Cash transfers can stimulate economic recovery by encouraging traders to move supplies from areas of surplus to areas of food deficit. This helps to maintain prices (and production), in areas of surplus (Harvey, 2005). Peppiet, Mitchell and Holzman (2001) argue that cash aid can provide many advantages over traditional distribution of food. They believe that cash aid+ in the right circumstances and with careful planning and monitoring, can be more timely, less costly and more empowering to local communities+.

The aforementioned authors find it puzzling that there is a general reluctance in humanitarian systems to make use of cash aid. There are a number of advantages that

are identified by Peppiet, *et al.* (2001). Chief among these advantages are the fact that, cash is more cost effective because its transaction costs are lower + Peppiet, *et al.* (2001:1). It is also to be noted that it is more convertible This suggests that when one has money in their hands they have the liberty to use it as they please, such as buying the food stuffs that they prefer. Cash aid also stimulates local markets. However,, Peppiet, *et al.* (2001) recognize that there are some disadvantages to cash aid such as the fact that if cash is used for other things not intended by the donor. It can even cause inflation. To this end, Peppiet, *et al.* (2001) has set out conditions where cash aid is more appropriate. The choice between cash and food depends on the prevailing circumstances.

It has been difficult to migrate from food aid to cash aid, because of a number of reasons. The first reason is that aid has always been derived from agricultural surpluses from the donor countries rather than cash donations. As such, the donor communities benefit more from disbursing surpluses. Famine victims have been largely viewed as disoriented and desperate people who might be unable to handle cash. It is assumed that recipients of aid do not necessarily know what is good for them.

Cash aid has shortcomings such as gender-related constraints on access, leakage, diversion and corruption. However, these challenges also apply to direct food aid.

Between 1984 and 1985, UNICEF ran a cash transfer programme in famine hit areas of Ethiopia. The following are the favourable observation made:

- i. The cash that beneficiaries were given enabled them to buy food in neighbouring areas with surplus food.
- ii. The study in Ethiopia revealed that cash transfers did not cause any local price inflation.
- iii. It was also noted that the cost of delivery was relatively low and took less time. (Kumar, 1985).

In 1994 Action Aid ran a cash transfer programme in Ghana. Cash transfers went to 1 000 identified households with the most vulnerable people. These included disabled people, the sick, elderly widows and those in female headed households. The following favourable developments were noted as a result of the cash transfer intervention:

- i. The vulnerable groups were able to make a living through the cash received.
- ii. Some male recipients managed to buy livestock with the money and also to start income generating projects.
- iii. All recipients claimed they had kept control of the cash, although food purchased had benefited the entire household.
- iv. Cash also allowed the vulnerable groups to purchase other supplementary food items.
- v. Cash enabled the vulnerable groups to purchase grain when they need it.
- vi. Vulnerable groups require cash to have their grain ground into flour (Jaspars & Shaham, 1999).

An in depth analysis into these two programmes in Ghana and Ethiopia reveal very little evidence to suggest that cash distribution improved long-term food security in the region. The programme only managed to achieve their primary objective. The primary objective was the need to alleviate hunger of the most vulnerable groups through once-off income transfers. In the process it enabled the recipients to determine their own needs and priorities (UNICEF, 1985).

A cash transfer programme entitled *Gabinete de Apoio a Populacao Vulneravel* targeted 14 war-affected towns in Mozambique and disabled people who received 16 pounds per year. The primary objective of the programme was to protect the urban destitute against rapid rises in food prices, resulting from the war, drought and liberalization of agricultural markets. It functioned primarily as a food subsidy. The problems faced by this project were mainly hinged on corruption and fraud. This caused a temporary closure of the programme. It was not until the programme was given a new name and a monitoring system that it resumed. It was felt that cash offered greater temptation to people as opposed to food aid (Devereux, 2000c). The programme also faced problems because it failed to take into account rises in living costs, despite an undertaking at the start of the project to keep levels of payment in line with minimum wages.

Low value cash transfer payments tend to be confined to food and clothes while higher value payments allow for investments Devereux (2000) concludes that cash transfers have an enormous impact on the livelihoods of the poor and on local economies in which they are situated, as compared to food aid.

In 1991 up to 1992, Zimbabwe experienced a drought which resulted in famine. The situation was somewhat alleviated through large scale commercial imports and an effective market system rather than food aid distribution which was inadequate and arrived too late. The need for cash for food resulted in livestock sales and the use of cash reserves. By the end of the crisis, the people in Zimbabwe were impoverished.

Over the years it has been noted that cash is much quicker to distribute even over a wide geographical area. The logistics involved in distributing and delivering cash are simpler and it is easier to reach far flung areas. Food aid by nature is centralized. When distributing food aid it is important to have a food distribution point with reasonable facilities to ensure safety of food items in question. Such a setup may have the unintended effect of drawing populations or settlements around distribution points. In contrast cash can be categorized as a decentralized form of aid; in fact cash aid conveniently locates its beneficiaries.

When cash aid is involved the issue of targeting becomes somewhat complicated as cash naturally attracts a lot of attention and interest. Cash aid can perhaps bring benefits even to those people who not targeted when it brings down prices on the market in such a way that even those who have not been targeted derive some indirect benefits. Conversely if prices go up as a result of the injection of cash aid, even those who are not targeted will be negatively affected. The Zambia cash for work project provides evidence that prices can go up.

Peppiet, *et al.* contends that there is the risk that women will not gain access to purchasing power since, in many societies, men traditionally dominate control of money in the household and may not use it in a manner that benefits the whole family. On the contrary food will directly benefit women and children. There is also the risk of creating a dual economy within an area. Injections of hard currency which is normally United States dollars, may lead to dual rates of exchange which will affect the economic situation in a country. Such a scenario becomes conducive to underhand activities such as money laundering.

If cash is available and there are limited supplies of food, other types of purchasing may be used. Excess cash in the household may force spending to avoid theft. Security risks

may also confront the agencies distributing the cash for distributing thousands of dollars may be very risky. At times the political situations in the areas that require the cash may be risky.

Government authorities also fear that cash may increase mobility since it can be spent on anything. Such a scenario encourages migration. Increased mobility and access may be seen as a threat to state control. In the Ethiopian study it was noted that cash aid had a positive effect as it enabled migrants to return home, and allowed the return of children whose parents had sent them away at an earlier stage (UNICEF1984).

Given the foregoing discussion it becomes important to pit the disadvantages against the advantages. In certain scenarios the risk of distributing cash may be too great. In war-torn areas without functioning governments cash transfers may be risky. It may not be possible to distribute cash where the food is simply not available. If there is the danger of not being able to sufficiently target women and children, then it may be wise to consider food aid. Peppiet, *et al.* (2001) maintains that the situations have to be dealt with case by case. There is no blueprint for dealing with these situations. A continuous process of evaluation and monitoring is imperative to guarantee the success of a particular form of aid whether food or cash aid.

2.14 Aid for Trade

The Doha round centred mostly on development issues. In light of these development issues, Mshomba (2010) observed that the World Trade Organization made an attempt to link trade with aid issues. In 2005, an aid for trade initiative was launched in Hong Kong. In the opinion of Mshomba (2010), aid for trade was directed at helping developing countries to build the supply side capacity, and trade related infrastructure. Issues to do with the removal of food subsidies in developing countries were raised. Such import subsidies caused a situation where developed countries could export more to developing countries in the form of food aid. This had the direct effect of flooding markets in the less developed countries. Therefore the objective of aid for trade+ initiative includes reducing the supply-side constraints in developing countries, and helping those countries to adjust to changes.

The issue of aid is a contentious issue at the World Trade Organisation. Mshomba (2010) acknowledges that it is complicated %a considering many perennial questions about need, effectiveness, delivery, amounts to be delivered, purpose, motives of donors, dependency of recipients, accountability, utilization capacity, corruption+(Mshomba, 2010:.258). In the 1970s and 1960s, aid for Africans was in the context of development. The term development carried a lot of weight and significance. European countries gave various forms of aid in recognition of legitimate efforts of some African countries to increase growth. France and Britain gave aid to maintain a strong influence in Africa. Aid from colonial masters served as a gesture of recognition of the economic, social and cultural damage inflicted on Africans. America and Russia gave aid as part of their cold war efforts. Regrettably, aid failed to kick-start development and many questions were raised about the relevance of aid to Africa. Mshomba (2010) notes that it was at that stage those researchers began to pay closer attention to the domestic policy of African countries. African countries seemed to favour inward looking policies, such as an import substitution and use of export taxes.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted in 2000 have a number of targets. One of the targets is to reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar per day. In Africa, about 45% of the people live on less than a dollar per day (Economic Commission for Africa, 2005). +Aid can have a direct impact on poverty by improving education and health services and directly providing food+(Mshomba, 2010; 271). However, if the provision of these services and basic necessities does not produce economic growth, the impact of food aid on poverty is transient, to the extent that aid itself is temporary. The favourable situation would be one in which aid itself is temporary. The favourable situation would be one in which aid reduces poverty. Except in helpless situations, aid programmes should trigger economic growth (World Bank, 1998). In the final analysis, the 1998 World Bank Review observes that aid is effective in countries with good policies. %aid has little impact on growth, although a robust finding is that aid has had a positive impact on growth in good policy environments (Burnside & Dollar, 2000). Botswana has offered an instructive example of this. Studies on Botswana have found that it has consistently focused on economic development and instituted effective measures to achieve it. Botswana has used its inflows of aid to integrates it effectively into its national strategies (Wangwe, 2006). Botswana was the poorest and most dependent country. However, it has transformed itself to a middle income country no

longer in need of significant amounts of aid. This was attributed to the following four facts by Wangwe (2006):

- i. The government demonstrated competence, cleanliness, discipline and effectiveness in managing aid.
- ii. The government was able to plan and implement economic policies and programmes for growth.
- iii. There was reasonably good governance.
- iv. Aid supported projects fitted into national projects (Wangwe, 2006: 3-4).

Mshomba (2010) is, however, cautious in adopting the view that policies lead to effectiveness of trade. Econometric studies estimate the impact of aid on growth and poverty with the policy index treated as an exogenous (independent) variable+ (Mshomba, 2010: 95). Economic policies are endogenous, determined by other factors including aid itself. The problem in measuring aid on economic growth and poverty, particularly for African countries from the 1960s to the 1980s goes beyond the definition of variables, reliability of data and econometric methods.

Mshomba (2010) sees food security as fundamental in Africa. A country is considered to have attained food security when its population has effective access to enough food to meet daily nutritional requirements. The supply and security of food is attainable through domestic production and imports depending on various factors. Some countries entirely rely on imports alone. The sad situation of African importers is that they are net importers. Domestic policies were identified by Mshomba (2010) as always yearning to increase domestic production to decrease dependency on food importers.

2.15 Effects of Food Aid on Trade in Recipient Countries

It is a generally accepted view that food aid can have market effects similar to those of an export subsidy+ (Merlinda, Ingco & Nash, 2004). If food aid is sold in the domestic market of the recipient country, it may depress world prices. On the other hand, if food aid is given only to those who would not otherwise have purchased it, it would have the opposite effect. Food aid may be used to move surplus production. It may serve to support prices in the exporting country. Merlinda, *et al.* (2004) concludes that although food aid can alleviate hunger in emergencies, a large proportion of it is currently being

provided to support farm prices and dispose surpluses. %Alternative methods of assistance can be adopted to help the poor countries including cash aid+ (Merlinda, *et al.*, 2004). Another method suggested by the same authors is to establish a system to distribute food vouchers to the needy when food prices increase. The vouchers can be redeemed through normal commercial import and distribution channels and therefore would not undermine the private sector.

It has been increasingly argued by some sections of society whether direct transfers or in-kind food aid is the most effective way of providing relief. (OECD, 2005; Oxfam, 2005). Coate (1989) argues that if there are markets for food in the country, a relief agency or a donor country can just as easily distribute money to the needy and let people purchase food in these markets. A number of studies have recently examined the disincentive hypothesis using data from Ethiopian household surveys (Abdulai, Barrett & Hoddinott, 2005; Levinsohn & McMillan, 2005). Levinsohn and McMillan (2005) employ a partial equilibrium analysis, concentrating on one commodity – wheat and its supply and demand functions. The following paragraph provides a good summary of the way they went about testing the disincentive hypothesis:

We find that the price of wheat would be \$295.00 per metric tonne in the absence of food aid compared with an average observed price of \$193.00 per metric tonne in 1999. We also find out that the price increase in producer surplus of around US\$125million and a reduction in consumer surplus of around US\$159 million+(Levinsohn, et al., 2005:55)

2.16 The Paradox and Politics of Foreign Aid Programmes

Moore and Collins (1982) advance an argument to the effect that American aid programmes are simply a smokescreen to hide the more sinister agenda of America. Focussing on official development assistance and hunger diverts attention of concerned Americans from the ruinous policies championed by the American government. For instance, the United States of America military sales to the third world countries for 1979 was in excess of four times the total budget of aid (Moore, *et al.*, 1982). Military assistance and sales programmes show up regimes that block democratic control over

food producing resources and suppress the right to work to change structures that generate hunger.

Recipient governments are chosen more on the basis of their supposed importance to the USA than their poverty or genuine commitment to development (Moore, *et al.*, 1982). The humanitarian value of chronic food shipments has been called to question. The United States General Accounting Office, *Disincentives to Agricultural Production in Developing Countries, Report to Congress (1975)*, agree that food rarely reaches the hungry or even gets out of a country's urban areas. Instead, it becomes a form of budgetary support for the recipient government as well as depressant on prices for locally produced agricultural products. Local producers are further impoverished and discouraged from producing. Food aid has been dressed up (Moore, *et al.*, 1982). Development experts are now pushing food-for-work programmes. At best, food-for-work projects provide some rural workers with a meagre income for specific jobs. They do not change the ownership and power structures that produce unemployment in the first place. The people who are already better off benefit from the road built by the masses. The purpose of food for work is transient. Food for work programmes create a scenario where grain is misappropriated, funds are misused, false reporting of works, creations of a new class of profiteers and poor quality construction (FAO, 2005).

Moore, *et al.* (1982) insinuate that even if the American government wanted to shift the entire aid programme to put the need of the hungry ahead of American foreign policy, it would undermine the very elites with whom overall US policy must maintain relations. Clearly US Aid policy will not go against the elites abroad who serve US military and corporate interests.

2.17 Targeting of Cash Transfers

Programme Managers according to Braun and Pandya-Larch (2005), should use six questions to review their programmes for opportunities to improve implementation and targeting performance. The first question would be to look at administrative changes that would improve targeting performance. Here we are looking at such issues as a better public communication scheme; more staff or transport budgets for visits to the poor villages; translation of materials or employment of staff fluent in non official languages. The simplification of paperwork may also assist.

The second question would be what administrative changes would lower private costs or social costs. This pertains to an effort of reducing the number of visits applicants must make to apply for benefits or waiting times. People who benefit from programmes expect a certain degree of confidentiality. Quality of the benefits has to be increased or lowered. Would the programme improve with better operational manuals, streamlined forms, more staff training and more equipment? The targeting mechanism can also be interrogated. Questions on why other programmes are not using the programme may arise. The other question would be, whether the technical basis is used consistent with good international practice. Databases and statistical analysis have to be sound. There has to be regular management information systems to track enrolment delivery benefits. The programme has to be accordingly adjusted after evaluations.

2.18 Growing Importance of Cash Transfers

Cash has become the driving force of most economies all over the world. Nowadays, almost everyone lives in a cash economy, people earn wages, sell goods and services and buy what they need with cash (Gore & Patel, 2006). Current observation points to the fact that there is greater interest in cash interventions. Shipping food across oceans is expensive and slow, especially when it is procured far away from its distribution points (Barret, *et al.*, 2004). The impact of cash transfers is influenced by the targeting. Scuck (2005) asserts that where transfers are given to the poorest of the poor such as those who are working or are unable to work, but need support to raise their consumption to a minimum level or to stabilize their incomes against shocks, cash transfers are often invested and contribute directly to economic growth and poverty reduction. Income or cash transfer support can allow poor households to undertake more lucrative and possibly more risky productive activities, such as planting certain varieties of crops versus others.

Cash transfers have the potential of raising incomes. Barret, *et al.* (2004), observe that cash transfers may not be capable of lifting people above the poverty line though it can help to reduce the severity of their poverty. Pilot cash transfers scheme in Zambia provided a monthly cash sum which was the equivalent of the coverage price of a 50kg bag of maize grain and translated to a second meal for the household if the entire

transfer was spent on maize (Gore, *et al.*, 2005). In this case the beneficiaries were not elevated from poverty, but at least they managed to survive. On the contrary, Gore, *et al.* (2005) says that cash is at times difficult to deliver and monitor because of the high security risk it presents. Cash is susceptible to theft corruption and misuse. It is potentially disadvantageous to women because traditionally men control cash in households. However, experiences show that there are ways to minimize the risks and that effectiveness of cash transfers may well outweigh the risks (Gore, *et al.*, 2005).

The United States of America is the World's largest food donor supply; about half of the world's total food aid (Oxfam, 2005a). Barret, *et al.* (2004) show that the most sizeable cost of food aid is shipping which includes subsidies to freight lines. It takes more than five months on average for United States shipments to reach their destination. According to USAID office of Food for Peace, distributing food by itself is of limited use in reducing food insecurity. Food needs to be combined with other non-food cash or in-kind resources. The impact must go beyond just feeding people. This is true even in the case of emergencies when food alone, in the absence of potable water, health and sanitation facilities, may not be sufficient to save lives (USAID, 2005). In sub-Saharan Africa, establishing and expanding social cash transfer programmes is a matter of priority in both government strategies and donor led efforts (Scubert, 2005).

In Latin America in the past few years, cash transfers have increased. Much recent experience with cash in emergencies has been led by non-governmental organizations such as Oxfam and Save the Children United Kingdom, and supported by donors such as DFID and Multilateral institutions such as the World Bank. One concern is that donors and auditors need to see tangible and verifiable results, and cash transfers which beneficiaries can spend at their discretion, may not be viewed favourably (Gore, *et al.*, 2005). Another concern noted is that staff capacity is limited, designing a cash programme requires an understanding of the risks, some knowledge of local markets dynamics and familiarity with household decision-making. Within the humanitarian community the expertise with managing cash transfers is growing. With continued interest from donors and governments and increased evidence of impact, it is set to grow further.

2.19 Preconditions for Success in Cash Transfers

2.19.1 Targeting

The most disturbing evidence on targeting comes from India, where errors of inclusion and exclusion often occur as a result of efforts to amass votes by politicians (Levy, 2002). There is inadequate data to conclude that targeting in cash transfer programmes are significantly more difficult than targeting other forms of assistance. The evidence on hand according to Farrington, Harvey and Staler (2005), is that targeting cash is significantly more difficult than targeting other forms of assistance. Targeting any form of assistance effectively is difficult and there is a strong case to keep targeting as simple as possible.

2.19.2 Robustness and efficiency of delivery mechanisms

There is no evidence that cash payments are more prone to corrupt administration than payments in kind. In India, Farrington, *et al.*, (2005) argue for greater use of existing rural banks and post offices in making pensions payments. In Somalia and Afghanistan aid agencies have worked innovatively with money transfer companies used to transmit remittances to distribute cash safely to households.

2.19.3 Low corruptibility

Delivery systems that are robust and efficient can reduce corruption (Farrington, *et al.*, 2005). Food transfers are also known to be prone to misappropriation. The switch from food to cash transfers in a Red Cross programme in Ethiopia resulted in a significant reduction in the incidence of slippage (theft) and wastage associated with food distribution (Farrington, 2005). In order to curb corruption, beneficiaries should know the amounts they are entitled to. Oxfam cash for work programme in Uganda found that beneficiaries knew the wage that they received for work done. This transparency was welcome and contrasted with previous food distributions, which they felt, had not been transparent and had substantial leakage (Khogali & Takhar, 2001).

2.19.4 Affordability and sustainability for national governments

The use of cash transfers differs between rich and poor countries. Rich countries and relatively strong states are able to draw on significant tax revenues to fund cash transfers. This is what Devereux 2002 describes as a problem of cash transfers. The situation is such that the greater the need for social protection, the lower the capacity of

the state to provide. In the case of highly aid dependent countries, the sustainability question is more of whether donors will commit over the long term.

2.19.5 Acceptability in International Agencies

International agencies generally resist the use of cash transfers. The way in which the architecture of the humanitarian system is structured inhibits cash-based approaches, as the dominant UN actor is mandated to provide food aid. Large volumes of aid continue to be tied to food surpluses in donor countries (Farrington, *et al.*, 2005). Aid agencies feel that giving people money seems to inspire a more deep seated reluctance on the part of aid professionals. When people are given money, there is a loss of control. It gives people the choice to do what they want and the aid loses its control. There are concerns that cash will be misused. The incentive to find jobs will be destroyed. The current likely expansion of aid budgets may create pressure on donors to spend more, and coupled with a reduction on staff numbers may prompt increased interest in cash transfers.

2.19.6 Complementing cash transfers with other approaches

In-kind transfers, such as food distribution may continue to have an important role to play when harvests fail and when cash transfers alone may be inflationary. Arrington (2005) notes that there is a debate over where the boundary between cash transfers and other approaches lie. Hitherto, humanitarian organizations have predominantly relied on in-kind transfers in emergency relief. The distribution of food can meet food security needs, but it is unlikely that private food markets will develop, if large scale public food aid is a regular annual event. Cash transfers may allow fuller engagement by the poor in their own farming as the requirement to seek casual and unreliable off farm work is reduced.

2.19.7 Political will

The political will of the government in power, often determines the success of the cash transfers. It may be easier to persuade governments to expand cash transfer programmes where they are a substitute for the existing social protection than when cash transfers are the only form of assistance. Attitudes towards certain categories of the poor and vulnerable groups, such as the elderly and widows, are often influenced by very short-term political considerations (Farrington, *et al.*, 2005).

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the following: the study structure, specific techniques, sampling design, data collection methods and data analysis techniques. The emphasis of this research is to examine the state of food aid/assistance in Zimbabwe in the Nyanga District. Positive or negative indicators of various forms of food aid and assistance are the output variables of the study.

A three tier study approach was used, that is, having household interviews, using a questionnaires, in-depth interviews (IDIs) and key informant interviews (KIIs). This means the researcher intentionally and directly engaged with respondents by employing research assistants in all the selected communities to get data from them. As stated earlier, the research methodology for this particular study was both quantitative and qualitative in nature. This multi-method approach enhanced the quality of data obtained during fieldwork.

3.2 Research Design

The research design pursued in this study combined three basic approaches, which were pursued in various degrees. The approaches pursued were experimental, quasi experiment and observational. Unobtrusive observation according to Brown (2006) is most useful because it captures issues in their natural phenomenon. It was the opinion of the researcher that if people were observed which they were unaware of, they were less likely to try and change their behaviour in a manner that would influence the research towards their perceived advantage. The researcher had thus elected to pursue unobtrusive observation. Beneficiaries of cash aid were subjects of the research. Beneficiaries were the ones who were directly affected by the food aid policies.

3.3 Research Philosophy

While the study could have adopted a purely positivist approach it was felt that such an approach would not suffice. A combination of the positivist and post positivist approach was used. Smith (1998) is of the opinion that the approaches should be used in conjunction. Cross (2006) sees the two approaches as complementary. This contention is further buttressed by the conviction that: %am not persuaded that the distinction between positivism and constructivism has that much practical importance+ (Dick, 1997:4).

The strength of a positivist approach lies in the fact that it is objective and the degree of precision is commendable. It is, however, less valid when applied to certain social aspects which are somewhat difficult to quantify. On the other hand, the qualitative approach is prone to subjectivity and may thus be less reliable. It is against this background that the researcher opted for an approach which combined the two approaches. Through these approaches it was the researcher's objective to advance the practice of giving food aid in the most effective way. Through this research food aid practices could be strengthened.

3.4 Research Strategy

It was envisaged that there was the need to have background information on food aid and food assistance as well as an overview of the topic in question. It was believed that value would be added to the study by that approach which again made it easier to picture the full scope of the study. It would enable the researcher to narrow or broaden the topic depending on the background reading.

Retrospective research might also help whereby events or happenings that related to food aid were examined. In order to enhance the relevance of any research, contemporary research is necessary. That called for use of purely primary and secondary data sources such as journals, magazines, newspapers and the internet. There was also the need to interview experts in the field of food aid.

3.5 Population and Sampling Techniques

For the purpose of this study, beneficiaries of cash aid were put under scrutiny. However, the researchers focus was narrowed to enable a more focused and incisive scrutiny. The Nyanga District that was under scrutiny had been taken to be representative of the whole of Zimbabwe, and of food aid in general on a global scale. The type of sampling that was made use of was probability sampling. A total of 100 households were selected using probability to select them.

Convenience sampling came into play where Nyanga District was selected. Nyanga was selected for the simple reason that the researcher was located in Manicaland and would have the capacity to give maximum attention with minimum resources and time. Selecting any other district would have been far too expensive because it was far away.

Nonprobability sampling also came into play when Nyanga District was chosen because it was realized that in Nyanga there was both food aid, as well as food assistance in the form of cash. As such the effectiveness of the two forms of aid could be examined within Nyanga District. In the other district, aid was predominantly food aid. For that reason Nyanga was likely to be an appropriate choice. The other districts had been excluded from the study because they were represented by Nyanga District

There were two types of questionnaires administered:

1. Those receiving cash only.
2. Key Informants (local leadership, NGOs, Government officials, World Food Programme).

3.6 Data Collection

Based on our understanding of the research needs, a Holistic-Inclusive Participatory Approach (HIPA) was used in conducting the research on the impact of Cash Aid. Researchers intentionally and directly engaged respondents in the selected district (Ruwangwe and Tombo wards) to obtain the data. The research methodology for this particular study was both quantitative and qualitative in nature. This multi-method approach enhanced the quality of data that was obtained during fieldwork. Three types of research tools were used: the research questionnaire, in-depth interviews and key

informant interviews to come up with representative findings, and to achieve validity and reliability of conclusions drawn.

3.7 Research Procedure

According to Winstead (2006), research is an exercise that should be taken stage by stage. The researcher followed that view. The procedure started with a statement of objectives. That was because any research should have objectives or an aim. The absence of an aim or objective makes a research unfocused, irrelevant and pointless such, that it has no value to those who read it.

After this stage it was felt that the objectives should be accompanied by questions whose answers would enable the researcher to obtain objectives that were set. The researcher felt that it would also be necessary to enrich knowledge on the subject by going through relevant literature. Winstead (2006) is of the opinion that there is the need for graphs and charts to represent the data that would have been gathered. To conclude the research the writer felt that it would be necessary to have a logical conclusion supported by interpretations and comparisons of results.

3.8 Research Limitations

The researcher made an effort to cover as many people as was feasible. It proved to be impossible to cover all recipients of food aid since they were in excess of one million when the food aid programme was in full swing.

The choice of a wide range of subjects was chosen because each subject had its own characteristics. Some subjects would reveal characteristics that others would not, such as a propensity to abuse cash aid. It is the opinion of the researcher that such a wide cocktail of subjects would be representative of what would occur in the other districts. However, the limitation was that one could not cover the whole population.

The other limitation lay in the nature of respondents. The level of literacy of the respondents was generally low. It was also a fact that the people being dealt with were in distressful circumstances. The two aforementioned facts were likely to influence the accuracy and objectivity with which they would answer the questions.

Such subjects were not likely to give adequate attention to responding to questionnaires which did not seem to have any direct benefit for them. At times some subjects felt that questionnaires were for the purpose of establishing a system to exclude them. In order to overcome these limitations subjects were assured that the questionnaire was not meant to adversely affect them. They were encouraged to fill out the forms, and it was stressed that the papers were important.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Study Sites

The study was conducted in selected Nyanga District of Manicaland in Zimbabwe. All respondents were from Tombo, Ward 15 and Ruwangwe Ward 4. It is in these wards where Cash Aid is being implemented.

4.1.2 Participants

Three types of participants were recruited for the present study. They were participants for questionnaires, in-depth interviews, and key informant interviews. Table 1 below outlines the methodology matrix.

TABLE 1: SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGY MATRIX

METHOD	DESCRIPTION	DATA/INDICATOR
<i>In-depth Interviews</i>	Open and close-ended interviews held with respondents and selected members of the community, designed to bring out relevancy, effectiveness and impact of Cash Aid.	Case studies depicting individual and household demographics, livelihood systems, food use and procurement systems, utilization and sustainability.
<i>Institutional or Stakeholder Analysis, Key Informant Interviews</i>	Institutional mapping to identify stakeholders, their interests and relative strengths and weaknesses of the envisioned Cash Aid.	Selection criteria, priority management, synergy and/or conflict dimensions of the various participating stakeholders in a given community or stratum of people.
<i>Questionnaires</i>	Close-ended interviews held with selected members of the community, designed to bring out the impact of Cash Aid over Food Aid.	Come up with advantages and disadvantages of Cash Aid. Investigate household preference, dependency syndrome, alternatives after Aid.

4.1.3 Participants for questionnaires

It was envisaged that at least 100 households in the two wards would avail themselves. which would translate to about 100 questionnaire respondents in the two wards. The questionnaires would be administered at the respondents' home, support group premises, field or any other convenient place.

4.1.4 Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

The key informant interviews would consist of representatives from key stakeholders in this project such as the heads of WFP, Concern, local authorities, traditional local leadership (councillors, chiefs & village heads). Informed consent would be obtained from the participants.

4.1.5 Participants for In-Depth Interviews (IDIs)

Respondents would take part in IDIs. Informed consent would be obtained from the participants. Also, respondents would be informed that the information they provided would be treated as highly confidential. To that end anonymity and freedom to withdraw from the study would be spelt out and maintained.

4.1.6 Ethical considerations

Anonymity and confidentiality would be assured to all the respondents at the beginning and at the end of each interview. The researchers would be careful to observe local customs and social rules. The importance of this ethical consideration would be to avoid raising the community's suspicion and make mistakes that might endanger the rapport with the study population before a study sample could be extracted from this population.

4.2 Sampling of Beneficiaries

Table 2 gives an indication of the two wards and the number of respondents from each ward.

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEY SAMPLE BY WARD AND BENEFICIARIES

Nyanga District	Ward 15	Ward 4	Total
Name of Community	Tombo	Ruwangwe	
Number of Respondents	50	50	100
Total	50	50	100

Data processing

Data processing was done in seven stages listed below:

- i. Data entry template in SPSS v16
- ii. One trained and experienced data capture (data captured in 5 days)
- iii. Verification and Data Cleaning
- iv. Backing up of data
- v. Draft tabulation and analysis plan

- vi. Data analysis syntax
- vii. Results posted to MS Excel for graphical presentation

4.2.1 Human Capital

TABLE 3: GENDER

	Sex of Household Head		Total
	Male	female	
Area Name	Tombo	33	50
	Ruwangwe	30	50
Total	63	37	100

The table above shows that 63% of households were male headed and 37% were female headed as illustrated in Table 3. Ruwangwe had 40% (20) female headed households and Tombo had 34% (20) female headed households and a cumulative percentage of 37%

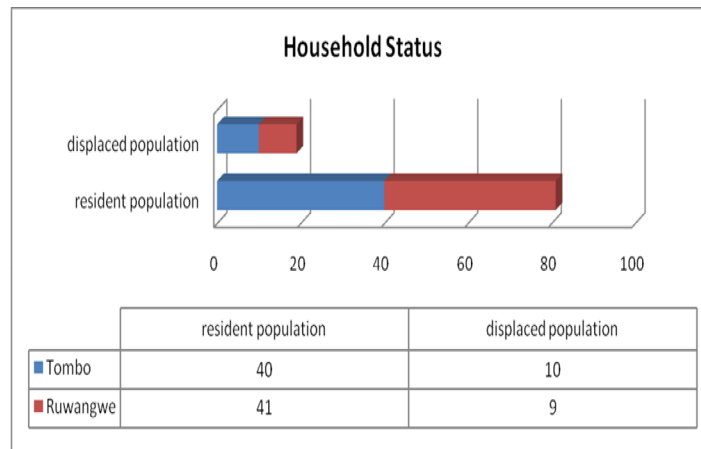


Figure 4.1: Household status

Eighty-one per cent was resident population and the breakdown of that 81% was as follows; 40% in Tombo and 41% in Ruwangwe as seen in Figure 4.1. Of these households 19% was displaced populations or who had recently moved into the area. These wards had a very a small percentage of displaced compared to the resident community members. Resident populations consist of those inhabitants who are originally from that area while displaced populations consist of people who moved to the particular areas under review, from elsewhere

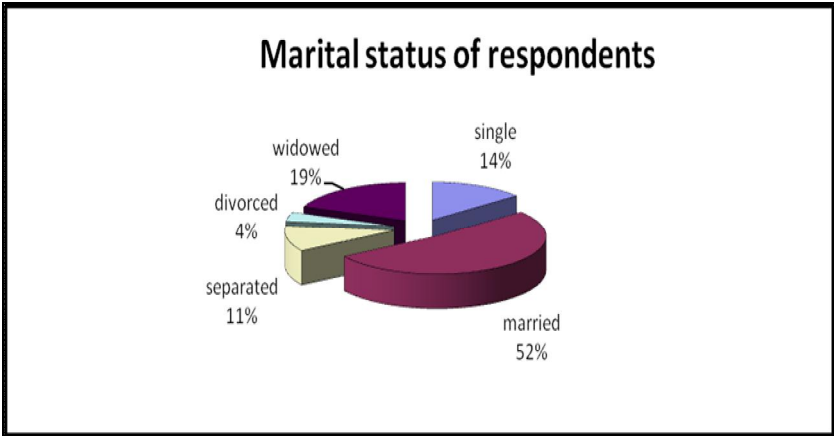


Figure 4.2: The marital status of respondents interviewed.

According to Figure 4.2, 52% of the household heads were married and a cumulative percentage of 48% were living as single headed households – widowed, separated, single or divorced. There was a high percentage of single headed households and that affected the households’ livelihood options since one parent would be responsible in taking care of the household. Single headed households were less able to take care of their food security needs because of their vulnerability.

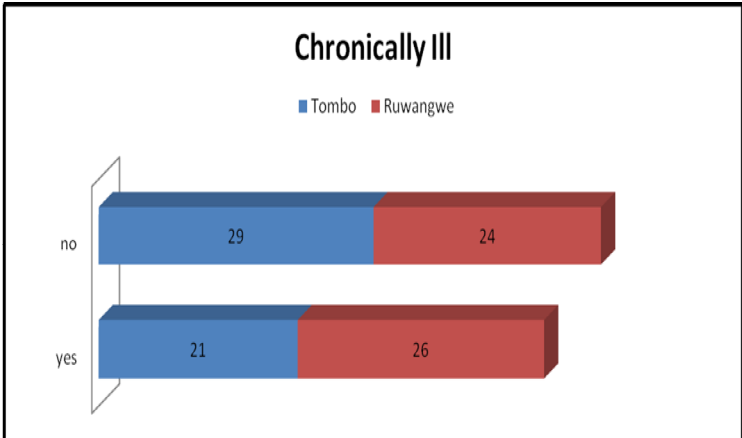


Figure 4.3: Households that had chronically ill

Figure 4.3 shows that 47% of the households had someone who was chronically ill living with them, and 53% did not have any member who was chronically ill. In the plight of the HIV/Aids, there was bound to be household members who were part of the high rate of people who were chronically ill. Ruwangwe had a higher rate of 52% (26) of the community household with members who were chronically ill, whilst Tombo had 42%

(21) of the community's household with a chronically ill person. However, 53% of the households did not have members who were chronically ill.

TABLE 4 GENERAL HOUSEHOLD DEMOGRAPHICS

Average household size	5.03
Most frequent HH size	6
Average age of HH	45.37

The average household size was five meaning that most households had 5 individuals but most households interviewed had 6 household members. The average age for the household head was 45/37 years old, which was in the economically active age range as illustrated in Table 4.

TABLE 5 LIVELIHOOD OPTIONS

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		No.	Per cent	
Livelihood options	Petty trading	45	16.4%	45.0%
	Casual Labour	93	33.9%	93.0%
	Skilled Labour	35	12.8%	35.0%
	Subsistence farming	74	27.0%	74.0%
	Mining or Panning	3	1.1%	3.0%
	unemployed/no income	24	8.8%	24.0%
Total		274	100.0%	274.0%

Table 5 illustrates the livelihood options pursued by most households. Some employed two, three or 4 of the tabulated livelihood options. However, Table 5 explains the most frequent used livelihood options within the two wards of the two districts. It is clear that 93% of the households engaged in casual labour as a livelihood option. Within the same households 74% were into subsistence farming and 45% were practising petty trading, another source of livelihood. The increase in petty trading was as result of injection of money from cash aid into the district which implied that most households could afford and have some money to buy goods sold form petty trading.

TABLE 6: SOURCES OF FOOD

	Responses		Per cent of Cases
	No.	Per cent	
source of food			
barter sales	61	20.7%	61.6%
paid in kind for labour	38	12.9%	38.4%
Purchases	93	63.4%	93.9%
Borrowing	9	3.1%	9.1%
Total	295	100.0%	298.0%

Table 6 indicates that 93% of the households were buying food and that was the main source of food. The money might be coming from Cash Aid, casual labour returns or petty trading since they were the main livelihood options for the families.

4.3 Impact of Cash Aid and Targeting

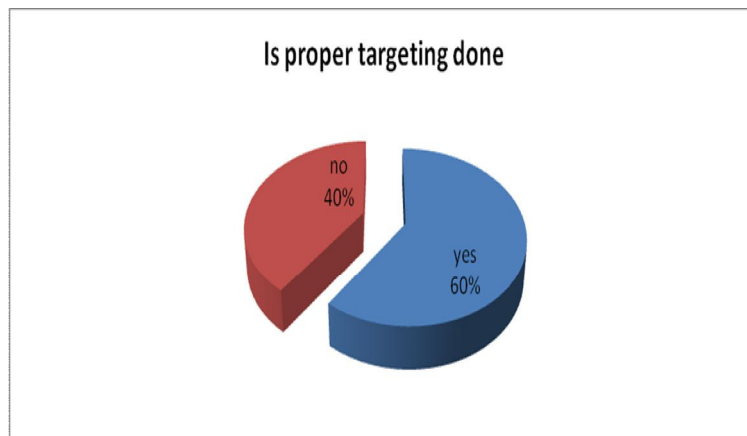


Figure 4.4: Response of beneficiaries on targeting

The chart above (Figure 4.4) shows that 40% expressed dissatisfaction on targeting of beneficiaries to receive aid. There was the notion that some undeserving households were selected for any form of aid particularly food aid. However, cash aid beneficiaries had fewer targeting problems since most households needed cash for some or other household needs besides food.

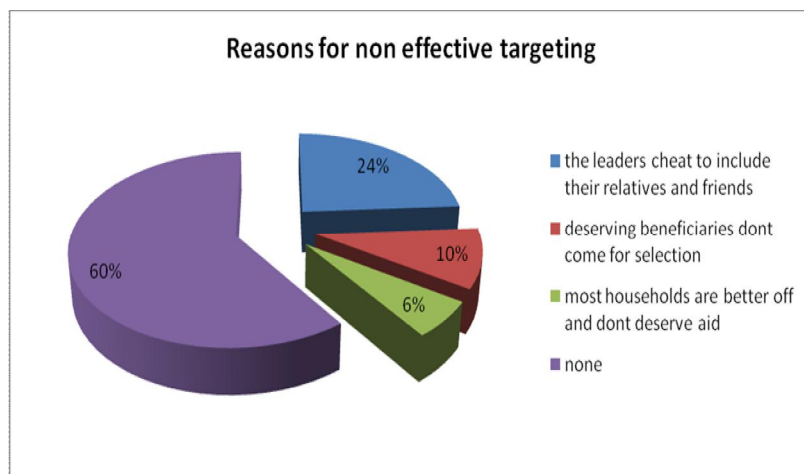


Figure 4.5: The reasons given for non effective targeting

Figure 4.5 shows the reason why there was no proper targeting. Of the 40%, 24% claimed that the leaders cheated to include their relatives and friends in any programme meant to alleviate poverty Ten per cent contributed that some deserving households which were highly food insecure did not come for the selection process due to illness, funerals or fear of victimization and six per cent of the households receiving aid, were better off although they receive aid. They did so by appearing or expressing high vulnerability whilst they did not deserve aid.

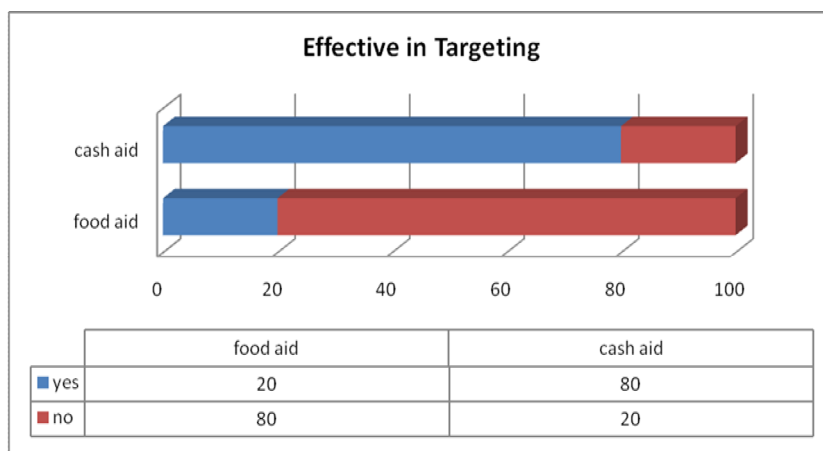


Figure 4.6: preference of beneficiaries targeted

The chart, Figure 4.6 gives a clear indication that cash aid targeting (80%) was preferred to food aid targeting (20%).

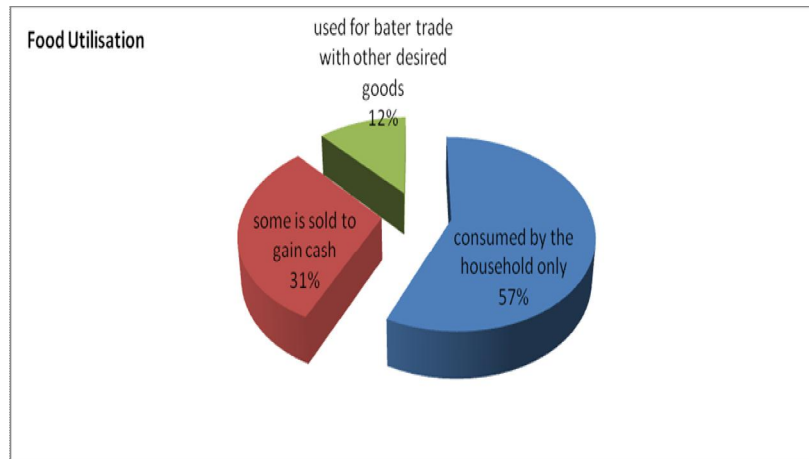


Figure 4.7: Food Utilisation

During the food aid period, 57% consumed all of the food received with only 31% of the households selling some portion of the food received to gain cash for other non food items required in the households as indicated by Figure 4.7. Twelve per cent would barter trade with other desired household goods. With this background cash aid would address these issues

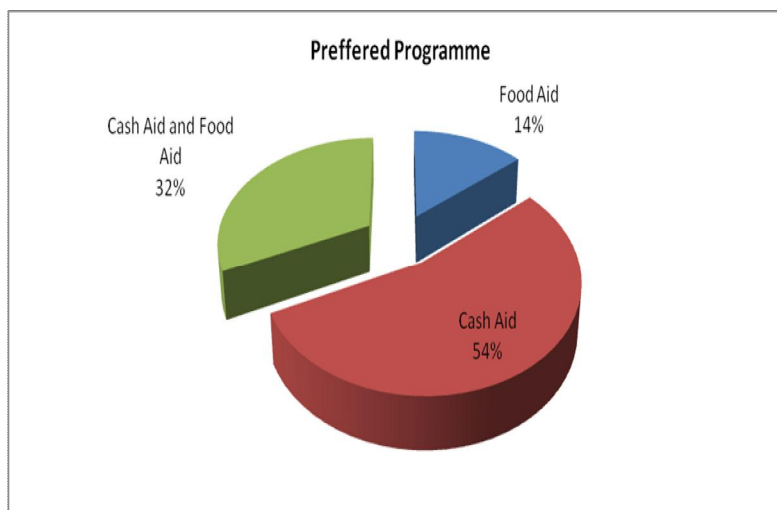


Figure 4.8 Programme Preference

Figure 4.8 shows that 54% wanted cash aid only while 32% wanted both cash aid and food aid, and 14% preferred food aid only. It was because there were some household needs that required cash such as school fees payment and hospital fees that completely constituted the families vulnerability status when these issues were not addressed.

There was a higher need of cash than food because most households would purchase the desired product or food stuff within local markets. Since most households were restricted to pulses during food aid, other options might be available within local markets hence the need of cash. However, in areas where food might be scarce, beneficiaries would want food instead of cash.

4.4. Cash Aid and Community Development

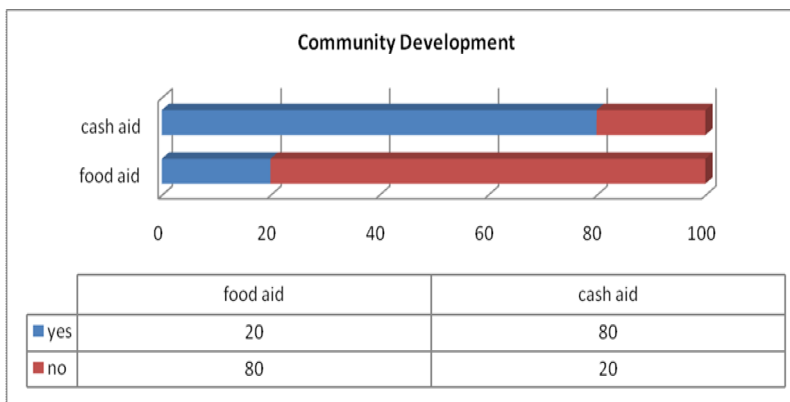


Figure 4.9 Cash Aid and Community Development

With a high preference of Cash Aid as seen in figure 4.9, 80% of the respondents regarded the role of cash in community development better than Food Aid (20%). Table 8 indicates reasons why cash aid has a role in community development.

TABLE 7: CASH AID AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Advantages of Cash Aid	Formation of Local Markets	88	27.0%	88.0%
	Petty Trading Increased	91	27.9%	91.0%
	Supplies improved within local markets	98	30.1%	98.0%
	Unity of the community	49	15.0%	49.0%
Total		326	100.0%	326.0%

With the formation of new local markets and increase of petty trading community development improved with the introduction of Cash Aid. Unity amongst the community improved due to participation in Cash Aid programme. Some community works had been initiated by the local leaders to develop the community in road maintenance, dip tank cleaning and a community committee was selected to handle and solve cases arising as

a result of cash aid. The formation of these referral systems helped to unite the communities by bringing a sense of belonging of every individual to the community and district

4.4.4 Relevance of Cash Aid

Whilst food aid is relevant, when there is a ready local market, and the surrounding areas have enough food to sell, cash aid becomes more relevant to the beneficiary, community, district and the nation at large. There are some other vital human needs that need to be addressed in a household's food security status and these include the need of health care and education for the school going children. With the providence of food one aspect of food insecurity is addressed and leaving a household without any option on how to provide for the medical care treatment and educational needs. With the introduction of the Cash Aid, a household has an option to use some of the money for medical care at local clinics, which require \$1 or \$2 for a consultation fee.

The chart in figure 4.10 shows some of the advantages of Cash Aid to food aid and 32% would use some of the cash for hospital and school fees if the need arose. School attendance also increased especially at primary level.

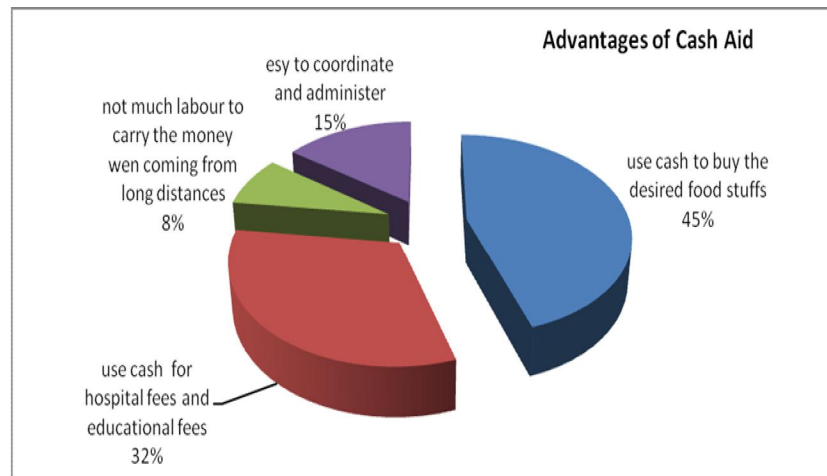


Figure 4.10

Forty-five per cent used Cash Aid to buying the desired food stuffs for the household, particularly the pulses or any form of relish, indicated in figure 4.10. However, there is a degree of freedom in terms of choice after receiving cash aid. There is not much labour

involved with cash aid whereas in food aid there was need of carrying the food over some distance, from the distribution point going home. With cash you would buy food from the local markets close to most beneficiaries homes. Cash aid is easier to administer and coordinate, and implement in comparison to food aid where there is need of stacking, scooping and sharing of the food at the distribution point. This process is time consuming and might take the whole day to administer the programme. However, Cash Aid requires few personnel to administer. Logistically Cash Aid is cheaper to manage because:

- There is no need of ware houses for storage and payment of storage fees.
- No need of shipping from other continents was food is available to the destination point.
- Requires few personnel to implement the programme and there is need of less labour.
- Breakages and damages may occur during the transportation phase, and the commodity might not reach the end point with its initial value and quantity, but a dollar will get to the beneficiary as a dollar.

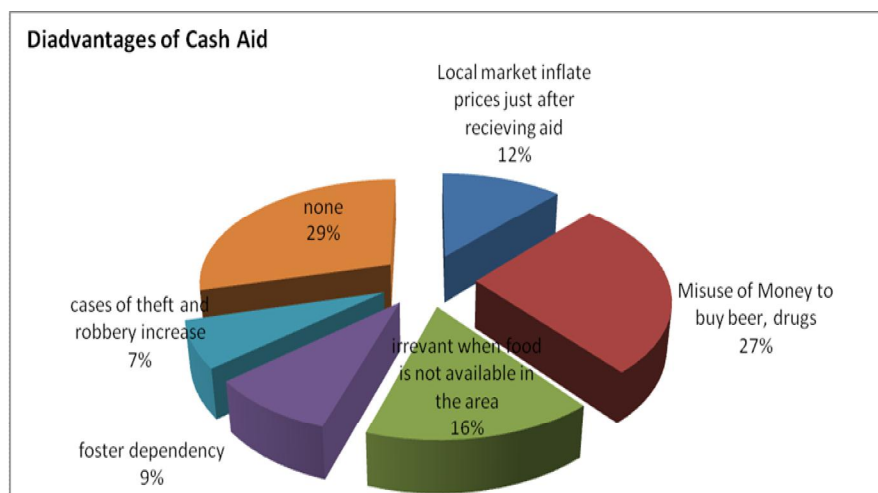


Figure 4.11

However Figure 4.11 shows some challenges and disadvantages of Cash Aid. Twenty-nine per cent of the respondents had not experienced any challenges and confirmed that there were no challenges with the Cash Aid programme. The main problems associated with cash transfers were:

- Misuse of money to buy beer, drugs (*mbanje/cannabis*) and involvement in prostitution, and that might be attributed to errors in targeting of beneficiaries.
- Robbery and theft cases increased.
- However, just after receiving cash aid, some local markets inflated prices because of the availability of cash within the community.
- In areas where food was not available and accessible, cash aid became irrelevant to the beneficiaries, because the major need of all households receiving cash was food.

4.5 Dependency Syndrome

TABLE 8: DEPENDENCIES

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	neutral	Agree	Strongly disagree
Does food aid foster dependency syndrome	33	27	12	18	10
Does cash aid foster dependency syndrome	36	47	8	7	2

It is mostly regarded that food aid fosters dependency syndrome more so than cash aid. As noted earlier, Cash Aid helped initiate petty trading as a livelihood option. With this development, dependency syndrome was, however, relatively lower with cash aid programmes. In Table 9, 76% (36+40) strongly disagree or disagree to the notion that cash aid caused dependency syndrome compared to the 60% (27+33) who disagreed to the fact that food aid fosters dependency syndrome.

The chart, Figure 4.12, shows that 37% would still need cash aid even after two years, and that might be as result of a dependency syndrome or lack of proper livelihood options that brought sustainability. The majority, 63% would be alleviated from their current situation and Cash Aid would play a role towards sustainability.

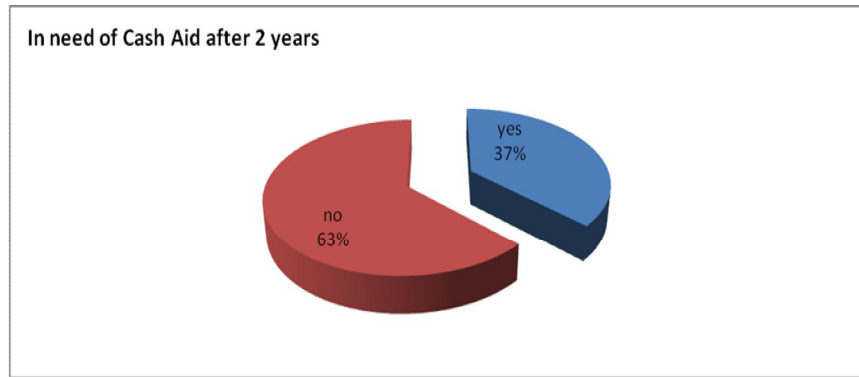


Figure 4.12

4.6 Food Accessibility

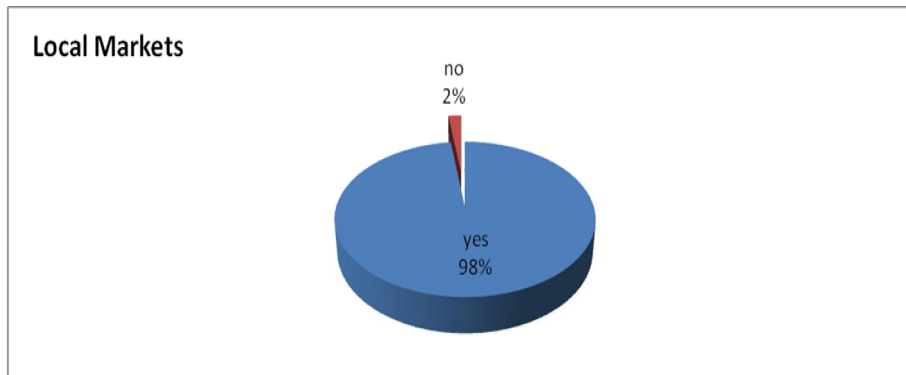


Figure 4.13

Since there were no local markets as shown in Figure 4.13 above, food accessibility had increased. Hence the reasons why the introduction of cash rather than food would be better.. Only two per cent of the households lived in places where markets were more than 15km away, but they could still access food. Some vendors who sold food had mobile shops that brought food after people received Cash Aid in the area. .That increased the market within the areas.

The increase of local markets has a positive bearing on the country's economy as a whole because there is injection of cash in the monetary system. Figure 4.14 below shows that there had been an increase of purchases of food within the local markets. As noted earlier, supplies increased within local markets and the expansion of markets and petty trading increased. The purchasing of food within these markets increased as well.

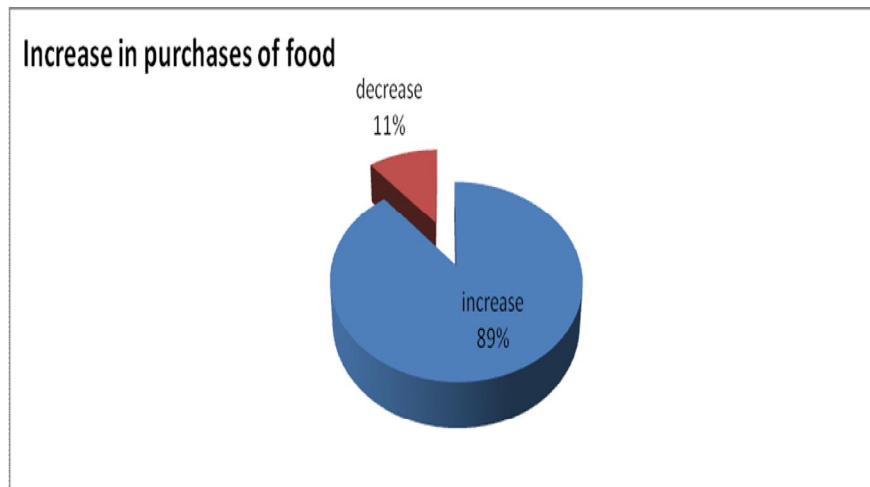


Figure 4.14:

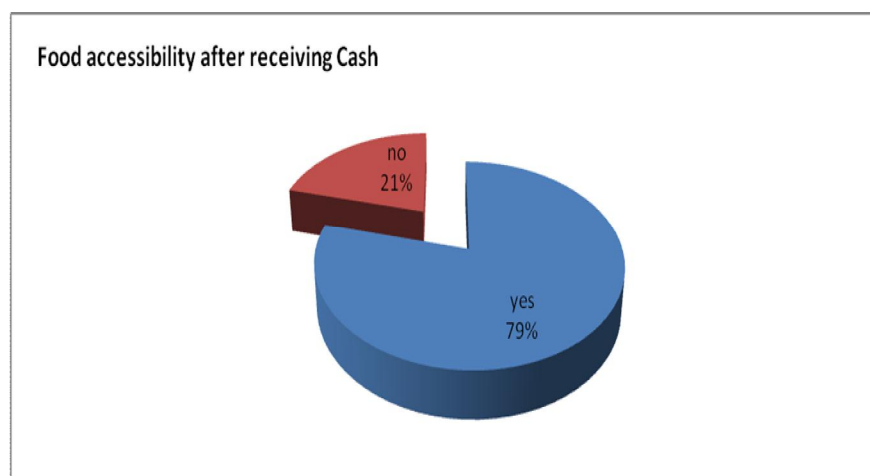


Figure 4.15:

Food was highly accessible after receiving cash. That was because local markets increased and stocks improved within the local markets. Only 21% faced challenges of accessing food (Figure 4.15). The issue of accessing food was a major concern in the distribution of Cash Aid. However, based on the results of the two wards in Nyanga the majority of inhabitants faced no challenges in accessing food. The results presented are significant in so far as they show that the inaccessibility of food is not such an acute problem.

TABLE 9:USES OF CASH FROM AID

		Responses		Per cent of Cases
		No.	Per cent	
Uses of Cash from Aid	purchase food	100	37.5%	100.0%
	medical purposes	53	19.9%	53.0%
	educational purposes	46	17.2%	46.0%
	misused to buy beer, drugs	20	7.5%	20.0%
	buy non food items for the household	34	12.7%	34.0%
	buy agric inputs	14	5.2%	14.0%

Money received was mainly used to buy food since it was the primary role of the aid, According to Table 10,100% of the households purchased food with some of the money or all of the money. However, 53% used some of the money for medical, and 46% for educational purposes. Those were the greatest needs of most households and they brought about development within the community if all these basic needs were addressed and they had access to them. All the beneficiaries bought food with the cash received. That pointed to the fact that all beneficiaries needed food. However, there were some needs that were besides those of food. That meant that beneficiaries who were given food would only then be able to solve their poverty-related problems. The data also reveals that the incidence of misuse is low. Only 7, 5% are recorded to have misused cash transfers. This somewhat allays the fears that cash aid will be abused

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The chapter summarizes the entire findings of the project with a view of arriving at a conclusion that will ensure that the objectives of the study have been met. The data analyzed in chapter four will form the basis of our conclusion.

5.2 Summary

The area under review is predominantly inhabited by peasants whose major source of income is agricultural activities at a subsistence level. Notwithstanding the fact that they are expected to be subsistence farmers, an emerging trend shows that it is a common cause that they are now engaging in petty trade activities. Petty trading requires that the inhabitants should have a source of cash. Information gleaned from the questionnaire showed that they were using the cash that they were receiving to finance their petty businesses, thereby bringing much needed development to the area.

An investigation into the sources of food revealed that 93% of the households were actually purchasing food. It is important to appreciate that in a predominantly agricultural area where subsistence farming is practised one cannot expect to see large amounts of money changing hands with such high frequency. One would expect people to grow a large proportion of their food and buy less food since they grow most of it.

When food aid and cash aid were compared it was noted that when it came to targeting, cash was more effective. In both cases there was the problem that some undeserving people received the aid. Even though both forms of aid had targeting problems sentiments expressed were that at least everybody needed cash for one or the other use. Thus in targeting, one could not go entirely wrong even if people with surplus food provisions, received extra food aid.

In both forms of aid the selection process can negatively affect targeting. By and large the responses received showed that cash aid was more effective in targeting, because it could cover a wide geographical area with ease. It is common that cash aid can easily be decentralized, while food aid is central in nature.

The patterns of utilization of food aid, points to the fact that people sell food aid in a bid to access cash. We can infer that despite the need for food, cash remains vital to the inhabitants of the two wards. Human beings need money even if they have food requirements. In any event if you have grain you need money to have it ground into edible flour. Most beneficiaries, if given a choice prefer cash. This may be as a result of the fact that cash brings more dignity than relying on food handouts.

It is important to understand that beneficiaries take pride in community development. As a result they feel that cash brings money into the community, improves local markets and invigorates their petty trading ventures. When asked about the advantages of cash, 45% of the respondents said you could buy the food that you required as opposed to being forced to eat the foods that were distributed. Thirt-two per cent of the respondents said that you could use cash aid for other vital needs like hospital and school fees.

Cash aid is easier to move and does not involve the labour of carrying food. The limitations of cash aid are the fact that it is risky as it attracts thieves, it can lead to misuse of money and it can inflate markets. It can lead to dependency. However, the general feeling is that food fosters more dependency. In the final analysis it is interesting to note that most of the literature available acknowledges the fact that food aid creates dependency. The literary works point to the inadequacy of food aid especially when it is used exclusively without any complimentary intervention methods. This point of view concurs with our interpretation of results where most respondents felt that food handouts alone were insufficient.

5.3 Conclusions

Each type of aid has its weaknesses. The most important aspect of this study was to highlight the weaknesses of cash aid together with its strengths. In some cases cash aid are more effective. In situations where they have no food sources the use of cash aid is

compromised. What one needs to appreciate is that the objectives of intervention determine the form of aid to be used. If it is a short-term measure one would be persuaded to use food aid. The situation on the ground also has to be analyzed since it determines the form of aid to be used. It is not expedient to move around with cash in a war-torn area. Cash transfers are appropriate to meet emergency food security needs and to rehabilitate livelihoods as it boosts economies by being an incentive for the markets, though they are unlikely to be sufficient on their own.

We cannot prescribe a particular form of aid without full knowledge of an area and the nature of the humanitarian crises. A combination of food and cash aid may achieve desired results where beneficiaries require both food and other needs such as health and educational needs. In such scenarios, beneficiaries may require cash to meet some other needs over and above the food.

5.4 Recommendations

After interpreting and analyzing the data, the following recommendations were arrived at:

- Cash aid should be implemented where food is available on the market. This is to allow people to buy food on the market. It is recommended that cash aid is not sufficiently effective in areas where there is no accessibility to food. In such scenarios food in kind has the upper hand.
- Cash aid is more appropriate where there are limited time and resources to carry out the intervention. It is more expedient owing to the ease with which cash can be transported or conveyed to the beneficiaries. Where there are serious budgetary constraints, in order to get value for money, the researcher recommends the use of cash aid as an intervention measure
- Cash aid is more effective where targeting is important in a project. It economically empowers vulnerable groups of society such as women and children who normally do not have any sources of income. Targeted cash transfers can empower beneficiaries, promote gender equality and enhance women's decision-making power.

- Cash aid is effective where we need to reach people who are in remote and inaccessible areas. It is a faster and more appropriate way of meeting people's needs. It maintains the dignity of the affected people and also empowers communities to prioritize their needs.
- Cash aid is less effective where we need to address nutritional values such as children with HIV. Specific types of foods address specific nutritional deficiencies like *plumpy* nut for a child suffering from *kwashiorkor* or Corn Soya Blend (CSB) for someone suffering from HIV/Aids. When one is given cash they might tend to buy foodstuffs of their choice and not necessarily the required food which has much needed nutritional value according to their condition.
- Developmental projects should be introduced along with food aid to provide a self- sustaining, long-term solutions to household and community development.
- Skilled labour training should be given to economically active household members as well as children to widen options on durable solutions and empowerment.
- There is the need to have robust monitoring and evaluation systems, in order to counter theft, corruption, misuse and misappropriation since cash is prone to these vices.

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APPENDIX 1-QUESTIONNAIRE FOR BENEFICIARIES

STATEMENT OF CONSENT:

Your household has been randomly selected in this village and your participation in this survey is purely by choice. The information which will be collected here will be kept strictly confidential and will not be used for anything other than for academic purposes. . My discussion will take about 30 minutes of your time so we can proceed if you can spare me the time.

1. HOUSEHOLD DEMOGRAPHICS (Show your choice by circling the appropriate response)

1.1 Gender of household head (circle one):

a. Male

b. Female

1.2 What is the age of the household head?

--	--

(Fill in your age, full year only)

1.3 For how long have you been resident here? (Number of years residing in the current place)

.....

1.4 What is the marital status of the household head? (Circle the appropriate response)

a. married b. widowed c. single d. divorced e. deserted/separated

1.5 Are you registered for aid? (Circle the appropriate)

a. Yes

b. No

1.6 How many people receive aid in the household you are collecting aid for?

1.7 Is there any orphan living in your household (18 yrs and under)

a. Yes

b.No

1.8 Has anyone in your household been chronically ill for the past 3 months?

a. Yes

b. No

1.9 Is anyone in your household mentally and/or physically disabled?

a. Yes

b. No

1.10 If yes, how many

õ õ õ õ õ õ ..

1.11 Status within community

a. Displaced populations (mobile populations)

b. Host community (i.e. original inhabitants)

c. Other (specify) -----

2. LIVELIHOOD OPTIONS

2.1 Did the household participate in any food support programme?

a. Yes

b. No

2.2 Is the household participating in cash aid?

a. Yes

b. No

2.3 Is petty trade a current livelihood source?

a. Yes

b. No

2.4 Is casual labour a current livelihood source?

a. Yes

b. No

2.5 Is skilled labour a current livelihood source?

a. Yes

b. No

2.6 Is subsistence farming a current livelihood source?

a. Yes

b. No

2.7 Is mining or panning a current livelihood source?

a. Yes

b. No

2.8 Are you unemployment/no income as a livelihood source?

a. Yes

b. No

2.9 Is casual labour a current source of food?

a. Yes

b. No

2.10 Does household rely on barter trade sales as its current source of food?

a. Yes

b. No

3.1 Does household rely on purchases as its current source of food?

a. Yes

b. No

3.2 Does household rely on borrowing as its current source of food?

a. Yes

b. No

4. IMPACT OF CASH AID

4.1 Was food aid eaten by the household members only?

a. Yes

b. No

4.2 Is proper targeting done so that the rightful beneficiaries receive the aid?

a. Yes

b. No

4.3 Is proper targeting done for food aid?

a. Yes

b. No

4.4 Is proper targeting done for cash aid?

- a. Yes
- b. No

4.5 Is participating in cash aid?

- a. Yes
- b. No

UTILISATION OF CASH AID

4.6 How much cash aid is household getting?

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ..

4.7 How much cash from aid is used to purchase food?

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ .

4.8 How much cash from aid is used for medical expenses?

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

4.9 How much is cash aid is used for educational purposes?

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ..

4.10 How much cash from aid is misused to buy beer, drugs?

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ .

4.11 How much cash from aid is used to buy non food items for the household?

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

4.12 How much cash from aid is used to buy agricultural inputs?

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

5. CASH AID AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

5. Which programme would you prefer?

- a. Cash
- b. Food

5.1 Is there any improvement from own production since benefiting from food aid?

- a. Yes
- b. No

5.2 Are there any local markets that sell food in the area?

- a. Yes
- b. No

5.3 Is there any increase or decrease in purchases of food commodities from the communities?

- a. Yes
- b. No

5.4 When should cash aid be delivered to maintain constructive livelihoods?

- a. Yes
- b. No

6. DEPENDENCY SYNDROME

6.1 Food aid or cash aid fosters a dependency syndrome

- a. Strongly disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

6.2 Food aid is accessible to the needy

- a. Strongly disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral

- d. Agree
- e. Strongly agree

6.3 Cash aid is accessible to the needy

- a. Strongly disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly agree

6.4 Those with cash can easily buy foodstuffs

- a. Strongly disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly agree

6.5 Those with cash can easily buy food stuffs

- a. Strongly disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly agree

6.6 In drought prone areas food is available for those with cash.

- a. Strongly disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly agree

6.7 The cash received is adequate for the needs of the people/beneficiaries

a. Strongly disagree

b. Disagree

c. Neutral

d. Agree

e. Strongly disagree

APPENDIX 2-QUESTIONNAIRE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

STATEMENT OF CONSENT:

Your have been randomly selected in this ward as a key Informant and your participation in this survey is purely by choice. The information which will be collected here will be kept strictly confidential and will not be used for anything other than for academic purposes. This study is purely academic. My discussion will take about 30 minutes of your time so we can proceed if you can spare me the time.

Cereal Availability

-**Food Consumption**

- õ
- õ

Sources of Income

- õ
- õ

Coping Mechanisms

- õ
- õ

Crop Prospects

- õ
-

Market Analysis

- õ
- õ

Dependency on aid

- õ .