

# Impact on the Recovery of Livelihood Programs in Newly Resettled Areas of Northern Sri Lanka: A Case of Emergency Northern Recovery Program (ENREP) Focusing on Cash for Work Component

R.Nanthakumaran<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Associate Professor, Department of Economics and Management,  
Vavuniya Campus of the University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka.

Corresponding author's e-mail: raja53gopal@gmail.com

**Abstract:** The development objective of the Emergency Northern Recovery Program was to support the Government's efforts to rapidly resettle the IDPs in their original places in Northern Province by creating an enabling environment. In order to achieve this objective the program incorporated four components. Cash for work program was one component. The twin objectives of the CFW component was to provide short term immediately required cash for the re-settled people and also to clear their own land and public social and economic infrastructure in the area. The cash transfer has boosted the capacity of sustaining the resettled people. Majority of the beneficiaries were selected in the formal selection and they were aware of the daily wage rate, number of days allocated and the payment procedure. Cash obtained from the CFW was handled by male and female as well as sons and daughters of the family. They have spent the money in food, cloths, medical care and productive investments. The members of the families participated in the household decision making process. The CFW program as a whole has outreached 99% of the targeted beneficiaries of 45,000 resettled families in its two phases of implementation. Output of the program has contributed for the speedy recovery of people and provided psychosocial benefits to affected people. Further, the women participants accepted that the program has improved their social status and reduce domestic violence temporarily at least during the implementation of the program.

**Keywords:** Emergency Recovery, Cash for work, Resettlement, Internally Displaced People, Reconstruction and Rehabilitation,

## Introduction

At the end of the conflict over 290,000 people were internally displaced from the conflict affected areas and temporarily settled in make shift accommodations in welfare centers in Chedikulam DS division in Vavuniya district. Due to international pressure during the mid of November 2009 the Government of Sri Lanka released an estimated total of 140,000 IDP's from the welfare centers (UNHCR Reports 2010). The pace of resettlement of the people in their original places was depending on the progress of demining activities initiated in those areas. As a result of this decision of the Government the immediate challenge has shifted from moving the people out of the welfare centers to putting in place the necessary arrangements to help the returnees to restore their livelihood activities and ensure access to minimal levels of services in their communities. The Government of Sri Lanka announced its 180 days "VaddakinVasantham" plan to commence the reconstruction program. The main focus of this plan was five phase resettlement plan (Government of Sri Lanka -2009).

The Government of Sri Lanka has been seeking financial support from World Bank to implement its IDP's resettlement plan and the Bank agreed to finance US \$ 65.0 million to implement the project called Emergency Northern Recovery Project (ENReP). The development objective of the project was to support and accelerate the Government's effort of resettling the IDP's in their places of origin in the Northern Province and restore their social and economic life (World Bank Project Document 2009). It

was planned to achieve the objective through four components: 1. Emergency assistance to IDP's; 2. A work fare program or cash for work; 3. Rehabilitation and reconstruction of essential public and economic infrastructure and; 4. Project's management support.

The cash for work or work fare component was intended to provide employment opportunities immediately upon return to bridge the income gap until they are able to obtain income from their regular livelihood activities on one hand and to repair and rehabilitate small scale village level infrastructure facilities necessary for the community on the other hand. This was implemented in two phases. In Phase I they provided 40 days guaranteed work to clean their own land and 50 days' work to clean the public land. Maximum amount paid per household was Rs 45,000/- One person from a household was eligible for work and Rs 500/- was paid per day. In phase II the number of guaranteed days of work was reduced to 10 days to clean their own land and 30 days for cleaning the public land and paid Rs 625 per day. Phase I was implemented from January 2010 to July 2010 in all five districts. Phase II was implemented only in Jaffna, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu from January 2011 to September 2011.

This paper will assess the impact of the CFW phase II implemented in three districts in the Northern Province. Section I of the paper will present the literature review and explain the research methodology and sampling procedure carried out in the research. Section II will summarize the theory of CFW and briefly discuss the participation of beneficiaries. Section III will assess the impact of CFW on various socioeconomic variables. Conclusion is discussed in section IV of the paper.

### **Research Problem**

The project was commenced with high expectation of providing assistance to resettled IDP's families to restore their livelihoods in their places of origin. Further, it was expected to complement many other ongoing development projects such as Education Sector Project, Health Sector Development Project, Community Livelihoods in Conflict Affected Areas popularly known as RAP, and North East Housing Reconstruction Project (NEHRP) in the North. To what extent these investments have been effective in restoring the normal live in general and the emergency northern recovery project in particular through its various components.

### **Research Questions**

How the work fare or cash for work program was implemented and how effective was this program in achieving its twin objectives of creating employment to bridge the gap and repairing and reconstructing the small scale community infrastructure in villages?

### **Objectives of the Research.**

The objectives of the study were to; analyze the achievement of the overall development objective of the project and assess how effective was the cash transfer program in meeting the urgent needs of the resettled people and fulfilling the twin objectives of CFW program.

### **Significance of the Research.**

The outcome of the research is expected to provide guidelines for policy makers, decision takers funding agencies and implementing partners for designing emergency programs in future. The good practices and lessons learnt from the implementation of CFW program can be replicated with necessary modification and fine tuning in similar emergency projects either locally or abroad to suit the socio economic and cultural environment of the community. The affected community can be made aware how best they could utilize the investment funds in order to maximize the benefits by participating actively in the development process. Finding of the research will be helpful in designing the implementation process of future cash for work or food for work programs more effectively.

### **Literature Review.**

Manmade or natural disasters are very common nowadays and they affect the lives of thousands and millions of people. Following a disaster governments, International Non-Governmental Organization and International Aid Agencies come forward with emergency interventions to assist the survivors and later they implement emergency recovery programs to revive the pre disaster situation. Finally they introduce long term development programs to ensure stability in the affected community and area. Following this transitional path the ENReP project was designed and implemented in the Northern Province. The project paper clearly identified the development objective of the project and the objectives of each component and its relationship with the recovery process and overall development objective.

The researcher reviewed the Project Paper (PP), Project Administration Manual(PAM) and progress reports published by the Project Monitoring Unit (PMU) for this study. Project paper and the Project Administration Manual were prepared by the Bank to guide the implementation of the project. The progress reports were prepared by the monitoring unit of the project.

The Haiti IPS News.Net (2010) defines the cash for work (CFW) as a term used by humanitarian agencies to mean short term unskilled labour jobs. A main objective is described as to get money circulating in order to “re-launch” an economy. The term appears to come from “Food for work” (FFW) which humanitarian agencies have been using for decades. The author is raising a question about the scores of cash for work programs implemented by United Nations, bilateral and non-governmental agencies all across Haiti. Further, it highlights the view of various actors in the scene and finally concludes with the remarks of Adeline August, a journalist “cash for work is a double edge sword which does not do anything for the country and which can even cause damage”.

Subbaroa (1997) in his paper discusses the role of public works as a safety net and presents the available cross country experience on various aspects of the program. The overview of conceptual issues discussed in the paper talks about transfer benefits and stabilization benefits and points out that the program effectiveness depends on the benefits, and costs and the way resources are raised to finance the program, the design features, institutional framework and the implementation agencies. It has highly provoked the idea about the approach to the planned research.

Sara and Emma(2002) produced a document based on the experience of implementing cash for work program in a drought affected district in Kenya. In this document the first few pages of the document highlights the need for cash for work program and its advantages and disadvantages. The rest of the document discusses about the planning of intervention and implementation of the programs. Since the effectiveness of the program is determine by the design and the implementation agency it throws some light for the researcher to what aspects to be looked in the design of the project and institutional framework and implementing agency.

Razaak (2012) analyzes the cash for work program implemented under the ENRePand comparing with programs implemented by other agencies in Sri Lanka. In his view ENReP emphasizes rebuilding the community infrastructure while other agencies were focusing on household food security, income generation, self- employment and humanitarian assistance. Other agencies were limiting only in selected area. The report has identified strengths and weaknesses of the ENReP program. The strengths are; a)its timely implementation as soon as people at art to resettle, b)provision of separate package of CFW grants to returned families to refurbish and clean the houses/land and c) providing opportunities for most vulnerable such as female headed, disabled and elderly people to take part in the program. Weaknesses identified were delayed payments, poor selection of workfare projects at community level, non- extension of the CFW support for lately resettled families, low wage rates, and abrupt termination of the program and confusion in understanding the difference between cash grants and CFW cash transfer prompted some families to criticize the program under ENReP. It is also indicated that some of

the beneficiaries of CFW program invested part of the cash in restarting their economic activities. Finally the report concluded that the program has been instrumental in stimulating the vulnerable families in re-starting their lives in the post war context.

Sivakumar (202) in his review article of the project and its performance physically and financially up to end year 2011, has reviewed the progress of the program performance during the two years of implementation component by component. However, he has not analyzed, in depth the outcome or the impact of the program.

### **Research Methodology**

The researcher did a desk review of all the relevant documents available in the PMU at Vavuniya and found the difficulties in carrying out a field survey covering the entire Northern Province. The cost and the resource required to implement a survey was beyond the limit of the researcher. However, he had access to the database collected by the PMU for the second phase of CFW program in three districts. The researcher used this database for quantitative analysis and collected qualitative information through FGD's and KII's conducted in the field. The database contained general profile of the respondents including demographic information, assets, sources of income and expenditure, savings and investments and many other social phenomena and direct and indirect benefits related to CFW program. The relevant information for the research was extracted from the data bases. Further, secondary data obtained from the GN office, Divisional Secretariat offices, District Secretary offices and agencies were reviewed to validate the data extracted from the data base.

### **Sampling and sample size**

The designed methodology for the study was structured random sampling method based on GN divisions. Out of the 119 CFW benefited GN divisions 14 GN divisions or 12% were selected as sample. From the selected GN divisions, more than 10% of the benefited households were selected as sample size for the survey. The design provided for 10% of the sample for verification by officers trained for the purpose. Sampling frame was the list of CFW beneficiaries from GN divisions. Selection of GN divisions was done using the selection interval obtained by dividing the number of GN divisions in the district by the sample GN divisions in the district. In addition, semi structured interviews and 3 FGD's were conducted in the sample GN divisions to get qualitative data for the impact study. Nearly 14% of the total beneficiaries of the selected CFW benefited GN divisions were selected and administered the questionnaires. After calculating the number of GN divisions to be selected from each district the GN divisions were listed according to the number of beneficiaries in descending order. Selection of the sample of beneficiary was done on random for the field survey.

Based on this structured sample, the data was collected and the data base was prepared in Word Excel. The data base was accessible for the researcher and it was analyzed for the purpose of this study

### **Limitation of the Study**

The researcher faced the following limitations;

1. Data base was computed from very comprehensive and complicating questionnaires and not focusing only on the CFW program alone. Since the questionnaires were very comprehensive the respondents were likely to be less focused on the answers to the CFW section and answers were likely to be diluted and less useful for the impact analysis.
2. Questionnaires have failed to focus on the impact and the quantitative information gathered was not adequate for a thorough analysis. Therefore the impact analysis was based on the qualitative information gathered through the field visits observations, focus group discussions and Key Informant Interviews of the officers involved in the project and many of them are not in the office currently.
3. The training imparted to the field officers has failed to achieve its objective. The answers for some questions were not clear and they were not captured in the data base.

4. The entire analysis was based on the data collected and data base prepared by the PMU office and qualitative information gathered by the researcher in the field.

### **Theory of Cash for Work**

Food for work programs and cash for work programs are similar in that, both employ people to contribute to public works programs. On one hand, food for work programs pay workers in food, directly addressing the problem of under nutrition by raising calorie intake. On the other hand, cash for work programs address this problem more indirectly by providing workers with income which they can buy higher quantities of food and/or higher quality food. Both programs possess advantages over direct food aid by targeting the poor and by encouraging local economic growth since they support local food producers and economies. Incidentally, these programs strengthen long-term food security by improving local infrastructure and/or agricultural potential.

The rationale for a cash-based response derives from Amartya Sen's explanation of contemporary famines. Sen identified the key problem as lack of access to food, rather than failures in food supply (Sen, 1981). He re-analyzed the food production and availability data from several famines and showed that, for nearly all his case studies, the overall food supply within the country was sufficient to support the population for the period in question, and those groups or communities became vulnerable to under-nutrition because they lacked access and purchasing power. In his study of the Bangladesh famine of 1974, for example, Sen discovered that the areas more severely affected had, in fact, enjoyed the highest availability of food in that year, compared to other areas. At the same time, such areas typically experienced a major decline in purchasing power due to loss of work during flooding, and an increase in food prices as traders predicted shortages. In such case, famine is caused not so much by a decline in the food availability, but in people's access to it – what Sen termed as 'entitlement'.

Sen defined 'entitlement' as 'the command over commodities that people have'. It can be summarized as 'the entitlement approach recognizes four legal ways of acquiring food: growing it ('production-based entitlement'), buying it ('trade based entitlement'), working for it ('own labor entitlement') and being given it ('transfer entitlement'). Individual face starvation if their "entitlement set" does not provide them with adequate food. Famine scales this up: a famine occurs when occupationally or geographically related groups of people experience sharp declines in their entitlements simultaneously.

If famine is caused partly by a decline in entitlement, it follows that an economic response aimed at boosting purchasing power and increasing food entitlement can be an appropriate, and perhaps preferable, alternative to general food distribution. Injecting cash into a market increases demand, which in turn can generate supply.

Sen's entitlement approach emphasizes the links between poverty and famine, with the implication that famine might be mitigated by protecting people's purchasing power. Income transfer is a direct way of doing this. The theory of entitlements is now widely accepted by relief agencies. In Ethiopia, UNICEF distributed cash for food program in 1983-85 and the evaluation of the program (UNICEF, 1988) concluded that cash distribution is "first and foremost ... emergency assistance, an ad hoc action which is directly addressed to the population affected, and gets to them rapidly and at lower costs". Sri Lanka was familiar with FFW program and it has been in practice for long. Cash distribution and CFW programs were adopted in Tsunami affected areas by GOSL and International Non-Governmental Organizations such as Oxfam, Mercy Corps and WFP. It is believed that those experiences and lessons learned in the programs implemented in Tsunami affected areas have given the confidence to the Bank and GOSL to plan and implement CFW program in the North to speed up the post conflict recovery among the resettled communities. Many studies have concluded that the Cash for work programs implemented in disaster (Natural or manmade) affected communities have raised family incomes and food security (Buchanan-Smith *et al.* 1995, UNHCR, 2000, British Red Cross, 1999).

### **Implementation Procedure**

The CFW program was allocated US\$ 12.0 million. Until the implementation structure of ENReP becomes fully functional, the Reawakening Project (RAP) implementation structure and the staff were utilized as both projects were targeting the same geographical areas in the North. RAP's staffs were engaged in community consultation and communication with the resettled IDP's. As soon as 30-40% of the people of the villagers returned to their places of original residence the village was included in the selected list. Only the Phase III and IV villages identified in the Government's resettlement plan were eligible for the assistance under the ENReP. In addition some villages were identified as Special Areas and included in the program.

### **Households Participation**

Head of each and every resettled family who has not received the resettlement benefits previously were entitled for the selection of the CFW program. Other members over eighteen years of age were also registered with the head of household. This procedure permitted other members of the family to participate in the community work whenever the head of the household was not available safeguarding the rights of the children. The participation of the female members was much higher in the program. It was assessed that in all the districts participation of male were around 30 to 35% and the female participation was 70-65%. One can adduce several reasons for the higher level of female participation. One major reason was that the market daily wage rate for male was much higher than the daily wage rate determined in the program. The other reasons were the CFW program has not differentiated the daily wage in terms of gender and the employment opportunities for women were less in the area and they were available for the community work. When the phase II of the CFW program was implemented in latter part of 2011 the resettled families were ready to prepare the land for the Maha cultivation in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu and many new areas released for cultivation were also being prepared for cultivation and substantial employment opportunities were available for males amidst the shortage of labor and increased market wage rate for labor. Hence, the female members of the households wish to join the CFW program and contributed an additional income for the family.

All the selected beneficiaries have been given Rs 6,250 for the stage I home cleaning. Altogether 16,098 families benefited in all three districts. In the targeted areas in Jaffna district the participation rate in stage II work was 70.0%. In Kilinochchi the participation rate in common work was 98% while the participation rate was approximately 61% in Mullaitivu. Quite a number of resettled families have not participated in the public works in Jaffna and Mullaitivu districts. Despite the flexibility in substituting a member from the household and possibility of working in weekends it was difficult to understand the reason for the low level of participation in the targeted areas in Mullaitivu and Jaffna districts.

Further, the program spent money for providing nutritious food, and simple tools like knife, mamotty, wheel borrow and administration of implementation of CFW. In order to ensure social safeguard at work the project has provided 'First Aid Kits' to the community. The average spending on food, tools and operation of CFW was Rs 1022 in phase II.

### **Impacts of CFW**

This section will analyze the various impacts of the program on resettled IDP's in all three districts.

#### **Beneficiaries awareness of CFW program.**

On one hand the beneficiaries in the targeted areas in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu districts were affected badly and suffered heavy losses in terms of human lives and physical infrastructure. On the other hand the selected areas in Jaffna districts were high security zones and released for resettlement after the end of conflict. Cash for work program was designed to facilitate the recovery program with the twin objectives of transferring cash to the affected vulnerable people to boost their capacity to move out of the camps and temporary shelters and restart their lives in their original places of living and to

rehabilitate and repair the damaged critical infrastructure at the grass root level to ensure the sustainability of resettlement.

At the design stage the eligibility criteria were developed and agreed by all the stakeholders. The beneficiaries were selected directly through applying the selection criteria or formally. There was also provision for the people to become eligible through the grievances redress mechanism. People not selected formally can appeal and their grievances will be heard by a committee and if the grievances were genuine the committee will recommend theirs' names to be included in the list of beneficiaries

In Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu 3% and 1% of the respondents were included in the beneficiary list through the grievances redress mechanism. This is an indication that the selection criteria applied to select the beneficiaries was acceptable to the community and it was properly adopted to select the successful beneficiaries.

The approved number of days for the phase II of the CFW program was 40 days and it was divided between cleaning of own land and public land. Ten days were allocated for cleaning theirs' own house or land and thirty days were allocated for cleaning public land. The daily wage rate was also fixed at Rs.625/=.

In all three districts 97% of the respondents recorded that they were aware of the number of days approved for the program. Only 3% replied that they were not aware about the number of days approved for CFW program. 100% of the respondents in Kilinochchi replied that they were able to work according to the approved number of days. Similarly 99% of the respondents in Jaffna and 87% in Mullaitivu agreed that they were able to work according to approved number of days. However, the respondents failed to reveal the reasons for not able to complete the number of approved days for work. One possible reason could be the failure of the participants to attend the work within the time frame allocated for specific work.

In the targeted areas in all three districts 85% of the respondents said that they were aware of the approved wage rate and 12% replied that they were not able to remember the wage rate. In all three districts only 3% of the respondents answered that they were not aware of the approved wage rate. Further, 97% of the respondents in all three districts agreed that they received the payment according to the approved wage rate.

Hence it is concluded that the participants were fully aware of the number of approved days for work, daily wage and eligibility for payment indicating the transparency of the program.

### **Spending Pattern**

The survey also assessed how the money received from CFW was utilized in fulfilling the urgent needs of the beneficiaries in the targeted areas. In Jaffna 75% replied that they have spent in purchasing major food items like cereals. On one hand 51% said that they spent on grocery and 41% revealed that they have met their medical expenses from the money received. On the other hand 29% said that they purchased clothes for the family. On the whole majority of the beneficiaries have spent on food. The average expenditure on food was Rs 4212 including cereals, meat and other groceries. Average spending on clothes was Rs 2307 and medical expense was Rs. 2527. A very marginal numbers of respondents have spent on paying tax, financial help to others and lending to others. Similar situation was prevailing in other districts as well.

In Kilinochchi average spending on food was Rs 4948. The respondents in Kilinochchi have spent Rs 3991 on average on clothes and Rs 3872 on medical care. In Mullaitivu 56% of the respondents said that they have spent on clothes an average of Rs. 2395 and another 53% said that they have spent an average of Rs.2772 on medical care. Average spending on food in Mullaitivu district was Rs 3285. It is evident that the cash transfer has helped the people to consume more cereals and protein rich meat. Further, it has helped them to purchase clothes and attend to their medical needs. A small number of beneficiaries in the targeted areas in all three districts have invested in capital goods.

### **Savings**

Respondents in all the districts revealed that they have saved some money from the CFW payment. In Jaffna district 43% of the respondents said that they have saved and the average saving was Rs. 5761. In Kilinochchi also 43% of the respondent households said that they have saved an average of Rs 5953 from the CFW payment. In Mullaitivu highest percentage (63%) has saved but the average saving were only Rs. 4418 much less than the savings in other two districts. The propensity to save was less in Mullaitivu compared to Kilinochchi and Jaffna.

### **Lending**

Only in Jaffna district two households have revealed that they have given money for their family members living outside the district. The average amount was Rs 12,500 almost 50% of the CFW payment.

### **Impact on Community Based Organizations**

Out of 302 respondents only 44 or 15% have said that the CFW program has impacted on the Community Based Organization (CBOs). The program was directly dealt by the Project office with the assistance of recruited Community Resource Persons (CRP), Grama Niladhari (GN) and Divisional Secretariat (DS). There was no opportunity for the CBOs to improve their capacity. Workfare committee was selected among the beneficiaries and their involvement with CBOs would have helped the CBOs to develop their capacities. In Jaffna 13% and in Kilinochchi 19% agreed that the CFW program has improved the capacity of CBOs. Only 7% in Mullaitivu accepted that the program has impacted on CBOs. Since the program was implemented directly the impact on CBO's capacity development was very marginal.

### **Perception of the Beneficiaries**

Beneficiaries both men and women informed that they preferred the cash payment integrated with development of community assets rather than food. The main reasons were the choice, satisfaction derived from the contribution to the community and cost involved in exchanging food for money. Very urgently needed community infrastructure facilities were repaired renovated through the CFW program. In the targeted areas in all three districts school land, temple land, public places, irrigation bunds and roads were cleared and improved under the CFW program. In Jaffna and Mullaitivu hospital premises were cleared and cleaned in addition to the other community infrastructure facilities.

Improvement to community's socio economic assets was a benefit to the entire community and it would enhance the sustainability of their livelihood activities and standard of living in future.

The money injected in the local economy by CFW has created demand for food, cloth and medical care. Despite the increased demand the prices in the market were very stable because there were no supply constraints in the market. With opening of access roads, improvement in connectivity and availability of transport facilities have removed all difficulties in maintaining the supply. Therefore, the market prices were not disturbed by the injection of money through the CFW.

Another notable benefit of the program was psycho social one intermingles with the design of the program. The CFW program included all the vulnerable families giving them an opportunity to work in their own home without any supervision for an assured payment of 10 days wages and gave the beneficiaries another chance to participate actively in the rehabilitation and improvement of community infrastructure. By working together the participants were able to share their experience during displacement and inaudible sorrows they encountered. Having a meal and a cup of tea together helped to improve interaction and social cohesion among the participants. Mixing together in a productive activity was a psychological relief for affected people. They brought the tools from their home and used in the common work and enhanced the ownership in the community assets. Phase II was implemented after a period of resettlement and the income from CFW complemented the income from other sources.

The disbursement of money in the CFW program was paid through the nearest state bank branches in the districts. This arrangement has provided the opportunity to improve the customer- banker relationship and also helped to maintain an account with the bank. In future it is likely to provide and access for institutional low cost finance for any investment activities. According to a technical officer roads renovated through the CFW program were done to a very high technical standard and equally good in quality to roads done by machinery. The cost of construction was also lower and it was a saving to the nation.

#### **Impact on Women and Female headed households**

In the analysis it was evident that the women participation in the CFW program was very high in all the districts and 25-30% of the respondent head of households were women. In women headed families income from CFW program have given an additional source of income to meet their household needs. Since the women participated in the CFW program they had the opportunity to get involved in the household decision making process. Further, they could withhold some of the cash from men to meet any unforeseen expenditure in future. More importantly women appeared to think of future, investing in productive assets creation, maintaining savings and paying off loans taken from small saving groups. Paying off loan meant that they were then eligible to take out a larger subsequent loan.

Most women reported that they were managing the workload. It was manageable because the workfare committee assigned the task to be completed for the group of participants rather than the stipulated hours per day. Further, in some districts they were allowed to work all seven days of the week and provision to substitute another member over 18 years to cover the work, helped them to adjust their presence. Women reported that men were helping in household activities such as cleaning, cooking and child care as a direct response to the participation of women in the program. Asked whether the extra workload was causing difficulties at home, most women reported that it was not. Women headed households and most vulnerable felt the extra workload but indicated that they were assisted by the group by assigning physically less demanding work for them.

Women suggested that their status in the community was improved because they were seen to earn wage, however they suggested that this empowerment was short-lived since they recognize that the employment opportunity was only for a short period.

Some women reported that their husbands were skeptical of women working initially but when the income was earned they have changed their mind. Any disputes between husband and wife were resolved within the household. As seen in the analysis the decisions were often made together even if the women earned the income.

Women reported that conflict in the household was often driven by economic hardships and consequently that cash transfers through the CFW program tend to reduce conflict. Similarly it has reduced the conflict between community members due to working together in groups and the task to be completed required the team work approach.

Women stated that the cash transfer through the CFW has helped them to improve the health status of their children by spending on food and medical care. They further pointed out that the men in poor households often use alcohol as a means of coping with stress and depression. The additional income provided by the CFW has reduced the stress and in turn reduced the expenditure on “temptation goods” such as alcohol or tobacco.

### **Other Benefits**

Capacity building has taken place at grass root level. Community Resource Persons selected from the local community were provided training in social technical, environmental, administration, financial and Mine risk awareness programs. Further, the tools bought by the project for community cleaning were distributed to Community Organizations. Nutritious food were provided free of charge for the participants in cash for work program. Even the vulnerable people got the opportunity to contribute in the community work. Nearly Rs 44.6 million was spent on food and tool under both CFW programs benefiting 44,600 families in all five districts.

### **Environmental and Social Safeguard**

All the participant of CFW and the field staff were provided training in possible environment and social safeguard issues that may arise during implementation. They were also aware about the mitigation measures for the negative impacts. Therefore the negative impacts were minimized during implementation. Cleaning the surrounding of public places and repairing roads and side drainages have helped to reduce health hazard caused by mosquitoes and stagnant water. The cleared bushes were mainly green solid waste and people were asked to dump it in dug pits and minimize burning to reduce the carbon dioxide to the environment. First aid kits and training provided at the work site equipped the community to provide the social safeguard in case of any accidents. Less physically demanding works were assigned to the vulnerable people. Time was allocated for feeding mothers to feed their children. The mothers were permitted to bring their non-school going children; in the absence of any family members to look after at home, to the work site and arrangements were made to look after the children by the elders in front of their parents was another social safeguard measures incorporated in the project.

### **Conclusion**

Community as a whole appreciated the Cash for work program and they were very satisfied in the way it was implemented and coordinated. Beneficiaries appreciated the idea of CFW within the Emergency Recovery program and the design of the project that incorporated the basic needs of the resettled people. The allocated funds were utilized efficiently and effectively.

Projects had substantial positive impacts on local economic conditions and social amenities. In most cases, projects yielded very positive short- and medium-term results and laid the foundation for longer-term structural impacts. In particular, road construction projects contributed to solving transport problems, especially in rainy season. Because of improved infrastructure facilities accessibility of the entire community for various services enhanced.

CFW program motivated the displaced people to return to their original villages and helped the returnees to stay in their village by providing a source of income while improving the village, either via

clean-up or reconstruction. Outputs of the CFW program in terms of cleaning and reconstruction contributed to the recovery process.

Psychosocial benefits were also an important result of the CFW program where many respondents reported that CFW helped them to remain active while reducing feelings of trauma and stress and that CFW increased the time spent with community members which created a sense of unity that helped to facilitate rebuilding.

Immediate short term benefit was increased consumption for vulnerable households, improvement in standard of living, access to better medical care and few households have spent on children education and invested on assets that would create more income and improve their livelihood..

The payment disbursement was carried out without delay except in few cases where they were discrepancies in names, NIC numbers and bank account numbers. Lessons learned from the CFW 2010 has provided for an inbuilt mechanism to coordinate such issues among various stakeholders. Therefore delays were sorted out and cleared quickly.

Purchasing of tools in this second phase was minimized by requesting the beneficiaries to bring their own tools when they were coming for the CFW. The project has spent on tools only where it was urgently needed. This approach enhanced the ownership of the community in the CFW.

Only negative impact reported was the extra workload for women headed families where there was many small children to care for. However, the cash they received compensated that and they were able to meet the other needs of their children.

Making payment through the bank branches has given an opportunity for the people to associate with the banking industry and to access the benefits of banking services and also minimize the leakages and corruption in releasing funds to the beneficiaries.

Land mines have been seen in the areas cleared and certified as areas free of land mines and due to awareness programs implemented no injuries or casualties were reported.

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