

Social Protection and Low Capacity Households in Zambia

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**Linking social protection and
agricultural growth series**

Background and Acknowledgements

There is renewed recognition of the role that agricultural growth, via increased productivity, will play in poverty reduction. At the same time, it is recognised that perceptions of potential shocks and stresses may prevent the poor from taking up new agricultural opportunities. Given the important links between promoting agricultural growth and reducing risk and vulnerability, understanding how and how far complementarities can be achieved between policies designed to promote agriculture and those providing social protection are critical so that desired combinations of growth and poverty reduction can be achieved more efficiently.

This paper is one of a series of outputs from ODI's research study (2006-9) on "Linking Agricultural Growth and Social Protection" funded by the UK Department for International Development's (DFID) Renewable Natural Resources and Agriculture Team. The aim of the study is to identify how the complementarities between pro-poor agricultural growth programmes and social protection programmes can be strengthened and to support DFID Country Offices work in this area.

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List of Acronyms

CSO	Central Statistics Office
FBO	Faith Based Organisation
FNDP	Fifth National Development Plan
LCHTWG	Low Capacity Household Technical Working Group
MACO	Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives
MCDSS	Ministry of Community Development and Social Services
PAM	Programme Against Malnutrition
PLWHA	People Living with HIV and AIDS
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy
SPS	Social Protection Strategy
SWTWG	Social Welfare Technical Working Group
TWG	Technical Working Group
WFP	World Food Programme

1. Introduction

In 2005 the Government of Zambia developed a draft Social Protection Strategy (SPS) to guide and coordinate social protection interventions targeted at the poor. Two Technical Working Groups (TWG) were set up – the Social Welfare Technical Working Group (SWTWG) for incapacitated households, and the Low Capacity Household Technical Working Group (LCHTWG) for low capacity households - to inform the Social Protection Sector Advisory Group and feed into the development of ongoing social protection policy in the country. Whilst the Social Welfare TWG has developed a policy and roadmap for addressing the needs of incapacitated households, the Low Capacity Household TWG formed more recently and is currently less clear about the future direction and objectives of programmes for households who are poor but have some capacity to build sustainable livelihoods.

1.1 Aim of the paper

This paper aims to support the recent Ministry of Community Development and Social services (MCDSS) paper “Evaluation Study on Appropriate Models of Livelihood Strategies for Social protection in Zambia” and support the Low Capacity Household TWG to develop greater policy clarity on i) who low capacity households are ii) their needs iii) objectives of social protection for them and iv) ideas about appropriate instruments.

1.2 Structure of the paper

The paper is organised as follows. Section two discusses the poverty and vulnerability profile in Zambia. Section three discusses how social protection interventions at a micro and macro level have been used to address the needs of low capacity households in other countries. Section four examines the development of social protection policy in Zambia and then looks at the existing social protection interventions targeted at low capacity households. Section five concludes by discussing the issues emerging from the previous section and suggesting next steps for the Low Capacity Household TWG.

2. Poverty and Vulnerability in Zambia

Zambia has high levels of poverty and vulnerability. Around two thirds of the population live in poverty, and poverty rates are reportedly much higher in rural areas than urban areas (Table 2.1). In 2002/3 Northern Province and Northwestern Province were ranked the poorest in Zambia, both in terms of overall poverty levels and extreme poverty. In 2004 data Western Province was rated as having the highest incidence of poverty at 83% (CSO 2004).

Table 2.1: Poverty levels in Zambia

	Overall		Extreme	
	%	Rank	%	Rank
All Zambia	67	-	46	-
Rural Areas	74	-	52	-
Urban Areas	52	-	32	-
Central Province	69	5	50	3
Copperbelt Province	58	8	38	7/8
Eastern Province	71	3	49	4
Luapula Province	70	4	47	5
Lusaka Province	57	9	36	9
Northern Province	81	1	63	1
Northwestern Province	72	2	51	2
Southern Province	63	7	40	6
Western Province	65	6	38	7/8

Source: Living Conditions Monitoring Survey, CSO, 2002/3 cited in Rural Net Associates (2005)

Data in Zambia show that pervasive poverty is compounded by risk and vulnerability to multiple shocks. These shocks include, but are not limited to, HIV/AIDS, macroeconomic instability, and periodic droughts and floods (del Ninno and Marini 2005). In 2005, UNICEF estimated adult HIV prevalence in Zambia to be 17 percent and it has become the most important cause of illness and death among young and middle aged adults (World Bank 2003). Zambia's Vulnerability Assessment Committee (2003) suggests that HIV/AIDS disproportionately affects the agricultural sector relative to other sectors - HIV/AIDS-affected households may suffer from lower production due to labour constraints (del Ninno and Marini 2005) and the effects of a shift from expenditure on agricultural production (such as inputs) to payments on health care and medicines. Macro economic instability has resulted from adverse impacts of copper price deterioration, the decrease of the copper production level. This and other unfavourable macroeconomic conditions have resulted in significant job losses (del Ninno and Marini 2005). Droughts (and floods) have hit farmers, especially smallholders, hard because of the loss of production and loss of cattle, and has affected net consumers, because of the higher prices of food commodities in general and of maize (del Ninno and Marini 2005: 7). In the last sixteen years Zambia has suffered four droughts of varying severity (1991-92, 1994-95, 2000-01 and 2001-02); production losses from drought tend to be concentrated in Southern, Central and Western Provinces (del Ninno and Marini 2005).

In the face of vulnerability, coping strategies and resilience are limited. Del Ninno and Marini (2005) show that household strategies to mitigate and cope with the impact of shocks are diverse but damaging and detrimental to longer-term recovery, for example reducing or substituting number of meals and reducing other household expenditure, removing children from school (especially in the case of a chronically ill

member of the household) and selling assets such as livestock and poultry. In addition, Tembo (2005) argues that a number of institutional factors further impede households' coping mechanisms and resiliency to vulnerability including "poor institutional capacity, inflexible policies, lack of resources and government inactivity" (Tembo 2005 pp vii).

There are strong correlations between vulnerability and poverty in Zambia (del Ninno and Marini 2005). Box 2.1 shows the key risks and most vulnerable groups in Zambia. The most vulnerable households are reported to include widow-headed households because of their difficult access to land and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS shocks and double-orphans who are dependent on relatives/community for survival (Tembo 2006; del Ninno and Marini 2005). Rural unemployment is lower the higher the agricultural income, land and livestock ownership; urban unemployment is higher in households where the head is a female or is older; and the probability of suffering from drought is higher for widow and separated female headed households, households whose income comes mainly from agriculture and that have a large proportion of area under crop (del Ninno and Marini 2005).

Box 2.1: Key Risks and most vulnerable groups

Key risks	Most vulnerable groups
HIV/AIDS Lack of access to education and training Lack of access to health services Child malnutrition Urban poverty Rural livelihoods: the impacts of HIV/AIDS, variability in agricultural production due to climatic changes, and agricultural policies Violence against women and children	Orphans and vulnerable children Street children Child-headed households Elderly headed households Female-headed households Sick or disabled headed households

Source: MCDSS (2005)

Poverty and increased risk in rural areas are said to be caused by the impact of variable climatic conditions on agriculture, illness and death primarily related to HIV and AIDS, and expensive agricultural inputs (MCDSS 2005).

A significant barrier to sustainable rural livelihoods is access to fertiliser, seed and other agricultural inputs. Most smallholder farmers engage in small scale maize production even though it offers very marginal profits and many do not produce enough to sell a surplus (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Characteristics of smallholder farmers, Zambia 1999/00

	Number	Farm size (ha)	Asset values (US\$)	Gr.Rev., maize sales (US\$)	Gr. Rev., crop sales (US\$)	Total hh income (US\$)
Top 50% of maize sales	23,680	6.0	1,558	690	823	2,282
Rest of maize sellers	234,988	3.9	541	74	135	514
Households not selling maize	762,566	2.8	373	0	36	291

Source: Jayne et al. (2005)

Even at usual production levels and a good selling price many farmers are unable to buy inputs. Scaling up maize production incurs substantial additional labour costs and is risky if selling prices or yields are low, or if unexpected expenditures on health or funerals mean that money cannot be spent on the next purchase of inputs. Other

crops are cheaper to grow, but are much more labour intensive (Ministry of Community Development and Social Services 2005). In addition to the problem of availability of labour and the high risk of either producing more maize or diversifying to other crops, maize production is also often reinforced by institutions targeting maize inputs at smallholder farmers (MCDSS 2005).

In sum, rural households are thus vulnerable to a number of shocks, in both the domestic domain (e.g. risk of HIV and AIDS, health expenses etc.) and the productive domain (production losses due to floods or drought, high inputs prices etc.).

3. International experience of Social Protection for Low-Capacity Households

Defining the parameters of social protection can be difficult. Norton et al (2001) provide a useful definition of social protection where “social protection refers to the public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability, risk and deprivation which are deemed socially unacceptable within a given polity or society.” “Public” can be interpreted not only as actions undertaken by the state, but also those undertaken by others claiming to operate in the public interest, such as NGOs, and those mandated by the state but undertaken by others, including the private sector (Farrington et al. 2006).

In sub-Saharan Africa and other developing countries, the aims of social protection are broader than in developed countries where the focus is on providing income support to smooth income and improve well-being, particularly at times in the life-cycle when people are most at risk of poverty (child grants, pensions for the elderly, unemployment benefits). In developing countries, the very high rates of poverty and food insecurity mean that social protection has wider risk management objectives and focuses both on protecting households’ welfare but also protecting and promoting household livelihoods.

But what do we know about the ways in which social protection can be effective for households with some but limited engagement in productive activity? The remainder of this section refers to international experience.

In recent years social protection has become an important part of poverty reduction strategies in many countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Evidence shows that, when designed and implemented well, social protection not only provides welfare support to the very poorest in society, but is arguably a vital component for poor and vulnerable households to manage risks (such as a loss in income or production) and in supporting households to move out of poverty. Instruments to manage risk can target individuals, households and communities but can also be implemented at national level to reduce economic uncertainty and increase macro-economic stability (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Addressing shocks, stresses and uncertainties in agriculture, and wider vulnerabilities

Type of intended effect:	Reducing likely incidence of shock or stress, and perceptions of their likelihood (preventive)	Reducing impact of shock or stress (mitigating)	Increasing resilience/reducing vulnerability (coping)	Addressing vulnerabilities rooted in social inequities and exclusion (transformative)
Type of intervention:				
Agriculture sector strategies	Prevention of spread of crop/livestock disease; crop and livestock breeding strategies; investment in medium-scale infrastructure (e.g. irrigation, feeder roads); promotion of warehouse receipts, forward hedging etc; subsidies on inputs and improvement in markets. Improve information on requirements of and outcomes from new technologies.	Enterprise diversification within farms; promotion of new forms of crop and livestock insurance	Agriculture-specific training; promotion of agriculture-related savings & investment;	Promotion of collective action for workers' rights in specific sector or sub-sectors
HIGHER LEVEL STRATEGIES				
National legislation, regulation, public investment	Investment in major infrastructure; prevention of monopsony power, including in food processing, wholesaling and retailing, and of monopoly in farm input supply. Promote security of land tenure.	Promotion of good business climate, and of diversified rural economy; promotion of strong rural-urban links	Health and safety standards; minimum wage legislation; investments in health, nutrition and education; promotion of voice and citizenship. Promotion of social equity via sensitisation and awareness campaigns and e.g. strengthening of Trade Unions	Promotion of social equity via sensitisation and awareness campaigns and e.g. strengthening of Trade Unions
International agreements and conventions	Reworking of trade regimes; preventing international spread of ag-related disease		Defining and defending the rights of women, children and minoritiesrights of women, children and minorities
SUB-SECTORAL, EMPLOYMENT AND CONSUMPTION STRATEGIES				
Asset building and access at community and individual levels	Public works to create communal assets (minor irrigation, bunds, drains, soil and water conservation; grazing; forest) and improve access. Capacity building, asset generation, improved access to public infrastructure and services, and common pool resources	Improve access to communal assets Promotion of personal insurances etc	Strengthen individual assets – financial, health, education, awareness of rights, voice... Transfers in cash or in kind (subsidised food; FFW).	Promotion of rights of women and minorities at community level
Promote employment	Remove unnecessary subsidies on mechanisation		Food or cash for work; support migration out of low productivity areas; support remittances	Ensure inclusion of minorities
Increase and/or smooth consumption			Transfers in cash or in kind (e.g. subsidised food; FFW).	Ensure inclusion of minorities

3.1 Household responses

At a household level, social protection can include tools such as transfers or works programmes in the form of cash, vouchers, food, inputs etc., and sometimes a mixture of more than one type of assistance is needed. Experience from around the world shows that social protection can smooth household consumption/income, prevent distress sales and build assets, increase demand for social services, stimulate the local economy and reduce the poverty gap.

Smooth consumption

Predictable and regular transfers of food or cash can have a large impact on smoothing households' consumption or income. Evaluations from the Meket Livelihoods Development Programme in Ethiopia, which comprised of both a public works and direct cash transfer programme, found that the frequency of feeding of children increased and most mothers were able to give a wider variety of food to their children (Devereux et al. 2005). Food based transfers to poor households in Gambia decreased chronic malnutrition in project areas and improved long-term food security problems (USAID 2001).

Prevent distress sales and negative coping mechanisms

Income from Ethiopia's Meket Livelihoods Development Programme enabled poor households to keep their household assets rather than selling them off, leaving households in a better bargaining position. Households were also able to diversify their income sources and cease activities which were socially or environmentally disadvantageous (Devereux et al. 2005; Adams and Kebede 2005).

Build assets and enable investment in productive activities

Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction/Targeting the Ultra Poor (CFPR/TUP) programme in Bangladesh aims to provide a "laddered strategic linkage" for the poor. It aims to build up their asset base, beginning with a transfer of income earning assets, cash transfers for limited periods of time, health and education support, training, social development and later integrating with microcredit programmes. The cost per household of this programme is \$300. Findings from the evaluation show that not only did beneficiaries' nutrition improve, but an initial asset transfer of US\$ 100 per household in 2002 led to asset value of US\$ 300 in 2005 (BRAC Research and Evaluation Division).

Increase demand for health and education services

Both conditional and unconditional cash transfers have encouraged households to invest in children's education and health care. Mexico's conditional cash transfer programme *Oportunidades* (formally *Progresa*), at a cost of US\$1.8b, shows improved enrolment rates for girls (between 7.2 and 9.3 percentage points, from a base of 67%) and for boys (between 3.5 and 5.8 percentage points, from a base of 73%) and an even stronger impact on secondary school enrolments. 70% of households also showed improved nutrition and health improvements in both children below 5 and adults (Coady and Parker 2002; Skoufias and McClafferty 2001).

Stimulate the local economy

Evidence from cash-based transfers shows a positive impact on the local economy, as cash is spent locally and thus benefits small farmers and traders. Both short-term cash injections as emergency responses and long term cash transfers such as pensions can stimulate local trade (Davies 2007, Devereux 2001).

Reduce the poverty gap

The size of transfers influences the kind of impacts on poverty that social protection can have. Generous transfers (such as South Africa's pension which transfers around \$75 a month to men over 65 and women over 60) has been found to reduce poverty significantly (Devereux and Macauslan 2006). Smaller scale transfers (such as \$10-15 a month) aim to reduce the poverty gap, and do so through smoothing consumption, protecting assets as well as enabling investment in productive assets (Devereux et al. 2005).

3.2 National level responses

Not all the instruments used to manage risks faced by households are implemented at household level. Improved economic management, where it leads to stronger, more effective markets and reduced uncertainty and price volatility, can have significant impacts on household vulnerability. Examples include futures options / hedges on grain markets.

Options contracts

Options contracts are used to hedge against price volatility. Facing a significant food gap in the 2005-6 agricultural season, the government of Malawi secured additional supplies of maize at a capped price from South Africa via an options contract based on the South Africa Futures Exchange (SAFEX) white maize prices and included costs of delivery (Slater and Dana 2006). Malawi's experience with options contracts was largely positive, and the majority of maize purchased was used to meet humanitarian needs. When capped prices are combined with a physical delivery contract, options contracts can help importers manage costs, and mitigate the risk that prices will increase dramatically when there is a shortage in the market (Slater and Dana 2006).

4. Social protection in Zambia

4.1 The emergence of social protection policy in Zambia

Social protection programmes and instruments are not new in Zambia but they have not always been labelled as such. In 1991, in response to the (allegedly short-term) negative impacts of structural adjustment on poor households, the Zambian Social Recovery Project was established – the second social fund in the world and the first in Africa. By 2002, the fund had been renamed the Zambia Social Investment Fund (ZAMSIF) and featured strongly in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. There the need to “target the poor against the adverse impacts of economic reforms and other internal and external factors” was recognised and the government committed higher budgetary allocations to poverty-oriented interventions under a multi-pronged approach to poverty reduction. At this time the Public Welfare Assistance Scheme, a programme distributing in-kind assistance to the most vulnerable and poorest households, was already being implemented by the government. Despite a host of activities being implemented by MCDSS, ZAMSIF and other agencies, the language and concept of social protection had not yet emerged.

By 2006 the picture had changed significantly. The Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP) outlines the government’s vision for poverty reduction and growth plans for 2006-2010 and reflects recent developments social protection – both conceptually and programmatically. The FNDP chapter on social protection is informed by a draft Social Protection Strategy developed in 2005. It defines social protection as:

“policies and practices that protect and promote the livelihoods and welfare of people suffering from critical levels of poverty and deprivation and/or are vulnerable to risks and shocks” (FNDP 2006 p.160).

The vision for social protection in Zambia is to build:

“a nation with capacity to promote and provide sustainable security against constant or periodic critical levels of deprivation and extreme vulnerability” (FNDP 2006 pp162)

with its goal to:

“contribute to the security of all vulnerable Zambians by ensuring that incapacitated and low capacity households have sufficient livelihood security to meet basic needs, and are protected from the worst impacts of risks and shocks” (FNDP 2006 p.162).

Three principles, outlined in the SPS, underpin the strategy:

- Social protection must focus on addressing the needs of the *poorest and most vulnerable* people
- Social protection is principally *protective* – it chiefly targets mitigation and coping activities
- Social protection programming must remain a manageable size with achievable goals (focusing on the bottom 20% of the poverty profile)

The following types of activities are envisaged within the programme:

- Interventions directed at identifiable sectors of the population that have suffered from particular shocks
- Interventions targeting identifiable groups that are unable to participate in economic growth
- Interventions that help people to mitigate or cope with negative life cycle events
- Interventions that help people to mitigate or cope with the effects of illness or disability
- Addressing the legal discrimination against a minority

The most important thing to note here is that the FNDP is clear that social protection is not solely about relief, and situates social protection as a key pillar of growth in Zambia by enhancing household's engagement in the productive economy:

“the Government maintains that the needed linkages between growth and poverty reduction can be developed in a sustainable way but only through an approach that allows everyone to share the benefits of growth. Although, under the right circumstances, sustained growth does often result in poverty reduction, rising inequality adversely affects this and it is in this regard that the role of social protection is considered to be an important FNDP component. Notwithstanding this, empowering the poor to earn a decent living income is perceived to be a much more effective approach in addressing their plight than the often unsustainable subsidy programmes that often tend to destroy the very financial and human resource bases that are expected to facilitate positive growth through productive investment” (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2006: 18).

Thus, the government has recognised that, whilst some households require long-term welfare support, other have the productive capacity to graduate into independent and sustainable livelihoods. So two main types of households are identified – incapacitated household and low capacity households, the characteristics of which are shown in Box 4.1.

Two Technical Working Groups have been set up to inform the Social Protection Sector Advisory Group, which is responsible for the development of the final social protection strategy, of the most appropriate social protection instruments for each group of households.

The *Social Welfare Technical Working Group* focuses on developing solutions for incapacitated households. Under this remit, it is understood that the nature of poverty for these households is such that they will need a permanent safety net. Households in this target group (such as households headed by elderly, disabled or ill people) may have previously received assistance from the government's national Public Welfare Assistance Scheme, which distributes in-kind assistance to poor households; however, the Technical Working Group is considering the option that this should be replaced with a national cash transfer by 2009, largely based on the experiences of small pilot cash transfer schemes. The Group is currently lobbying for a separate budget line in MCDSS for scaling-up the cash transfer. However, various stakeholders have raised concern about the rolling out of cash transfers throughout Zambia, and key questions which remain for this group include: are there needs for

this target group other than cash? Is cash suitable in all places e.g. where the barter economy is still strong?

Box 4.1: Characteristics of the main target groups

Incapacitated households – those with no one fit to work

The key difference between low capacity and incapacitated households is that incapacitated households have either no adult who is fit to work, or a high dependency ratio making it virtually impossible to maintain the household. Incapacitated households are thus incapable of supporting their own needs, and have little immediate prospect of doing so.

Key characteristics include that they have no household assets and they do not cultivate any land themselves, but try to work for others during cultivation and harvest although they are unable to work well. Many of these households will be headed by elderly people, or only have adults who are sick or disabled, and unable to work. Approximately half of people in these households are children, including a large number of orphaned dependents (based on Kalomo data).

For incapacitated households, the key prospects for future sustainability are in investing in education, training and other basic needs for the next generation.

Low capacity households –widows, the disabled and other marginalized households

Low capacity households have very marginal livelihoods, with high exposure to risk and low capacity to deal with shocks. Low capacity households have few fit adults and low levels of human capital in terms of labour and also knowledge and capacity / opportunity to participate in economic activities. Substantial vulnerability is caused when several factors combine, commonly including the effects of HIV/AIDS; a high dependency ratio and a low number of fit adults in the house; being widowed; having few productive assets or poor access to land; looking after many children and orphans; having a low knowledge of income generating activities, particularly in agriculture; and being excluded from opportunities to develop livelihoods and new income generating activities.

Female headed households are likely to form more than half of low capacity households. Other low capacity households are headed by disabled people, or people with health problems that reduce their capacity to work.

The objectives for this target group are to become self-reliant and develop sustainable livelihoods. It also recognised that some low capacity households may become incapacitated – the aim for these households is to increase the long-term prospects by investing in education of these children.

Children living without an adult caregiver

Child headed households are growing due to the number of dependents generated by HIV/AIDS, changing levels of responsibility in the extended family, and high poverty levels amongst many households.

Source: MCDSS (2005)

The *Low Capacity Household Technical Working Group* is much more recently established and has, therefore, made less progress. The draft strategy argues for interventions that will improve low capacity households' poverty status by strengthening livelihoods and enabling them to move towards an independent, sustainable and resilient livelihood. It proposes the following actions for low capacity households:

- MCDSS to expand activities under the PWAS as a safety net support in rural areas

- MACO to devise appropriate livelihood strategies and support the improved performance of the Food Security Pack
- MCDSS to develop public works programmes to provide seasonal opportunities and other interventions as may be required, particularly in urban areas
- MCDSS to support informal social security initiatives and targeted employment promotion throughout the country

MCDSS (2005: 23-4)

Social protection activities currently being implemented in Zambia for low capacity households¹

This section discusses four key issues regarding current social protection policy and programmes for low capacity households:

1. What do low capacity households look like and what are the characteristics of households currently being targeted by social protection programmes;
2. What types of social protection programmes are being implemented;
3. What are the objectives of the social protection programmes; and
4. How many households are currently being targeted and where.

Targeting low capacity households

According to the Social Protection Strategy, low capacity households have the following characteristics:

- They eat one meal a day, or two at times. Their meals might not be *nshima* but cheaper food such as sweet potatoes.
- They have large family sizes
- They mostly cannot afford school for their children, and are more likely found in community schools if at all
- They have poor clothes
- They are involved in piece work
- They live in small houses made from grass and small sticks
- They cultivate only small portions of land because they lack agro inputs

Currently, social protection programmes identify households as low capacity by using community targeting mechanisms. In these cases, the household head (usually elderly, female, child or disabled) is often used as a “social indicator” of poverty and vulnerability. Some agricultural inputs programmes use head of household plus economic indicators such as the household must have labour, some access to land, but not be in employment. Box 4.2 discusses some of the challenges to identifying low capacity households.

Annex 1 shows that in general, households with *some labour* and access to *some land* tend to be targeted with agricultural inputs or public works programme.

¹ This section tries to give an overview of some of the key social protection programmes being implemented for low capacity households in Zambia. However, there were significant limitations in the collection of data and thus this section should be read as an indication of programme information, rather than a comprehensive account of all social protection interventions for this target group.

Box 4.2: Targeting Low Capacity Households

The key criteria used to define low capacity households are that they have *some* available labour and some *productive assets*. These households tend to be categorised as being headed by widows, disabled, or people with health problems (MCDSS 2005).

CARE (2007) has also developed three categories which meet the low capacity household profile:

- i) Young and married
- ii) People Living with HIV and AIDS
- iii) Female Headed Households

What is clear from discussions is that whilst the characteristics of low capacity households may be fairly well understood (for example as Box 4.1 discusses, low capacity households have very marginal livelihoods, with high exposure to risk and low capacity to deal with shocks; low capacity households have few fit adults and low levels of human capital in terms of labour and also knowledge and capacity / opportunity to participate in economic activities and so on) *defining* low capacity households for clear targeting guidelines is more problematic. A number of factors contribute to this:

1. Lack of data on how many beneficiaries are in need of Food Security Pack: MCDSS estimates that between 190,000 and 380,000 households (MCDSS 2005: 14) are in need of targeted inputs, however other estimates put this at between 800,000 and 1,305,783 (Rural Net Associates 2005). Given that approximately 4 million people live in rural poverty (2003 data²), it is likely that the number of households in need of support are higher than current government estimates.
2. Economic inequalities are found to be low in rural areas (Kozel and Parker 2007) showing that differences between households' poverty and vulnerability in rural areas is minimal. It is therefore difficult to distinguish which household is in more need of receiving assistance when many have similar characteristics and levels of poverty and vulnerability.

Type of social protection programmes and implementing agencies for low capacity households

Many different types of social protection programmes are being implemented in Zambia aimed at low capacity households (Table 4.1).

The most common programmes are in-kind transfers and integrated programmes. In-kind transfer programmes are mostly types of agricultural inputs programmes. The integrated programme combines a number of activities including the provision of agricultural inputs, income generating activities and HIV and AIDS programmes.

² Rural Poverty Portal, Zambia Statistics. Accessed at: <http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/english/regions/africa/zmb/statistics.htm>

Table 4.1: Types of social protection programme for low capacity households

Type of Programme	Programme details
Conditional transfers – for work	Peri-Urban Self Help project (PUSH)
	AICA (Agricultural Inputs for Community Assets) (recently finished)
In-kind transfers	Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (PWAS)
	Targeted Food Security Packs Programme (FSP)
	LISAR - Livelihood Initiative in Support of Agricultural Recovery (Food Security and livelihoods Department)
	Concern: Livelihood Security
	Oxfam Agricultural Recovery Project
	Future Search - NSSF Resettlement Division
Emergency cash transfer	Mongu and Kaoma Oxfam Cash Transfer Scheme
Food aid and food-for-work	WFP Regional Operation (PRRO 10310)
	WFP Country Programme (CP 10157)
	C-SAFE - Consortium for Southern Africa Food Security Emergency (Food Security and livelihoods Department) (2002-2005)
Support to access justice system	Victim Support Unit
	YWCA
Integrated programme³	Masaiti Development Programme
	Namwala Development programme
	Choma Child Labour Prevention Programme
	Luano Valley Development Programme
	Fiwila Development Programme
Support for refugees	Mwange Refugee Camp
	Kala Refugee Camp
	WFP Food Assistance for Refugees from Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo (PRRO 10071.2)
Social Fund	Zambia Social Investment Fund (ZAMSIF)

Sources: Interviews, RuralNets Associates (2005), MCDSS (2007), Devereux (2006)

The number of agencies implementing social protection activities and emergency responses (e.g. WFP) for low capacity households is relatively few⁴ (Table 4.2).

³ HODI (a local NGO) implements a number of Integrated Programmes, which combines a number of activities including the provision of agricultural inputs, income generating activities, HIV and AIDS programmes, support for OVCs, water and sanitation, CBO capacity building, and micro-credit. The Integrated Programmes have been included here because they comprise social protection activities, but it is difficult to disaggregate the components separately.

⁴ There may be some smaller agencies which have accidentally been missed out

Table 4.2: Number of implementing agencies of social protection activities for low capacity households

MCDSS
Habitat for Humanity Zambia
Peri-Urban Self Help (PUSH)
CARE
Programme Against Malnutrition (PAM)
Catholic Relief Services
Concern Worldwide
Oxfam
Future Search
WFP
HODI
ZAMSIF
World Vision
Adventist Development and Relief Agency International (ADRA)

Sources: Interviews, programme documents

Social protection objectives

Most social protection interventions have broad and often multiple objectives (Table 4.3 and Box 4.3). The majority of programmes aim to address food insecurity and support livelihoods. In particular, objectives for the programmes which transfer agricultural inputs (including as works programmes) range between promoting livelihoods, enabling households to respond to food insecurity and food crises, and building household assets. Other transfers (food, in-kind) focus on reducing long term poverty and hunger including food emergencies.

Interviews with NGOs found that in addition to objectives for beneficiary needs, some of their programmes also intend to support and build government capacity to deliver social protection interventions and are being designed and/or implemented in discussion with the MCDSS.

Box 4.3: Social protection objectives for low capacity households

The objectives of the social protection programmes listed in table 4.3 shows that there are both short and long term objectives for low capacity households. Short term objectives are to improve food-security, nutrition and address short-term vulnerability. Longer-term objectives include building productive assets (at the community and household level) and increasing household resiliency to future food security shocks. The overarching objective of the Government's Food Security Pack is to enable households to build a resilient and sustainable livelihood in order to graduate from the Food Security Pack programme.

The longer term objectives of social protection programmes for low capacity households emphasises the differences between this target group discussed in Box 4.1 from incapacitated households: "the objectives for this target group [low capacity households] are to become self-reliant and develop sustainable livelihoods".

Currently programmes implemented by both the Government of Zambia and international actors to address low capacity households' vulnerability and to improve livelihoods have focused on agricultural productivity. One of the key questions arising from this report is whether agricultural inputs programmes are sufficient to address both consumption smoothing goals (protective objectives) as well as longer-term asset building and livelihood promotion goals (productive objectives) (see Box 5.1 and 5.2 for further discussion).

Table 4.3: Programme Objectives for agricultural inputs and works programmes

Inputs transfers	Food/in-kind-for-work
Empower vulnerable but viable households	Enable low capacity hhs to graduate off direct transfers to invest in alternative livelihoods and reduce vulnerability associated with maize production
Improve household food security	Respond to national HIV and AIDS emergency
Improve livelihood security for vulnerable households still recovering from food security crisis	Improve food security and well being in hungry households.
Increase assets among vulnerable households	Address short-term vulnerability of hhs experiencing acute food insecurity
Increase resiliency of food security shocks among communities and hhs	Improve/maintain health and nutritional
Increase the capacity of local organisations to support sustainable development processes	Increase/maintain productive assets among targeted vulnerable communities and households
Improve livelihood options of small scale farmers	
Help people affected by food crisis to recover more sustainably	
Respond to national HIV and AIDS emergency	
Increase access to education especially for girls, OVCs and those from hungry-poor h/h	
Improve nutritional status and reduce malnutrition-related mortality among target group	
Improve food security and well being in hungry households.	
Address short-term vulnerability of households experiencing acute food insecurity in districts affected by drought condition, including families affected by AIDS.	
Improve/maintain health and nutritional status of targeted vulnerable communities and households	
increase/maintain productive assets among targeted vulnerable communities and households	

Sources: Interviews, programme documents

Number of beneficiaries and geographic coverage

The number of beneficiaries actually reached by programmes varies widely (Table 4.4, Annex 2). However, there are also significant gaps and inconsistencies in the data presented, such as whether beneficiaries are households or individuals or if the number of beneficiaries is the total number targeted for the whole programme or the number targeted by year. These limitations and inconsistencies suggest a lack of coordination in reporting mechanisms which makes cross comparisons of data difficult.

Table 4.4: Number of beneficiaries reached by programmes

Type of Programme	Number of Beneficiaries	
	Government	NGO/FBO
Empowerment of Low Capacity Households		
Inputs transfer	24,000 (2005/6)	24,170
Inputs-for-work		3,000
Houses-for-work		7,800
Food-for-work		??
In-kind transfer		??
Integrated programme		221,421
Integrated programme for Refugees		43,718
Total	24,000	300,109
	324,109	
Food aid and food-for-work		810,975
Emergency cash transfer		14,000 (2005/6)
Total	824,975	

Sources: Interviews, programme documents

Available information shows that food aid and food-for-work when combined, reach at least 810,975 beneficiaries, (mainly through WFP programmes). The Integrated Programme also reaches a high number of beneficiaries, 265,000, although it is unclear whether this is per year, or over the course of the Programme. The combination of government and NGO targeted agricultural inputs transfers reaches around 48,000 (by year).

Rural Net Associates (2005) suggest that existing coverage of social protection programmes do not meet the number of households in need. Table 4.5 estimates that the potential number of households in need of the Food Security Pack is over one million, however, the estimated number of households who have received the pack is just under 500,000 (over four years).

Table 4.5: Estimated potential beneficiaries vs. actual beneficiaries for selected social protection interventions

Programme	Estimated Beneficiaries			% Of Actual Beneficiaries Reached
	Recipients	Potential	Actual	
Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (PWAS)	Persons	200,000	90,059	45 %
Free Basic Education (FBE)	Persons	2,370,425	2,000,000	84 %
National Trust for the Disabled Zambia	Persons	256,690	1, 615	0.63 %
Food Security Pack⁵	Households	1,305,783	480,000	37 %

Source: Rural Net Associates 2005

⁵ The distinction in numbers reached between Table 4 (24,000) and Table 5 (480,000) for this programme is because in Table 4 the number of beneficiaries reached is calculated per year, whilst Table 5 is number of beneficiaries reached over time.

Obtaining a precise overview of geographic coverage and need is difficult: many of the programmes do not give specific information on targeted numbers by district or province. Many of the social protection activities reviewed here are implemented in Western Province (Table 4.6). Western Province is one of the most food insecure areas (Zambia Emergency Food Security Assessment in 2002-3) and one which is most affected by disasters and production losses from drought (Del Ninno and Marini (2005). Given the focus on rural livelihoods and food security, perhaps it is not surprising that social protection activities are concentrated in the provinces most affected by food crises, but it does raise a critical question about the programming and linkages between social protection and emergency relief programmes.

Table 4.6: Geographical coverage of social protection interventions

Areas	Type of programme				
National	PWAS in-kind transfers	Food Security Pack inputs transfer			
Western Province	Oxfam Agricultural Recovery Project inputs transfers	Refugees – Integrated Programme	LISAR inputs transfer	Concern Livelihood Security inputs training and transfer	Oxfam emergency cash transfers
Central Province	Integrated programme				
Southern Province	Integrated	AICA inputs-for-work			
Eastern Province	AICA inputs-for-work				
Northern Province	Refugees integrated programme				

Sources: Interviews, programme documents

5. Issues and Implications

In both policy and practice, the articulation of social protection for low-capacity households has focused on agricultural inputs and, to a lesser extent, on public works. Emerging issues and lessons from these programmes are given in Boxes 5.1 and 5.2.

Box 5.1: Food Security Pack

The objectives of the Food Security Pack are to empower rural households and improve household food security through the promotion of crop diversification for increased food production; encourage timely use of agricultural inputs; develop cereal and seed banks for sustainable loan recoveries; and build capacity among NGOs, farmers and traders in entrepreneurship skills, post-harvest handling and value adding and marketing skills. The ultimate goal of the Food Security Pack is to “graduate” farmers off the Pack within two successive years of benefits on to the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MACO) Fertiliser Support Programme. The Fertiliser Support Programme provides 50% subsidised fertiliser to farmers subject to a cash down payment. Subsequently, farmers are then expected to graduate to a self-sustainable livelihood in the private agricultural sector (MCDSS 2005).

Given that the majority of smallholder farmers do not make a surplus in maize, and given the risks that low capacity households face, can the Food Security Pack enable graduation out of poverty and on to the Fertiliser Support Programme? There are two crucial issues in answering this question:

1. How effective is the **implementation** of the Food Security Pack to enable the roll out of its objectives, both institutionally (e.g. co-ordination, number of beneficiaries reached) and practically (e.g. delivery mechanisms)
2. Is the Food Security Pack the right **instrument** to use to enable rural low capacity households to graduate into a sustainable livelihood

Implementation of the Food Security Pack

i) Institutional linkages and coordination

The Social Protection Strategy states that it must work in coordination with a number of Ministries, including the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives. Initial discussions with stakeholders however imply that this is yet to take shape. There appears to be no talk of social protection in policy dialogues in MACO or in any of the agricultural forums (interviews with donors). MACO focuses on the commercialisation of agriculture, and sees MCDSS as responsible for poorer and small-holder households.

Without these linkages, there will be serious challenges to achieve the social protection strategy goals and objectives for low capacity households. Current MCDSS goals target about 200,000 low capacity households but there are probably some 800,000 households in total. The 150,000 household target may be a realistic one for a single Ministry but to do more will require a more consolidated and coordinated approach.

ii) Implementation and delivery mechanisms

In the last couple of years the Food Security Pack has experienced severe budget cuts and implementation problems which have caused delays in the delivery of inputs to beneficiaries (interview with PAM). As a consequence of limited resources, a reduced number of packs have been spread too thinly across too many beneficiaries and although beneficiaries are supposed to receive inputs for two years, in practice they only receive them for one season (MCDSS 2005; interview with PAM). In 2005/6 less than 500 beneficiaries were reached in each province (interview with PAM). The pack also attempts to diversify farmer’s crops away from a dependence on maize but elements of the free inputs programme that seek to support non-maize crops and improve technology are in practice largely scrapped each year as maize inputs ‘swallow’ the available resources (MCDSS 2005).

The impact of the Food Security Pack on household food security and ability to graduate is thus extremely hampered by these implementation problems.

The logic of graduation through the Food Security Pack

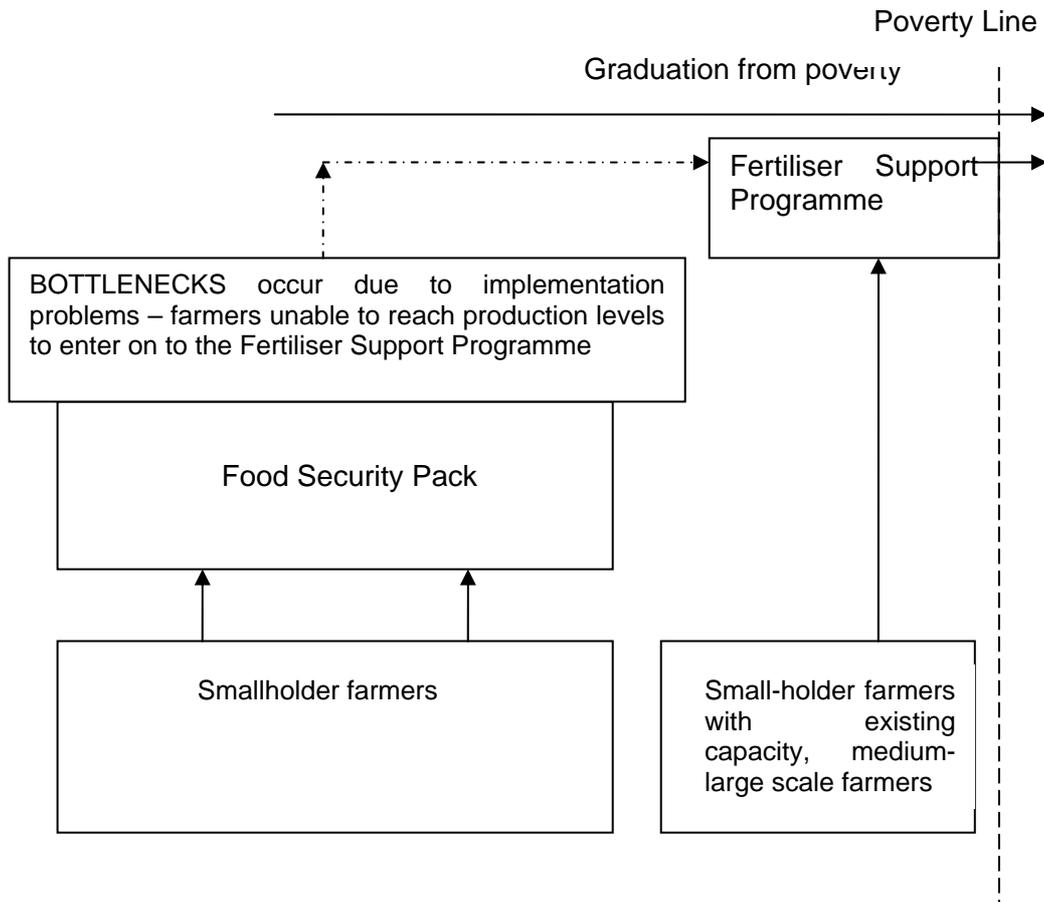
If implementation problems of the Food Security Pack can be overcome, would households be able to move from the free inputs programme, to the fertiliser subsidy programme and then move out of poverty into a sustainable and resilient livelihood?

Problems related to the logic of graduation have been raised by stakeholders with regards to the Fertiliser Subsidy Programme. One interviewee noted that although there is a wide perception the Fertiliser Support Programme meets people's needs, there is little evidence that it is an efficient mechanism at reducing poverty. The management of the programme has been compromised by high administrative costs and low collection of farmers "cash" down-payments (MCDSS 2005). Some interviewees noted that the programme probably reaches the top 10% of farmers and argued that the Fertiliser Support Programme is an expensive policy and one which is not properly informed about the realities on the ground. Indeed, Jayne et al. (2005) find that only a small number of smallholder households sell grain surplus with the majority of households not selling any maize, suggesting that targeting a fertiliser subsidy to all smallholder farmers only benefits a small proportion of better-off households.

These findings suggest that only a small proportion of smallholder farmers will be able to move from the Food Security Pack to the Fertiliser Support Programme and move out of poverty. Similarly, many donor funded programmes support agricultural production and marketing, but tend to target farmers who already have some capacity to move into sustainable farming as a business, thus excluding some of the most needy smallholder farmers. This raises key questions around how far free inputs and fertiliser subsidies can support farmers without additional interventions such as extension services, market information, training etc.

Figure 5.1 illustrates these key challenges in the perceived logic of graduation from the Food Security Pack to the Fertiliser Support Programme, in relation to implementation problems (which reduce the impact of the Food Security Pack meaning that households are unable to move to the Fertiliser Support Programme) and the question over which farmers can really benefit from a Fertiliser Support Programme.

Figure 5.1: Implementation challenges in the Food Security Pack



Box 5.2: Other Programmes for Low-Capacity Households

In-kind, agricultural inputs or food-for-work have also implemented for the urban and rural poor. Works programmes have been implemented as ad-hoc short term emergency responses as well as longer-term programmes addressing chronic poverty and food insecurity (inputs-for-work by CARE, Peri-Urban Self Help programme (PUSH), the Consortium for the Southern Africa Food Security Emergency).

Works programmes as a longer-term response⁶

The Consortium for the Southern Africa Food Security Emergency (C-SAFE) started in 2002 and ran for three years as a “developmental relief approach” to address acute food security problems in Zambia. Part of the programme was to build up productive assets and enable communities to increase their resilience to future food security shocks through food-for-work activities (Tango International 2005).

The evaluation of C-SAFE showed that the extent to which assets built in the community benefited the community varied. 66 per cent of survey respondents felt that the benefits accrued to the workers themselves, while 14 per cent felt they benefited the community at large (Tango International 2005). The most common response to the impact of the programme was the availability of food, the second most common response was the work on community projects, and next, the rebuilding of infrastructure. A small number of respondents said that working on the programme took time away from other activities (Tango International 2005).

CARE’s AICA programme, an agricultural inputs-for-work programme, was designed to provide over 6,000 households for two years with a drought tolerant seed pack in exchange for work on community projects. AICA was part of a Food Security Programme intended to improve individual and community capacity to protect and enhance the food security of vulnerable smallholder farmers. However, for the remaining two agricultural seasons (2007/08 and 2008/09) a number of changes were made to the project following concerns over community capacity to implement works projects and difficulties in employing community based targeting approaches. The public works component of the project has now been discontinued and alternative targeting approaches are being tested (CARE 2006).

Supporting Interventions

A number of other interventions are implemented by MCDSS and NGOs/FBOs for low capacity households. There is some debate over how far these are social protection programmes or whether they are broader poverty reducing and empowerment programmes. However, these programmes are extremely important as part of an overall strategy to support low capacity households.

Such programmes include forms of micro-credit and finance schemes, land resettlement schemes and human capital programmes. Experience from an outgrower resettlement scheme (Kayelya Smallholders Company Limited) suggests that most farmers who graduated from subsistence farming did so largely due to the availability of training and extension services, agricultural loans and a readily available market.

By looking at how the social protection strategy for low capacity households is articulated and the current activities being implemented in the country, a number of issues and implications emerge.

What kind of households are low capacity households?

Low capacity households are defined as having few fit adults to work, low levels of human capital, and capacity/opportunity to participate in economic activities (MCDSS

⁶ C-safe and AICA are discussed here because of their focus on rural households, rather than the Government of Zambia’s programme, Peri-Urban Self Help (PUSH) programme.

2005). In sum, the recent vulnerability profile collected by CARE further defines low capacity households as: having low levels of education; being vulnerable to climatic/agronomic conditions; owning small assets but none which could make their farming more productive; undertaking additional economic activities but which have low rates of return (CARE 2007); having high dependency ratios, and being excluded from opportunities to develop livelihoods and new income generating activities (MCDSS 2005).

CARE (2007) identifies three categorical groups for identifying low capacity households:

- i) Young married couples
- ii) Female headed households
- iii) People living with HIV and AIDS

MCDSS (2005) identifies likely categories of households as:

- i) Widows
- ii) Female headed households
- iii) Disabled headed households
- iv) People with health problems heading households

As such, the main definitions of low capacity households are those with few productive assets and with some but limited labour. Two main challenges in identifying who low capacity households are: i) low capacity households are less well defined than other target groups in the Social Protection Strategy; ii) and accurately targeting households at the community level is difficult because characteristics are not clearly defined or easily identifiable.

How many low-capacity households?

The number of low-capacity households remains unclear. MCDSS have set a figure of 200,000 for use in *planning* social protection interventions for this group. This figure, in addition to support to incapacitated households (also around 200,000 households), largely corresponds to the MCDSS target of achieving social protection coverage for the bottom 20% of the poverty profile (MCDSS 2005). However, MCDSS estimates on the *actual* number of low capacity households are less precise – between 190,000 and 380,000 households (MCDSS 2005: 14). There is a further discrepancy between this and the Rural Net Associates (2005) estimate that there are between 800,000 and 1,305,783⁷ households in need of agricultural inputs support (a proxy for low-capacity). In total, approximately 4 million people live in poverty in rural areas in Zambia⁸. Inequality in rural areas is relatively low, and many of the 4 million people could be categorised as living in low capacity households as differences between households' vulnerability in rural areas to common shocks such as drought and illnesses is relatively low (Kozel and Parker 2007).

Without good estimates, effective programming, planning and targeting are difficult, if not impossible. There is an urgent need for more up to date and reliable statistics based on household survey data.

⁷ Appendix 2 in Rural Net Associates (2005) stock take estimates 800,000 households to be "potential beneficiaries" of the inputs transfer programme, however, on page 20 it is estimated at 1,305,783 households.

⁸ Rural Poverty Portal, Zambia Statistics. Accessed at: <http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/english/regions/africa/zmb/statistics.htm>

What kind of capacity

Households in the low capacity household group will have different levels of capacity and ability to take advantage of programmes.

Interviews with some donors suggest that some of their agricultural inputs and business development programmes are aimed at smallholder farmers, but those who already have some capacity to move into sustainable farming as a business, thus excluding some of the most needy smallholder farmers.

Furthermore, households who are recovering from illness will have different needs from households who have lost production due to floods. Assessing the different needs and capacities of households is critical in ensuring that correct programmes are targeted to the right households.

What objectives?

The Social Protection Strategy indicates that social protection should take a protective role “social protection is principally *protective* – it chiefly targets mitigation and coping activities” (p9). Some of the social protection interventions for low capacity households have emerged out of previous food crises and production-related shocks, and as such have evolved from programmes based on protective measures aimed at ensuring immediate food security to programmes aimed at rebuilding and promoting livelihoods through increased agricultural productivity.

The main objectives listed from current government and NGO programmes indicates that in practice social protection objectives are also focused on long term promotive goals: enabling households to build up resilience in the face of future shocks through building assets at the household and community level; and enabling households to graduate off programmes into sustainable livelihoods.

Social protection programmes can be both protective and promotive, and clear objectives need to be decided on where the focus of social protection policy for these households will be, as it has direct implications for the kinds of social protection programmes and instruments which need to be implemented, and how additional programmes will work with and support social protection activities (e.g. such as market based approaches).

Which instruments?

Support for low capacity households has tended to focus heavily on some form of agricultural support, particularly securing access to farm inputs and taking advantage of income generating opportunities. Boxes 5.1 and 5.2 above have presented some of the critical issues around these instruments. In brief, they show that:

- Implementation problems of the Food Security Pack means that we do not know what kind of real impact the pack could have on low capacity households' ability to graduate from the programme
- It is unclear whether the Food Security Pack as an agricultural inputs programme can achieve its objectives of increasing the productivity of smallholder farmers sufficiently to enable graduation to the Fertiliser Support Programme

- There is some doubt over whether public works, based on experience in Zambia, can address the kinds of problems which rural low capacity households face
- Supporting interventions are vital for ensuring the success of social protection programmes, but currently the boundaries of which instruments constitute social protection interventions are unclear.

Furthermore, whilst the social protection programmes in Zambia currently focus on forms of agricultural support at the household level, interviews with key stakeholders suggest a lack of stakeholder consensus on this issue. Steps towards resolving this issue include ensuring that all stakeholders have the same understanding of the role of social protection

Institutional and programme linkages

Weak institutional linkages and gaps in household's access to various programmes were identified as key challenges by a number of stakeholders. Some interviewees noted that there have not been discussions of social protection in policy dialogues in MACO or in any of the agricultural forums. Furthermore, gaps between various programmes are reportedly one of the key constraints to a household's ability to move up and out of poverty in the current environment. One interviewee cited the example of how people living with HIV and AIDS need specific health care support to be well enough to be able to work again, and then need particular help in rebuilding their livelihoods because of expenditure/selling of assets to buy medicine and treatment. A coordinated approach between health care interventions and livelihood programmes is vital in enabling these households to rebuild their lives.

Many households currently receive piecemeal assistance rather than a coordinated set of programmes, thus strengthened coordination and linkages between institutions and programmes is essential.

5.1 Proposed next steps

This paper has aimed to give an overview of the critical issues emerging in Zambia with regards to social protection for low capacity households.

The work done in Zambia on moving the social protection agenda forward through the social protection strategy and formation of Technical Working Groups has been vital in influencing the FNDP and informing policy on the potential for social protection in Zambia. The Low Capacity Technical Working Group has an important role in taking this further to develop and prioritise appropriate social protection objectives and instruments for low capacity households.

In doing so, we propose two areas of work which would be relevant to the ongoing discussions on social protection in the Low Capacity Household Technical Working Group.

1) ***Establishing the number and characteristics of low capacity households*** to provide a clearer definition of the target group identify programme objectives.

This could be done in two ways through an analysis of existing Living Conditions Monitoring Survey data.

Option a: Our work in Zambia suggests that stakeholders already have an idea that about 20% of households are low capacity households and that they constitute the second and third bottom deciles of Zambia's income distribution. Drawing on the LCMS data, it would be possible to analyse the characteristics of households in the second and third deciles and, by extension, demonstrate the specific nature of vulnerability in those households. This could guide both targeting and the identification of appropriate programming options for LCH.

Option b: Option 'a' would only be appropriate if households in the second and third deciles are significantly different from those in the first and fourth, fifth (etc) deciles. If the differences between households are small, a focus on second and third deciles would be problematic in both policy design and programme implementation. An alternative approach (our option b) would be to analyse each of the income deciles from LCMS data in order to be able to identify the differences between deciles and to determine where (at what percentage point along the poverty profile) it is useful to make distinctions between groups of poor people. This will enable MCDSS and its partners to determine more precisely and rigorously who and how many households they are targeting as low capacity, and what programming will be most appropriate.

Both of approach "a" and "b" would enable a better understanding of the numbers of households defined as low capacity households and to identify key household characteristics which would enable better guidelines for identifying and targeting these target groups. Choosing between the two options will require discussion with MCDSS and its partners.

II) Related work on the Food Security Pack

The second area of work includes three interrelated pieces of research work on the Food Security Pack. The first is the gain a more detailed understanding of the challenges to implementing the FSP in order to get an idea of how far the Pack can reach its objectives if these implementation challenges could be realistically overcome. Linked closely to this is the second issue, which is to understand the potential impacts of the Pack more fully in order to assess its ability to enable household graduation. Finally, the third issue is on the political context of the FSP, and how both the political and institutional environment affects the choice, implementation and impact of the Pack. Information on these three areas would enable a better understanding of whether the FSP is an effective social protection instrument for addressing the needs of low capacity households, and link in with other ongoing work in Zambia on impact evaluations of the Pack to inform policy on social protection in Zambia.

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Annex 1: Interventions and target groups

Target group	Projects			
Elderly headed household w/out labour and assets	In-kind transfer	Emergency cash transfer	Cash transfer	
Disabled headed household w/out labour and assets	In-kind transfer			
Chronically ill headed household w/out labour and assets	In-kind transfer			
Child headed household w/out labour and assets	In-kind transfer	Emergency cash transfer	OVC support	
Disabled headed household with labour and assets	Agricultural inputs			
Chronically ill headed household with labour and assets	Agricultural inputs			
Female headed household with labour and assets	Agricultural inputs			
Child headed household with labour and assets	Agricultural inputs			
Households with 90% crop failure	Emergency cash transfer			
Household with orphans	Emergency cash transfer	Cash transfer	Agricultural inputs	
Refugees	Food aid			
PLWHA	Food aid/food-for-work	HIV/AIDS programmes		
TB patients	Food aid/food-for-work			
Mother and child attending health clinics	Food aid/food-for-work			
Vulnerable school children	Food aid/food-for-work			
Food-insecure patients receiving free	Food aid/food-for-work			

ART				
Unemployed youth	Agricultural inputs			
The aged with labour	Agricultural inputs			
Malnourished under- 5s	Food aid/food-for-work			
Pregnant/lactating mothers	Food aid/food-for-work			
Primary school pupils	Food aid/food-for-work			
Food Insecure Households	Food aid/food-for-work			
Households with acute food insecurity	Emergency food aid/food-for-work			
Households recovering from food security crisis	Inputs transfer			
Female headed households affected by HIV/AIDS	Inputs transfer			
Vulnerable youth	Inputs transfer			
Vulnerable but viable households with land and labour	Inputs transfer			
Low capacity households	Inputs-for-work			
Most vulnerable	Inputs transfer			

Sources: Interviews, programme documents

Annex 2: Number of beneficiaries reached by programmes

Type of Programme	Number of Beneficiaries per year	
	Government	NGO/FBO
Empowerment of Low Capacity Households		
Agricultural inputs transfer: Food Security Pack	24,000 (2005/6)	
Agricultural inputs transfer: Livelihood Initiative in Support of Agricultural Recovery (LISAR)		2,210
Agricultural inputs transfer: Concern Livelihood Security component		12,960
Agricultural inputs transfer: Agricultural Recovery		9,000
Inputs-for-work: AICA		3,000
Houses-for-work		7,800
Food-for-work		
In-kind transfer		
Integrated programme: Masaiti Development Programme		97,712
Integrated programme: Namwala Development Programme		82,708
Integrated programme: Luano Valley Development Programme		4,112
Integrated programme: Fiwila Development Programme		15,289
Integrated programme: Child Labour Prevention Programmes		21,600
Integrated programme: Kala Refugee Camp		21,092
Integrated programme: Mwange Refugee Camp		22,626
Total	24,000	300,109
	324,109	
Food aid, food-for-work, emergency cash transfer		
Food aid and food-for-work: WFP Refugees Emergency		58,600
Food aid and food-for-work: WFP regional programme, Zambia		637,925
Food aid and food-for-work: WFP Country Programme		73,800
Food aid and food-for-work: C-SAFE		40,650
Cash transfer: Mongu and Kaoma Oxfam Cash Transfer Scheme		14,000 (2005/6)
Total		824,975

Sources: Interviews, programme documents