



The Impact of Conditional Cash Transfer Programs on Poverty Alleviation during Wartime in Yemen

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Abstract:

The main objective of this research is to analyze the impact of the Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT) Cash-for-Work (CFW) project—implemented as part of Conditional Cash Transfer Programs (CCTPs)—on poverty reduction by creating income-generating job opportunities as a means of improving living conditions and mitigating the effects of conflict on beneficiaries. The study focuses on the Al-Safia District, Sana'a, in 2021 as a case study. A quantitative research design was employed, and data were collected using a structured questionnaire administered to the targeted participants.

The findings indicate that the CFW project had a positive, though temporary, effect on poverty reduction through increased household income, as well as improvements in human and financial assets, which contributed to better living conditions. the majority of respondents expressed satisfaction and gratitude for the assistance, viewing it as their only window of hope.

Keywords: conditional cash transfer; poverty reduction; income; job opportunities

JEL Classification Codes: I32, I38, O17

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1-Introduction:

The Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT) program is an important tool to combat poverty during wartime. It targets poor households with members who are able to work, enabling them to generate income and purchase essential goods that are not covered by the in-kind assistance provided by international organizations.

In Yemen, the SFD established the Cash-for-Work Program within the Labor-intensive Works Program (LIWP) at the end of 2006. to implement highly labor-intensive projects as a mechanism to alleviate poverty and unemployment through providing with temporary job opportunities for the skilled and semi-skilled labors, allowing them to support their families while contributing to community development. In 2008, the SFD developed the rural version of the LIWP under the name of "Cash-for-Work Program" to respond to the increasing food price targeting the poorest communities in the rural areas affected by the food crisis. (SFD-Yemen, 2025)

Research Problem

The main objective of the CCT is to combat poverty by helping the poor to cope with the various shocks. The CFW as a kind of the CCT programs creates jobs chances via building, repairing, or maintaining local infrastructure. Thus, the problem statement of the study is the analyzing of the impact of the CCT on poverty combating because the poverty percentage increases from year comparing to the pervious regardless of annual financial support to poor people by the UN agencies according to the available indicators. The World Bank assured that before a decade, the poverty percentage in Yemen was 49 percent in 2014, while the poverty percentage increased to 74 percent in 2022, (WB, Yemen Among Poorest Country in the World, 2024).

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to analyze the impact of Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programs on poverty reduction, with a particular focus on their role in enhancing human capital and improving living conditions through increased household income.

Research Questions

The main question: What is the impact of Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programs on poverty reduction during wartime, particularly through income increase and improvements in livelihood assets and living conditions?

Sub-Questions:

1. How does war or conflict affect individual and household income levels?
2. What is the impact of Cash-for-Work (CFW) programs in mitigating the negative effects of conflict on income and livelihoods?
3. What is the role of CCT programs in creating job opportunities for poor people and improving their income and living conditions?
4. To what extent do CCT programs influence the livelihood assets of beneficiary households?

Hypotheses:

Main Hypothesis: Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) or Cash-for-Work (CFW) projects have no significant impact on poverty reduction during wartime.

Sub-Hypotheses:

- a) War or conflict has no significant effect on individual or household income levels.

- b) Cash-for-Work (CFW) programs have no role in mitigating the negative effects of conflict on income and livelihoods.
- c) CCT programs do not contribute to job creation, income improvement, or better living conditions for poor households.
- d) CCT programs have no significant impact on the livelihood assets of household beneficiaries.

Significance of the Study

The importance of this study stems from the relevance of its subject within the framework of societal needs, government priorities, and donor interests. By focusing on the impact of Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) projects on poverty reduction during wartime in Yemen, this study highlights how such interventions can mitigate the adverse effects of conflict on poverty levels.

The study is significant in several ways:

- **Policy and Practice:** It provides evidence-based insights for policymakers, government agencies, and donor organizations on the effectiveness of CCT programs in addressing poverty during conflict situations.
- **Program Evaluation:** It offers an assessment of both the positive and negative outcomes of implementing cash transfer programs, contributing to the improvement of current and future interventions.
- **Societal Impact:** It sheds light on how CCT programs contribute to enhancing household income, livelihood assets, and living conditions in a fragile context such as Yemen.
- **Academic Contribution:** It enriches the academic literature on social protection and poverty reduction in conflict-affected settings and serves as a valuable reference for students and researchers conducting studies in related fields

Scope of the Study

This study is limited to examining the interventions implemented by the Social Fund for Development (SFD) under the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programs in Yemen. These interventions were designed to reduce the effects of war on the most vulnerable groups in society. The study specifically focuses on assessing the impact of CCT programs on poverty reduction among targeted beneficiaries, with particular attention to changes in their financial status.

The scope further includes analyzing how CCT interventions contribute to poverty alleviation through the creation of job opportunities for affected individuals. The study explores improvements in living conditions, such as the ability of beneficiaries to pay rent, secure adequate food, invest in children's education, and access better healthcare services for their families.

To achieve its objectives, this research adopts a quantitative approach, relying on survey data collected from program beneficiaries. This method is employed to generate credible and measurable conclusions about the impact of CCT programs on poverty reduction and livelihood enhancement during wartime.

2. Littérature Review:

2.1 Previous Studies on CCT/CFW and Poverty Reduction:

Several key studies demonstrate how CCT/CFW programs have influenced income, consumption, living standards, and human capital:

- Harrington (2011) examined Mexico's PROGRESA/Oportunidades program using mixed methods. The study concluded that CCTs stimulate human capital by

conditioning aid on health, education, and nutrition compliance, addressing both immediate poverty and its intergenerational transmission.

- Callenes (2013) analyzed Juntos in rural Peru via quasi-experimental methods using ENAHO data (2007–2011). Program transfers accounted for 11% (2007) and 10% (2011) of household income, boosting consumption and service utilization—although effects diminished over time. In extreme-poverty households, income per capita rose by over 50% (from S/. 76 to S/. 116).
- Bhatasara (2014) explored Zimbabwe's HSCT using a case study approach. The cash transfers provided a stable—if modest—source of income for food, education, and health. Beneficiaries viewed the support as a hopeful means to escape poverty, despite bureaucratic hurdles.
- Garcia (2014) assessed Ecuador's Bono de Desarrollo Humano. Using qualitative data from secondary studies and evaluations, he found significant advances in social inclusion and poverty reduction. Public spending on social protection rose from 21% (2006) to 41% (2012); poverty dropped from 37.6% to 25.5% (2003–2013). Benefits, however, were distributed to some non-poor segments as well.
- Siena (2015) studied the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps) in the Philippines. The quasi-experimental design revealed that 4Ps improved household livelihoods significantly—especially income and survival capacities—enhancing human, physical, social, and financial assets of low-income recipients.
- Kirana (2016) investigated CCT's potential to reduce conflict in Indonesia. Her findings suggested that CCTs reduce conflict through education (peer effects, reduced idle time), employment (enhanced job prospects), and income substitution channels (reducing incentives for criminal activity). She emphasized the importance of conflict-sensitive targeting.
- Jones (2017) explored long-term trajectories of youth in Brazil's Bolsa Família via mixed methods. Although CCTs provided short-term benefits, their effectiveness in breaking long-term intergenerational poverty was limited. The study called for integrating CCTs into broader structural equality reforms.
- Migwi (2017) assessed cash transfers' effects on urban poor women in Nairobi through a capabilities and sustainable livelihoods framework. Regular, predictable cash significantly improved beneficiaries' livelihoods, increased income, expenditure, gender equality, and participation in income-generating activities.
- Cotto (2018) conducted a panel analysis across 18 Latin American and Caribbean countries (1990–2013), aligned with the SDG agenda. He found that a 1% increase in CCT coverage was associated with a 0.04% decrease in the poverty headcount (\$1.90/day), and improved outcomes in school enrollment, nutrition (stunting), and immunization (HepB3).

2.2 Discussion of Previous Studies Related to Poverty Reduction

The literature on Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT) and Cash-for-Work (CFW) demonstrates a consistent emphasis on their dual function: addressing immediate poverty through direct support and building long-term human capital. This reflects the argument of Ferro et al.

(2010) and Hoddinott and Bassett (2008), who noted that such programs act as both short-term safety nets and long-term development strategies.

In terms of short-term poverty alleviation, several studies confirm substantial improvements in household consumption and welfare. Callenes (2013), analyzing Peru's Juntos program, reported that cash transfers accounted for up to 11% of household income, boosting consumption and access to services. Similarly, Garcia (2014) found that Ecuador's Bono de Desarrollo Humano contributed to a national decline in poverty from 37.6% in 2003 to 25.5% in 2013. At the community level, Bhatasara (2014) revealed that Zimbabwe's Harmonized Social Cash Transfer (HSCT) provided beneficiaries with a modest but stable income source, mainly directed toward food, health, and education. Studies in urban contexts further support this trend; Migwi (2017) observed that predictable transfers among Nairobi's urban poor women improved income stability, enhanced participation in income-generating activities, and promoted gender equality.

Beyond immediate consumption, CCT/CFW programs are also designed to foster human capital development by linking benefits to investments in health, nutrition, and education. Harrington (2011), evaluating Mexico's PROGRESA/Oportunidades, demonstrated that conditionality encouraged school attendance and health compliance, directly addressing intergenerational poverty. Siena (2015), studying the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps) in the Philippines, reported that recipients experienced enhanced livelihood capacities through improvements in human, physical, and social assets. At the regional level, Cotto (2018) showed that even a 1% increase in CCT coverage across 18 Latin American and Caribbean countries reduced the poverty headcount ratio and improved welfare indicators such as school enrollment, child nutrition, and immunization rates.

However, despite these positive outcomes, scholars also caution against assuming that CCTs alone can break cycles of chronic poverty. Jones (2017), in his longitudinal study of Brazil's Bolsa Família, emphasized that while CCTs deliver short-term relief, their capacity to foster long-term structural poverty reduction remains limited without broader reforms in education, labor markets, and social equity. Similarly, Bhatasara (2014) noted that bureaucratic hurdles and systemic inequalities limited the potential of Zimbabwe's program to serve as a sustainable poverty exit strategy. These findings highlight the importance of complementing cash transfers with broader development and institutional reforms.

Finally, evidence underscores the contextual nature of CCT/CFW impacts. For instance, Kirana (2016) illustrated how CCTs in Indonesia contributed to conflict reduction by increasing educational engagement and reducing incentives for participation in crime. This demonstrates that in fragile and conflict-affected contexts, CCTs may produce additional benefits beyond poverty alleviation. Similarly, studies in urban environments, such as Migwi (2017), highlight the gender empowerment and social inclusion dimensions of cash transfers, which differ significantly from outcomes in rural or agrarian settings.

Taken together, these studies suggest that CCT/CFW interventions are effective instruments for short-term poverty reduction and human capital accumulation. Nonetheless, their success in fostering sustained poverty reduction depends heavily on complementary policies, institutional capacity, and the specific socio-political context in which they are implemented

2.3 Research Gap and Justification for the Current Study

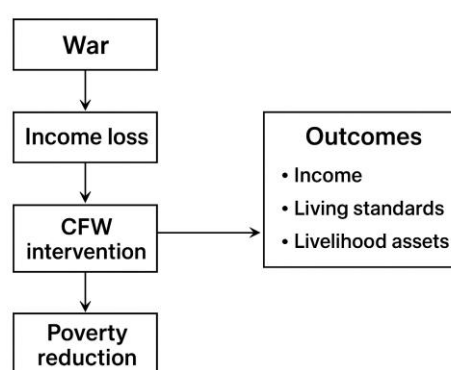
Despite extensive evidence on CCT effectiveness in rural or post-conflict settings, there is a gap in understanding its impact in urban war-affected contexts—particularly with displaced

populations. The implementation of CCT in wartime urban Sana'a offers a unique scenario where policy and project design must adapt to urban constraints. This study addresses this gap by evaluating the impact of CCT/CFW on poverty in an urban, conflict-driven environment, offering timely insights into adaptive development responses.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of this study is centered on social protection as provided by relevant institutions, serving as the entry point for analysis. Specifically, it examines how social assistance, delivered in the form of Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT) or Cash-for-Work (CFW) programs, can create opportunities for affected households to cope with the negative impacts of war, primarily by generating job opportunities. The framework considers the outcomes of the CFW intervention, including changes in income, living standards, and livelihood assets, which collectively contribute to poverty reduction. Income, in particular, influences the livelihood assets of displaced and conflict-affected populations, especially in Sana'a city, which has been severely impacted by the ongoing war and resulting humanitarian crisis. Therefore, this study investigates the extent to which CCT or CFW interventions contribute to reducing poverty among recipient households.

Figure 1 : Conceptuel Framework



Source: Made by the author, 2025

3. Methodology:

3.1 Research Approach:

This study adopts a quantitative research approach to collect and analyze both primary and secondary data using SPSS. The purpose is to measure the effect of the Cash-for-Work (CFW) program on beneficiaries' income and living standards as a means of alleviating poverty. The study employs descriptive and analytical approaches to address the main and sub-research questions by examining the phenomenon as it exists in reality.

The quantitative approach was chosen to understand the impact of CFW in Sana'a during wartime, as well as its relationship with other socio-economic factors. This allows for drawing conclusions that can contribute to improving the role of such projects in supporting beneficiaries, society, and development efforts in general.

3.2 Research Design:

The study applies a quasi-experimental design to describe the causal relationship between the independent variable (Conditional Cash Transfer Program – CCTP) and the dependent variable (poverty, measured by beneficiaries' income before and after project implementation).

A comparison was made between household livelihood assets before and after CFW interventions. This created both factual and counterfactual scenarios, enabling the researcher to judge whether changes in poverty levels were influenced by CFW implementation and whether the project affected other socio-economic variables.

Baseline information was collected from beneficiaries to establish the statistical basis for analyzing the effect of CCTP on poverty.

3.3 Data Collection Methods:

Data collection is a critical stage in this study. It involved systematically gathering and accurately measuring information using appropriate techniques to minimize errors. This ensured validity and reliability in answering the study questions. The use of multiple data collection methods allowed for data triangulation, improving the robustness of results and enhancing the accuracy of conclusions. Data came from various sources, enabling a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Structured survey questionnaires were administered to households with the assistance of trained enumerators to ensure clarity for respondents, especially those with limited literacy.

3.4 Population and Sampling

The research population consisted of 500 displaced or conflict-affected households targeted by the CFW project in Al-Safia district, Sana'a. The project aimed to provide income sources to meet beneficiaries' basic needs. The sample was selected using stratified purposive targeting to identify CFW beneficiaries, followed by random sampling among the available participants during 2020–2021. Given a confidence level of 95% and a margin of error of 5%, the required sample size was 210 respondents.

3.5 Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire was developed based on literature reviewed in Chapter Two and consisted of six sections:

- 1. Demographic Information**

Personal data: name, gender, marital status, household size, age, residency status (resident or IDP), and education level.

- 2. Income Source & Payment Timing**

Four questions on sources of income before and after CFW, and timing of CFW payment receipt.

- 3. Impact of CFW on Living Conditions**

Ten questions on the effect of conflict on income, and the impact of CFW income on expenditure (overall, education, healthcare, housing), living standards, and community well-being.

Responses used a **Likert scale** from 1 (*no effect*) to 5 (*significant effect*).

- 4. Basic Needs Fulfillment**

- Sufficiency of food, clothing, and cooking needs before CFW (options: enough, not enough, more than enough).
- Use of CFW cash for these needs.
- Existence of income-generating activities before and after CFW.

- 5. Future Investments**

Four parts measuring changes in education, health, nutrition, and financial capital after CFW compared to before.

- 6. Perceptions of Beneficiaries**

- Perceived effectiveness of CFW on income.
- Satisfaction with CFW, with reasons for dissatisfaction if applicable.

- Suggestions for improving the program.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

Validity refers to the extent to which the tool measures what it intends to measure (Uma Sekaran, 2013). The questionnaire was reviewed by five academic professors from various universities and several CFW project experts. Their feedback was incorporated before finalization.

Reliability refers to the consistency of results across repeated measures. To ensure reliability:

- Similar studies from international universities were consulted.
- Seven assistants distributed the questionnaire and assisted respondents.
- Five assistants entered data into the database.
- Three assistants, along with the researcher, cross-checked a random subset of questionnaires for accuracy.

Cronbach's Alpha was used to assess internal consistency:

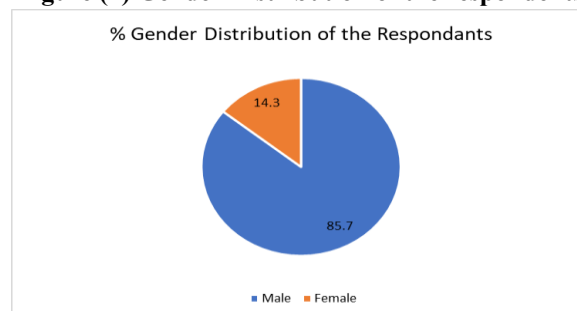
- Income before & after CFW: **0.536** (acceptable for 2 items).
- Impact on life, health, education, expenditure: **0.711** (good).
- Sufficiency of food, clothing, cooking needs before CFW: **0.924** (excellent).
- Use of CFW cash for basic needs: **0.963** (excellent).
- Income generation before & after CFW: **0.818** (very good).
- Ability to pay for education & health: **0.553** (medium reliability).
- Ability to pay for medicine: **0.796** (good).
- Daily meals & meat/fish consumption: **0.755** (good).

4. Data Analysis

4.1 Participants' Profile

The study involved 210 participants, the majority of whom were male (85.7%) and married (82%). Most participants had large families, with 36% having more than six members. Most participants (57.6%) were between 30-49 years old, and the majority (94.3%) were internally displaced persons (IDPs). Many respondents had basic education, with a small percentage being illiterate or holding higher degrees. The gender distribution of the participants is presented in Figure (2).

Figure (2) Gender Distribution of the respondents

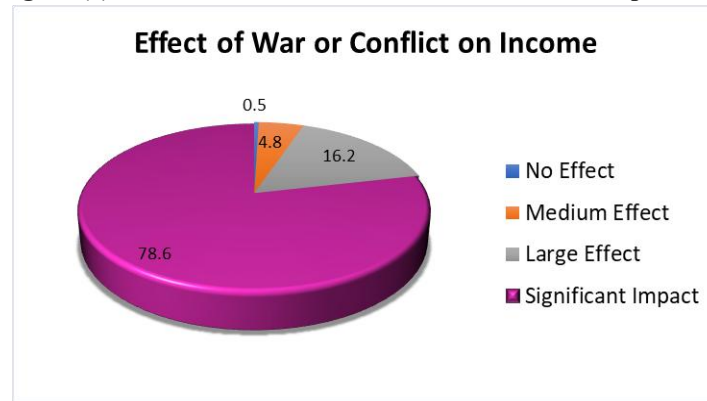


Researcher's calculation through the SPSS program

4.2 Effects of War/Conflict on Income

The protracted conflict in Yemen since 2015 has severely affected the population and all aspects of daily life. This study specifically examined its impact on respondents' income. Findings show that 78.6% of participants (n=165) reported a significant effect, while 16.2% (n=34) rated the impact as large. About 5% (n=10) indicated a moderate effect, and only 0.5% (n=1) reported no effect. The distribution is illustrated in Figure (3).

Figure (3): Effect of war or conflict on income of the respondents



Researcher's calculation through the SPSS program

4.3 Effect of CFW on income based on gender

There is a statistically significant effect of CFW on the income of the beneficiaries according to gender: males vs. females. A comparison of means with ANOVA test was conducted. The results are shown in Table (1) and Table (2) below.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for respondents according to gender

Report				
What is your average income during working for the project?				
Sex	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	
Male	4.544	180	.7194	
Female	4.100	30	.8030	
Total	4.481	210	.7464	

Researcher's calculation through the SPSS program

Table 2: Summary of ANOVA Test for average of income * gender of respondents

ANOVA Table							
			Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
What is your average income during working for the project? * Sex	Between Groups	(Combined)	5.079	1	5.079	9.489	0.002
	Within Groups		111.344	208	0.535		
	Total		116.424	209			

Researcher's calculation through the SPSS program

From Table (1) above, it is shown that the mean of average income of males during CFW scored 4.544 whereas the female's mean for the same variable scored 4.100. The ANOVA table above shows that the difference between the means of males and females is statistically significant

where ($F=9.489$ and $p \text{ value}=0.002 < 0.05$).

A significant effect was at tested on the average level of income of the participants when stratified according to the number of family members as revealed by comparison of means with ANOVA test where ($F = 4.279$ and $p \text{ value}= 0.015 < 0.05$) on 95% confidence interval. The summary of the ANOVA test is shown in Table (3) and Table (4) respectively.

Table 3: Descriptive statistics for What is your average income during working for the project? * Number of family members

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
< 4	78	4.372	.8695	.0985	4.176	4.568
5 - 6	57	4.368	.6717	.0890	4.190	4.547
> 6	75	4.680	.6186	.0714	4.538	4.822
Total	210	4.481	.7464	.0515	4.379	4.582

Researcher's calculation through the SPSS program

Table 4: Summary of ANOVA tests for average of income during CFW * Number of family members

ANOVA						
What is your average income during working for the project?						
	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	
Between Groups	4.623	2	2.311	4.279	.015	
Within Groups	111.801	207	.540			
Total	116.424	209				

Researcher's calculation through the SPSS program

No statistically significant effect was found for the CFWP on the average of income of the recipients when segregating them based on age groups ($F=0.499$ and $p \text{ value}=0.608 > 0.05$) or educational level ($F=1.640$ and $p \text{ value}=0.181 > 0.05$). For the sake of brevity, the summary of the ANOVA tests will not be included.

4.4 Effect of CFW on Income and Spending

Respondents were asked to evaluate the impact of the Cash-for-Work (CFW) program on their income, ranging from “no effect” to “significant effect.” The study also examined its influence on expenditure patterns, including general spending, food, education, and health.

Income and general expenditure: 80% of respondents reported a medium effect.

Food expenditure: 45.6% reported a medium effect, while 46.7% reported a large effect.

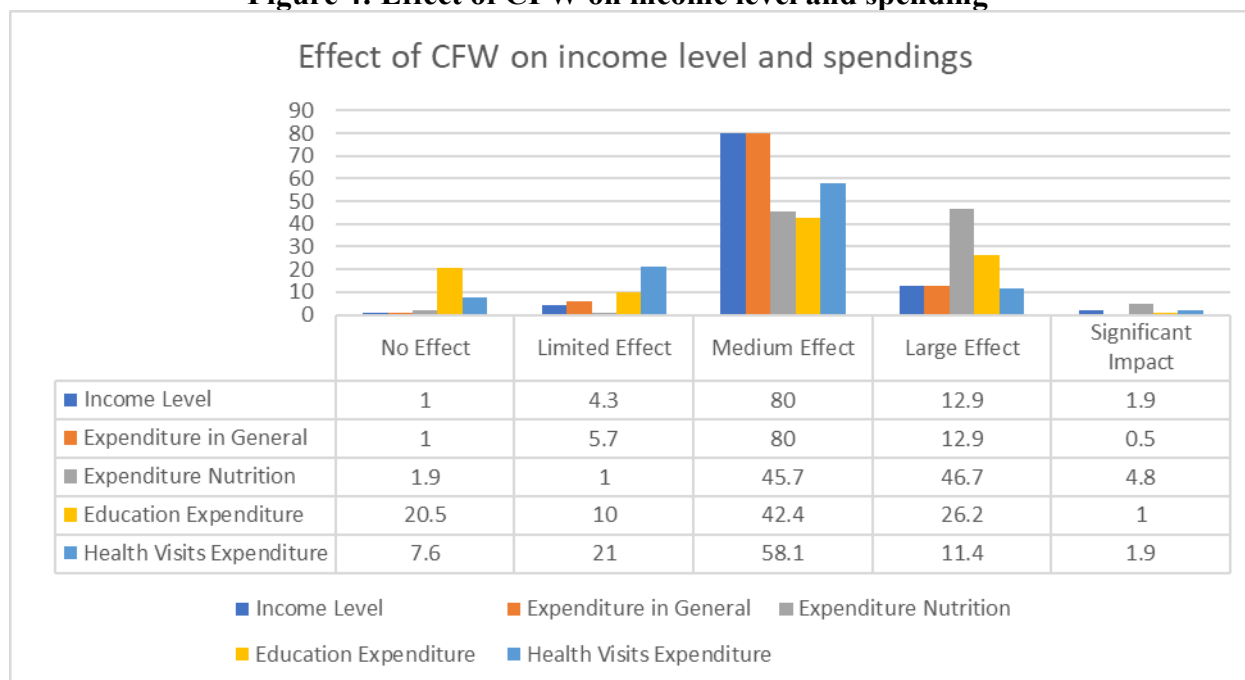
Education expenditure: 20.5% indicated no effect, 42.4% reported a medium effect, and 26.2% reported a large effect.

Health expenditure: 58.1% reported a medium effect, 21% a limited effect, and 11.4% a

large effect.

Overall, the most frequent response across all categories was a medium effect, accounting for more than 61% of total responses Figures (4).

Figure 4: Effect of CFW on income level and spending



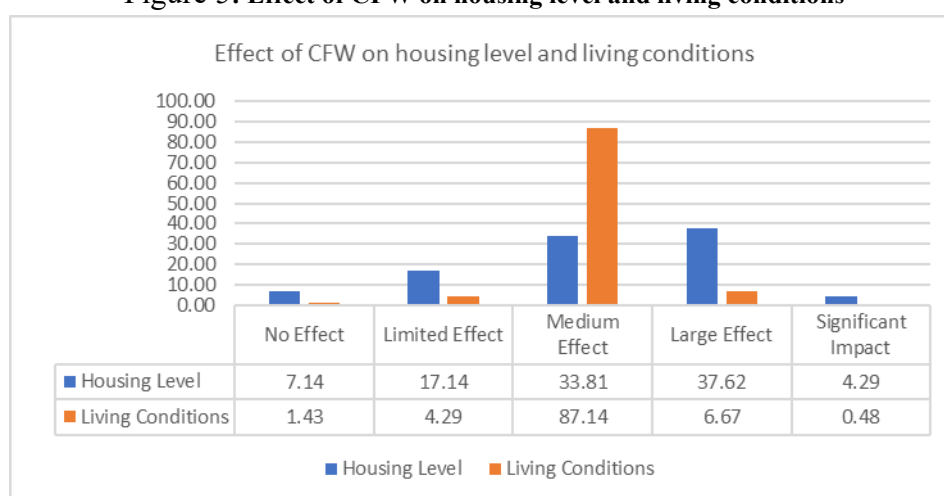
Researcher's calculation through the SPSS program

4.5 Effect of CFW on Housing and Living Conditions

The CFW program also contributed to improvements in housing and living conditions. Findings show that 33.8% of participants (n=71) reported a moderate improvement in housing, while 37.6% (n=79) reported a substantial improvement.

Regarding overall living conditions, the majority of respondents (n=183; 87.1%) reported moderate improvements as a result of participating in CFW (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Effect of CFW on housing level and living conditions



Researcher's calculation through the SPSS program

4.6 Increase in Income Level After CFW

Participants were asked to rank the percentage increase in their income following CFW participation:

- 19.5% reported an increase of less than 10%.
- 11.9% reported an increase of 11–20%.
- 35.7% reported an increase of 21–30%.
- 16.2% reported an increase of 31–40%.
- 11.9% reported an increase of 41–50%.
- 4.8% reported an increase of more than 50%.

4.7 Perception and Satisfaction:

Effectiveness: The majority of participants considered the CFW program effective in reducing poverty and improving household income, though many noted that its benefits were temporary.

Satisfaction: Despite the temporary nature of the assistance, many participants expressed gratitude for the financial help provided during the conflict.

5. Answering the Research Questions and Testing the Hypotheses

5.1 Sub-Research Question:

5.1.1 Sub-Research Question 1:

How does war or conflict affect income levels?

The war had a significant negative impact on beneficiaries' income, varying according to income sources, education, and family size. These findings are consistent with UN reports, which confirm that conflict disrupted markets, institutions, and infrastructure, while worsening poverty and inequality. Yemen's GDP per capita has plunged dramatically from USD 3,577 to USD 1,950—levels not seen since before 1960. As of projections through 2022, approximately 79% of the population is estimated to live below the poverty line, with about 65% classified as extremely poor (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2019).

Thus, the null hypothesis—that war has no effect on income—is rejected. The alternative hypothesis is accepted, confirming the war's negative impact on income.

5.1.2 Sub-Research Question 2:

What is the impact of the CFW Project in mitigating the effects of war?

The CFW program helped beneficiaries survive by improving access to basic needs. Survey results revealed:

- Food: 94.8% used CFW income to purchase food, compared to 90% who previously experienced shortages.
- Clothing: 92.9% purchased clothes, compared to 94.4% who reported shortages before.
- Cooking needs: 92.9% used funds for cooking essentials, compared to 93.3% who previously lacked them.
- Living standards: 82.9% reported medium improvement, 10% large improvement, 2.4% significant improvement, and 2.9% limited improvement.

“These findings are consistent with the Task Force on Population Movement (TFPM, 2017), which emphasized internally displaced persons' heightened vulnerability to food insecurity and disease. For many IDPs who had “started from zero,” survival was the immediate priority” (Task Force on Population Movement, 2017).

Therefore, the null hypothesis—that CFW had a negative role—is rejected. The alternative hypothesis is accepted, confirming CFW's positive role in mitigating conflict effects.

5.1.3 Sub-Research Question 3:

What is the role of CCT/CFW programs in creating job opportunities for poor people and improving their income and living conditions?

The findings assured that CCT/CFW programs play a positive role in improving income and living conditions for poor households. A large majority of respondents (87.1%) reported moderate improvements in overall living conditions. With respect to income, almost all participants experienced a measurable increase after joining the program:

In terms of financial capital, the beneficiaries reported varying levels of income increase as a result of the program. Around 19.5% of participants indicated an increase of less than 10%, while 11.2% experienced an increase ranging between 11 and 20%. The largest group, representing 35.7% of respondents, reported an increase of 20 to 30%. A further 16.2% noted income growth between 31 and 40%, whereas 11.9% recorded increases of 41 to 50%. Only a small proportion, about 4.8%, experienced income growth exceeding 50%. Although these figures demonstrate that the program provided beneficiaries with tangible financial relief, its overall impact appears to have been short-term and relatively limited.

In terms of expenditures, 80% reported a medium effect on income and general spending. Food expenditures were particularly affected, with 45.6% reporting a medium effect and 46.7% reporting a large effect. For education, 20.5% reported no effect, 42.4% reported a medium effect, and 26.2% reported a large effect. Health expenditures were somewhat less affected, with 58.1% reporting a medium effect, 21% reporting a limited effect, and 11.4% reporting a large effect.

These results demonstrate that CFW programs positively influenced employment, household income, and essential consumption patterns, particularly in food and education, thereby contributing to improved living standards among participants.

Therefore, the null hypothesis—that CFW programs do not contribute to job creation, income improvement, or better living conditions for poor households—is rejected. The alternative hypothesis is accepted, indicating that CCT/CFW programs significantly contribute to job creation, improved income, and better living conditions for poor households

5.1.4 Sub-Research Question 4:

To what extent did CFW affect the livelihood assets of recipient households?

The results demonstrate that CFW programs substantially improved the livelihood assets of participating households. Education outcomes showed marked progress: 78.6% of household heads had at least primary education, a notable improvement compared with earlier rural beneficiaries who were predominantly illiterate. Furthermore, the number of households struggling to pay school fees fell from 144 to 38, suggesting enhanced financial capacity to invest in education.

Healthcare access improved considerably. Households able to pay for medical services rose dramatically from 1.4% before CFW to 57.1% after participation, while the number struggling with payments declined from 171 to 78 households. Medicine affordability followed a similar pattern: whereas 90% of households previously struggled to afford medicine, after the program, 70% reported being able to purchase it more easily. Additionally, hospital usage increased from 20% to more than 50%, accompanied by reduced reliance on local health centers, indicating a shift toward higher-quality healthcare access.

Food security also showed measurable gains. Prior to the intervention, 76.2% of households consumed only two meals per day; following participation, 90% reported consuming three meals daily. Diet diversity modestly improved as well, with increased buying of meat and fish, moving closer to pre-displacement levels.

These findings indicate that CFW significantly strengthened household livelihood assets, particularly in education, healthcare, and food security.

Therefore, the null hypothesis—that CFW programs have no significant impact on the livelihood assets of household beneficiaries'—is rejected. The alternative hypothesis is accepted, that CCT/CFW programs had a significant positive impact on the livelihood assets of household beneficiaries. These gains enhanced households' ability to invest in human capital, secure healthcare, and maintain adequate food consumption, thereby reducing vulnerability and improving resilience in fragile settings.

5.2 Answering the Main Research Question

The results of answering of sub-questions, indicate that CCT/CFW programs play a crucial role in reducing poverty during wartime, despite the devastating effects of conflict on household income and livelihoods. While the war deepened poverty and inequality, CFW interventions provided temporary employment, income support, and access to basic goods and services, directly contributing to poverty alleviation.

- Income increase: Beneficiaries experienced significant, though often short-term, income gains that improved purchasing power.
- Living conditions: Households reported notable improvements, particularly in food security and education expenditure.
- Livelihood assets: CFW enhanced education, healthcare access, and food diversity, strengthening resilience and human capital.

Thus, the overarching conclusion is that CCT/CFW programs significantly reduce poverty during wartime by cushioning households against income shocks, improving living standards, and protecting livelihood assets. However, the evidence also suggests that these benefits are largely immediate and short-term, underscoring the need for integration with sustainable livelihood programs and long-term development strategies.

Consequently, the main hypothesis—that Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) or Cash-for-Work (CFW) projects have no significant impact on poverty reduction during wartime—is rejected. The findings confirm that such programs do have a meaningful positive impact on poverty alleviation under conflict conditions.

5.3 Discussion of the Findings

The findings of this study confirm much of the evidence reported in the broader literature on conditional and unconditional cash transfer (CCT/CFW) programs, while also highlighting unique dynamics shaped by Yemen's ongoing conflict and displacement crisis.

First, the data show that the vast majority of participants (78.6%) reported a severe decline in income due to the war, with many relying almost entirely on humanitarian or external assistance. This aligns with Kirana's (2016) argument that conflict intensifies poverty by limiting education and employment opportunities, thereby creating a strong need for interventions that can simultaneously support survival and reduce vulnerabilities.

The Cash-for-Work (CFW) program studied here had measurable, though mostly moderate, effects on household income and expenditures. Roughly 80% of respondents reported moderate improvements in income and general spending, with notable impacts on food and education expenditure. These findings resonate with Callenes' (2013) study of Juntos in Peru and Siena's (2015) analysis of 4Ps in the Philippines, both of which found that cash-based programs help

households stabilize consumption and invest in basic services. In Yemen, too, the CFW program helped participants sustain food security, access education, and afford health expenses, even if only temporarily.

The program's effect on housing and living conditions was also positive, with more than 70% of beneficiaries reporting moderate to substantial improvements. Similar patterns were noted in Bhattacharya's (2014) study in Zimbabwe, where transfers enabled vulnerable households to make modest but meaningful improvements in shelter and living standards. However, in Yemen's case, these benefits were again constrained by the short-term nature of the program and the persistence of conflict-related shocks.

Perhaps the most telling indicator is the distribution of income gains after participation: while over one-third of respondents saw income increases of 21–30%, a significant portion (19.5%) experienced gain below 10%. This reflects what Jones (2017) found in Brazil's Bolsa Família—that while such programs alleviate immediate poverty, they are limited in their capacity to drive sustained, long-term change without structural reforms. The temporary nature of Yemen's CFW program meant that once the intervention ended, many households risked falling back into poverty.

Nevertheless, the findings underscore the critical role of cash-based interventions in wartime contexts. Like Garcia's (2014) assessment of Ecuador's Bono de Desarrollo Humano and Cotto's (2018) cross-country panel analysis, this study shows that social protection schemes contribute meaningfully to poverty reduction, even in fragile settings. However, the Yemeni case emphasizes that to move beyond short-term relief, programs must be embedded in broader, conflict-sensitive development strategies that enhance livelihood opportunities and address structural inequalities.

In sum, the CFW program succeeded in mitigating the worst effects of conflict-induced poverty among internally displaced persons in urban Sana'a by enhancing income, consumption, and living conditions. Yet, consistent with regional and global literature, its impacts remained largely temporary. To combat poverty more effectively in Yemen, cash-based assistance should be paired with longer-term livelihood initiatives, education access, and resilience-building policies that can sustain gains beyond the project cycle.

6. Conclusion

The study found that the Cash-for-Work (CFW) project, as a form of conditional cash transfer (CCT), played a significant role in reducing poverty among beneficiary households, despite the limited cash provided and the temporary nature of the work. The program enabled beneficiaries to improve their income and cover essential needs such as food, clothing, education, and healthcare, leading to notable improvements in living conditions.

While the war devastated income sources and drove poverty to unprecedented levels (79% below the poverty line, 65% in extreme poverty), the CFW program helped households cope with conflict-related shocks. More than 90% of beneficiaries used CFW income to secure food and other household needs, with education, healthcare, and nutrition also improving significantly.

Thus, CCTs such as CFW are effective in providing short-term poverty alleviation and strengthening household resilience in conflict settings. However, their impact remains limited in the long term, as they lack sustainability components such as vocational training and job creation.

6.1 Implications and Directions:

The findings suggest several implications:

- Implementation: CFW projects should align participants' skills with tasks to maximize efficiency and community value.
- Design: Feasibility studies are needed to ensure interventions move beyond

temporary relief and contribute to sustainable development.

- Compensation: Wages should be closer to market rates, with priority given to vulnerable groups such as widows.
- Donor Support: Expanded funding is required, as 52,000 IDP families were present in Sana'a while the project reached only 1,460 families.
- Future Research: Further studies should assess the potential of CFW in urban contexts, including tourism and cultural heritage restoration.

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