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Evaluation of the Kenya Hunger Safety Net Programme Phase 2

Impact Evaluation
Qualitative Research Study - Round 1

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All opinions expressed, and any mistakes, remain the responsibility of the authors.

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List of abbreviations

| | |
|----------------|---|
| ASALs | Arid and semi-arid lands |
| ASP | Arid Lands Support Programme |
| CSO | Civil Society Organisation |
| CT | Cash Transfer |
| CT-OVC | Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children Programme |
| CT-PWSD | Cash Transfer Programme for People with Severe Disability |
| DFID | UK Department for International Development |
| FGD | Focus Group Discussion |
| GoK | Government of Kenya |
| HSNP | Hunger Safety Net Programme |
| IE | Impact Evaluation |
| IGA | Income-Generating Activity |
| KES | Kenyan Shillings |
| KII | Key Informant Interview |
| LEWIE | Local Economy-Wide Impact Evaluation |
| M&E | Monitoring and Evaluation |
| MDP | Ministry of Devolution and Planning |
| MIS | Management Information System |
| MLEAA | Ministry of Labour, and East African Affairs |
| NDMA | National Drought Management Authority |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organisation |
| NSNP | National Safety Net Programme |
| OPCT | Older Person Cash Transfer Programme |
| OPM | Oxford Policy Management |
| PILU | Programme Implementation and Learning Unit |
| PMT | Proxy Means Test |
| QPS | Qualitative Panel Study |
| RD | Regression Discontinuity |
| SAGE | Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment programme |
| ToR | Terms of Reference |
| WFP | World Food Programme |

1 Introduction

- 1.1 The Hunger Safety Net Programme
- 1.2 Context in northern Kenya
- 1.3 Evaluation approach
- 1.4 Impact evaluation design
- 1.5 Evaluation questions
- 1.6 Purpose of the qualitative component of the IE
- 1.7 Structure of this report





The Hunger Safety Net Programme

What is the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP)?

The HSNP is an unconditional cash transfer programme that focuses on households living in extreme poverty in four arid counties of Northern Kenya. It is currently in its second phase. The pilot phase took place between 2007-2013. Phase 2 will run from 2013-2017.

Who implements the HSNP?

HSNP is implemented by the Government of Kenya, with support from the UK Department for International Development. Within the government of Kenya, the National Drought Management Agency (NDMA) is responsible for leading on Phase 2 of HSNP.

Where does HSNP operate?

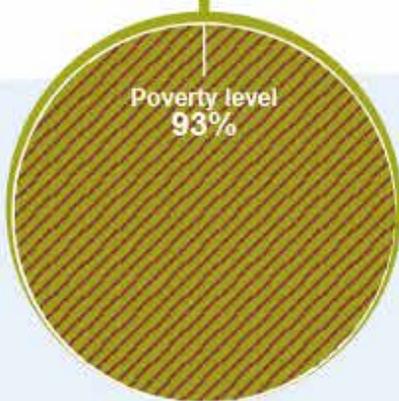
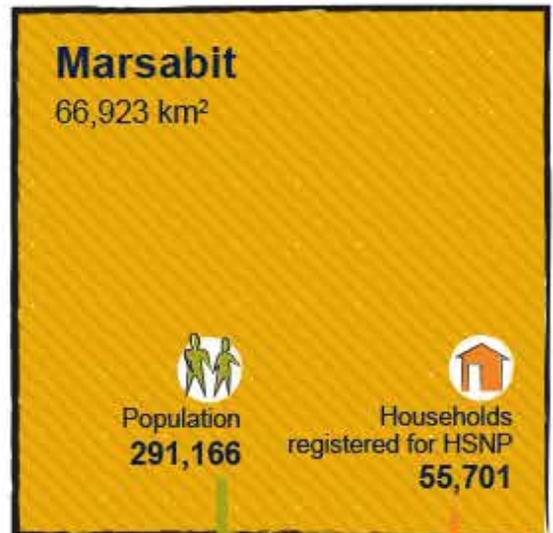
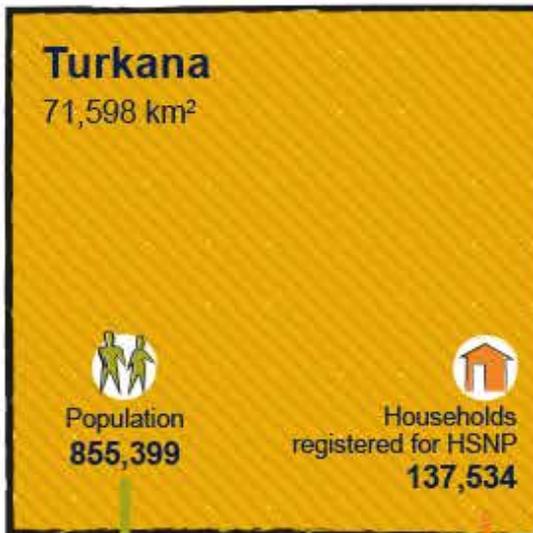
HSNP operates in Mandera, Marsabit, Turkana and Wajir.



Average regional temperature 28.3C°



Average regional rainfall 500mm per annum



How do people collect their money?

Recipients are issued bank cards. Transfers are paid straight into households' bank accounts on the fifth day of the first month of each payment cycle. To access the cash beneficiaries have three options:



1. Use their bank card at Equity payment agents based in local shops. This is by far the most common.



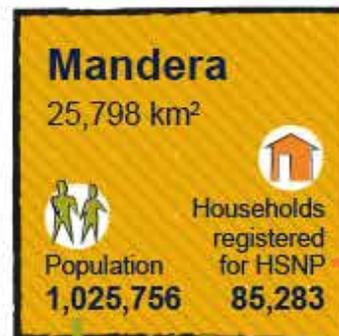
2. Use ATMs at any bank



3. Collect their money over the counter at the nearest Equity branch

How does HSNP work?

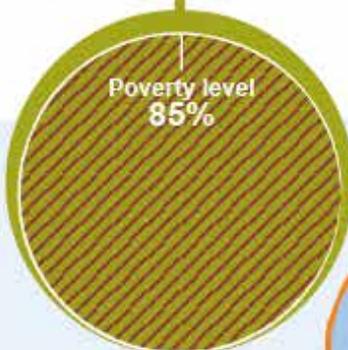
All households in the four counties have been registered for bank accounts with Equity Bank. The HSNP provides regular cash transfers to 100,000 households, which represents about 25% of households in the region. The transfers are worth 5,100 Ksh and are paid every two months. NDMA monitors drought conditions by satellite. If these reach severe levels in any given month, an additional 25% of households in drought-affected areas receive a one-off 'emergency' payment. If conditions worsen to extreme levels, then coverage increases to 75% of all households.



Households targeted to receive routine HSNP payments **22,231**



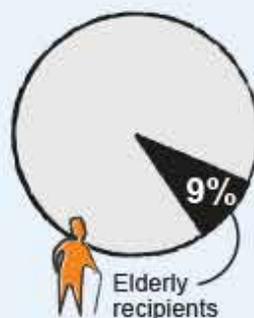
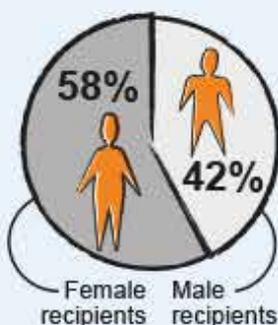
Currently, HSNP covers about 31% of the population in these counties, or around 620,000 people



Households targeted to receive routine HSNP payments **19,201**

Population figures from 2009 census. Poverty headcount from KIPPRA, 2013

Who are HSNP beneficiaries?

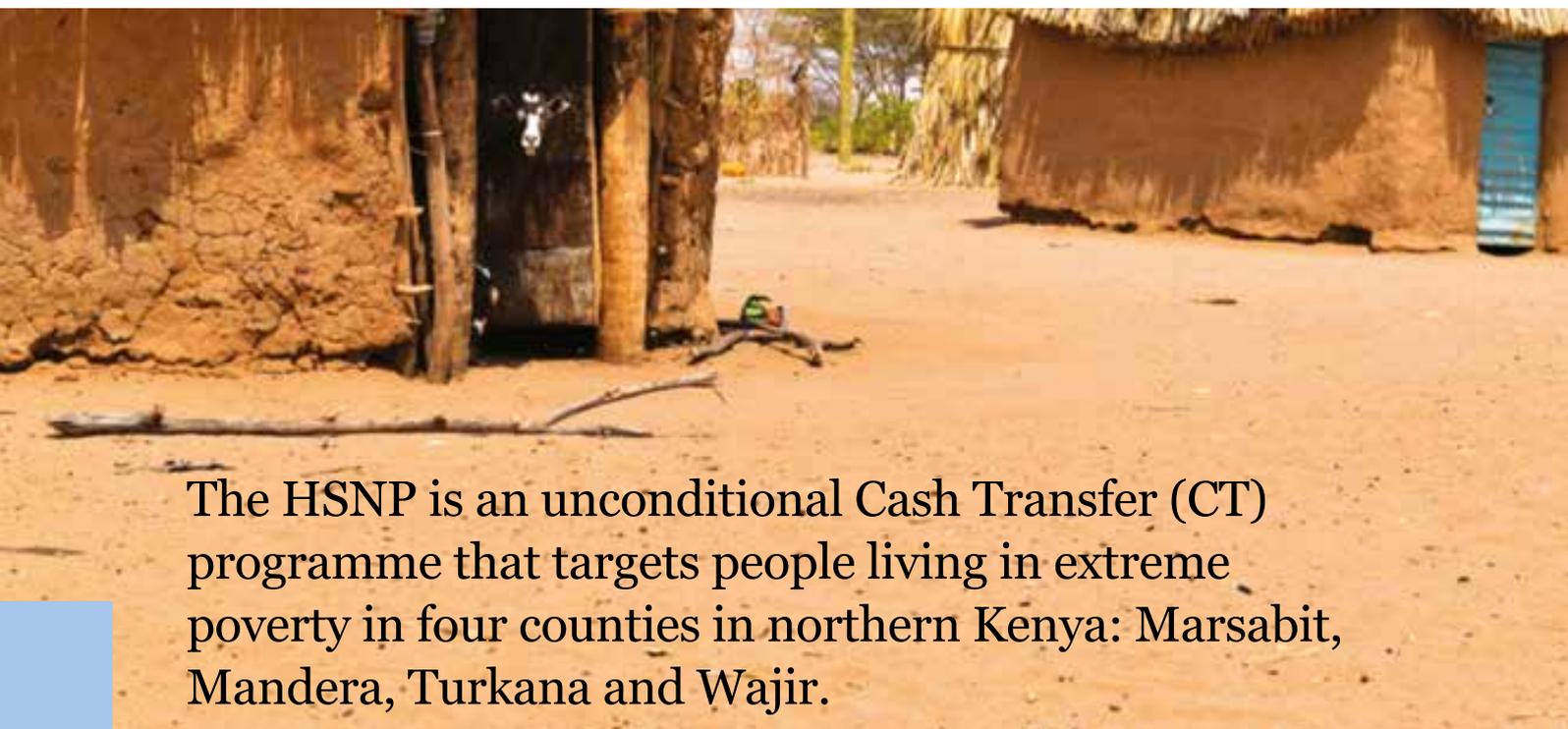


Average size of recipient households: **6.9 people**

Average size of households nationally: **3.9 people**

Source: HSNP MIS and Kenya DHS 2014

1.1 The Hunger Safety Net Programme



The HSNP is an unconditional Cash Transfer (CT) programme that targets people living in extreme poverty in four counties in northern Kenya: Marsabit, Mandera, Turkana and Wajir.

It is currently in its second phase, in which it aims to provide the poorest 100,000 households with regular cash payments, and reach up to an additional 180,000 households with periodic emergency payments to help mitigate the effects of shocks such as drought¹.

Under HSNP Phase 2, 383,235 households across the four counties have so far been registered into the HSNP Management Information System (MIS). The registration exercise took place between December 2012 and June 2013 and was intended to be a census of the population of the four counties². It was planned that all households be registered for bank accounts, with the HSNP providing regular CTs to 100,000 of these. These regular beneficiaries of HSNP are known as 'group 1'. In this report we refer to them as 'routine beneficiaries'. The rest of the households in the MIS are known as 'group 2'. A large number of these are eligible to receive HSNP 'emergency payments' in time of drought. In this report we refer to households that have ever received an emergency payment as 'emergency beneficiaries'.

At the time of writing, some 275,978 households had been registered with active accounts, 84,619 of which were Group 1 beneficiary households³. An on-going effort is in place to finalise account registration and activation for the remaining households. Once this is achieved, Group 1 households that have not yet received any payments will be paid their full entitlement from the HSNP, dating back to July 2013.

Currently the transfer is worth KES 2,550 per month (approximately £17/\$25)⁴. The transfer is made directly into routine beneficiaries⁵ bank accounts every two months. Emergency beneficiaries receive a single month's transfer (i.e. currently KES 2,550) if their area is deemed to be in severe or extreme drought in any given month. Some of Group 2 have thus received one or more emergency payments, while others have received no payments.

The 2016 assessment of the HSNP programme targeting of routine and emergency beneficiary households found that the extent and uniformity of poverty in areas targeted by HSNP2 made it very difficult for the programme to accurately identify the poorest households using a combination of Proxy Means Test (PMT) and Community-Based Targeting mechanisms. Exclusion and inclusion errors in phase 2 are very high – roughly similar to what would have been achieved if a random targeting rule were used – and targeted beneficiaries are not considerably worse off than non-beneficiaries in terms of monetary poverty (Sliver-Leander and Merttens, 2016). The implications of this targeting performance are discussed at various points throughout this report.

The HSNP transfer is targeted to households rather than individuals, with each household selecting one individual with a national ID to open the bank account and collect the transfer on each payment day. Just under 62% of households have selected a female recipient, and slightly over half of these women are the head of their household.



The HSNP is implemented under the NDMA, which reports to the Ministry of Devolution and Planning (MDP). An internationally procured Programme Implementation and Learning Unit (PILU) sits within the NDMA. The PILU manages and monitors the delivery of the HSNP and provides oversight of a rights and grievances mechanism for the programme. The PILU reports to the NDMA and HSNP Steering Committee.

The HSNP is delivered in partnership with implementing partners HelpAge International, which manages the programme rights component, and Financial Sector Deepening Trust and Equity Bank, which manage and deliver the payments component respectively.

HSNP Phase 2 runs from July 2013 to March 2017⁶. It is funded by DFID to the value of £85.6m.

The GoK is expected to contribute funding as part of the National Safety Net Programme (NSNP; see Box 1). It is envisaged that by 2017, 49% of total programme costs and 54% of the HSNP caseload will be met by the Government of Kenya.

An independent evaluation of the HSNP has been commissioned of which this report is a part. The objective of the evaluation is to provide evidence on programme performance and impact for use by all programme stakeholders, including the PILU, NDMA, DFID, NSNP and GoK, plus other national and international stakeholders. The evaluation will inform future decision-making and accountability for funding, as well as the wider community interested in CTs, both nationally and internationally.

¹The HSNP first phase ran from 2009 to 2013 and provided around 69,000 households (approx. 496,800 people) with regular electronic Cash Transfers every two months.

²It is known that some settlements were missed from the registration, but not precisely how many households or individuals were missed. There is a plan to register all the missed communities in the next registration exercise, which is currently set to begin in July 2016.

³See www.hsnp.or.ke/index.php/dashboards/at-a-glance [accessed 9/3/2016]

⁴The original value of the HSNP transfer was KES 2,150 every two months. This was paid to each beneficiary household (or individual in the case of the Social Pension component). The value was calculated as 75% of the value of the World Food Programme (WFP) food aid ration in 2006, when the value of the transfer was first set. Over time, the value of the transfer has increased: initially from KES 2,150 to KES 3,000 with effect from payment cycle 16 (Sep/Oct 2011), then to KES 3,500 with effect from cycle 19 (Mar/Apr 2012). A one-off doubling of the transfer occurred in Jul/Aug 2011 to support households coping with drought. At the end of the phase 1 evaluation period it stood at KES 3,500. At the start of phase 2 the value was worth KES 4,900.

⁵A note on the use of the word 'beneficiary': The evaluation team recognise that it is a potentially problematic word, as it assumes benefit, and also carries normative connotations which place the person receiving in a position of relative weakness to the benefactor. However, we use 'beneficiary' throughout this report because it is consistent with the language the programme uses to describe recipients of the HSNP.

⁶DFID is currently trying to extend this end date to March 2018 in order to align with the World Bank's Programme for Results support to the NSNP.



Box 1

The NSNP

There are four main CT programmes in Kenya, which are implemented by two ministries: the Ministry of Labour, and East African Affairs⁷ (MLEAA; formerly the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Services) and the MDP. The three programmes housed in the MLEAA are: the Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children Programme (CT-OVC) in the Department of Children's Services; the Older Person Cash Transfer Programme (OPCT); and the Cash Transfer Programme for People with Severe Disability (CT-PWSD), both in the Department of Social Development. The HSNP sits in the NDMA within the MDP.

The three MLEAA CTs currently operate in 47 counties across Kenya, including the four HSNP counties. Within these four counties, there is currently not much overlap between the various programmes, though each of the MLEAA CTs have defined expansion plans that are due to be met in 2015/16 and 2016/17 .

Following the Kenya National Social Protection Strategy (2011) the government has established the NSNP. The aim is to create a framework around which the four main cash transfer programmes (CT-OVC, OPCT, CT-PWSD and HSNP) will be increasingly coordinated and harmonised. The NSNP has three objectives that aim to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of safety net support to poor and vulnerable populations in Kenya:

- 1. create robust and transparent systems for targeting, registration, payments, case management and monitoring, and strengthen the overall governance of the programmes;**
- 2. harmonise the four CT programmes to improve the coherence of the sector; and**
- 3. expand the coverage of the four programmes in a coordinated manner to progressively realise the right to safety net support.**

The NSNP is thus the first step in a longer-term reform agenda that aims to establish a national safety net system as part of an integrated approach to delivering social protection services nationally. The Social Protection Secretariat, a body created by the National Social Protection Policy, provides sector-wide oversight and coordination.

The NSNP is supported by the World Bank's Programme for Results (P4R). Some of the indicators that trigger payments to the GoK under the P4R rely on data from the HSNP programme and its evaluation.

1.2 Context in northern Kenya

The HSNP operates in the four northernmost counties of Kenya. These are part of a region of the country known as the arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs).

This region, and in particular northern Kenya, has faced recurrent severe or extreme droughts over many years, including during the last two decades. Protracted drought emergencies have occurred in 1999, 2000, 2004, 2005-6, 2007-9, 2011 and 2014.

The context of severe and extreme drought, whether protracted or intermittent, has significant impacts on the lives of the population living in the ASALs. For instance, in January 2014, the Government of Kenya declared an impending drought with an estimated 1.6 million people affected. After a poor performance of the long rains between March and May 2014, the drought situation effected both pastoral and agriculture livelihood zones, including the HSNP counties. As a result of these droughts, food insecurity is high and the principle livelihood activity of livestock production is often negatively affected. Local prices are also made volatile which can further exacerbate the problems households face. When rains do come, floods can damage infrastructure and temporarily cut-off areas. Lack of adequate rangelands for livestock grazing can also trigger conflict between communities.

The HSNP was conceived in the aftermath of one of these protracted drought emergencies and it is to this context to which it is addressed. The idea is that poor

and vulnerable households that receive regular CTs will be able to mitigate the negative effects of drought by smoothing their consumption and avoiding negative coping strategies such as sale of productive assets.

Data used in this report was collected in August 2015, which is a time of the year where rain is uncommon in the HSNP areas. During data collection, households commonly mentioned that they were currently coping with the effects of drought (see Section 5).

There are many other programmes operating in northern Kenya, but coverage is patchy and irregular. Many of these programmes provide food, but some provide seeds, equipment/tools etc., or other forms of livelihood support such as training and micro-credit. The Arid Lands Support Programme (ASP), World Food Programme, World Vision aid and assistance from the government were all mentioned. Furthermore, many of the programmes only operate in emergency situations. This could mean that their interactions with HSNP routine transfers are limited, although this may be less the case vis-à-vis the emergency transfers. We have explored the interaction with HSNP and ASP specifically in a special study on the ASP, conducted as part of this evaluation⁸, and we hope to investigate it further during follow-up rounds of this research.

⁷The Ministry of East African Community (EAC), Labour and Social Protection was formed as a result of re-organization of Government in May, 2013. The Ministry combined the former Ministry of Labour and part of the former Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development.

⁸Pearson, et al. *Evaluation of the Kenya Hunger Safety Net Programme Phase 2 Special Study on the Arid Lands Support Programme*, April 2016.

1.3 Evaluation approach

The previous evaluation of HSNP Phase 1 provided robust evidence that the HSNP works effectively as a safety net, particularly for the poorest beneficiaries, directly supporting families to be more food secure, hold onto their assets during shocks, and spend more on health.

The evaluation of the HSNP pilot phase was very rigorous, but it was also resource-intensive and placed large demands on the implementation of the programme in order to facilitate the community-randomised, staggered roll-out that underpinned our randomised controlled trial design.

This approach was appropriate for Phase 1, where the priority was establishing the impact of a highly innovative programme operating in an extremely complex context. After several years of implementation of HSNP, the policy and programme context have changed considerably, and so has the evidence needed to further inform the HSNP design and operation. Since there is already 'proof of concept', Phase 2 of the evaluation is tailored to respond to these needs, rather than repeat the exercise of Phase 1.

The evaluation inception report⁹ sets out how we will deliver on the Terms of Reference (ToR), implementing a robust **Impact Evaluation** (incorporating a **Local Economy-Wide Impact Evaluation (LEWIE)**, an **operational evaluation, continuous independent programme monitoring, and policy analysis**. As agreed with DFID, the research to be conducted under these workstreams will not necessarily be synthesised into a single assessment of the HSNP (though some of the results under different workstreams will speak to each other), but rather will achieve the broad objectives set out in the ToR via distinct sets of activities.

But we also want to go beyond simply delivering these standard evaluation objectives. Having undertaken the previous evaluation, we want to focus the Phase 2 evaluation in a way that builds on and complements,

rather than replicates, our previous work. While periodic independent evaluation will always be required, as the HSNP matures it should be expected to incorporate much of the learning and accountability functions (impact and operational evaluation, ongoing monitoring and policy analysis) into its own routine monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and policy development activities.

We thus aim to implement the core impact evaluation exercise, monitoring activities and technical approaches in such a way that they can be used as an appropriate basis for extending the scope of the programme's own routine M&E and policy development processes going forward. To support this incorporation of our instruments and approaches into the programme's own M&E and policy development processes, we implement a 'communications and learning' workstream.

Through ongoing engagement with the NDMA and the PILU, specifically tailored learning events and a comprehensive communication strategy, to facilitate within the PILU and NDMA a firm understanding and ownership of the evaluation approach, such that core elements can be sustainably adopted by the programme itself going forward. For example, the evaluation deploys a methodology for routine monitoring of payments that could be taken up (and/or adapted) by the HSNP. Similarly, the evaluation has set up a structure for analysing programme costs that can be reported on in a routine way moving forward.

Table 1 below presents a summary of the various evaluation work streams and related studies within these work streams. It also shows the status of these research activities at the time of drafting this report.

⁹OPM, *Hunger Safety Net Programme Evaluation of HSNP Phase 2 Inception Report*, July 2015

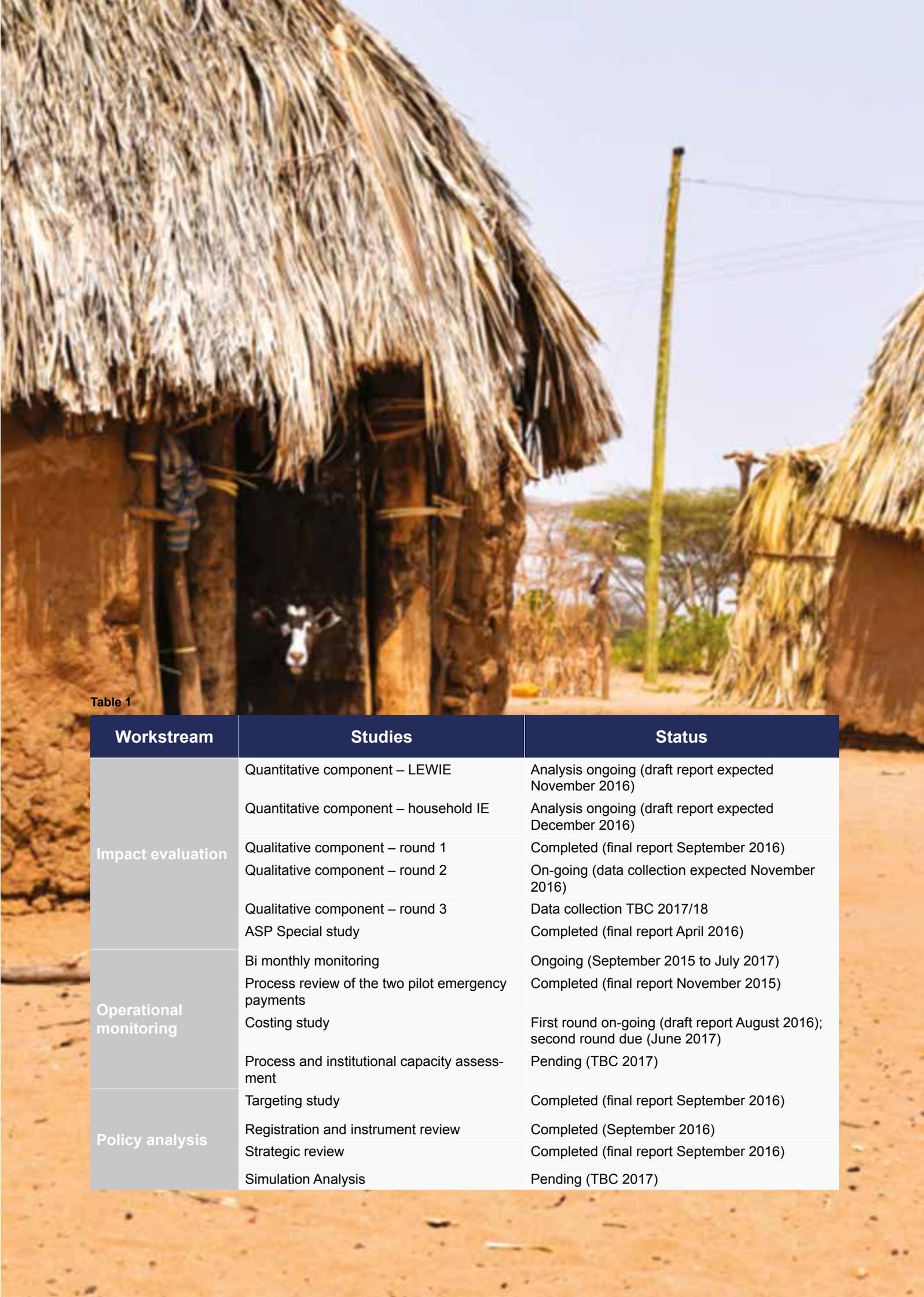


Table 1

| Workstream | Studies | Status |
|------------------------|--|---|
| Impact evaluation | Quantitative component – LEWIE | Analysis ongoing (draft report expected November 2016) |
| | Quantitative component – household IE | Analysis ongoing (draft report expected December 2016) |
| | Qualitative component – round 1 | Completed (final report September 2016) |
| | Qualitative component – round 2 | On-going (data collection expected November 2016) |
| | Qualitative component – round 3 | Data collection TBC 2017/18 |
| Operational monitoring | ASP Special study | Completed (final report April 2016) |
| | Bi monthly monitoring | Ongoing (September 2015 to July 2017) |
| | Process review of the two pilot emergency payments | Completed (final report November 2015) |
| | Costing study | First round on-going (draft report August 2016); second round due (June 2017) |
| Policy analysis | Process and institutional capacity assessment | Pending (TBC 2017) |
| | Targeting study | Completed (final report September 2016) |
| | Registration and instrument review | Completed (September 2016) |
| | Strategic review | Completed (final report September 2016) |
| | Simulation Analysis | Pending (TBC 2017) |

1.4 Impact evaluation design

The evaluation of HSNP Phase 1 clearly demonstrated the impact of the CTs at the beneficiary level with the use of a robust experimental design.

However, the methodology did not allow for a comprehensive analysis of the broader effects of the programme on the local economy.

As HSNP scales up under Phase 2 it may generate a wide spectrum of effects at different levels and for different groups within society and households. Our evaluation approach for HSNP Phase 2 thus places a stronger focus on this aspect in the form of a multi-method Impact Evaluation (IE) that aims to disentangle this variety of effects and understand through which channels and with what observable results the HSNP is changing the lives of people in northern Kenya.

The IE component is designed to systematically address the evaluation questions set out in section 1.5. The aim is a comprehensive evaluation of the effects produced by the scaled-up HSNP CTs on targeted households and individuals, as well as on the communities and local markets in which they live and work. A range of analytical methods constitute the basis for a mixed-methods evaluation of the impact. The qualitative research relies on multiple rounds, while a single round of quantitative data collection based on a household survey will underpin both the LEWIE and the quantitative IE. The quantitative IE will thus be based on a single round of post-treatment data collection, in the form of a large household survey. There is no scope for a 'before' and 'after' comparison (i.e. pre- vs post-treatment) since the current phase of HSNP began in July 2013, well before the start of this evaluation.

The different methods are specifically associated with the relevant evaluation objective that they are expected to achieve.

- The first objective of the workstream is to investigate the wider effects of the HSNP CTs on the local economy through the use of a **LEWIE**. This approach

will enable us to understand the local supply response to the anticipated increase in demand due to the injection of cash into the local markets brought about by the HSNP transfer. On the one hand, there could be positive economic spill-overs in the surrounding economy, giving rise to a local income multiplier and amplifying the HSNP's overall impact. On the other hand, if the local supply is not responsive to the increase in demand, the programme's benefits could be undermined by higher prices. **The LEWIE analysis will therefore shed light on the potential multiplier effects of the HSNP**, by simulating HSNP impacts on the entire local economy and on groups of households and production activities.

- The second objective of the workstream is to assess the effects of the CTs at the beneficiary level using a **quantitative IE approach based on a Regression Discontinuity (RD) design**. Quantitative data will be collected for this impact analysis through the same survey underpinning the LEWIE analysis. The considerable size of the sample used for this IE will provide the opportunity to also carry out a sub-sample analysis of the HSNP impact across a number of household categories of interest.
- **Multiple rounds of qualitative research deploying participatory methods** will complement the quantitative approach by: providing an **understanding of the context** within which the programme is operating, and how this affects and is affected by the CT; **capturing experiences and processes that produce outcomes of interest**; enabling an **assessment of impacts that are difficult to cover quantitatively** (such as social cohesion and inter- and intra-household relations); and providing complementary data on some of the topics covered by the quantitative survey to **triangulate, validate and provide depth** to the quantitative findings.

¹⁰ OPM, *Hunger Safety Net Programme Evaluation of HSNP Phase 2 Inception Report*, July 2015.



- A **special study on the ASP** to look at the interaction of the HSNP with a package of complementary activities to support livelihoods as well as provide an insight into the contribution the ASP makes to county planning and budgeting processes.

These research components have been designed to complement one another and deliver as full an understanding as possible of what impacts the HSNP2 programme has had, and the causal pathways for those impacts. The evaluation objectives, research questions and overall design are described in further detail in the evaluation inception report¹⁰.

In addition to the standalone reports for each component of the impact evaluation, a final report will also be produced to synthesise the findings from the quantitative household impact evaluation, the LEWIE study and the qualitative research studies together, so as to provide a comprehensive summary assessment of the impact of the HSNP2.



INTRODUCTION



1.5 Evaluation questions

The original evaluation ToR put forward a series of key evaluation questions

These related to key elements and assumptions in the programme theory of change, covering both impact (through quantitative and qualitative methods) and process performance.

The evaluation questions were reviewed and refined during the inception phase, explicitly mapping them to the OECD-DAC evaluation criteria and allocating them

against the proposed workstreams and specific activities to be undertaken.

Table 2 below sets out the specific evaluation questions that are addressed by the impact evaluation, and maps this against the various components of the IE (quant RDD IE; qualitative research studies; LEWIE study).

Table 2

| Workstream | Evaluation approach | | |
|--|---------------------|-------------|-------|
| | Quantitative | Qualitative | LEWIE |
| What are the overall effects of the CTs in terms of consumption, poverty, asset retention/ accumulation, nutrition (dietary diversity), financial inclusion (saving, borrowing and credit), subjective wellbeing, social networks, conflict/social tension | X | X | |
| For which sub-groups are effects most pronounced (taking account of poverty status, household size, family composition, geographic location, livelihood base, gender and disability) | X | X | |
| How do CTs impact on women's control of cash within their (often polygamous) households and their wider empowerment | | X | |
| How do the effects of predictable transfers compare with those of short-term transfers triggered in response to acute shocks? | | X | |
| How do the larger one-off transfers some households will receive due to the later than anticipated start of the programme impact on those households? | X | | |
| Does the combination of CTs and wider livelihoods activities open up new livelihoods opportunities/income-generating activities for poor households? How? | X | X | |
| What kinds of multiplier effects are found in local economies? | | | X |
| What kinds of multiplier effects are found in local economies? | | X | |
| Do the new payment platform and expansion of financial services provide benefits for beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries? | | X | |
| Do the new payment platform and expansion of financial services provide benefits for beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries? | | X | |

1.6 Purpose of the qualitative component of the IE

The qualitative research provides an assessment of the impact of both routine and emergency HSNP payments, drawing on the perspective of both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. It also incorporates an understanding of the interaction between the HSNP and other livelihoods support programmes such as the ASP*.

The qualitative research seeks to complement the quantitative research to provide a more nuanced assessment of programme impact. In particular, it will fulfil the following five objectives:

1. Provide an understanding of the context within which the programme is operating, and how this affects and is affected by the CT programme.
2. Help to understand experiences and processes that produce outcomes of interest in the evaluation. This is complementary to quantitative research, which will provide a measure of the outcomes and impacts.
3. Enable an assessment of social impacts that are (methodologically) difficult to cover completely and sensitively via the quantitative survey (such as social cohesion and inter- and intra-household relations); and analysis of notable differences between identity groups and counties where relevant.
4. Provide complementary data on some of the topics covered by the household surveys, thereby triangulating, validating and providing depth to the quantitative findings.
5. Give an insight into longer-term impacts, which the quantitative evaluation component cannot provide.

The qualitative research takes place over three rounds. The aims of the first round are to provide general information about the context in which HSNP2 is operating and the perceptions of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries about the impacts of the programme. Fieldwork was timed such that preliminary findings from the research informed the design of the quantitative component of the IE. The next round of is intended to focus on a couple of special studies – to be identified in conjunction with DFID and the HSNP – as well as follow-up on any issues or queries stemming from the

quantitative analysis. The final round of qualitative research is intended to look at medium-to-long-term impacts of the programme. Rounds 2 and 3 of the qualitative research will thus be preceded by a design phase in which the methodology and research plan are refined with respect to the goals of that particular round and the tools and fieldwork protocols are developed.

This report is based on data gathered during fieldwork for the first round of research, which took place in August 2015 in all four counties simultaneously. Subsequent rounds will take place in October-November 2016 and June-July 2017¹¹. This scheduling enables both short-term and medium to long-term impacts to be investigated. It also facilitates triangulation between the quantitative and the qualitative analysis. In addition to longer stand-alone qualitative reports, at the end of each round of fieldwork, a short fieldwork implementation note is produced¹².

The timing of the qualitative and quantitative data collection activities are sequenced in such a way as to inform each other's design and maximise synergy during analysis. The first round of qualitative research took place during the design phase of the quantitative survey, such that preliminary findings could feed into the design of the quantitative study. The second phase of the qualitative research will take place after the results from the quantitative studies have been produced, enabling us to investigate the findings that emerge from the LEWIE and quantitative household impact evaluation. The teams carrying out the qualitative and quantitative components of the research meet at specific moments in their respective design and analysis phases in order to discuss findings, draw out emerging trends, and identify areas for further research.

The qualitative research focusses on four broad areas:

- perceptions of wellbeing¹³ at individual, household and community levels;



- risk, vulnerability¹⁴ and resilience¹⁵;
- livelihoods and local markets; and
- informal institutions and social relations (inter-and intra-household relations, gender relations, social cohesion).

1.7 Structure of this report

The remainder of this report is structured as follows.

Section 2 provides a summary of our methodology, giving an overview of the research approach, the scope of the qualitative study, our sampling strategy and how analysis was conducted.

In Section 3 we discuss the uses of HSNP cash by programme beneficiaries. Section 4 discusses the impacts of HSNP on poverty and wellbeing, outlining the definitions and characteristics of poverty in the four participating counties, how beneficiary households are distributed among these categories, and the changes the transfer has brought about in this area. Here we also discuss the psychosocial impacts of HSNP.

Section 5 examines how the transfer has affected levels and types of vulnerability, as well as the coping strategies households engage in.

Section 6 outlines the key livelihood activities of HSNP beneficiaries and how the transfer has impacted these, considering how the CT both influences and is influenced by other sources of livelihoods support.

Section 7 focuses on the local economy impacts of the transfer, via a discussion of markets, prices, income and expenditure, and credit.

Section 8 investigates how the transfer has impacted social relations within and between households.

Finally, we conclude with Section 9, a review of the key findings, their implications for the programme, and recommendations for further inquiry in subsequent rounds of the qualitative research.

* Evaluation of the Kenya Hunger Safety Net Programme Phase 2 Special Study on the Arid Lands Support Programme, Roger Pearson, Caroline Riungu and Fred Mertens, April 2016.

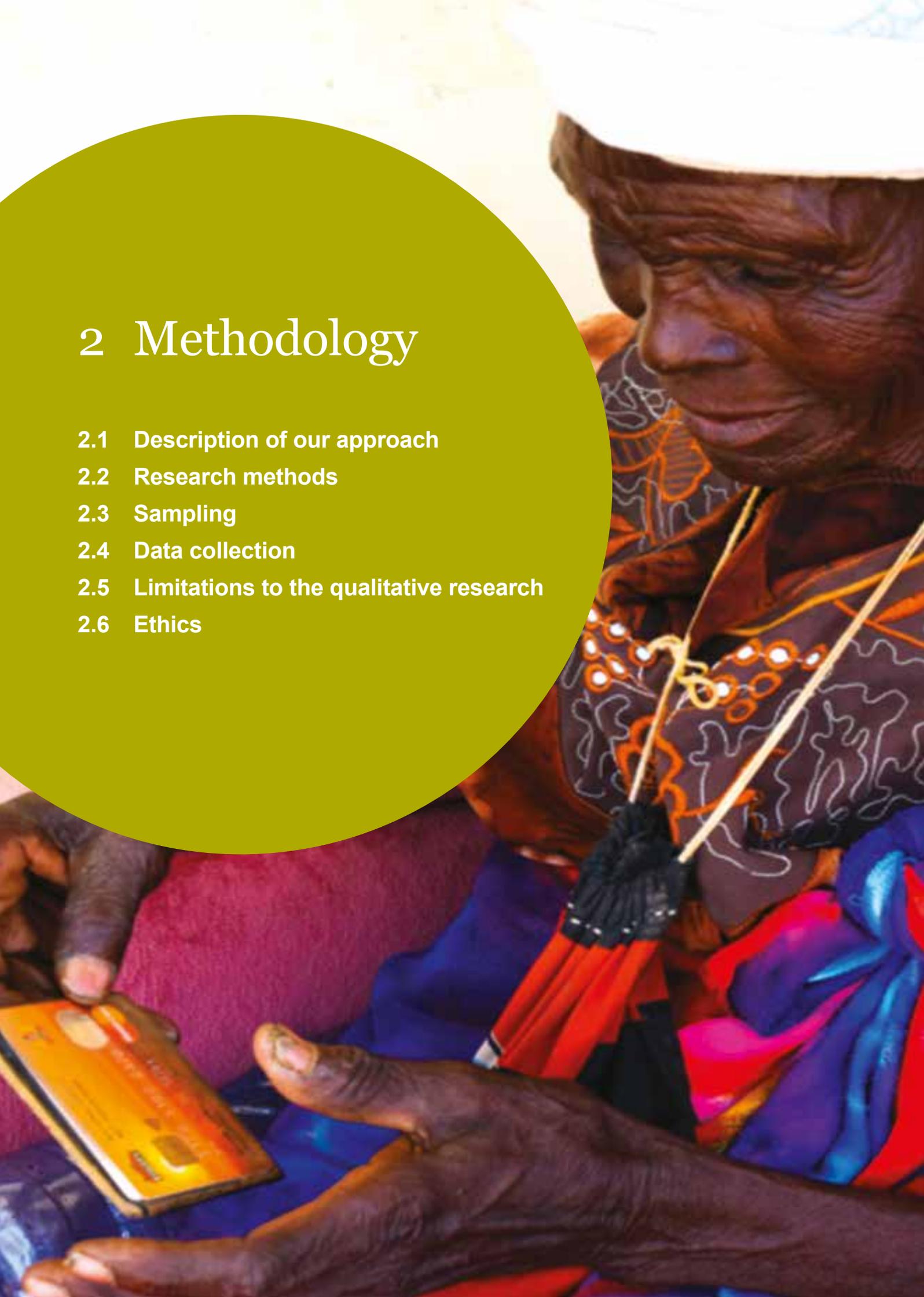
¹¹The final round is subject to confirmation and may be shifted back in time depending on the outcome of the programme extension request beyond March 2017.

¹² See HSNP (2015).

¹³ We define wellbeing as "a state of being with others, where human needs are met, where one can act meaningfully to pursue one's goals, and where one enjoys a satisfactory quality of life." (McGregor, 2008) This definition is holistic and incorporates emotional, social, and relational elements of what it means to live well.

¹⁴This is the exposure to uninsured risk leading to a socially unacceptable level of well-being (Hoogeveen et al, 2004).

¹⁵Resilience is the ability of countries, communities and households to manage change, by maintaining or transforming living standards in the face of shocks or stresses - such as earthquakes, drought or violent conflict - without compromising their long-term prospects. See DFID (2011).



2 Methodology

- 2.1 Description of our approach
- 2.2 Research methods
- 2.3 Sampling
- 2.4 Data collection
- 2.5 Limitations to the qualitative research
- 2.6 Ethics

2.1 Description of our approach

The qualitative research is designed to move beyond the traditional way of undertaking qualitative IEs for CT programmes in four ways.

First, we are assessing impacts and outcomes of the HSNP through a broader wellbeing framework, in which development interventions have not just material¹⁶, but also relational¹⁷ and subjective effects¹⁸ (see White and Ellison, 2006; White, 2010). Within this framework, beneficiaries and research participants are involved in the articulation of how they define wellbeing, including 'psychosocial' wellbeing. This framework enables research participants to assert their agency and voice in the research process, articulate change in their own terms, and raise underlying or less obvious issues that researchers may otherwise not have anticipated.

Secondly, the qualitative research focuses on less tangible or quantifiable dimensions of interest. It will seek to uncover the complex range of interrelated social processes that can be either positively or negatively affected by the introduction of CTs.

Thirdly, the qualitative research has been designed to understand the reciprocal interaction between programme processes and impacts. In other words, it will seek to unpack how HSNP operational processes, such as targeting and grievances, or regular and full receipt of payments, mediate programme outcomes and social processes. Conversely, it will seek to comprehend how social processes might impact on and/or explain the effectiveness of programme operations.

Finally, the qualitative research is sequenced in such a way as to inform the design of the quantitative studies (LEWIE and IE). It is also designed to respond to findings and issues raised from previous rounds of both the quantitative survey and the qualitative research itself and capture longer-term impacts. This will enable the evaluation to drill down into complex or unexplained results from the research, as well as respond flexibly to new research questions that might emerge over the evaluation period.

¹⁶ We define material wellbeing as related to income, health, education and skills, employment, assets, access to services, natural resources, shelter, welfare, standard of living, etc.

¹⁷ Relational wellbeing refers to social and personal relations within and outside households, and with the state.

¹⁸ Subjective wellbeing looks, at feelings, hopes, fears, aspirations and values.

HSNP impact evaluation qualitative research methodology

What is this study?

This is the qualitative component of a mixed methods evaluation. Its purpose is to build a picture of the impact of HSNP on key dimensions of people's lives in the **4 counties of Northern Kenya** where the cash transfer is operating:



Perceptions of wellbeing at individual, household and community levels.

Risk, vulnerability and resilience.

Livelihoods and local markets.

Informal institutions and social relations (inter- and intra-household relations, gender relations, social cohesion).

How did we build that picture?

We went to Kenya to talk to the people who are receiving the cash, the traders and shopkeepers, local leaders, and other people in their communities.



METHODOLOGY



What did we do with all the data?

Overall we did: 72 FGDs, 112 QPSs, and 53 KIIs. Our colleagues in Kenya took the audio recordings of all our activities back to Nairobi, and produced verbatim transcripts of all the FGDs, QPS, and KIIs. They sent these transcripts back to Oxford, where we used a software called NVivo to sort and analyse the content of the transcripts. We then wrote up our findings in this report!



Where did we go and why?

We went to **13 sub-locations** in the **4 HSNP counties**. Some of these sub-locations are urban, some rural. Some are very poor and some are less poor. We went to places where lots of people are getting HSNP and where not so many people are getting HSNP. We visited sub-locations with a mix of livelihood activities.



What did we do when we got there?

We organised ways to talk to a lot of people:



Key Informant Interviews (KIs) with people who could tell us about the communities, help us find HSNP recipients to talk to, and tell us about the impact of the transfer. We did these interviews with: 11 sub-location chiefs, 11 Rights Committee members, 17 traders and shopkeepers, and 14 others (teachers, religious leaders, health workers, social workers).



Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)
We spoke with groups of 8-12 people (men and women separately) who receive the HSNP transfers, either as regularly beneficiaries or as recipients of emergency payments. We did: 11 FGDs with routine-beneficiary men; 14 FGDs with routine-beneficiary women; 7 FGDs with emergency-recipient men; and 9 FGDs with emergency-recipient women.

FGDs with with community leaders:
we organised groups of 8-12 people who could help us understand the communities where recipients live. We did: 12 FGDs with male community leaders, 9 with female community leaders, and 5 with a mixed group of community leaders. During the FGDs we did some participatory exercises like social mapping.

Qualitative Panel Studies (QPS):

QPS are household case studies for which we visited people in their homes and talked with them about their lives. We asked them to do a number of participatory activities such as using drawings to explain their income sources and what they spend money on. We did QPS with routine beneficiaries, emergency recipients, and households who never receive the HSNP. We gave the beneficiaries cameras to capture for themselves how the transfer has affected their lives. We did QPS with: 59 beneficiary households; 28 emergency recipient households; and 25 households who never receive HSNP money.



2.2 Research methods



METHODOLOGY

The qualitative research is designed to supplement the quantitative research being undertaken to provide a robust estimate of impact for the HSNP phase 2.

Over three rounds the qualitative research will thus provide contextual information, garner perceptions about the HSNP and its impacts from beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, investigate specific issues stemming from the results of the quantitative research, and consider medium- to longer-term impacts. For these purposes the qualitative research uses a combination of household Qualitative Panel Studies (QPS), Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and observation.

2.2.1 Household QPS¹⁹

QPS are a form of data collection in which the same households are interviewed using semi-structured instruments over multiple rounds of research. This gives an in-depth understanding of household behaviours and dynamics in the specific contexts in which they are embedded. In this case, the qualitative research will be conducted over three rounds of fieldwork, spread across approximately a 24-month period.

QPS provide a temporal dimension of change, as well as an understanding of causality (how and why change occurred), and how aspects of social, cultural and contextual processes interact to produce different individual outcomes. They allow for flexibility in the research design. For example, repeat household visits

will allow for an iterative and continuous evolution of theorisation and research questions.

2.2.2 FGDs

The QPS are complemented with FGDs with routine and emergency beneficiaries, as well as with community elders. FGDs are held in a group setting within which people with similar backgrounds or experience discuss a topic of interest. The FGD is guided by a moderator who introduces topics and facilitates discussion amongst the participants. FGDs stimulate debate and explore differences in attitudes and perceptions within and between members of a group (e.g. men, women, elders). Their purpose is not to gather 'collective' views or experiences, but rather to allow participants to agree or disagree and provide insight into the range of opinions, experiences and perspectives about a particular issue.

2.2.3 KIIs

The qualitative design also includes KIIs to explore specific issues identified through the research, as well as any emerging from the QPS that need validation. KIIs, in this instance, are semi-structured, one-to-one interviews with key individuals in the community who have an in-depth knowledge of specific issues. Key informants



include people such as teachers, traders, or religious leaders. With their particular contextual understanding and experience, KII respondents can provide insight on the nature of particular problems or trends.

2.2.4 Participatory tools

We use the following participatory tools during the FGDs and QPS activities: social and vulnerability mapping, wellbeing ranking, household income and expenditure analysis. These tools encourage debate and interaction during the discussions and engage respondents in the analysis process. For example using beans to show proportions during the community mapping exercise provided reference points for respondents that facilitated them to assess and challenge each other's assertions.

We also incorporate the use of transect walks and informal conversations at community level. Transect walks involve walking through a community with a key informant who points out places of social significance, housing areas of different groups, shared resources, etc. The walk and the accompanying informal conversation allow us to triangulate information about the community collected in FGDs. Engaging in informal conversations also provides spontaneous information and generate data that community members may not divulge in a more formal discussion context.

Finally, we also conducted a participatory photography exercise where respondents are supported to capture photographic images that reflect their experiences and lived realities as HSNP beneficiaries. These images, taken during the first round of research, will be used to inform and structure discussions with QPS households during subsequent rounds of fieldwork.

¹⁹ The panel studies may be implemented in different months of the year. The purpose is to understand a process of change rather than to measure outcomes. The QPS in this study also allows for deeper and nuanced understanding of household experience and the context within which change is experienced as a result of being HSNP beneficiary.

2.3 Sampling

2.3.1 Selection of evaluation areas

Within each county, the qualitative research took place in three treatment sub-locations²⁰. These sub-locations were selected purposively. This is because, in contrast to quantitative research, qualitative research aims to substitute breadth of coverage and statistical generalisation with the use of contextual methods to explore complex issues in depth. The sub-location sample frame for the qualitative research was determined by the programme MIS as that covers all sub-locations in four programme counties.

The exact sub-locations to be selected were determined in the qualitative research design phase in collaboration with the key programme stakeholders. Sub-locations were purposively selected to cover a range of contexts, including geographical (e.g. urban and rural), socioeconomic (livelihood, poverty level, etc.) and programme-related issues (e.g. remoteness). This selection was therefore designed to include sub-location characteristics that are expected to have differentiated responses to the HSNP transfers. In addition, for looking at the emergency payment, we worked with the NDMA to select sub-locations that have are highly susceptible to future droughts, so that the assessment is more likely to be able to capture the impact of more than just one round of payment.

Annex B provides an annotated summary of the selection process and the resulting sub location sample.

2.3.2 Selection of respondents

Our sampling approach aimed to capture social and economic diversity within the selected communities, including household types, while at the same time enabling a level of consistency in groups across counties.

Households for the QPS were selected using random stratified sampling. For example, after beneficiary status, households were further stratified according to pertinent characteristics, based on an analysis of the HSNP MIS data. These included household size, welfare status (based on the programme PMT), beneficiary status under HSNP Phase 1, and gender of household head. A total of 10 households (six routine beneficiaries, two emergency beneficiaries and two non-beneficiaries²¹) were selected in each sub-location for the panel studies. This means that a total of 120 households

across the four counties will be tracked over the duration of the evaluation²². This sample provides a decent basis for making inferences from the data, including enough variety at the county level and enabling us to triangulate with information gleaned from other sources such as the FGDs and KIIs.

Households that were sampled for the panel study will not be part of the quantitative interviews (i.e. no household will be in both the quantitative and qualitative surveys).

Sampling for the FGDs was undertaken in the field. It too was also purposive and stratified, in that we targeted particular population groups consistently across all sub-locations (male and female routine and emergency beneficiaries, male and female non-beneficiaries, and female-headed households). We also ensured that other social or economic groups particularly relevant in specific sub-locations were captured (e.g. young women, female casual workers, female traders, ethnic minorities, child-headed households, etc.). These specific groups were identified and targeted during the early stages of fieldwork, as the research teams introduced and oriented themselves in the study locations.

KIIs were undertaken with relevant people in communities, service-providing institutions (e.g. schools, health centres), local government and civil society. In some situations, it was more useful to conduct a group discussion with several key informants (e.g. a group of teachers from a school) rather than an individual interview. Key informants have different positions and perspectives and bring their own sets of interpretive biases to their analysis of the impact of HSNP. In the first round of fieldwork we held KIIs with:

- sub-location chiefs;
- elders/community leaders;
- local traders;
- teachers/health workers;
- religious leaders; and
- local non-governmental organisation (NGO) workers.

In the follow-up rounds, as with the FGDs, discussions with key informants will be determined by findings emerging from the panel studies and other research activities. Annex C summarises the research activities. Annex D presents the question guide used during discussions.

²⁰ We visited one additional sub location in Turkana county in order to complete the required number of activities with Group 2 beneficiaries.

²¹ These non-beneficiaries will not be beneficiaries of the routine payments or emergency payments. However, they will be selected to be just above the PMT threshold.

²² In the baseline we will interview an additional four households (two beneficiaries and two non-beneficiaries) as a reserve list in each sub-location.

2.4 Data collection

The data were collected between 18 August and 3 September 2015. A six day training was held for all researchers between 10th and 16th August.

All researchers had fluency in the local dialect and had experience in undertaking qualitative research. Half of the researchers had a diploma²³. Some researchers had been involved in the first phase of the programme evaluation²⁴. The training provided an overview of the second phase of the HSNP²⁵, the objectives of the qualitative research and its role in the overall evaluation. The team were then introduced to the specific objectives and research questions of this round of research, and then introduced to the research methodology and tools. Familiarization to the tools followed a role play approach, allowing the team to pilot and revise the tools. A detailed training plan is provided in Annex E.

Data collection commenced immediately after the training and pilot activities in all four counties.

Each research team consisted of four qualitative researchers, with a fifth senior and experienced team member nominated as a team leader. The teams were recruited based on their language abilities and cultural backgrounds as well as their skills in participatory research.

We allocated three days of fieldwork for each county, roughly three days per sub-location and one additional day for logistics (note that in Turkana County, the team was required to visit a fourth sub-location to sample Group 2 beneficiaries)

At the end of each day of field work, researchers were given time to reflect and discuss the findings from the days' field work and as well as begin to draw out the analytical implications from these findings.

2.4.1 Recording the data

All KIIs, FGDs and QPSs were voice recorded and subsequently transcribed for coding and analysis (see below). However, researchers also took comprehensive field notes. The research team took notes on the discussions and noted occasions when participants disagreed or when one participant's opinion was particularly strong. Where possible, they included any thoughts on why differences are emerging. Finally, the team captured the diagrams produced by participants, using digital photography where appropriate.

2.4.2 Data analysis

Analysis of the data started in the field. Researchers were trained to confer with each other on the highlights for each research area and major points and issues raised during the daily team debrief.

The research teams undertook several steps of debriefing as part of their routine daily activity. Firstly, at the end of each FGD, any particular issues that affected how the process had gone (e.g. number of participants, dominance by particular individuals, use and adaptation of tools, etc.) were discussed by the team, along with on-the-spot troubleshooting of ways to address these issues.

Where team composition allowed, the teams worked in same-sex pairs, with partners giving each other immediate feedback on how a particular activity went, key themes that were raised, etc. At the end of each day, the whole team came together to debrief on the day's fieldwork overall. The discussion included a summary of practical/logistical issues as well as an in-depth review of analytical issues. The findings from the day were discussed in terms of the five broad question areas, and how the findings contributed to our overall understanding.

The debriefs enabled the team to discuss gaps in information which needed to be filled, as well as any new issues which needed further exploration. This helped teams adapt and improve the research process where needed as they went along. These daily debriefing process formed the basis for an overall district report which each team had to submit at the end of the fieldwork.

²³26% and 21% of researchers had a certificate and a degree respectively.

²⁴These researchers were invited to share their knowledge on the programme, their findings and experience of undertaking the evaluation.

²⁵A presentation was delivered by members of the PILU.

2.4 Data collection

After fieldwork, desk-based research began, using the transcriptions of all the FDGs, KIs and QPSs. Participants' interpretation of images and outputs produced during the participatory exercise were captured through researcher's field notes to be included in the analysis. The resulting discussions were transcribed. We uploaded the transcripts to Nvivo, a software for the analysis of qualitative data. Each respondent statement was coded to one or more particular thematic issues, with the content, frequency, etc. used to draw out major findings. An output from this software can be found in Annex F. We also conducted a separate analysis on the outputs of the participatory exercises conducted in FDGs and QPSs. This allowed us to isolate trends among particular groups of respondents on specific issues (e.g. Group 1 spending, sources of income and expenditure, common characteristics of vulnerability).

2.4.3 Challenges during fieldwork

Most challenges were around mobilising respondents for FDGs. For example in Kalemunyang, Turkana County, some respondents did not want to participate unless they were going to receive cash remuneration. This slowed down the mobilisation process, as the team had to find respondents but who were more willing to engage. A few respondents were remunerated for direct costs they had incurred travelling to the discussion venue. Such payments were mostly in-kind (e.g. refreshments), but on one or two occasions in cash.

In Mandera, the team found it challenging to travel to remote locations, mobilise and conduct fieldwork within the same day. They worked closely with local contacts to improve time management, however they still endured very long days in the field.

2.5 Limitations to the qualitative research

The qualitative component of this IE compliments the quantitative component such that together we provide a comprehensive assessment of programme impact.

Mixing both quantitative and qualitative methods in this way thus aims to maximise the strengths and minimise the weaknesses of each respective method. Of course, taken individually the qualitative methods used in this research do have a number of limitations. These include:

- The data are not statistically representative either of the HSNP phase 2 beneficiary population or the wider population of the four HSNP counties. The sampling of study sites was done purposefully, as was the selection of key informants and respondents for FDGs. Although the respondents for QPS were selected using random stratified sampling from the programme MIS (supposedly embodying a complete census of the entire population of the four counties), we do not have a large enough sample size to provide any very precise statistical estimates and the data we gather from QPS is not quantitative in nature nor intended to be used in quantitative statistical analysis.
- These data do not provide a robust estimate of programme impact. The perceptions of programme impact presented in this report are just that, subjective perceptions of the various different respondent types consulted for this research. A robust (quantitative) estimate of programme impact is intended to be provided by the quantitative component of the evaluation. The qualitative component focusses on contextual issues and special themes of interest that are not covered by the quantitative component.
- The data cannot be disaggregated between a great number of dimensions of potential interest. The research was designed to produce data that could be disaggregated between routine beneficiaries, emergency beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, and between men

2.6 Ethics

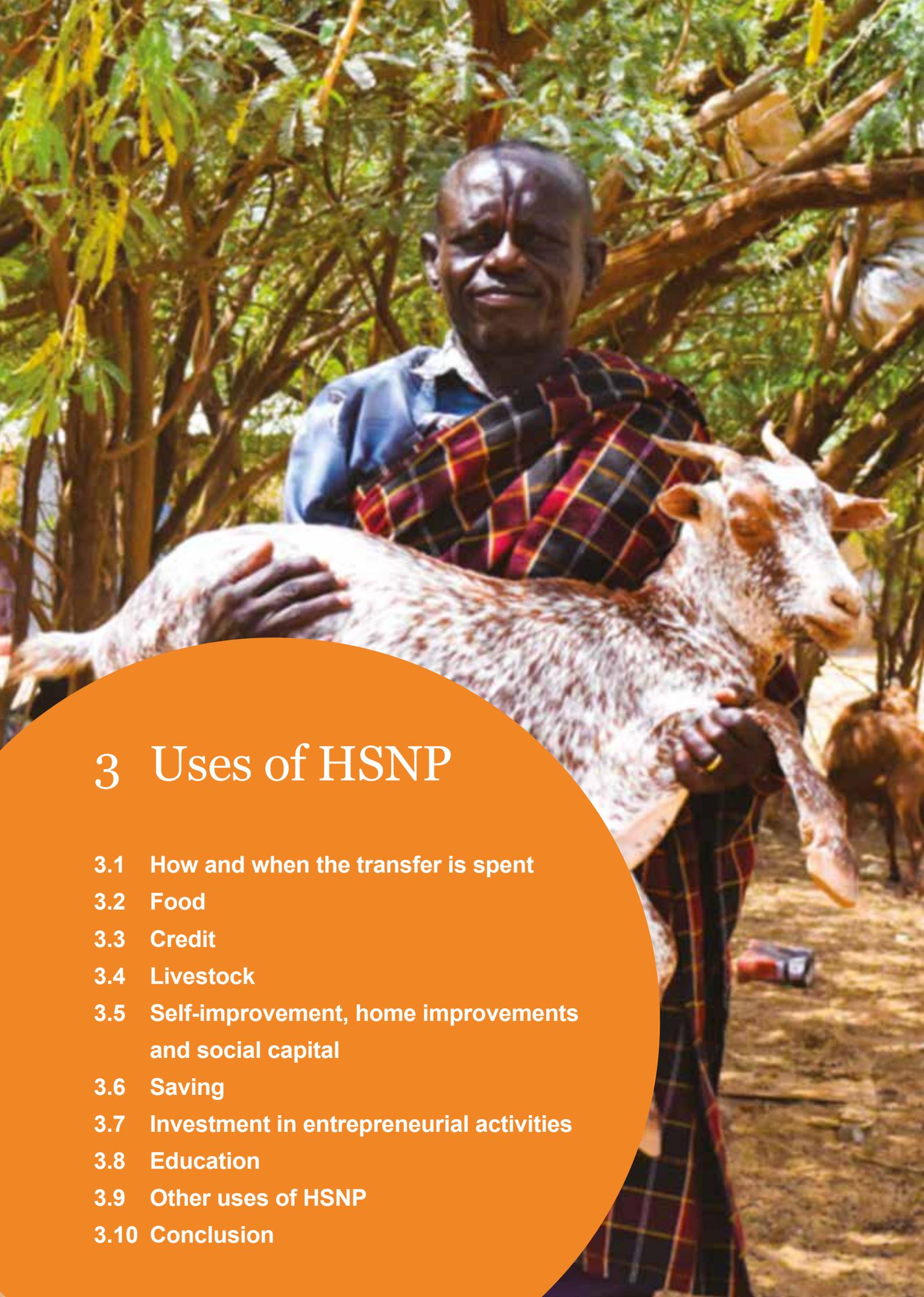
and women within beneficiary groups, but not across counties or any other type of disaggregation.

- Cash is fungible. We enquire what beneficiaries spend their HSNP transfers on, and what they perceive to be the impacts of the programme. However, because cash is fungible, even if beneficiaries report spending money on one type of good, the actual impact of the programme may be felt elsewhere as cash is freed up to make expenditures they might not actually have made in the absence of receiving the HSNP. The qualitative data will thus be triangulated against the findings from the quantitative study which will provide a measure of where aggregate programme impacts occur.

A number of ethical issues were considered in planning and facilitating the research.

Firstly, we ensured that there was no deliberate exclusion of potential respondents on the basis of, for example, ability to access meeting places, or stigma. The research teams also considered cultural and community norms in the selection of respondents, and sought permission for the research through consultation with both the direct participants and local community officials. Participants were informed that at any point during the activity they had the right to decide not to participate. Our research teams clearly communicated the parameters of each research activity to respondents—the purpose, the procedures, and what follow-up would entail.

We recognise that respondents are possibly vulnerable. Therefore, we took steps to carry out research activities with full respect, diminishing the power differential between community members by sitting at the same level as respondents, and arranging respondents in a circle where possible. Post-fieldwork, we ensured respondents' right to privacy by maintaining anonymity in record keeping and report writing.



3 Uses of HSNP

- 3.1 How and when the transfer is spent
- 3.2 Food
- 3.3 Credit
- 3.4 Livestock
- 3.5 Self-improvement, home improvements and social capital
- 3.6 Saving
- 3.7 Investment in entrepreneurial activities
- 3.8 Education
- 3.9 Other uses of HSNP
- 3.10 Conclusion

3 Uses of HSNP

This study finds that, across counties and beneficiary groups, the transfer is overwhelmingly spent on food and meeting basic needs.

Alongside this, but to a lesser degree, HSNP is used for spending on education and investment in social capital. The transfer has also helped to improve beneficiary creditworthiness. However, there were variations between routine and emergency beneficiaries. Some emergency beneficiaries were only able to use the transfer to buy food. This limitation was less common among routine beneficiaries, some of whom were able to make small investments in businesses, small livestock, and home improvements. Less common uses of the transfer include payment of medical expenses, and saving.

It should be noted that this section reports findings on what beneficiaries report spending their HSNP CTs on. However, because cash is fungible, what beneficiaries say they spend the transfer on does not necessarily identify the aggregate impact of the programme.

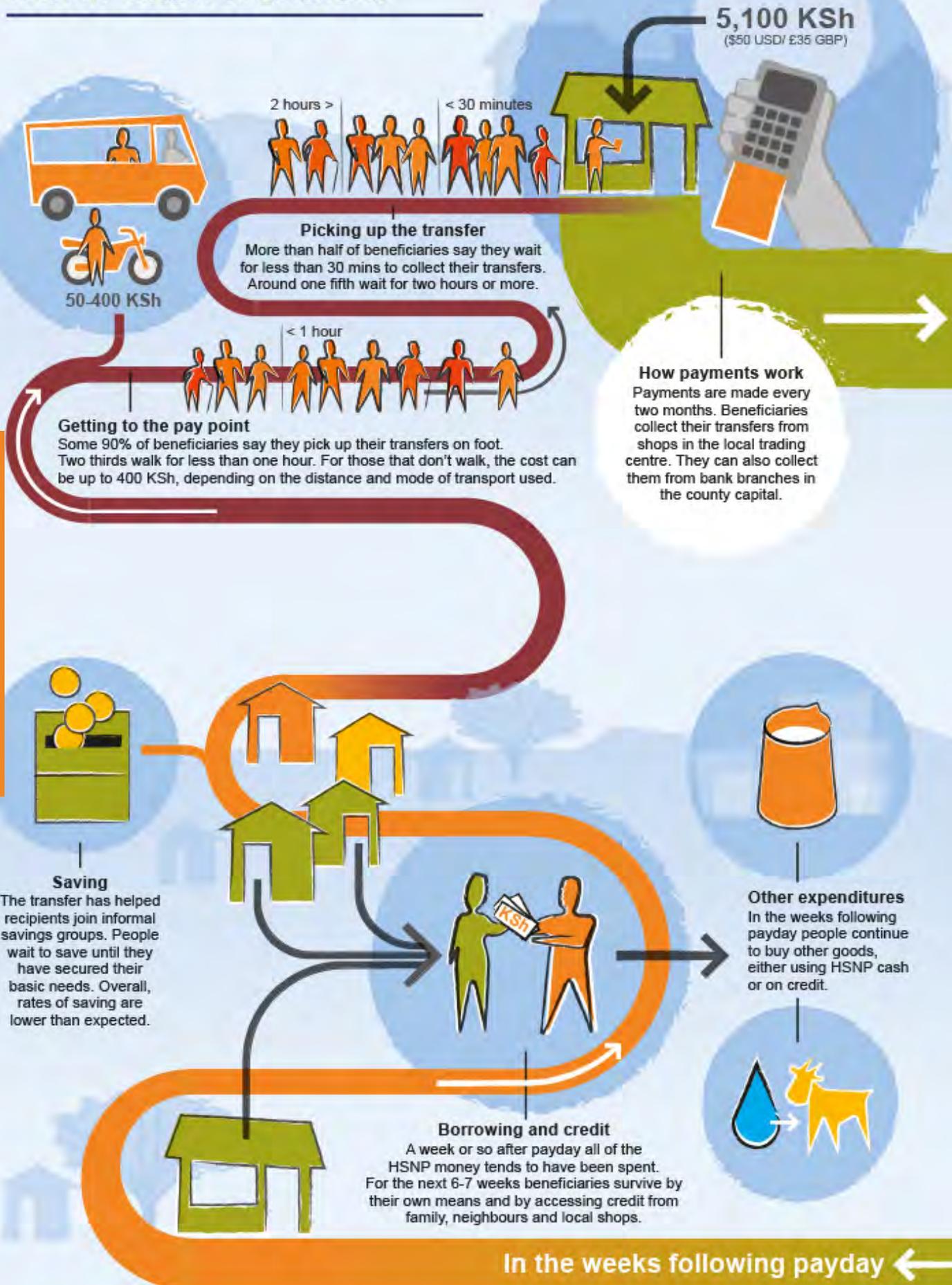
In this section and throughout this report we note differences in the use and perceived impact of the HSNP transfer between routine and emergency beneficiary households. Given the challenges of targeting described in Section 1.1 (and analysed in more detail in our assessment of targeting), and the sampling strategy used in the qualitative research, these distinctions do not necessarily reflect systematic differences in wealth or wellbeing between the two groups of beneficiaries. Rather they reflect differences in use and impact

between regular, predictable payment and less regular emergency payments, as perceived by the respondents to this research.

In the following sections we discuss the uses and limitations of the HSNP transfer in more detail. We begin with the most significant uses of the transfer, namely those which were most common amongst respondents and which most closely align with the objectives of the transfer to reduce poverty, food insecurity and promote asset retention and accumulation in beneficiary households. We then move on to discuss less prominent uses of the transfer as reported by beneficiaries in the four study counties.

How people use their HSNP cash transfers

USES OF HSNP



Luxury food

On payday people splash out on luxury foods, such as meat, vegetables, milk, sugar and rice. These are not bought in large quantities, just enough for the household to eat well that day.

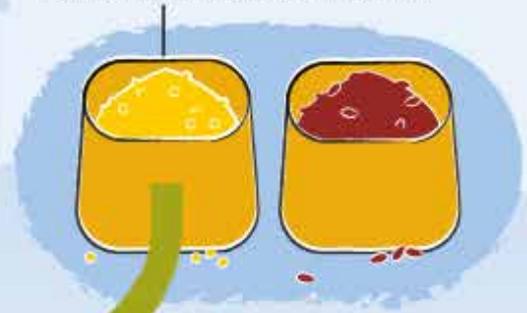


'We eat very nice food with the kids and everyone else at home. However, that doesn't last long because the following day the money is finished..'



Staples

People tend not to continue to buy meat after the first day. Subsequently, HSNP helps them with their purchases of staples (with cash and on credit), such as maize and beans, waiting until the next payday for those other luxury foods



→ Most spending occurs on payday

Debt

On payday people also pay off their debts to shops and other people in their community.



Other basic needs

HSNP beneficiaries commonly use the transfer to buy personal and household items such as clothes, pots and pans, stools to sit on and hygiene products.



Payday spending continued

Education expenditures

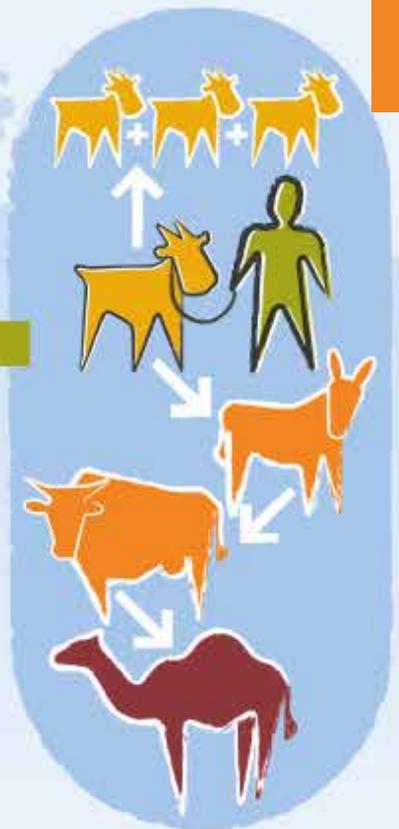
Nearly all the women we spoke to reported spending HSNP money on schooling for their children. This was much less frequently mentioned by men.



Livestock

When buying livestock with HSNP money, beneficiaries typically purchase goats or sheep. The cost of a single goat is around 2000-3000 KSh.

Over time the transfer can help people build up their herds, both through the purchase of more animals and breeding of animals bought. Households that have received larger 'lumpy' payments are enabled to make bigger productive investments in larger or more valuable animals.



3.1 How and when the transfer is spent

Most respondents reported spending a large portion of the HSNP transfer on payment day, and at the pay point.

This finding was consistent across all four counties. It appears to be driven by the fact that, in most cases, beneficiaries travel to the only major market in the area to collect the transfer. Respondents in some areas also explained that goods are more competitively priced in the towns where they collect the transfer. It therefore makes sense for them to use the opportunity to make as many purchases as possible before returning to their communities. In rare instances, beneficiaries in both routine and emergency categories reported spending the entire transfer on that first day on livestock.

Use of the transfer funds continues in the week following pay day, with school fees emerging as the main spending priority at this time. This is the case for both routine and emergency beneficiaries. In nearly every case the transfer funds run out in the third week after payday. From this point onward, a fair number of beneficiaries start to borrow from friends and neighbours and purchasing items on credit from local shopkeepers (see below).

Factors that affect use of the transfer include the relative wealth of the beneficiaries, the frequency of payments, and both husband and wife being beneficiaries. The qualitative research found that **relatively wealthier households experienced greater benefit from receiving the transfer**, as they were able to combine the transfer with other income sources. This was often evidenced by a more significant reported improvement in purchasing power, asset ownership and wellbeing among these households as compared to poorer beneficiary households. The inclusion of these households may indicate targeting errors (Sliver-Leander and Merttens, 2016).

Where both husband and wife are HSNP beneficiaries, the use of the transfer tended to reflect gendered household norms. The wife's transfer tended to be used for household basic needs (food, school fees, clothing, etc). Meanwhile, the husband's transfer tended to be used for investments (acquiring assets, home improvements, or other investments). Section 8 contains further detail about the gendered social norms which guide decisions about the use and control of the transfer.

We also observed that **unevenly spaced, lump sum payments affect the use of HSNP** (see Box 2). Most respondents reported receiving the correct amount (or very near it). However, administrative delays and operational problems resulted in large, 'lumpy' payments to some beneficiaries. We found that most of these beneficiaries that we spoke to choose to make bigger purchases and investments than they normally would. If possible, the quantitative studies will explore in more detail the prevalence and impact of the programme on those that received lump sum payments.

Some routine and emergency beneficiaries report that the value of the transfer is diminished immediately because they must use a portion of the money to pay for transport to the pay point. Transport can cost anywhere between KES 50 and KES 400 depending on the mode ('boda boda' motorcycle taxi, or bus) and the distance to the pay point. Findings from our Operational Monitoring activities²⁶ indicate that around nine out of ten beneficiaries walk to pick up their transfers.

²⁶ For outputs from these activities see www.hsnp.or.ke/index.php/our-work/measurement-evaluation.



Box 2

Lump sum payments vs. regular payments

Yakub* is a beneficiary of the routine HSNP transfer living in Mandera County. His household is poor, and depends on the transfer as a major source of income. Due to delays and administrative issues, when Yakub received his first payment the total amount came to KES 30,000, nearly six times the normal payment.

Taking advantage of an unusually large infusion of cash, Yakub used the HSNP transfer to purchase five goats and a donkey cart. The goats have since reproduced and become a small herd, and Yakub's family drink the milk they produce instead of buying milk. The family use the donkey cart to make domestic chores easier, and are able to help the neighbours with activities such as collecting firewood or fetching water for a small fee.

The donkey cart has also become an important part of the family's coping strategy to face drought. Yakub explained that when there is severe drought in his area, he depends on the cart as a way to travel to areas that have been less affected, in the hopes that food, water and household goods might be more readily available for purchase. Yakub now receives the correct transfer amount every two months.

Budgeting the smaller amount means he has to have clear priorities. Most important to him is being able to buy food for his family, ensuring that his children can eat well. Like other families we spoke with, Yakub's family enjoys the treat of a special meal on payday. 'When we get the HSNP money, we compare ourselves with the rich men who have big stomachs.' The rest he uses on school fees and meeting basic household needs.

3.2 Food

The HSNP-II transfer has helped to increase the number of meals eaten per day, for both routine and emergency beneficiaries. The transfer accomplishes this in two ways. First, we observe that use of HSNP for food purchases remains fairly strong for a few weeks after payment. Many beneficiaries purchase 'bulk' quantities of staples (oil, beans, rice, spices, tea leaves, rice, and maize/maize flour) on payday. They then use HSNP to make smaller purchases from local vendors. Second, the transfer has enabled some beneficiaries to smooth consumption by improving their ability to access credit for purchase of basic staples from neighbours and local markets once the transfer cash has run out.



HSNP helps increase dietary diversity, though mostly just for a few days after the payment. On pay day in particular, beneficiaries of both routine and emergency payments reported being able to improve their dietary diversity by making luxury purchases of meat and vegetables. These are purchased in small quantities, just enough for beneficiaries to enjoy them for one or two days. For example, a beneficiary of emergency payments in Mandera County explained that on payday 'We eat very nice food with the kids and everyone at home. However, that doesn't last long because the following day, the money is finished.'

Some longer duration improvements to dietary diversity were reported. For example, many female beneficiaries (especially in Mandera and Wajir) explained that HSNP has enabled them to buy milk for the entire period between payments (either with cash or on credit). Some women highlighted the nutritional benefits of consuming milk every day, and emphasised that 'how you take your tea' can be a local socio-economic indicator in northern Kenya. It is thus significant that many respondents echoed the assertion of women in a FGD in Marsabit that 'most beneficiary households can now afford milk tea, and not strong tea [tea brewed in water instead of milk].' Some beneficiaries who would normally only eat maize and beans also reported that they are able to add rice to that diet as a result of the HSNP transfer.

“We eat very nice food with the kids and everyone at home. However, that doesn't last long because the following day, the money is finished.”

3.3 Credit

HSNP has increased beneficiaries' credit-worthiness and ability to borrow from friends and neighbours.

While some respondents reported that HSNP has allowed them to move away from depending on credit, more broadly we found that debt repayment accounts for a significant proportion of HSNP spending on pay day. Often, credit or borrowing has been for food purchases. Both routine and emergency beneficiaries reported that they have increased ability to purchase goods on credit from shopkeepers in their villages. They also reported that friends and neighbours have been more willing to lend them small amounts of money (or food) which they repay when they receive the transfer. This has consumption-smoothing effects.



Data collected during household QPSs and FGDs indicate that **most beneficiaries repay their debts within three weeks of receiving the transfer.** They then start to buy on credit again or to borrow. The traders we interviewed corroborated this, in reporting that HSNP beneficiaries tend to repay debts almost immediately after receiving their transfer, and that generally they do so without being prompted. This reliable repayment has improved perceptions of beneficiary credit-worthiness. For example, numerous traders reported that they gladly extend credit to beneficiaries because they have observed that they are more likely than non-beneficiaries to make repayments.

There are indications that **being able to purchase goods on credit has increased both routine and emergency beneficiaries' confidence as consumers.** Many reported using credit to buy things they had not been able to purchase before, and in larger quantities. As a male emergency transfer beneficiary in Mandera explained, 'Before, I used to only buy half of something. Now I buy the full size and pay off my debt for the other half.' Contrary to what might be expected, the beneficiaries do not appear to be prohibitively risk-averse when it comes to taking on debt, and use the transfer to increase their purchasing power on credit.

“Before, I used to only buy half of something. Now I buy the full size and pay off my debt for the other half.”



3.4 Livestock

The findings on livestock purchases synthesize data collected by various means.

On one hand, we asked individuals to reflect on the unique experiences and perceptions of their households. On the other, we held discussions with groups (typically separated by gender) which solicited information that was more general and based not only on experience but observations of what appears to be happening at a communal level. Taking these two perspectives into consideration affects our ability to definitively determine the HSNP transfer's impact on livestock, as general trends described in FGDs did not always play out at household level amongst our small, unrepresentative sample of QPS interviewees. While a limited number of households reported purchasing livestock recently, the issue of livestock was a prominent theme in group discussions with men and women. Despite this apparent differences in the two sources, a comprehensive view of the data indicates that the ability to buy and maintain assets in the form of livestock remains an important issue, as would be expected in areas where forms of pastoralism are the main livelihoods, and the transfer appears to have enabled some households to do so. This section highlights the experience of beneficiaries who have used the transfer to purchase livestock.



Among household case study participants, and in accounts from FGDs with both routine and emergency beneficiaries, on payday **small livestock purchases account for the highest spending**, with sheep and goats being the most expensive type of goods to be purchased using HSNP cash (though it should be remembered that only a small portion of beneficiaries use the transfer to purchase livestock). On average, routine payment beneficiaries who purchase livestock report spending more on livestock than on anything else on pay day, including food. Pay days become lively market days, with livestock traders gathering at pay locations in anticipation of purchases by HSNP beneficiaries, who in aggregate purchase significant amounts of small livestock almost immediately after receiving the transfer.



This spending trend continues into the following week, with some beneficiaries reporting that what they spend on livestock on average outpaces the money spent on food purchases and debt repayment combined, and is exceeded only by spending on school fees. After the

initial one week, almost no spending on livestock was reported, which may be due to beneficiaries' limited access to markets taking place outside of payday.

The most typical livestock purchased are goats.

QPS respondents who purchase livestock—all routine beneficiaries—generally report having bought one to three goats, with the cost of a single goat being roughly KES 2,000 to 3,000. Over time, the transfer has helped some people grow a small herd, both by buying more goats with each payment, or by breeding. There were some reports of animals purchased with HSNP funds dying before becoming productive, due to drought. In contrast, other beneficiaries reported that their herds are doing well, and they had been able to use the transfer, usually saved over multiple payment rounds, and coupled with cash from other sources, to purchase a donkey (costing up to KES 10,000) or cow. Some respondents also reported using the transfer to help cover the cost of maintaining their livestock, purchasing food or 10 or 20 litre jerry cans of water throughout the month (which cost around KES 500).

Very few respondents report being able to use the transfer to purchase larger livestock, such as camels, which can cost upwards of KES 60,000. Camels are widely considered an asset owned primarily by the wealthy, and this type of purchase was not commonly reported. Indeed, those who did own camels typically seemed to be wealthier beneficiaries who have been included in the HSNP programme due to targeting errors. Respondents viewed the transfer as insufficient to save the amount of money needed to buy a camel.

In general, **male routine beneficiaries were more likely to purchase livestock than women,** who more frequently spent the transfer on household basic needs, such as food and school costs. This corresponds with gendered norms relating to the use of male and female income.

Regarding the use of HSNP funds to purchase livestock, we initially found some disparity between beneficiary FGDs and household QPSs with routine payment beneficiaries, indicating that the purchase of livestock was very much a gendered spending behaviour. Among QPS households, we found that almost none of the women receiving routine payments reported buying livestock, while almost all women interviewed reported spending money on school. Conversely, we found that, among QPS households, only one male beneficiary reported spending on school, but all men reported using the transfer to purchase livestock. However, in the FGD context, when asked how the transfer had influenced household spending in general, both men and women

widely reported that the transfer is used to purchase small livestock.

Considering the social-cultural norms which shape intra-household power dynamics (discussed in further detail in Section 8) and the impact the transfer has on these norms, it seems reasonable to suggest that the difference between the group and individual narratives can be attributed to one key factor. That is, that for the vast majority of beneficiary households the relatively small size of the HSNP transfer means that there is also a rather low level of decision-making power exercised in determining how the money is spent. As described in this section, the predominant use of the transfer reported by recipients is to address food and nutrition, basic household needs and children's school fees. Culturally, these decisions fit within the ascribed responsibilities of women, and indeed, we find that the spending reported by men and women respectively is guided by gendered norms about decision making. Female beneficiaries—even those in male-headed households—tend to report prioritising spending in these areas (food, basic household items, children's education) as they are not widely given decision-making power over livestock or other major household assets. Conversely, men, who do have decision-making power over household assets, are more likely to report using the transfer to purchase livestock.

“When this money comes, the first thing people do with it is to see if they can buy some livestock.”

Female FGD participant, Turkana County

3.5 Self-improvement, home improvements and social capital

Quite a large number of routine beneficiaries reported using the transfer to purchase clothes for their children and families.

This they do on pay day at the market. The resultant improvement in attire was even noted by non-beneficiaries. A man in Mandera County who does not receive the transfer commented on the change he has seen among HSNP beneficiaries in his community, stating ‘They dress well. They buy new clothes for the members of their household.’

However (and particularly in Marsabit), some reported using the transfer to buy clothing on special occasions, such as to celebrate Eid or festivals. Despite the numerous variety of items beneficiaries report spending the HSNP transfers on, they also emphasise that the transfer does not often enable them to make significant investments beyond meeting basic needs. Beneficiaries explained that in some cases, **using the transfer to purchase non-food items would mean reducing food purchases**. As an emergency beneficiary in Marsabit explained, ‘The money is not much and does not even go beyond our stomachs. Unless we really sacrifice sometimes and buy some clothes.’

A number of routine beneficiaries also described using the transfer for **home improvements and household items**, such as pans, stools and bedding. Some routine beneficiaries have also made improvements or repairs to the structure of the house, through purchase of corrugated metal sheet for roofing and cement for flooring.

A large number of both routine and emergency beneficiaries also use the transfer to invest in social capital (see Section 8) by **sharing the money with non-beneficiary households** (neighbours and relatives). Generally this involves either giving small amounts of cash (KES 100–300), purchasing small gift items such as tea leaves, or sharing food bought with HSNP, such as a few kilograms of rice or small amounts of sugar.

Even emergency beneficiaries across districts report that they make an effort to share the transfer, viewing it as an opportunity to help those who are needy in their communities. The sharing of the HSNP transfer is discussed in more detail in section 8 below.

The amounts spent on building social capital and reinforcing positive reciprocal relationships between beneficiaries (both routine and emergency) and non-beneficiaries were generally quite low. Yet they are nonetheless important in looking at how HSNP affects and is affected by the social context in which it is implemented.

“They dress well. They buy new clothes for the members of their household.”

3.6 Saving

Savings behaviour appears to vary across and between counties.

However, on the whole, there has been **limited direct saving of the transfer, and the reported amounts saved are low**. Across counties, beneficiaries of HSNP tend to wait until they have secured their basic needs and purchased small livestock before saving, and widely report that the transfer amount and frequency is insufficient to accomplish much more than that. Unsurprisingly, emergency beneficiaries (who only receive one-off payments during periods of severe or extreme drought that are not predictable) were less likely to save any of their transfer than routine beneficiaries.

Some beneficiaries reported that a financial shock between payments (illness, increased need to purchase water, loss of livestock) could reverse any intention of saving or investing the HSNP transfer. For some, saving would come at the expense of meeting basic needs. As a woman receiving routine payments in Turkana County explained: 'I don't save the money because you know very well that you cannot keep cash inside the house and yet you are hungry, when you could use the money to buy a sack of rice or flour.'

While beneficiaries themselves rarely mentioned investing their HSNP in savings groups, some community leaders and traders (and a few beneficiaries) reported that HSNP has enabled some beneficiaries' to access savings groups (e.g. 'merry-go-rounds'). The reason for this difference in opinion is not clear. But, when we consider this information in light of wider findings on household expenditure (discussed in Section 6), we suggest that households may be leveraging the consumption smoothing effects of the transfer to channel income from other sources into savings.

The few households reporting that they have saved some of the transfer say they do so in very small amounts, around KES 100–200 (US\$ 1–2). However, we noted that beneficiaries who described themselves as being better off (for example, owners of successful businesses or many livestock) reported saving larger amounts (KES 1,000–5,000), and were saving much sooner than other, poorer beneficiaries. This finding reflects issues with the programme targeting (see Section 1.1).

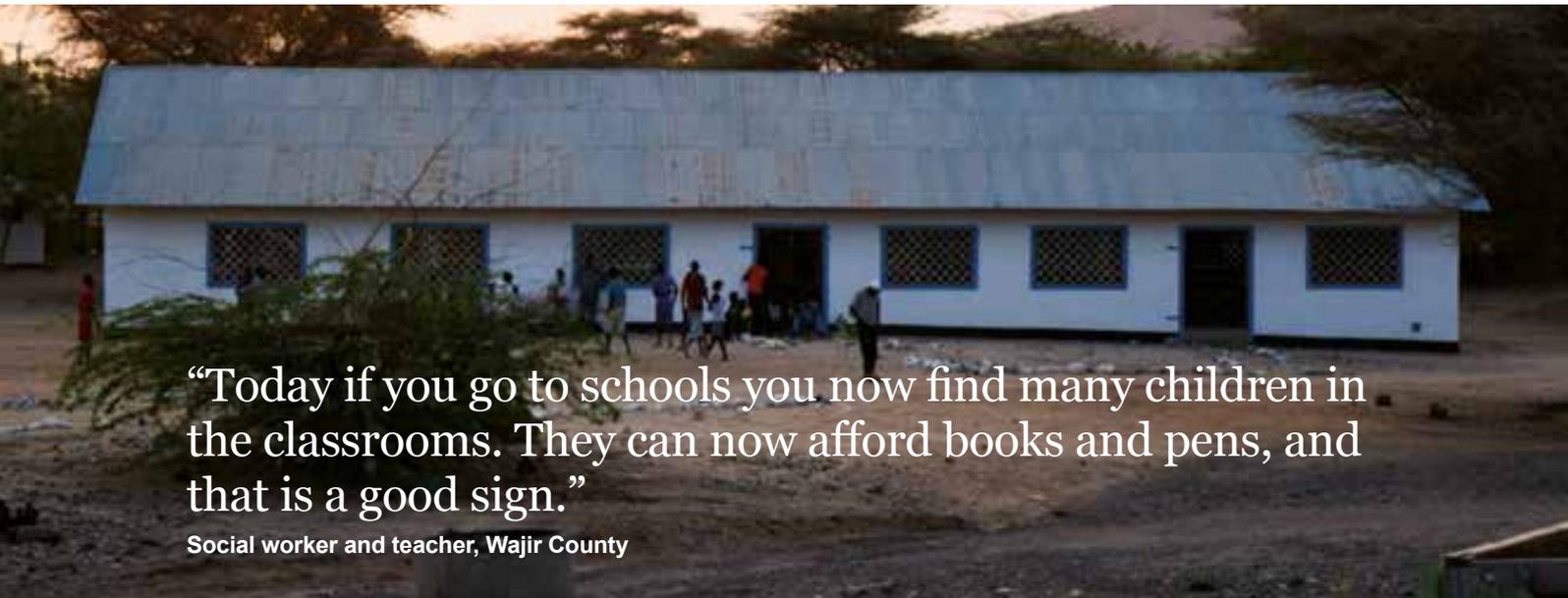
3.7 Investment in entrepreneurial activities

Use of the transfer to invest in entrepreneurial activities was not widely reported.

Yet it has been possible for some routine beneficiaries (both men and women), who reported using the transfer to **start a business or invest in an existing business**. These entrepreneurial activities have varied in scope: kiosks selling tea and small food items; selling miraa (a leaf chewed or brewed in tea and used as a stimulant); weaving mats; selling milk or vegetables; selling charcoal; and even opening a snack bar/small restaurant.

For those starting larger business, it appears that the transfer money was coupled with other funds, or loans from friends and neighbours. The transfer also acts as a 'boost' to new businesses, allowing owners to purchase stock or supplies, or even repay debt incurred in the process of starting the business without eating into profits. A Rights Committee member in Marsabit explained: 'People can take out a loan and start business in the village. And after opening the business they start returning the money.'

Some respondents who have invested in businesses explained that they have become an important source of income, which has allowed them to reduce the amount of casual labour they engage in (see Section 6 on livelihoods). Yet there were also reports that the success of these business endeavours was far from certain, as the primary clientele are poor and have unstable incomes.



“Today if you go to schools you now find many children in the classrooms. They can now afford books and pens, and that is a good sign.”

Social worker and teacher, Wajir County

3.8 Education

Spending on school fees and other expenses featured as an important use of HSNP among both routine and emergency beneficiaries.

USES OF HSNP

These households claim the transfer has also helped to meet fees and other education costs such as uniforms, shoes, books and school supplies, as well as transport to school. Many beneficiaries concluded that there have been some improvement in access to education in their households. In addition, some teachers, community leaders and beneficiaries felt that spending on education has led to a reduction in child labour, higher school attendance and a reduction in absenteeism. In some cases, they highlighted how the transfer is especially helping orphans and children of widows return to school.

As to be expected, **the extent to which the transfer helps to cover schooling costs is dependent on the number of school-aged children in the household.** Some respondents explained how they prioritise the use of HSNP for the education expenditure of children in their care. For example, a 59-year-old grandmother in Turkana County described how she budgets some of the HSNP transfer for education costs for the four school-aged grandchildren in her care. She prioritises her 15-year-old grandson, having recently spent KES 300 on his exam fees. Next she budgets KES 150 each for his younger siblings (a 10-year-old girl and an 11-year-old boy). Finally she sets aside KES 100 for their youngest sister (a 6-year-old girl in primary school).

We also found that elderly and labour-constrained households were less likely than other beneficiary households to pool the HSNP funds with other sources of income to meet education costs. Such families cope by using the transfer to put what they can towards the most pressing schooling needs (usually fees) and incur debt on the balance.

Across counties, beneficiaries highlighted the **opportunity cost of putting HSNP towards education expenses.** Some respondents described how their spending priorities revolve around the academic calendar. School costs come to the fore during term time, and they use the money for other expenses (typically buying food) when school is not in session. Others plan to use the money exclusively for school costs, and therefore do not experience the benefits of using the transfer to smooth consumption, save, or buy livestock etc. For example, a female emergency beneficiary in Marsabit explained, ‘Those who have their children in schools will sometimes sacrifice the cash, saving it for their children until the schools are opened. Then they pay school fees using the money.’



3.9 Other uses of HSNP

We found that there were very few reports of using the transfer to hire casual labour.

This is likely due to the fact that demand for agricultural casual labour is very low in the drought affected areas where HSNP is implemented. In addition, and as discussed in Section 6, the types of casual labour available (fetching firewood, washing clothes, constructing homes, etc.) are chores which households are more likely to perform themselves, rather than using limited household resources to pay someone else.

We see **very little indication of what could be classified as misuse of the transfer**. One explanation for this is that local markets do not offer many options for misuse—most of the available items are foodstuffs, clothing and basic needs, household goods and livestock. Excessive purchase of miraa or alcohol ('drinking the money') were rarely mentioned, and then only minimally in Marsabit and Turkana. Purchase of alcohol is limited by the fact that two of the four HSNP counties have predominantly Muslim populations, where religious restrictions prohibit alcohol consumption (see section 8.2.4 for further detail). Similarly, while there were a couple of reports of male beneficiaries collecting the transfer and not sharing it with the household, or divorcing their wives and abandoning their children so that they do not have to share, these accounts were isolated incidences.

3.10 Conclusion

Overall, HSNP beneficiaries focus their use of the transfer on securing immediate needs

(buying food, paying school fees, paying off credit debt), with a relatively small proportion being used to prepare for future needs (investing in livestock or sharing with others who may help them at times of future need). The ability to use the transfer to address both present and future needs was more pronounced for routine beneficiaries, while beneficiaries of emergency payments were generally limited to meeting essential needs in the immediate term.

4 Poverty and wellbeing

- 4.1 Categories, characteristics and distribution of wellbeing groups
- 4.2 Distribution of HSNP beneficiaries among the various wellbeing groups
- 4.3 Changes in wellbeing status as a result of HSNP
- 4.4 Psychosocial wellbeing







4 Poverty and wellbeing

Overwhelmingly, HSNP beneficiaries generally consider themselves better off than they were before the transfer.

The transfer was linked to better material wellbeing (a subjective measure of their income, consumption and assets), with reported improvements including more frequent and diverse meals, increased livelihood options, resilience to shocks and improved creditworthiness. Beneficiaries also mentioned particularly strong improvements in psychosocial wellbeing. Among the possible wellbeing categories—very poor, poor, middle class and rich—the majority of

beneficiaries consider themselves to be in the middle or somewhat poor. Those who consider themselves to be middle class largely point to the transfer as enabling them to improve their overall material and psychosocial wellbeing. Importantly, we note that this is an enduring positive perception, despite the fact that the transfer cash typically only lasts for a short number of weeks (see Section 3).

4.1 Categories, characteristics and distribution of wellbeing groups

In the sites visited, discussions about the prevalence and nature of poverty with community leaders and HSNP beneficiaries often began with the narrative that ‘we are all poor here.’

Through further discussions and participatory exercises, we established that, across counties, communities tend to divide the population into four wellbeing groups: very poor, poor or ‘needy’, middle class and rich.

The ‘very poor’ are a small but visible minority in study communities, according to respondents. They were often described as having nothing. What little money they have is used almost exclusively to meet food needs, and is often supplemented by begging and a dependence on support from other people. They frequently miss meals and are pitied by others in the community.

The ‘poor’ account for the majority of people in most communities, making up anywhere between half and



95 percent of the population. They were characterised as dependent on casual labour, and as having minimal investments in livestock. Respondents noted that people in this wellbeing category tend to live in poor quality housing.

Respondents across counties estimate that **the 'middle class' usually constitute around a quarter of the population**. People in this category have more substantial livestock assets, including cattle in some areas. They are perceived as being more resilient to economic shocks. In some cases this is because they have livestock which they can sell if necessary. In other, this perceived cushion is because they are considered creditworthy, and thus do not need a steady source of cash to maintain their living standard. According to respondents, the middle class have more livelihood options than the poor and very poor, and are more likely to have sources of income such as small businesses.

Those who would be classified as **the 'rich' were generally a very small proportion of the population**. In some rural locations, respondents reported that there are in fact no people in their communities who could be classified as rich. In such instances, we found reports that the wealthy had migrated to urban centres where they could access better amenities (schools, health, road networks). They were widely described as owning a large amount of a variety of livestock, including herds of camels, cattle and goats. Among their assets respondents also listed vehicles and 'permanent' houses. They have the lowest level of dependence on others, and the highest levels of food security²⁷, eating three meals per day. A beneficiary of routine payments in Mandera described a rich person as 'someone who is self-sufficient, someone who can get his own daily bread.' They are often described as having salaried jobs.

Membership of any of these wellbeing groups is fluid. This is a function of the seasonality of risks, particularly drought. Across counties, people reported that those who own enough livestock (considered as middle class) are sometimes considered among the poor during drought times, when their animals produce no milk, do not reproduce, and sometimes die. When the rains return, their place in the middle class may be restored. Similarly, those who are poor and depend on casual labour may find themselves among the very poor during drought. During this time, there are limited work opportunities, and those who would normally employ them may themselves be struggling. In some instances, particularly in Turkana County, respondents noted that even the rich are vulnerable and have to work hard to keep from slipping into the middle class.

²⁷ "Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life". (FAO, 1996)

Poverty and wellbeing in HSNP counties

There are 4 major wealth/wellbeing categories

Communities usually perceive four broad wealth categories, whose wellbeing can differ greatly across different dimensions: the very poor, the poor and needy, the middle class and the rich. The rich are a small, sometimes non-existent minority, who in some places have migrated away from villages completely.

*People in the middle class are sometimes known locally as:

'Those who shine'

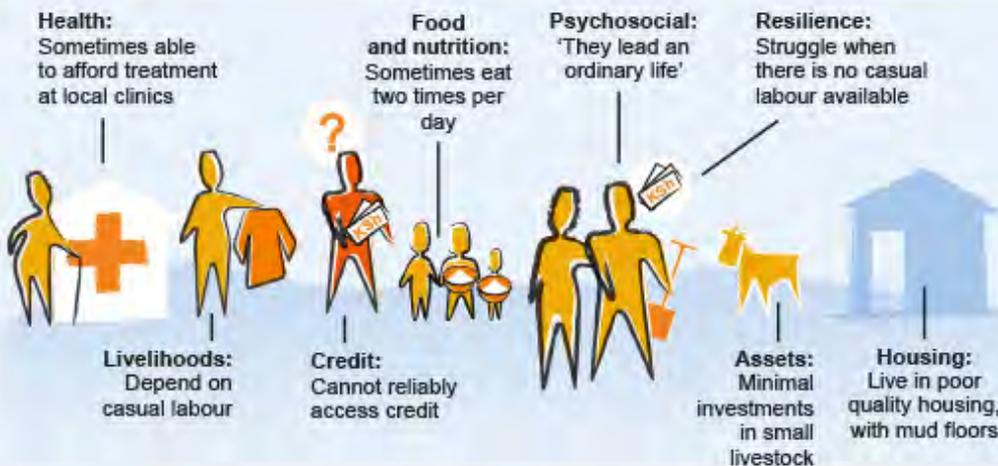
The middle class (around a quarter of the population, including HSNP recipients)



HSNP seen to help recipients improve their wellbeing status

The transfer is felt to enable recipients to achieve a standard of living more comparable to what they described as middle class: more frequent and diverse meals, diversified livelihood options, resilience to shocks, investing in and starting small businesses, and improved creditworthiness.

The poor/needy (the majority of people, including HSNP recipients)



The transfer has improved recipients' psychosocial wellbeing

Poverty negatively affects people in non-material ways. HSNP appears to be reducing those types of negative experiences, improving what we call 'psychosocial wellbeing'.

The very poor (a small but visible minority, including HSNP recipients)



4.2 Distribution of HSNP beneficiaries among the various wellbeing groups

Beneficiaries of both routine and emergency payments largely classified their current status as either middle class or somewhat poor, and only rarely as very poor.

How people classified themselves appeared to be shaped by what they consider poverty, as ‘very poor’ and ‘poor’ are described above. It was not uncommon for people to describe themselves as poor in terms of financial or asset wealth, but to then categorise themselves as ‘average’ or ‘in the middle.’ For many, they classified themselves into this middle class wellbeing category because they did not share what they perceived as the key distinguishing features of the most vulnerable and poor—for example, orphanhood, disability, chronic food insecurity, or widowhood. (For further discussion on vulnerable groups, refer to Section 5). As a woman receiving routine payments in Marsabit explained, ‘I am doing moderately well because at least I can work for myself and survive.’

“I am doing moderately well because at least I can work for myself and survive.”

4.3 Changes in wellbeing status as a result of HSNP

The transfer appears to have been transformative for some beneficiaries.

These beneficiaries perceived that the transfer has improved their wellbeing relative to non-beneficiaries, who were previously of similar socio-economic status. From a material perspective, the impact of the transfer, as described by beneficiaries, appears moderate but important. The qualitative data do not indicate that HSNP has supported beneficiaries in becoming very wealthy in terms of cash or assets. However, as discussed throughout this report, the transfer has enabled some (generally routine) beneficiaries to achieve a standard of living more comparable to what they described as middle class: more frequent and diverse meals, diversified livelihood options, resilience to shocks, investing in and starting small businesses, and improved creditworthiness. It thus appears that some beneficiaries considered themselves as experiencing more markers of belonging to the middle class as a result of receiving the HSNP cash.

While some beneficiaries described themselves as having become ‘middle class’, it was clear that the transfer had not enabled improvement in all dimensions of this wellbeing category as described above. At the same time, **the transfer had eased some of the negative effects of poverty more commonly experienced by the poor and very poor.** Even routine beneficiaries who acknowledge that the transfer has not enabled them to participate in productive activities or diversify their livelihoods consider themselves better off than they were before they began receiving the transfer. These respondents used a simpler metric for improved wellbeing status, generally centred around now being able to eat more meals per day, paying school fees and improving basic conditions in their homes. As such, they point to the transfer as having improved their wellbeing status. A male routine beneficiary in Marsabit explained a simple change in his household that made him feel as though his family was now better off, and that the wellbeing of other beneficiaries had also improved: ‘There is a big difference. We even have enough cups at home now. Unlike previously, when we used to drink our tea in shifts. Some of us now even sleep on mattresses.’

4.4 Psychosocial wellbeing

A key area of inquiry in the qualitative study is the impact of HSNP on the non-material dimensions of poverty, such as psychosocial wellbeing.

This refers to the relationship between psychological processes (for example, feelings, emotions and perceptions) and social processes (family, community, and the social environment). Overall, beneficiaries widely reported that **the HSNP transfer has had a considerable positive impact on their psychosocial wellbeing**. Across counties, we found numerous descriptions of how the transfer has buoyed beneficiaries' spirits, reducing stress and increasing happiness (see Box 3).

For some, being an HSNP beneficiary has improved their standing in the community. It has enabled them to contribute to reciprocal support structures (see Section 8 on social relations) and even improve their physical appearance through improved clothing (section 3.5). A male routine beneficiary in Mandera described how his psychosocial wellbeing has improved: 'Before, some people used to despise me and looked unto me with disgust as poor. But now, since I get some cash through HSNP, people have stopped that and they respect me.'

Routine beneficiaries explained that they are now more often consulted on community issues and are invited to more community functions. They felt that this was due to the relative increase in their wealth.

Some women have also experienced increased status in the community: "The role of women has been redefined. Previously, women could not take part in decision making. They were only meant for the kitchen." (Female routine beneficiary, Kulaaley, Wajir).

Only a few community members reported that beneficiaries are less respectful to others as a result of receiving the transfer ²⁸.

In some communities, the positive effects of the transfer on psychosocial wellbeing have spilled over and multiplied at community level. While describing how HSNP has contributed to improved rates of schooling, in Lodwar Town in Turkana a group of male and female community elders explained how this had improved morale in the entire community, saying "Even us, as the people of this community, we are proud."

“The difference from HSNP is a lot. You can open an account. You pay your children’s school fees. You get hope.”

Female community leader, Wajir County

²⁸ The following quote is illustrative of one such sentiment: "You see people who used to beg around are now proud and are not as respectful to their former lenders. Their relationship is not all that tight as it used to be now that they have their money." (Male Routine Beneficiary, Kulaaley, Wajir)



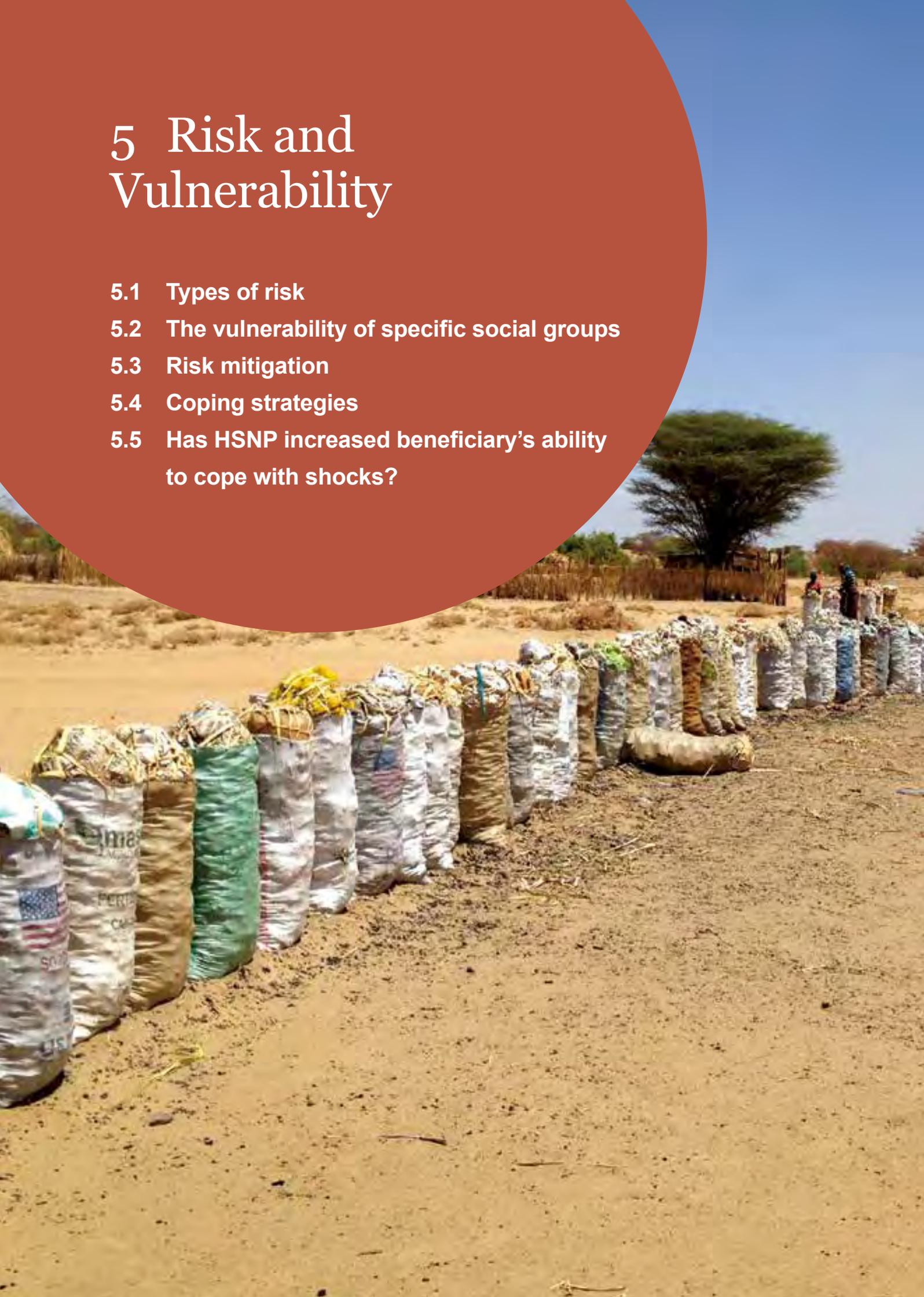
Box 3

“The shining ones”

When describing the people in the middle class, a group of routine beneficiary women in Turkana explained that, locally, they are known as ‘those who shine’. They explained that they could see changes in the wellbeing brought about by HSNP, because ‘it has helped more people to shine, too.’ In Mandera, a group of men who do not receive the CT, when asked about the changes they notice in the wellbeing of HSNP beneficiaries, commented: ‘They have faces that shine. You know, when a person gets some money, his face shines. Previously they were not shining, their faces were full of agony.’ A group of women who receive routine payments in Wajir continued the metaphor: ‘Don’t you see that we are shining? Take a look and see how those who do not receive are not shining like us!’

5 Risk and Vulnerability

- 5.1 Types of risk
- 5.2 The vulnerability of specific social groups
- 5.3 Risk mitigation
- 5.4 Coping strategies
- 5.5 Has HSNP increased beneficiary's ability to cope with shocks?



5 Risk and Vulnerability

This section describes the shocks that households in northern Kenya experience, and how they cope with and mitigate against these shocks²⁹.

Drought is the shock that is mentioned as the most serious and frequently occurring risk that households face, but conflict also periodically affects HSNP target areas. Sickness, inflation, unemployment and flooding were also mentioned, but to a lesser extent. The elderly, female-headed households and people living with illness and disability were all identified as particularly vulnerable social groups. Once shocks are encountered the most common strategy was to appeal to the government, NGOs or to external “well-wishers” for assistance.

This section also focuses on whether HSNP has strengthened the resilience of beneficiaries to shocks. Due to its regular and predictable nature of disbursement, routine beneficiaries are able to buy on credit from local traders. For wealthier routine beneficiaries, HSNP is increasing their ability to cope with shocks: there is clear evidence that they are investing the money into productive assets and a few are able to save and stock pile food. For poorer routine beneficiaries, the cash is spent on basic survival needs such as food and water. For emergency beneficiaries,

the infrequency and lower monetary value mean that it is far more likely to be used on basic needs rather than investment in productive assets that may enhance self-reinforcing coping mechanisms. The amount is insufficient to be able to prepare for shocks, rather it is used to mitigate against them as and when they come. Despite this, the emergency transfer is used by beneficiaries on increasing food consumption and medical-related expenses, so in this respect they have stronger resilience and coping mechanisms than non-beneficiaries. Some non-beneficiaries are taking money on credit from routine and emergency beneficiaries.

²⁹ See Section 1 for definitions of risk, vulnerability and resilience.

Risk and vulnerability in HSNP counties

Shocks that effect the whole population

Coping mechanisms

- Migration
- Diversification of livelihood activities
- Borrowing money and buying on credit
- Asking relatives or friends for help
- Appealing to government, NGOs or external "well-wishers"

Using malaria nets and diverting the flow of water

Migration to higher ground



Appealing to government, NGOs or external "well-wishers"



Establishing peace committees to resolve conflicts

Migration to safe places

Appealing to government, NGOs or external "well-wishers"

RISK AND VULNERABILITY

SHOCKS



Drought



Flooding



Conflict



Inflation

Adverse response

- Distress sale of livestock
- Drawing upon savings (wealthier households only)

Using violence to defend properties during conflict

Distress sale of livestock to fund money to rebuild properties

Taking out loans

Reducing food consumption, or shifting consumption towards cheaper foods

Emergency HSNP transfer

Those who receive the transfer in the event of severe drought report positive effects on meeting short-term basic needs such as retaining children in school, maintaining food consumption, and spending on healthcare. However, emergency recipients also feel that the small value and unpredictable nature of these transfers limits their effectiveness in building resilience to shocks.

Non-recipients

Non-recipients were more likely than routine and emergency beneficiaries to have to sell livestock in response to shocks. But we also found evidence that they sometimes access credit from HSNP beneficiaries when facing shocks.



Shocks that affect individuals



Asking relatives or neighbours for help

Asking relatives or neighbours for help

Buying on credit



Coping mechanisms



Sickness

Continue working even though they are sick



Unemployment

Children dropping out of school and engaging in child labour



Distress sale of livestock

Take out loans

Taking herbal medicine



Reducing food consumption, or shifting consumption towards cheaper foods

Adverse response

Effect of routine HSNP on coping mechanisms:

For routine recipients who receive regular payments every two months, HSNP is considerably strengthening their ability to cope with shocks.

Some have started businesses which diversify their livelihoods away from climate-sensitive livelihoods, others have used the transfer to increase livestock assets.

HSNP has allowed recipients to purchase on credit, as traders know that they will be paid back on payday.

A few wealthier households had saved, stocked up on food, or had bought water tanks to cope during droughts.



Effect of routine HSNP on adverse responses:

HSNP has decreased the likelihood that routine recipients sell livestock in distress, in order to satisfy immediate cash needs.

Many routine recipients report using the cash on school fees and are thereby less likely to remove their children from school as a way to lower household costs.

HSNP helps prevent people from skipping meals as a strategy for lowering household costs.

Impact on household resilience has been greater for poorer routine beneficiaries, including female-headed households and looking after orphans, the elderly and the sick.



5.1 Types of risk

5.1.1 Drought

Drought is by far as the biggest risk that affects the lives of people in the HSNP counties, regardless of wealth. However it has a disproportionate negative effect on the poor. Drought is felt to have become more frequent and severe, and has resulted in death of vegetation and crops, death of livestock, drying up of boreholes, famine, and, in places in Turkana, a loss of fish. “This drought is a bad omen that pulls together bad things here,” remarked a female routine beneficiary in Kerio, Turkana, emphasising the multiple and cumulative negative effects that drought bring.

Drought is associated with hunger, which weakens the body and the immune system, leaving people susceptible to illnesses such as TB, typhoid and malnutrition. An increase in mortality is inevitable. Livestock become weak and produce little milk, and therefore sell for low prices; though this is the only option for those experiencing hunger. Local traders lose out when people migrate away to search for water and pasture or look for casual work in local towns. In a few sub-locations, government activity in road and dam building was blamed for intensifying droughts and its effects.

5.1.2 Conflict

Conflict was mentioned mainly by community leaders in Wajir, Marsabit and especially Mandera, where **houses were burnt down and people were made homeless**, with the associated risk that those without shelter at night can be attacked by wild animals. Many flee, which separates families and divorces people

from their communal support networks; it also makes communication challenging. Hunger, thirst and illness occur in a context where income generation activities are interrupted and movement is restricted. Many respondents used the word “fear” to describe how they feel during conflict. Moreover, incidences of cattle rustling increase as people make attempts to survive, which brings its own risk.

A male emergency beneficiary in Marsabit commented, “It brought us down to zero level of living”, signalling how the conflict completely destroyed his life and left him without any assets, as any remaining livestock were sold after the conflict to fund the rebuilding of homes. In contrast to men who talked about loss of livelihood and an inability to provide for the household, women were more likely to talk about how conflict results in illness, taking in orphans and single parenthood.

5.1.3 Sickness and ill-health

Poor health is prevalent in the target areas, and is serious when it is coupled with an inability to work.

A notable number of beneficiaries spoke of how drinking contaminated water, without boiling, has made them ill. Malaria, fever, coughing, TB and cholera were mentioned as other health threats. The poor are both more likely to become ill and less able to afford medical care.

Female beneficiaries spoke of the death to male members of their household, which increases vulnerability to drought and poverty. For instance after the death of her husband, a female emergency beneficiary in Turkana relied financially on her brother.

“The poverty that is around this area is unspeakable. Poverty and hunger is what is killing us.”

Male non-beneficiary, Turkana

But when he too died, the consequences were disastrous: “My brother was our only source of food. He made sure we had food every time. Since my brother died everything changed completely. He was the only one who used to give us hope. He was everything to us.” This indicates the reliance of some households on a single (often male) breadwinner.

5.1.4 Inflation

Numerous respondents (particularly in Wajir) spoke of the risks of inflation in regard to its effects on the affordability of everyday purchases. Prices rise during droughts. In Eldas, Wajir, this was because people from neighbouring communities travel to sell water, capitalising on the water shortage. According to a female respondent in Goromuda, Marsabit, once one trader has increased the price of a good, other traders immediately follow suit. When prices are increased, people often buy on credit, and accumulate debt which they struggle to repay.

5.1.5 Unemployment

Unemployment was mentioned as a risk in Burabor and Elwak, Mandera and Wagalla, Wajir. For example **charcoal burning, which is mainly women’s work** (see Section 6 on livelihoods), **has been affected by deforestation** in Kalemunyang, Turkana and Kulaaley, Wajir. Due to this, charcoal burning was described as no longer a viable income generating activity. Numerous respondents reported that unemployment (from not being able to burn charcoal or otherwise) can bring about hunger, family disputes as a result of financial stress, debt, school dropout, and, in some cases,

community conflict as thieves steal to feed themselves. More men than women spoke about the risks of unemployment and their fear of losing their livelihood. Men referred to their sense of duty to financially provide for the household, particularly if they are the sole income earner. Male youth and boys also have trouble finding employment after leaving school.

5.1.6 Flooding

In Kerio, Turkana, and Burabor and Didkuro, Mandera flooding was particularly noted as a risk. Respondents explained the challenges experienced during floods: crops are destroyed, soil erosion, and gullies form in roads making them inaccessible. In addition, incidence of malaria increases, livestock die, houses are damaged, food becomes scarce and clinics and hospitals become inundated with patients.

5.2 The vulnerability of specific social groups

5.2.1 The Elderly

The elderly are perceived as particularly vulnerable, due to ill-health and general physical weakness, which makes it harder to work for income. Many elderly respondents emphasised that they are not able to feed themselves and rely on other (largely female) household members for care. A common health complaint of the elderly was poor eyesight: “Once you cannot see, you are the same as the dead. You are the same as the dead.” (Male routine beneficiary, Marsabit). Numerous elderly respondents explained that health services are expensive and located too far from their homes, and that the journey itself can present a risk to their health.

Once Somone is sick [with terminal illness] and hunger strikes, this person is likely to die.

Female routine beneficairy, Turkana

5.2.2 Female headed households

Women that have been left by their husbands explained that they have become isolated and vulnerable. One man explained that widows and divorcees can feel like they have entered a “hopeless situation...due to arrogance from their men and their families so they get chased, their property looted and they are left homeless with no-one to take care of them.” (Male routine beneficiary, Turkana). Women explained that female-headed households are poorer and more susceptible to the effects to drought, inflation and hunger. Female-headed households with a large number of school children are particularly vulnerable, as school fees need to be paid, which affects their ability to afford other basic needs. It is often female-headed households that take in orphans, which brings further financial pressure.

5.2.3 People living with terminal illness and disability

People living with disabilities were widely described as a vulnerable group, as they are less able to generate income themselves. Some families neglect them. Yet other families invest money and time into caring for them and purchase medication, which affects household finance and time resources. Respondents also reported that people with disabilities are less able to fight for their rights, and those with physical disabilities struggle to access medical facilities.

People living with HIV and TB were mentioned as a vulnerable social group. “Once someone is sick and hungry strikes, this person is likely to die.” (Female routine beneficiary, Turkana) Some respondents explained that the poorest people are unable to stop working, even if they are ill, since doing so would jeopardise the well-being of the entire family.

RISK AND VULNERABILITY

5.3 Risk mitigation

Many respondents were able to point to some ways that they tend to prepare for shocks, especially for droughts (see Box 4). However, we heard that building resilience to future shocks is not a priority for the poor, who mainly concentrate on day-to-day survival.

Box 4

How people prepare for shocks

Flooding

- Planting and preserving of trees.
- Removing objects that will get damaged.

Drought

- Planting of drought resistant crops, and harvesting grass early (not the extreme poor).
- Maize can be fed to goats which makes them more able to withstand a drought.
- Preserving pastures for animals.
- Selling animals to earn sufficient money to sustain the household through a drought.
- Contributing to savings which can be drawn upon during drought (wealthier households)
- Buying food stock and using this during droughts (wealthier households).
- Constructing rainwater harvesting tanks (wealthier households).

Conflict

- Employing Home guard officers.
- Taking women and children to safe ground. Men stay behind to defend properties.
- Livestock moved to a safe region.
- Looking for where to flee to, and how to get there (man's responsibility).

Inflation

- Buying food when prices are lower and storing before a drought (wealthier families).

Health

- Using thorny trees to fence off water sources, to prevent wild animals from drinking there.
- Sweeping of the compound and cleaning of the house (women's responsibility).
- Drinking boiled water.



5.4 Coping strategies

Respondents across the counties mentioned many different coping strategies.

Yet, no single coping strategy can fully protect households from risks. For example, for those households who invest in livestock, the milk produced by these animals is often very low (evidenced by the fact that they continue to purchase milk), and that it is not unusual for animals to die due to drought conditions. The wealthier households were able to draw upon a wide range of coping mechanisms, overcoming weaknesses in single strategies.

Appealing to the government, NGOs or external “well-wishers” for assistance was the most common coping strategy, especially among female respondents and among the extreme poor. This was a particularly common response in Mandera and Wajir (because of the high susceptibility to violence in these counties) as well as from female beneficiaries. Poor roads and vehicles means that support is not guaranteed, however, and if it does arrive it is not enough for the whole community. There is also felt to be less assistance than there used to be. Support from the government is for issues that affect the whole community, such as drought, floods and conflict, rather than issues that impact upon a limited number of households.

As may be expected, the poor cope less well with shocks, since they often lack reliable income and assets such as farmland, water tanks and livestock: “In case you don’t have any assets what will you do to reduce suffering? It’s very hard with no solution.” (Male emergency beneficiary, Marsabit). The rich cope better, using their asset base and wealth to buy and sell from others.

For those with assets such as livestock, sale of assets was the most common response to all types of shocks. This was particularly mentioned by non-beneficiaries and emergency beneficiaries. A male non-beneficiary in Hafare, Marsabit stated that his livestock was the “backbone for survival”. Selling livestock is the traditional way that local people cope with shocks, but it is considered a negative coping strategy; households tend to keep animals for as long as they can, even if they cannot afford to feed them sufficiently. This means that they are sold when they are weak and thin, and therefore they are sold for less than what they otherwise might be.

Social networks were frequently mentioned as a strategy for coping with various types of shock, with respondents feeling that they could ask relatives and neighbours for help. Examples of sharing were plentiful, including of animal fodder, or borrowing a neighbour’s donkey. In urban areas, some respondents mentioned that they take water from neighbour’s boreholes/wells. However, support from social networks is clearly less possible when the community faces a shared shock such as drought or flood, as opposed to when shocks affect only individual households, such as death.

Savings groups were rarely mentioned as a coping strategy. This could be because shocks affect the whole community (droughts, floods, inflation etc.), and members would want to withdraw money at the same time, which would lead to the group becoming bankrupt. The only savings groups that were heard about were in Kulaaley, Wajir and consisted of younger routine and emergency female beneficiaries.

5.4.1 Drought

The most common coping strategies for dealing with drought are migrating to areas that have better pastures for livestock, and selling livestock to gain cash. Women diversify their income sources and men attempt to pick up temporary casual employment where they can, although noting that this is difficult to find. Borrowing money or buying on credit was also noted. When droughts are particularly bad they can stimulate violence as people steal in order to survive: “You know, when someone is hungry, he/she will start having an evil mind, like thinking of how to steal from others.” (Male non-beneficiary, Turkana). Community leaders rarely intervene during drought situations by bringing the community together to discuss how to collectively cope with the shock. In contrast to the poor, wealthier groups are more able to withstand drought, drawing upon their savings and using their assets.

5.4.2 Floods

Migration to higher ground was mentioned as the most common response strategy during floods. Men often stay behind to build gabions or place sacks/stones to divert the flow of water away from their home.

A few people spoke of the link between flood water and malaria, and mentioned that they use mosquito nets to protect themselves.

5.4.3 Conflict

As with drought and floods, the most common strategy for coping with conflict is to migrate to safe places with livestock. Men have the responsibility to ensure that their family is safe, but some will stay behind to defend their properties. Once the conflict has dissipated, livestock is sometimes sold to raise money to rebuild homes that were burned down. A notable number of respondents discussed the role of peace committees that are set up to ensure dialogue between the two sides.

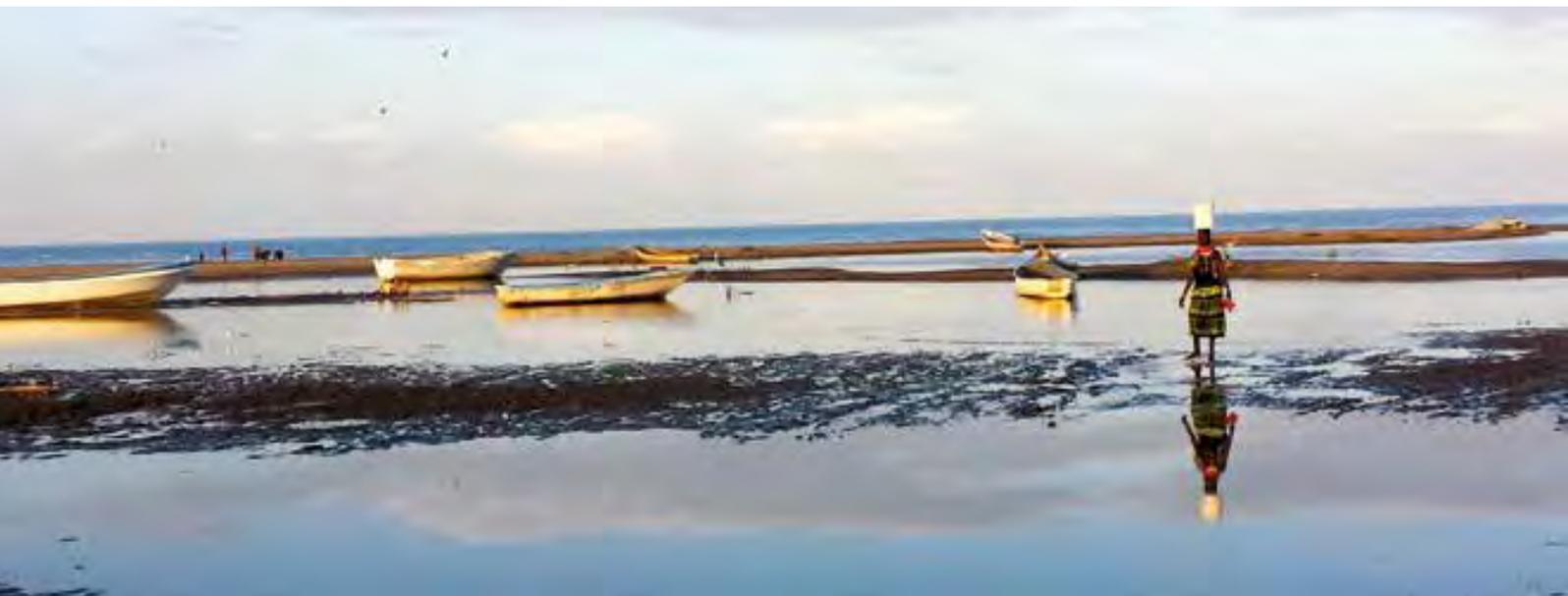
5.4.4 Sickness

The sale of livestock was frequently reported as a key strategy for coping with the costs of medical care and associated travel. This was noted particularly in Kalemunyang, Turkana. Respondents affirmed that they sell livestock and take out loans to afford the costs of medical care. If this is not possible, some reported, they 'wait at home' and take less costly herbal medicines.

5.4.5 Inflation

Strategies for coping with inflation were less frequently mentioned. However, some respondents in Mandera and Wajir explained that when the price of basic needs increases, they borrow money, or shift food purchases in favour of products that do not have inflated prices. Some also sell animals to raise extra cash.





5.5 Has HSNP increased beneficiary's ability to cope with shocks?

Beneficiaries of the routine HSNP transfer have increased their ability to cope with shocks more than beneficiaries of the emergency transfer (see Box 5).

Routine beneficiaries are also less likely to use negative coping strategies (such as selling off livestock during a crisis) compared to emergency and non-beneficiaries.

Firstly, **some wealthier routine beneficiaries have been able to use the transfer for investments** (such as livestock or businesses), especially when there has been a lump sum payment. Setting up businesses is a diversification away from climate sensitive livelihoods, and provides a more reliable source of income. Livestock can be bred, and can result in increased wealth in the future and therefore enhances resilience to shocks. Larger purchases, which are highly effective in mitigating risk against drought, such as water tanks, have been able to be purchased by a few of the routine beneficiaries we spoke to. A few in this group also mentioned planning for shocks by saving some of the transfer and/or stocking up on food before the drought season.

Other routine beneficiaries come from a poorer well-being category, with an example of such household provided in Box 5. These poorer beneficiaries are often female-headed, since there is only one primary income earner, as well as households that are looking after orphans, the elderly and the sick, and, for them, the transfer has been crucial in allowing them to mitigate

against shocks: "Without [HSNP] we would not have survived until now" (Male routine beneficiary, Turkana), suggesting that **HSNP cash is being spent on the subsistence needs of food and water rather than more long-term resilience strategies such as establishing businesses**. Yet despite the positive effects that HSNP brings, many respondents from poorer well-being groups explained that the transfer **is not enough to meet the needs of every household member**. Community leaders in Didkuro, Mandera stated that many livestock bought with the transfer have died in the drought, signalling these assets are still vulnerable to the very shocks that they help mitigate against. This is evidence that HSNP is operating differently among poorer and less poor well-being groups.

The predictability of routine transfers was noted as important. HSNP is generally recognised as regular and dependable ("guaranteed"), compared to other sources of financial help from family, friends and neighbours. **This regular nature allows purchases on credit** (see Section 3.3 above). Traders know the beneficiary will be able to repay their debts come pay day. Male routine beneficiaries in Turkana and Wajir noted that buying on credit allows them to purchase products rapidly in the case of a shock. The existence of lump-sum payments,

Box 5

Increased Resilience for HSNP Routine Beneficiaries

A six-member household from Goromuda in Marsabit comprises a mother, Saadia*, her husband and children. The mother heads the family and is the only income-earner, as her husband is blind. One of the children is without speech. The main shocks she faces are conflict, drought and hunger. Recent conflict caused destruction to her property and her cattle were raided: "It totally destroyed the relationship between neighbours and tribes. It led to hunger because even the foodstuff we had at home was burnt down with our houses. This still makes me cry when I remember." Since their house was burnt down, household members became refugees on the Ethiopian side of the border where they "didn't have anything. We have lost all our properties. We were suffering a lot". She noted how HSNP has been instrumental in helping her recover from the conflict. In particular, it has resulted in less hunger with the family now eating three meals a day instead of two. She has also bought a donkey with HSNP money, which allows her to search for water far away from the home during droughts.

Notes: *Name changed for confidentiality

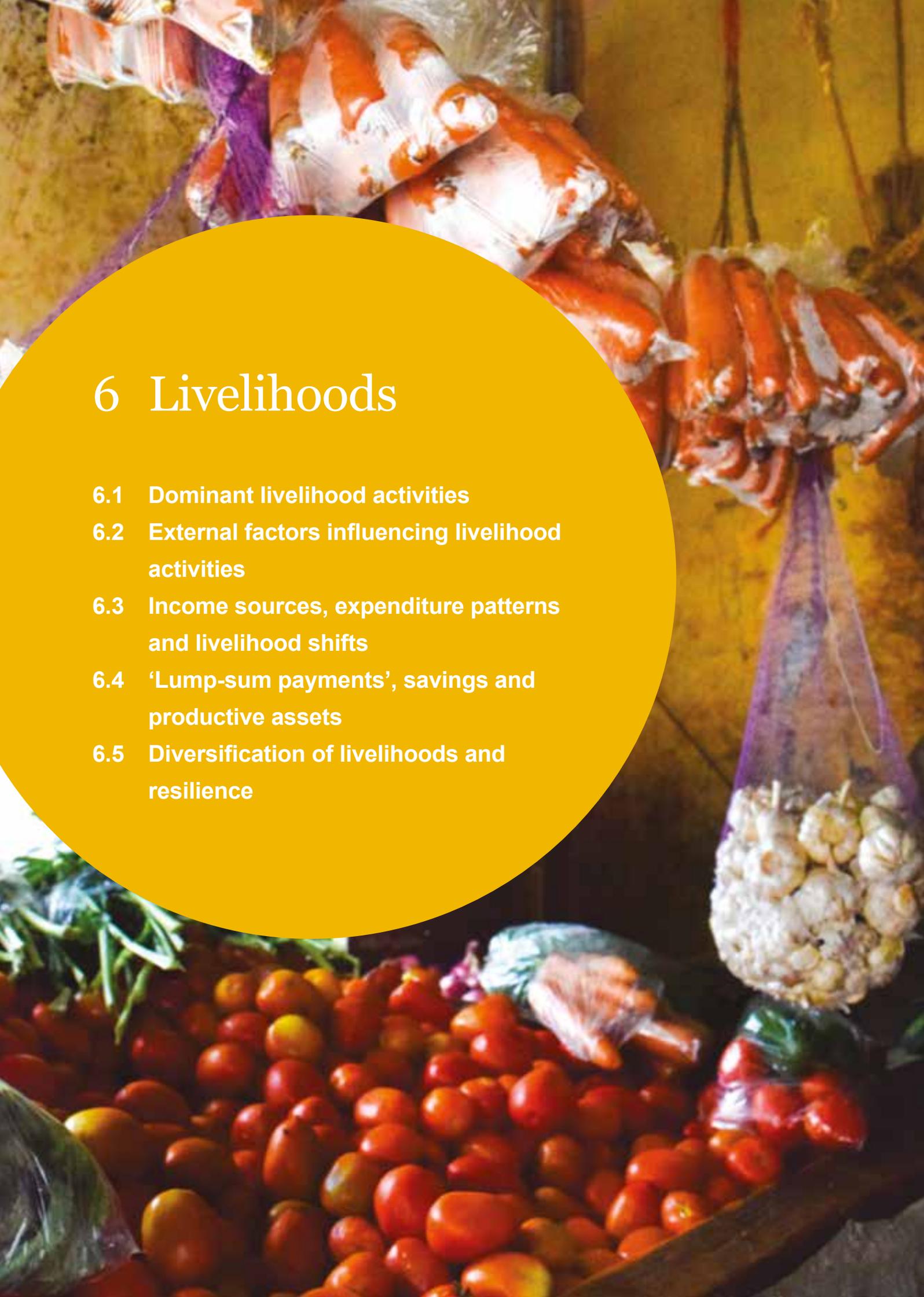
however, suggests that payments are not totally predictable. However lump sum payments nearly always occurred at the start of a beneficiary household receiving the CT; any transfer from thereon was the same amount and was received on the same day as expected. The prevalence of lump sum payments will be investigated further by the quantitative component of this evaluation (see Section 9.3).

For emergency beneficiaries, while the cash is appreciated, respondents expressed that its small value and unpredictable disbursement limits its effectiveness in coping with shocks and building resilience. It only enables beneficiaries to afford to meet their basic needs, such as food, and not investment in productive assets that may provide longer term coping mechanisms. The transfer only lasts a few days, and therefore the stress of meeting the needs of the household is only alleviated in the short term. Households do not know if or when they will receive a payment again, so they are unable to buy credit from traders who have no guarantee that money will be paid back. Similarly, emergency beneficiaries are less likely to be able to prepare for shocks, for instance through savings or stocking up on food, which are seen as crucial strategies in decreasing risk. For example, "There are those that receive KES 2400. For those in this group there is no tangible change that comes their way. But for those who get the big money they have really improved. They have bought water tanks, built houses and bought livestock" (Male Community Leaders, Marsabit) and "It is very little money that could sustain someone. We were surprised to hear that such an amount could sustain someone throughout the drought season." (Rights Committee representative from Mandera)

The second quote exemplifies the meagre amount of the emergency transfer, with it being insufficient to meet the basic consumption needs of the household through a drought. It might be expected that less money for emergency beneficiaries would be adequate, since in theory they are less poor. However views expressed by community leaders suggest that the difference between emergency and routine beneficiaries is marginal to non-existent.

This said, **some emergency beneficiaries did mention that they are less likely to sell their livestock, and have been able to improve their food security and health**³⁰. Respondents mentioned that they have been able to increase the number of meals they can have a day. Emergency beneficiaries are in a better situation than non-beneficiaries, who were more likely to talk of having to sell livestock in a crisis. Yet we found some evidence that non-beneficiaries are taking credit from routine and emergency beneficiaries to protect themselves from shocks. Chiefs in Marsabit mentioned that many non-beneficiaries are deserving but not receiving HSNP; drought affects all and the level of wealth is similar across the community.

³⁰ Food security, using the FAO's definition, "is when people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life." (FAO, 2015)



6 Livelihoods

- 6.1 Dominant livelihood activities
- 6.2 External factors influencing livelihood activities
- 6.3 Income sources, expenditure patterns and livelihood shifts
- 6.4 'Lump-sum payments', savings and productive assets
- 6.5 Diversification of livelihoods and resilience

6 Livelihoods

In this section, we discuss the ways in which HSNP has impacted on livelihoods amongst beneficiaries in the four counties.

Livelihood activities are often gender segregated, and depend on the wealth of the household. The types of livelihoods are scarce and unpredictable, and highly affected by droughts and conflict. A lack of customers and, in urban areas, increased competition was blamed for closing businesses, but the issue of customers not paying back credit was rarely mentioned. The government has recently restricted firewood collecting and charcoal burning, which has disproportionately affected poorer groups.

Routine beneficiaries reported that HSNP was their main source of income, whereas emergency beneficiaries generally stated that casual labour was their main livelihood. HSNP is being used in combination with livelihood strategies since, in general, relying on HSNP alone does not meet all household needs. Emergency and non-beneficiaries were more likely than routine beneficiaries to report that their household income was insufficient.

There was a contrast between how routine and emergency beneficiaries reported the effects of HSNP on their livelihoods. HSNP routine beneficiaries are more likely to be able to choose preferred types of livelihoods. This is because the CT has increased household income, allowing households to take on potentially lower income but less strenuous activities. It has also increased the predictability of total household income, allowing routine beneficiaries to take on more

risky livelihoods. HSNP has also allowed access to credit, and the combination of both has provided start-up capital for routine beneficiaries (especially women) to establish small-scale businesses. We do note, however, there were some allegations against men who have quit existing livelihoods, relying instead on HSNP to sustain their household. In contrast to routine beneficiaries, emergency beneficiaries were more likely to report that HSNP has induced no significant changes to their livelihoods, due to its low value, irregularity and unpredictable nature.

In acting as a complementary income or as a base upon which further investment can be built, some routine households have been able to diversify their livelihoods. The role of women has come to the fore, who appear to be increasingly engaging in income-earning activities. Diversification has meant that there is increased resilience to shocks for some.

In cases where beneficiaries receive lump-sum payments due to delays enrolling in the programme, or other problems with implementation, they appear more likely to invest in a new businesses. When larger amounts are paid at once, beneficiaries who'd received such lump sum payments said that it allowed them to invest in relatively large productive assets, and were more likely to have changed livelihood activities.

HSNP livelihood impacts

LIVELIHOODS

Pastoralism is the predominant livelihood activity in HSNP counties



Households with livestock often keep a few small animals at their dwelling



But larger herds and bigger animals are kept away from the dwelling and follow the pasture. Men and older boys tend to be the ones who stay with the herds



There are a number of other associated livelihood activities that pastoralism gives rise to, such as sale of animal produce like meat, milk and skins

Different livelihood activities are prevalent depending on location



In rural locations and remote villages these include small shops and kiosks, petty roadside trade, petty production (mats/baskets), charcoal burning, and collecting firewood or other bush products.



In urban locations there are larger markets and more established shops (permanent structures), as well as services such as mechanics, tailors, and barbers.

HSNP is considered an important source of income



Recipients consider HSNP one of their main sources of income because it feeds into and supports their income generating activities, for example livestock production, casual labour and petty trade.



Those who have received emergency payments also consider HSNP a valuable addition to their income, alongside their regular livelihood activities.



The HSNP impacts livelihoods as a complementary income and source for further investment. The transfer enables some households to invest in livelihoods such as livestock, from which further income can be generated. HSNP is also reported to increase recipient's access to borrowing and credit, enabling recipients to smooth consumption throughout the payment period.

HSNP enables households to purchase and retain livestock



Livestock functions as a productive asset, a type of saving, and a mechanism for coping with shocks, so by supporting pastoralist livelihoods HSNP potentially makes a big contribution to improving recipients' resilience

HSNP has helped some households to diversify livelihoods



HSNP has helped some recipients expand their existing income generating activities, and some even establish new ones. Such livelihood diversification is important for mitigating the many risks that households are vulnerable to, such as drought, which affects whole communities, or health shocks, which effect individuals



The diversification of livelihoods by and within households sometimes indicates a greater involvement of women in income generating activities. As households report to undertake more livelihood activities, women may increasingly become joint breadwinners.

6.1 Dominant livelihood activities

Livelihood activities in northern Kenya depend on the wealth and composition of the household.

The poorest households are those that are unable to work and rely on begging neighbours, relatives and friends for assistance. People living with disabilities are more likely to belong in this category. The group above who are slightly less poor are those that rely on daily casual labour, which is unreliable as their labour may or may not be required on a particular day. Herding livestock would also be in this category, a livelihood highly sensitive to droughts and famine, as well as charcoal burning, fetching firewood and basket weaving. They might borrow donkeys to fetch water before selling it and rent others people land. Those that are middle income have been able to save in order to own their own small-scale business. They might undertake manual work but are provided a salary. Those that are wealthy own farms, construction companies or large shops that sell a wide range of products. They use their education to work for the government, as a teacher or a police officer.

Both men and women tend to work in HSNP counties, with men in general working outside the home and women working in home-based activities. The dominant livelihood activity for men—especially in rural areas—is pastoralism, where livestock are bought, bred and sold with prices varying throughout the year. Other activities by men include casual labour such as small-scale construction work or quarry work. Women do activities

such as make baskets, wash clothes, sell small items and collect firewood. The work carried out by men is reported as more profitable and of higher status. Some livelihoods are carried out by both women and men, such as selling charcoal and owning a shop. In Turkana, oil companies have provided temporary work, “But finally went back, leaving many young men and women jobless.” (Male Non Beneficiary, Turkana) Boys work in animal husbandry and girls help their mothers with their paid work, domestic chores and child care. Many respondents spoke of the strenuous nature of their livelihood, and the little earnings they get in return. The specific risks to various livelihood activities are outlined in Table 3.

Unemployment is rare in an environment where working is necessary to survive, but does affect the sick, school leavers, disabled and the elderly. The problem is that unemployment was mainly mentioned only by men. The elderly often have to rely on their children to provide for them, and the disabled often rely on family members and community fundraisers: “The small income that we get is a result of what our son gets that he shares with us. As you see I cannot work. I’m just sitting here waiting to be spoon fed.” (Male Emergency Beneficiary, Marsabit)

Table 3

| Male or female task | Task | Risk |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Female | Buying food | Inflation means food is sometimes unaffordable. |
| | Basket & mat weaving | Causes back pain and bleeding from sitting down for so long. |
| | Brewing Liquor | Hostile & violent customers; customer inability to pay back debt. |
| | Fetching Water | Exhausting if you do not have donkeys; back injuries; attacks from wild animals. |
| | Charcoal Burning | Respiratory problems; shortage of trees to burn. |
| Female (lesser extent male) | Collecting & cutting firewood | Cuts to skin; exhaustion; injures to back; chest problems; injuries from being kicked by a donkey; attacks from wild animals. |
| Male/ Female | Owning business | Customers not paying back credit; lack of customers. |
| Male | Mechanic | Unable to repair machines; injuries. |
| | Construction work | Injuries from nails, stones, or bricks; exhausting. |
| | Looking after livestock | Livestock death; cattle rustling. |

³¹ At the time of the research prices for livestock were particularly low, as at the end of August many households are trying to capital in anticipation of school fee payment at the beginning of the school term.



6.2 External factors influencing livelihood activities

Beneficiaries from both groups and genders and in all counties frequently describe the types of livelihood that are available as scarce and unpredictable.

Pastoralists are highly affected by seasonal changes, resulting in irregular income and consumption patterns. Their livelihood is thus highly affected by covariant shocks:

“People in this village survive by keeping livestock, and since the drought came it swept all of them away!” (Mixed FGD, Turkana County)

During droughts animals become weak, produce less milk and are susceptible to dying. During this time the price of livestock is lower as they are in poor condition, but this is the time that vulnerable households have to sell as droughts are associated with inflated food prices. Those running small businesses find that prices from wholesalers increase during this time, meaning that they struggle to survive. Additionally, agricultural activities, whilst common in some places, are not sufficiently scaled beyond subsistence levels to support people selling their products (see Section 7 below), as those products are mainly consumed by households themselves.

Another widely mentioned risk that affects livelihoods is conflict. During conflict, demand for products is lower as pastoralists migrate from the area to search for water. This was particularly noted as an issue in Goromuda, Moyale, where many fled to Ethiopia, with some still left to return after the 2012 outbreak. Those left are unable to work and livelihoods are destroyed, sometimes violently:

“Before the 2012 conflict I had over 300 chickens of different breeds which were producing a lot of eggs. This was enough for all my family’s needs. But during the war we left them at home. Unfortunately the house was set on fire and all my chickens burned alive. Imagine during that time of peace the chickens were my source of income but now we remain at zero living after the conflict.” (Male emergency beneficiary, Marsabit)

A lack of customers was blamed for closing businesses and for sometimes forcing a shift in livelihood activity. This was particularly mentioned by traders and female beneficiaries who complained that often they do not get a single customer in one day. During certain times of the year locals have less disposable cash, and there is less money in circulation in the community. Routine beneficiaries noted that they have been able to shift away from short-life products to with a longer shelf life such as maize. Other strategies include anticipating demand, and producing less or more products to prevent wastage.

In urban areas, competition is increasing, with many sellers suggesting that new traders are entering the industry. This has resulted in a lack of customers, since they have more options to choose from. Larger retail

“Before the 2012 conflict I had over 300 chickens of different breeds which were producing a lot of eggs. This was enough for all my family’s needs. But during the war we left them at home. Unfortunately the house was set on fire and all my chickens burned alive. Imagine during that time of peace the chickens were my source of income but now we remain at zero living after the conflict.”

Male emergency beneficiary, Marsabit

shops can out compete smaller ones, using vehicles to transport produce: “My business is not working well because if that big shop of the rich sells food stuff at a cheaper price they have already finished me business-wise.” (Mixed Gender Community Leader Focus Group Discussion, Turkana)

Customers not paying credit back was rarely mentioned, suggesting it is not a common occurrence. However when it does happen, its effects are substantial and often result in having to close businesses. This was discussed more by female respondents rather than male:

“The biggest problem in business is when you give someone food and that person delays to pay you.” (Mixed Gender Focus Group Discussion, Turkana)
“[I stopped brewing because] there were no drunkards to drink the brew and I lost everything because they took credit and failed to pay.” (Female Non-Beneficiary, Turkana)

The issue of government banning and indirectly restricting certain livelihood activities was mentioned by community leaders and routine beneficiaries, especially in Marsabit and Turkana. Respondents alluded that it is forbidden to cut down trees and a recent law (introduced in July 2015) forbids charcoal burning. While there is some local interpretation of the law, with some illegal trading/burning occurring when bribes are paid, it has effectively made the livelihood unprofitable.

Charcoal is seized at the market and there are a few reported arrests for illegal logging. For women this has resulted in a change in livelihood to making mats or

collecting reeds, to becoming unemployed and taking more credit. In Turkana, upstream dams have restricted water flow in some communities resulting in less fish being available. Community leaders expressed worry that, given limited livelihoods in many communities, that the ban would intensify poverty and vulnerability: “Where will they get their money to buy food? They used to depend on this business to sustain their lives since this was their economic activity. You will soon see people eating dogs like old times.” (Female Community Leaders, Turkana)

While the government’s attempt at banning these practices has positive environmental impacts, socially it has left some households more vulnerable. Others were more hopeful, noting that protracted droughts, dams and upstream irrigation systems has resulted in many seeking to diversify away from farming and fishing: “People have completely forgotten agriculture and have converted their attention to making mats from river reeds and selling firewood.” (Male Non-Beneficiary, Turkana)



6.3 Income sources, expenditure patterns and livelihood shifts

Routine beneficiaries report HSNP as their main source of income.

This is closely followed by small businesses such as kiosks, livestock, casual labour and assistance from relatives. In contrast, **beneficiaries of emergency payments report casual labour as their main livelihood with HSNP as the second** most important source of income—though in actuality the transfer ‘props up’ other livelihood activities, as we discuss below—followed by livestock and assistance from relatives and small business activities. The lesser significance of the CT for emergency beneficiaries is due to its lower amount, in a context where there were no obvious differences in wealth between routine and emergency beneficiaries (see section 1.1 above). Beneficiaries of emergency payments report HSNP mainly as an additional source of income to their previous livelihoods, as described by a male emergency beneficiary in Mandera County: “Before I entirely depended on one source of income, which was not enough to meet the needs of my household. But now I get additional income from HSNP and I am better off.” Non-beneficiary households were more likely to mention that their main income sources were livestock and farming, suggesting that routine and emergency beneficiaries have diversified their income sources to some extent.

Although much significance is given to HSNP transfers as a main source of income, even the one upon which beneficiaries most depend, the qualitative data indicates

that **whilst HSNP may be the main source of income propping up other livelihoods, it is not sufficient to fully support a household by itself**. Community leaders in Mandera County explained: “The KES 5100 given every 2 months is not enough and can’t cater for everything; maybe items like sugar, milk, tea leaves and so on. It prevents someone from hustling ... You need to still rely on your old ways of getting income.” In cases where beneficiaries report HSNP as their sole source of income, it appears to be alongside additional types of livelihood such as livestock production or selling maize and other goods. As a male routine beneficiary in Mandera County put it: “I don’t have any other source of income apart from the money I am getting from HSNP and my animals.” Thus, while there may be a perception that routine HSNP transfers are “a salary”, and for some their main source of income, it seems more that the transfers act as a root income enabling beneficiaries to invest in actual livelihood activities such as livestock or small businesses.

Emergency and non-beneficiaries were more likely to state that their household income was not enough to sustain all their expenditure demands.

For example, “Money itself can’t buy everything at once. It is not enough. Things we like—like eating meat—we can’t do.” (Female Non-Beneficiary, Mandera) Others felt the value of the transfer does not allow any sustainable

“Business is improving! You can’t compare it to that of two years ago. I can now pay school fees, pay house rent and I can see a big improvement since my children get food every day courtesy of this business.”

Female Routine Beneficiary, Turkana

investments: “Another challenge is that we incur a lot of debt and at the end of it all we spend everything we get on debt repayment hence no growth in income.” (Male Emergency Beneficiary, Mandera)

Routine beneficiaries were more likely to be positive when referring to their livelihoods. For example, a female routine beneficiary in Turkana expressed, “Business is improving! You can’t compare it to that of two years ago. I can now pay school fees, pay house rent and I can see a big improvement since my children get food every day courtesy of this business.” (Female Routine Beneficiary, Turkana)

Most people spend their money generated from their livelihood activities on food and for some, especially larger households, this is all they can afford. Other significant expenditures include school fees and clothes. Emergency and non-beneficiary households were more likely to mention that food comprised of a larger percentage of their total expenditure than routine beneficiaries, suggesting that routine beneficiaries are better able to spend beyond basic needs (see also section 3 above).

HSNP routine beneficiaries are more able to choose preferred types of livelihood. HSNP has increased household income allowing households to take on potentially lower income but less strenuous activities. In reducing the unpredictability of total household income, routine beneficiaries are also able to take on more risky livelihoods such as starting up a business. Certain livelihoods, such as strenuous casual labour like fetching firewood or collecting stone, are considered low-status jobs and are reported as a consequence of a lack of choice. More comfortable jobs in ‘good environments’, for example small businesses or being self-employed, are seen as more desirable and often

a strategy for divorced beneficiary and non-beneficiary women. A female routine beneficiary in Marsabit described this during a focus group discussion, stating, “Some beneficiaries who got the money stopped hard labour they were doing. Today they are selling tea and other food stuff at the kiosk.” Similarly, a female routine beneficiary in Wajir County explained how the transfer has impacted her in this way: “Today I have business [selling vegetables] that I do compared to when I used to sell firewood around. That was so tiresome and a low class job. Today I am so happy I am doing something decent to earn a living.” Male beneficiaries (especially routine) mentioned that HSNP has enabled them to be more relaxed and feel less pressure to provide.

HSNP has allowed routine beneficiaries access to credit, which is used to HSNP cash to provide the start-up capital needed to start a business. Routine beneficiaries have started or expanded businesses, including those weaving mats and baskets, selling charcoal/firewood, vegetables/miraa etc.; or even larger enterprises such as canteens and kiosks. Other beneficiaries, routine and emergency, report starting smaller income-generating activities (IGAs) like buying maize and selling on, or buying livestock and selling the milk: “Business is good for people who benefit from the money from the HSNP. They can buy half a bag of sugar and start a business and continue with the money from HSNP to grow.” (Mixed focus group, Community Leaders, Turkana County)

This example illustrates how HSNP cash is being spent to establish and expand businesses. However, some businesses close in the second month after payment, either because the owner does not have enough capital to buy resources or because the number of customers reduces as other HSNP beneficiaries become cash poor. Furthermore, many women state to be engaged in IGAs

such as selling tea or various forms of retail (see Box 6 below). Whilst some gendered differences can be noted about the scope of involvement of men and women in IGAs, several beneficiaries report changes that women are increasingly involved in income generating livelihoods since receiving the transfer. Yet, men appear to operate a wider range of IGAs (livestock trading, hotels, boda boda, kiosks etc.) than women (food vending, weaving, washing, retail, kiosks) and men's IGAs are reported to generate larger incomes. Box 6 Joan from Turkana - HSNP and livelihoods

Emergency beneficiaries, especially female emergency beneficiaries, were more likely to say that there had been no changes to their livelihood activities. These respondents acknowledged that the money was not enough and was too unpredictable and irregular to make any significant changes—either positive or negative—in their work.

A few emergency beneficiaries were not aware that payments would be triggered only if there was a significant drought. Anticipating payments that did not arrive made life problematic. For example a teacher expressed, “There is a young man who sold his bicycle expecting HSNP will give him more money so that he may buy another bicycle or add some money to what he will be given so that he may get another one. Since then he has not received anything and I am the one who is helping him.” (Teacher, Turkana) On the other hand, some emergency payment beneficiaries do consider HSNP to positively affect them: “I get additional income from HSNP money. This money also gives me the ability to assist other relatives and neighbours who are needy. HSNP money has also changed the livelihood of our community and through it there is creation of opportunities.” (Male emergency payment beneficiary, Marsabit County) Although there are thus some indications that such positive economic spill-overs occur, the extent is not possible to determine using the qualitative data. The Quantitative IE (including the LEWIE) will provide a robust measure of the impact of the programme on the local economy.

There were some assertions that routine beneficiaries, especially men, have quit or reduced the extent of their livelihood activities relying instead on HSNP. This can purportedly result in dependence. This was particularly noted in Wajir. For instance, “The problem with this money is that you see people just waiting there and sitting idle. People have become lazy to do work or struggle in getting their livelihood. They just take debts and wait for the money to come and they do nothing else to survive. This is really bad. They became lazy.” (Male routine beneficiary, Wajir county) Countering this, there were examples provided, especially from community leaders and chiefs, that unemployed people have started working. “The

person that before had nothing and was just sitting, since they started receiving the money the person has started working and helping themselves to improve their life” (Chief, Wajir).

Perceptions of HSNP are compared to those of **other programmes. The majority of other programmes present in the counties focus on in-kind support (often food) provided in emergency situations.** HSNP routine transfers are described more as an income, whereas emergency transfers are likened to other programmes, albeit providing money rather than food. Additionally, there are contrasting accounts of whether HSNP beneficiaries are eligible to receive support from other programmes, and, furthermore, whether other programmes have stopped since HSNP began. Our evaluation of HSNP phase 1 found that HSNP did not exclude households from receiving other forms of emergency support such as general food distribution from the WFP. However, it is an explicit agenda of WFP to phase out general food distribution now precisely because HSNP is operating in these areas. The phase 1 evaluation also found an overwhelming preference for cash support by beneficiaries, and other studies conducted under the current evaluation show similar preferences by national programmers, county governments, members of parliament and senators.

The difference between money and food is huge because food, when given out, [is] given in groups. They share, and in some cases the beneficiary does not even get enough. But money is their right and the card and the finger print enables the beneficiary to receive the money. Getting Five thousand after every two months is first like you are employed. You can take credit from shop and later pay. But food you cannot take from shop and return in terms of food after two months.
(Rights Committee, Marsabit County)



Box 6

Joan from Turkana - HSNP and livelihoods

Joan* is a routine beneficiary living in Turkana County. She is the sole breadwinner for her household after her husband passed away. To provide for her children she sells maize and beans. Receiving the HSNP money helped her buy one sack of maize which she can then sell to buy books for her children, she says that she depends on receiving the money each month”.

*Notes: *Name changed for confidentiality*

6.4 ‘Lump-sum payments’, savings and productive assets

The impact of HSNP on livelihoods varies depending on the amount received.

In cases where a larger sum is paid at once (for instance where a beneficiary is enrolled onto the programme late), beneficiaries appear more likely to invest in IGAs, such as opening a small kiosk; or investing in productive assets such as livestock (see Box 7).

Enrolment has taken longer than intended for some beneficiaries due to the account opening process which requires beneficiaries to have valid national identity documents. Because HSNP pledged to give each intended beneficiary their full entitlement since the start of phase 2, some beneficiaries have received significantly large ‘lump sums’ for their first payment³²; after which they are meant to receive the regular KES 5,100 on a bi-monthly basis.

Receiving a lump sum means that households can purchase or invest in relatively large productive assets, such as large or many livestock, or setting up a small shop. Beneficiaries of lump sum payments were thus more likely to report having invested in to or changed livelihood activities: “When the money comes in a big amount like KES 47,000, it really helps a lot. One is able to start small business with the money. For the ones who got the accumulated payment and have directed the money into small businesses, they have moved a step ahead.” (FGD Community Leaders, Marsabit County) This said, and as discussed further in Section 7 below, these businesses tend to be small-scale activities such

as selling vegetables or firewood, hence not often by themselves sufficient to support a household.

Saving the transfer is rare across all the target counties. Although some routine beneficiaries in the middle-income bracket have the potential to save cash, and a few younger routine female beneficiaries in Turkana have set up savings groups, saving patterns are difficult to distinguish. Whilst routine beneficiaries are more likely to say they save than emergency payment beneficiaries, even routine beneficiaries describe the transfers as not sufficiently large for households to be able to save any significant amounts.

Some beneficiaries from both groups did report saving the transfer to invest in livestock: “Recently, I decided to leave that money for some days so that I can save and buy some livestock for rearing or start a small business like selling sugar, flour or something else.” (Turkana County). Such investment in livestock is seen less as a productive asset and more as a type of saving. As a female emergency beneficiaries from Mandera county described it: “We use them [livestock] as a source of income during difficult times by taking them to the market and selling them.” Livestock is used as a buffer against the risks mentioned in Section 5, the most significant one being drought.

LIVELIHOODS

Box 7

HSNP “lump-sum” payments and livelihoods

Amina* is a routine beneficiary in Wajir County. The first time she received HSNP she collected KES 23,000, helping her to buy two goats. The goats provide milk which she sells, and that way she is able to diversify her food intake. The goats have reproduced and the number of livestock she owns as increased, sometimes she keeps the kids and sometimes she sells some off allowing her to purchase clothes, shoes and other goods. She says her situation has changed since receiving HSNP, “In earlier days we had nothing but now we at least have something”.

*Notes: *Name changed for confidentiality*

³² For example, if a beneficiary received their first payment in July 2015, just before the qualitative research fieldwork was undertaken, they would have been entitled to two full years of transfers, totalling up to around KES 60,000.

6.5 Diversification of livelihoods and resilience

The diversification of livelihoods within a household can also indicate a greater involvement of women in IGAs.

As households increase the IGAs they engage in, women are more likely to become joint earners. A female routine beneficiary from Marsabit County told us “If one fails, you are able to rely on the other one to cater for your family’s needs.”

Whether HSNP investment in productive assets turn into a productive livelihood option is dependent on several factors: both contextual, such as drought, and/or operational, such as how a transfer is received. Acknowledging this, we observe that **some routine households have been able to diversify their livelihoods through receiving HSNP** (see Box 8). HSNP appears to impact livelihoods either as a complementary income, or as a base upon which further investment can be built. A male routine beneficiary from Wajir County considered the reason for improved livelihoods to be that “People are now trying not to put all their eggs in one basket. Initially people used to have all their wealth in form of animals, but now they even sell animals to start shops.” The routine HSNP transfer can provide the space for households to consider alternative livelihood options and diversify dependency. The quantitative IE component should highlight the extent to which routine beneficiaries have been able to diversify their income sources.

Livelihoods in the HSNP counties are vulnerable to a range of factors, including climatic shocks such as

drought, to governmental regulations such as banning charcoal burning. HSNP appears to improve resilience to shocks through this diversification of livelihoods. Whilst income from HSNP is reported to not be large enough by itself for beneficiaries to depend on exclusively, beneficiaries are able to use the HSNP both to maintain their previous livelihoods and add new ones.

“The other thing is that, since it doesn’t rain, the aid has become our rain and it sustains us during harsh times.”

Male teacher, Turkana County

Box 8

HSNP and livelihood diversity

Mohammed* is a senior chief in Madera County. He explains that most people in the region are pastoralists, and as such depend on their livestock. When the drought season hits and animals die, HSNP money helps sustain their livelihoods. Before HSNP, people were entirely dependent on their few livestock, but now this dependence has shifted to the transfer. Poor families in the area are doing better and the number of livestock owned by most families has improved. Even those without animals are depending on the transfer to survive. It has helped some people start their own businesses and families are more food secure. This all means that even during drought when animals die, they can still survive on the other activities they do.

Notes: *Name changed for confidentiality



7 Local economy

- 7.1 Prices
- 7.2 Market activity and products
- 7.3 Business profits
- 7.4 Increase in new businesses

7 Local economy

In this section we discuss the ways that the HSNP is perceived to have impacted on local economies.

Overall, we find that the greater purchasing power of HSNP beneficiaries is believed to have increased trade, and some vendors perceive that their profits have improved overall. Yet the effects of the transfer appear to be moderate and short-lived. They are focused around pay day, and tempered by national and global economic trends, in particular, inflation—as well as climatic events. The increased cost of wholesale goods, and competition from neighbouring countries, moderates the profitability of small businesses. Urban vendors who trade close to pay-points have experienced greater positive outcomes from HSNP than traders in rural areas. We also find that male and female HSNP beneficiaries who have started new business have focused on different types of goods. More men have entered the retail market, which has greater profit opportunities, though this was not widespread.

Below we discuss the findings in more detail. The analysis is based on research with community leaders, HSNP beneficiaries, local business people and traders. We explore the impact of the HSNP transfer on prices, market activity and diversity, the profitability of business, and whether new businesses enabled by the transfer are affecting the economic landscape.

HSNP local economy impacts

LOCAL ECONOMY

HSNP has produced spill-over effects for businesses near pay points

Traders and shopkeepers say that they have larger profits due to the big increase in customer traffic on pay days. Business owners also point out, however, that these positive spill-overs can be tempered by regional and global economic trends, as well as climatic events such as drought, which increase the cost of doing business.



HSNP has spill-overs for established businesses in villages, too

Village traders tell us that people are buying more goods from their local shops than before HSNP, purchasing either with cash or on credit, which they pay off on pay days. The spill-over for local shopkeepers is more limited than that experienced by business owners in the towns and trading centres in which pay points are located.

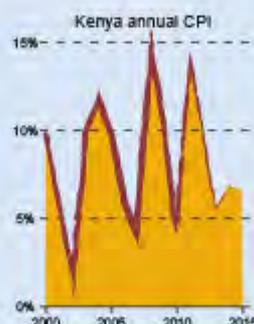


HSNP has helped women to enter the local economy, albeit at a small scale

Many HSNP recipients claim to have started up micro businesses, mainly in the form of petty sales enterprises such as selling vegetables or homemade goods by the side of the road. For example, a beneficiary may use the transfer to buy bundles of grass which are then woven into mats and sold.

Local prices are determined by factors other than HSNP

Local food prices, for example, are influenced by regional or global trends such as fuel prices. Inflation in the region can be more or less volatile depending on events. For instance, the consumer price index (CPI) was relatively stable over the last couple of years, ranging between 5-8%, whereas there were big spikes in 2011-12 (20%) and 2008-09 (+30%) caused by extreme droughts in the region.



7.1 Prices

The HSNP transfer is not seen to have influenced the prices of goods in the four counties.

While all respondents reported that prices are high and often fluctuate, there is no connection made between these fluctuations and HSNP. It was widely believed that the cost of goods, especially food, is determined by external factors such as flooding, drought and the cost of transport.

People in both beneficiary groups and in all counties frequently complained that the **cost of food is unstable and unaffordable**. It was widely noted that food is more competitively priced in town centres than shops in the village. The Kenya National Bureau of Statistics report that food price inflation averaged 10.89 percent between 2010 and 2015. At the time of the fieldwork in August and September 2015, food price inflation was just under 10 percent³³. While this means that the real value of the transfer is diminished, people maintained that the transfer was still a significant benefit.

Especially at the village level, the price of food goods is very much influenced by the cost of transport. Those selling food in the villages must purchase stocks from the nearest town. Agricultural activities are not taking place on a scale that would allow people to sell things they have grown themselves. This means they are vulnerable to the fluctuations in food and transport prices, and have to pass along increased costs to their customers.

7.2 Market activity and products

Across counties we found that the HSNP is seen to have increased market activity.

This impact was most marked on pay day, as vendors and traders are drawn to the pay point.

Vendors also offer a wider array of goods in response to increased demand from HSNP beneficiaries. Demand for luxury items such as sugar and pasta has increased among transfer beneficiaries on pay day, so traders now increase their stock of these items accordingly. A trader in Mandera explained: “There are people [traders], when they hear that there are payments being made, they usually bring food so people can buy from them. Others sell clothes and others sell veterinary medicine for animals ... previously people used to buy only food.’

Despite this overall trend, we also observe that, even on pay day, the increased diversity of the market is sensitive to broader influences such as prices. Traders discussed how they shift their stocks to meet the increased purchasing power of HSNP beneficiaries, but what they stock and how much they charge is dependent on commodity prices. A woman who has been a trader in rural Turkana for 20 years described how her business has changed over time in regard to how she decides what to stock: “Sometimes I now sell flour and sometimes I even sell fish when the buying price is fair.”

³³www.knbs.or.ke



7.3 Business profits

Across counties, traders view themselves as beneficiaries of HSNP, even if they are not direct beneficiaries of the transfer.

For example, a trader whose shop is near a pay point in Lodwar Town, Turkana, explained: 'I personally benefit because once they receive it [the CT], they come to eat here, since if they get the money they must eat. Even if I don't receive the money, they buy food from me and thus I benefit.' When we examine what might be driving the increased profits for traders as a result of HSNP, a number of factors emerge.

First, **the volume of consumer traffic is significantly increased on pay days**. Shopkeepers in urban locations report that people who may not have otherwise come into town now come in much more regularly to collect their HSNP money. Thus, the transfer has contributed directly to a larger customer base. In addition, some traders are pay agents, and these report that HSNP beneficiaries who would not normally even know about their stores are now becoming regular customers. The benefit of increased trade on pay day was particularly noted by certain types of business owners, including those selling meat and prepared food, livestock and clothes.

Urban trade has also become more profitable because **HSNP beneficiaries have increased purchasing power** and presence in the market compared to non-beneficiaries, both on pay day and the following weeks. Some pay agents report having to close their businesses during pay day, as the crowds overwhelm their small shops, and customers who are not HSNP beneficiaries struggle to even enter the shop and make a purchase. Both traders and beneficiaries report that having more money means that customers are able to buy larger quantities of food and other goods. This is especially so on pay day, but continues during the weeks between payments as people purchase items on credit.

Finally, both traders and beneficiaries report that **HSNP has enabled people to repay debts for items purchased on credit**. Across counties, traders, shopkeepers and people with small businesses described the vulnerability of their businesses to unpaid debt, and how commonly their customer default on loans. Yet, as explained in Section 3 above, many traders report that HSNP beneficiaries have proved themselves reliable in this regard, promptly repaying credit debt as soon as they receive their transfer. When asked whether this cycle of extending credit and receiving repayment from HSNP beneficiaries had helped her business, for example, a female small business owner in Mandera County explained: 'Yes, now people are paying the debts they owe me. You know, when customers fail to pay their debts, they are risking your business to get to standstill. With the introduction of the [HSNP] money business has been good.'

Despite these positive findings, we found varied reports from traders as to whether HSNP had increased their

“This place is a small village and the people here are mostly poor. Since the introduction of the [HSNP] money in the last two years, my business is doing better too as a result. Those who owe me debts are now able to pay me and even buy things from my shop, unlike before.”

Trader, Mandera County

profits. Experience often **varied between those with businesses in urban/town centres or near pay points, and those in village locations**. As would be expected, traders in town areas were more likely to highlight that they are making a profit, while those in more rural areas often explained that they just meet their costs or are ‘working for the landlord.’

We also found a temporal dimension to the impact of HSNP on profits of small businesses. Dramatic increase in profits tend to occur within the first week of pay day, while more moderate increase in sales occurs over the rest of the pay period through the steady purchase of small amounts of goods on credit. Traders and community members consistently reported that most of the spending of HSNP takes place on the first day (see Section 3 above). This sudden burst of activity involves new purchases of livestock, food and clothing, as well as repayment of debts. Traders report that they increase their stocks in anticipation of pay day, but this is generally not maintained in the following seven weeks between payments. As a result, traders explained that they must calculate the right amount of stock, or risk running a net loss due to the unsold excess goods. In a rural community in Kalemunyang, Turkana, a group of routine payment beneficiaries drew our attention to the shuttered shops in the community. ‘You see now, shops are closed because no one has got that money.’

Of course some factors that affect business profits are beyond the influence of the HSNP. These largely have to do with commodity price fluctuations that are determined elsewhere (nationally or globally). In addition, there are some local, idiosyncratic factors at play as well. In Marsabit, for example, traders described struggling to

compete with merchants across the border in Ethiopia. Some traders did leverage their proximity to the border, importing cheaper goods for sale at lower prices in Kenya. Shopkeepers also described the growing practice of wholesalers operating retail shops, thus pushing prices lower.

7.4 Increase in new businesses

Some beneficiaries reported using HSNP money to boost and start small businesses.

This was particularly the case among those receiving routine payments (see also Section 6). They use the transfer to purchase stock, and hope that by doing so they will be able to sell at a profit. Most commonly, businesses that start as a result of HSNP tend to be small-scale activities in areas with low barriers to entry, such as selling vegetables and small food items in villages.

These **new businesses are distinctly gendered**, and align with the different livelihoods activities done by men and women that we discuss in Section 6. The ways in which HSNP enables women and men to engage in the local economy are often markedly different in terms of both scope and scale of new business activities.

Across counties, women have tended to start new business in the arena of raw food vending, focusing especially on rice, sugar, beans and vegetables. This was confirmed in discussions with men, who widely reported that these are the type of businesses which women receiving HSNP are starting in large numbers across counties. We heard testimony from some women who have started new clothing businesses, or kiosks selling cooked food, but these were less common.

The research found greater diversity in the range of new business activities reported by male HSNP beneficiaries. These include boda boda motorcycle taxi services, welding businesses, hardware kiosks, and livestock trading. Even where they report working in the same type of business, respondents suggested that men are more likely to participate in businesses activities at the wholesale level, while women would be involved at retail or vendor level. This often means that the size and profitability of men's businesses generally outpace those of women.

The new business started by HSNP beneficiaries are not contributing to increased diversity in the market. HSNP beneficiaries, traders, and community informants agreed that these business are 'selling the same vegetables', and not introducing new products or services to the local economy.

We found **mixed perceptions about whether these new businesses have resulted in increased competition.** A number of established traders and shopkeepers reported that their businesses are not crowded out by these new businesses, and they do not view them as major competition. This is likely due to the fact that HSNP-supported businesses tend to be most active in the days and weeks immediately following pay day. However, once the transfer cash is no longer available, these businesses tend to shrink or pause their activities. On the other hand, some people did report that their business has been negatively affected by the HSNP beneficiaries entering the market. A businesswoman in Majengo, Marsabit described the situation, stating, "Since HSNP everyone wants to become a trader!" Beneficiaries have opened up shops which have drawn away some of her customers, resulting in fallen profit. This effect was particularly the case in places where local businesses were already struggling. This indicates that market development is a key influence on the impact of the HSNP programme on the local economy.



“People are buying a lot of stuff, especially foodstuff, when they get the money. This has encouraged more business to come up”

Female community leader, Marsabit County



8 Social norms and relations

- 8.1 Asset ownership
- 8.2 Community and inter-household relations
- 8.3 Intra-household relations

8 Social norms and relations

This section explains the context of social norms and relations in study communities, and any changes to those perceived as a result of HSNP.

A discussion of asset ownership begins this chapter, as an introduction to some of the social and gender norms to be outlined later.

Regarding inter-household relations we find that HSNP does not appear to be making significant changes into existing control, ownership and decision making structures in communities. Routine beneficiaries are sharing a portion of their transfer with non-beneficiary households, which has generally created a sense of peace and unity. Few respondents understood the HSNP eligibility and selection criteria. The perceived arbitrariness of the targeting could be a driver of community sharing. In contrast, emergency beneficiaries feel they are not able to share their transfers because of their low value and intermittent nature. A few cases of tension were heard, often as a result of being excluded from being a routine beneficiary or from the programme entirely.

In relation to intra-household relations, testimony indicates that external civil society organisations (CSOs) have made visible attempts to empower women. Since many women are targeted as HSNP beneficiaries, HSNP is seen as contributing to the local discourse of women's empowerment. A few men voiced unease at how HSNP was shifting definitions of household head and the increased power that it has brought their wives. Some male beneficiaries say they consult with their wife when making significant expenditure decisions, whereas others say they make such decisions alone. There were some disagreements between men and women about how the transfer should be spent, although the named beneficiary has more leverage in these decisions.

There is strong evidence that for routine beneficiaries the transfer has helped to alleviate poverty, which has eased stress, tension and conflict within the household. Physical violence and divorces specifically attributed to HSNP, while mentioned, were uncommon. Emergency beneficiaries, on the other hand, have experienced little change in tension in the household because of the smaller value and intermittent disbursement of emergency payments. For this reason, emergency payments are used to meet households' basic needs, rather than being shared with other community members. Households in rural areas were more likely to report an increase in sharing due to access to HSNP.

Changing social norms and relations in HSNP counties



Gender Relations

Patriarchal cultural and social norms prevail in the four counties. However, HSNP is contributing to emerging notions of women's empowerment.

There is a clear division of labour in northern Kenya. Women are in charge of household chores and perform much of the unpaid work, while men are mainly responsible for income generation and decision-making.

Awareness of women's rights is growing, encouraged by NGOs. HSNP contributes to women's empowerment by increasing women's purchasing power and improving their status within their household.

Many men feel threatened by new forms of female empowerment.

"Women are busy with family issues, like taking care of the kids. Men have been mandated to be our leaders by our religion"
– Female HSNP beneficiary, Wajir

"A long time ago we made our own decisions, women followed instructions. But nowadays we share decisions with them"
– Male HSNP beneficiary, Marsabit

"Women are concerned with decision making because they have heard of these so-called 'women's rights'. They even want to rule us now!"
– Male HSNP beneficiary, Wajir

SOCIAL NORMS AND RELATIONS



"The husband decides how money is spent. We women just follow and agree on what they say"
– Female HSNP beneficiaries, Turkana

"People believe that single women like me cannot survive. But we can survive"
– Female HSNP beneficiary, Mandera

"My wife is just at home mostly. She holds no leadership position anywhere"
– Male Routine Recipient, Turkana



Community

By easing some of the negative effects of poverty, HSNP strengthens the social support networks that exist in communities.

Most HSNP beneficiaries share the transfer with their neighbours and relatives, often supporting those that previously supported them.

"The relationship between me and my friends has changed since this money began. They now respect me. They know that I can help them"

– Male HSNP beneficiary, Mandera

"Everyone is happy about this programme because even if you are not a beneficiary your neighbour assists you"

– Female HSNP beneficiary, Mandera

"I give support to others when they face problems because I might require assistance one day"

– Female emergency payments recipient, Mandera



Households

HSNP has created more peace and unity within the household

With less pressing need to earn money, there is generally less stress in the household

"My wife and I love each other more and more because we get this HSNP money"

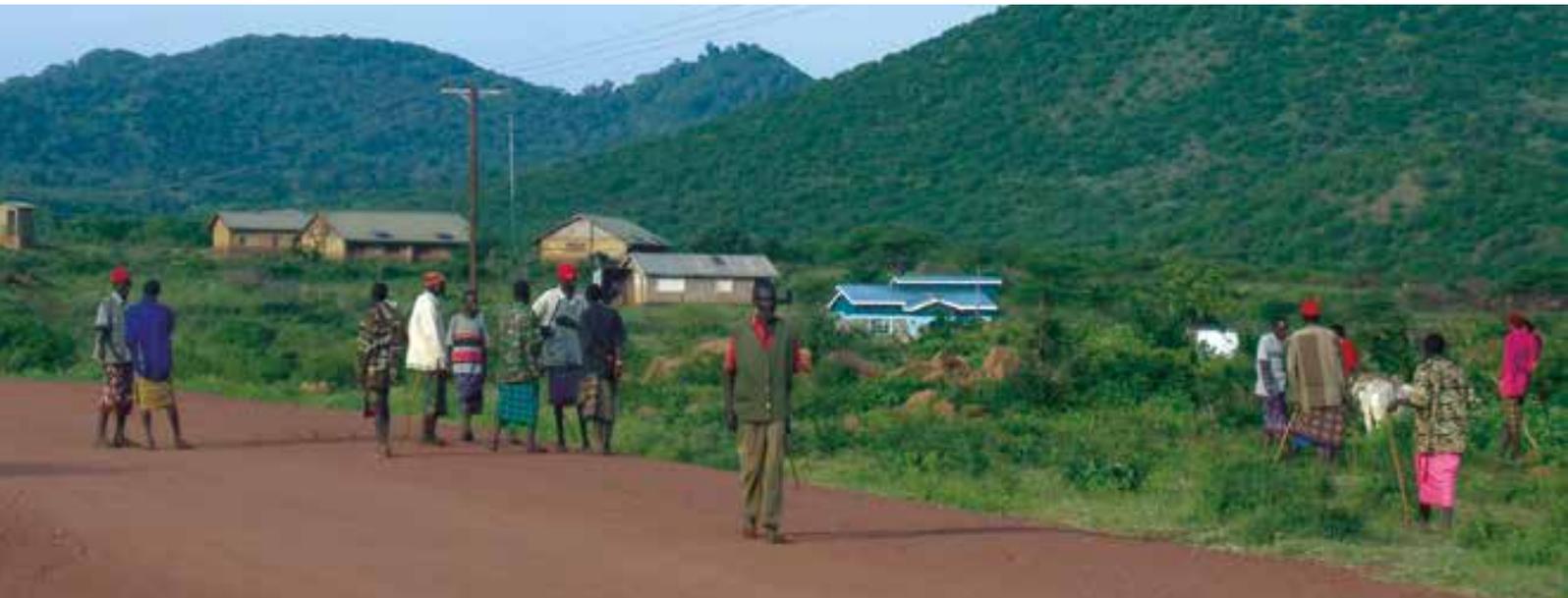
– Male HSNP Beneficiary, Mandera

"HSNP has installed happiness in the family, as we are now able to meet needs that we couldn't before"

– Male Emergency Recipient, Mandera

"All is well. Because of the money people receive from HSNP, there are no more conflicts due to inadequate food in the home"

– Sub-location chief, Marsabit



8.1 Asset ownership

Typical assets in northern Kenyan households are livestock, property and land.

Livestock includes goats, cows, donkeys, chickens and camels, and can be bought or inherited. In male-headed households these are often sold to pay for school fees. Those that don't receive either routine or emergency payments, were found to be more likely to own cows, multiple plots of land and donkey carts. Land is usually inherited along the patrilineal line, unless a household migrates to a new area in which land is usually issued. Land is very rarely bought or sold. In Kerio and Lodwar town, in Turkana, some respondents affirmed that land cannot be privately owned. Cases of land grabs were rare, but were mentioned in Majengo, Marsabit and Eldas, Wajir.

as evidenced by a female routine beneficiary in Kulaaley, Wajir, who agreed that her husband owns the household assets: "It's his wealth. It's from all his effort." This sentiment does not value women's contributions to wealth creation via domestic and childcare duties in the household.

Typically, female-headed households have less assets than male-headed households. This is because they tend to be poorer, and looking after livestock is generally considered a man's role. Female-headed households are also more likely to rent a house, rather than own it, because of gendered property rights: "In case we divorce, in our culture, the plot belongs to the man and I will get nothing." (Female headed-household, Didkuro, Mandera). Such financial strain can be further exacerbated because divorced men often do not provide for their previous family. In contrast, widows usually inherit assets from their deceased husband. In male-headed households, women often used "we" to describe ownership of assets in the household whereas men use "I"; with men citing that they are "the head of the household" and therefore have individual right of ownership. Women often subscribe to this interpretation,

“Two naked people cannot cover each other. With HSNP, community neighbours can now help each other because nakedness refers to not having anything, and two people with nothing can’t help each other. But when one has something you can support the other.”

Female Community Leader, Mandera County

8.2 Community and inter-household relations

8.2.1 Community resource management

Across the counties, a plethora of **committees have been created for management of communal resources**. This includes committees for management of water resources, mosques/churches, schools, hospitals, and for livestock grazing. In general, these committees must be registered with the local authorities. Committee members are mainly elected by the community, with the exception of school committees which are often determined by the school board. Community Leaders said that those most likely to be elected are seen as “effective” and “active”. **Yet men are far more likely to be committee members than women**. Reflecting gendered social norms and perceptions, both male and female respondents reported that women are too busy with housework, and that it is against their religion to have women in leadership positions. As one woman asserted: “Women are busy with family issues, like taking care of the kids. Men have also been mandated to be our leaders by our religion. God made them powerful.” (Female routine beneficiary, Wajir County)

Ownership and control of community resources generally depends on who financed construction.

For example, in Mandera and Turkana, elders explained that religious buildings (mosques and churches) belong to the community since they raised the finance to build them. In contrast, buildings financed by the government (such as schools, hospitals, and the chief’s office) are perceived as belonging to the government. In Marsabit, respondents widely reported that most communal resources are owned by the community and managed by elected committees. With community members’ income rising as a result of HSNP, and more cash in

circulation in the local economy, it could be that in the future beneficiaries will start to build and repair religious buildings, which could strengthen social ties in the community.

At this stage there is no evidence that HSNP is changing control, ownership and decision making structures at the community level. However, with the increased respect that beneficiaries are reported to be receiving, it could be that beneficiaries (especially men) take up leadership positions in the community, such as through committees. This is a potential area for research in the next round of the qualitative study.

8.2.2 Inter-household support

Respondents reported a variety of ways that they support other households in their community, with support generally being greater in more rural areas. This is particularly true of routine beneficiaries, for which the larger sum of money allows for any excess to be shared among needy non-beneficiaries. Expectations of reciprocal support for routine beneficiaries provide households with informal safety nets. Reciprocal assistance includes providing food, money/credit, water, firewood, digging graves, constructing houses, lending or giving of animals, and offering advice or consolation.

Many reasons were provided to explain why support is given, but the most common was that it is a moral obligation to help those who are less fortunate or in need. This includes those that are hungry, have experienced a death in the household, are sick, will be married, or are living with one or more disabilities. Some respondents also spoke of religious obligations to provide assistance to others. Elders in Marsabit and



Wajir also noted that they organise community-level fundraisers in case of serious and sudden financial shocks to a particular household.

Those that are very poor are unable to assist others. However, these very poor households can still receive some support from others in the community, even when that help cannot be returned. We also found that **female headed-households are less likely to receive support from others**. This may be because they have more limited family networks, since that of the husband has often ceased support, and also because they are less able to support others due to hardship.

HSNP has been introduced into this context of reciprocal support and a moral obligation to care for the less fortunate. In regard to use of the HSNP transfer, we found that routine beneficiaries are more able to share the transfer than emergency beneficiaries. **Most routine beneficiaries report that have increased their sharing with neighbours and relatives**, often supporting those that they themselves previously relied upon pre-HSNP.

Some report that the HSNP has increased the frequency of sharing, and the value of what is shared. With less borrowing and indebtedness, some explained that relationships in their community have become more harmonious. However, others reported no change in this regard. A notable number of routine female-headed households stated that they were not able to share much of the HSNP money because it barely meets the needs of their own household. Some routine beneficiaries also suggested that despite HSNP, they still experience times of hardship (albeit less often), and so still receive assistance from others. We heard only a few cases of neighbours refusing to support routine beneficiaries – in Lodwar (Turkana) and Kulaaley (Wajir).

Most emergency beneficiaries, in contrast, explained that their ad hoc, single monthly transfers of KES 2,550 is not large enough to allow them to share part of it with others³⁴. It was not viewed as a reliable income, and they have no guarantee of a future payment. These households viewed themselves as needy and poor, and thus deserving of the regular transfer, with emergency payments used only for basic needs with little left over (see Section 5). They provided in-cash and in-kind support before HSNP (and continue to do so), but for most, **becoming an emergency HSNP beneficiary has not increased the level of support they give to others**: “It has not changed, since the money we receive is almost insignificant and we get it after a long duration.” (Female emergency beneficiary, Didkuro,

Mandera) Other emergency beneficiaries, particularly in rural areas, did report an increase in sharing due to access to this transfer.

The sharing of HSNP money has generally eased tension and conflict, although we found some variation across communities. Where HSNP has reduced tension, this was often explained as the result of beneficiaries sharing the transfer with needy non-beneficiary households, resulting in generally reduced financial stress. For example, in Goromuda, Marsabit, a sub-location highly affected by conflict in recent years, a male routine beneficiary claimed, “The hatred that was there before was due to poverty. People used to steal some time ago because they are poor. But today, this money has improved people’s living standards.” The sharing of money is thus seen to have strengthened inter-household relationships and created a sense of unity.

Perceptions of HSNP are strongly affected by perceptions of programme targeting. Many respondents referred to the HSNP money being sent from God, with recipients selected on the basis of good fortune: “This money is based on luck so we do not need to fight over someone’s luck. We still have the cards and maybe one day our luck will come.” (Female non-beneficiary, Eldas, Wajir) There was very little knowledge of the selection criteria, the targeting process and payment amounts. With many areas in HSNP counties in and out of conflict situations, this could be one of the reasons behind the observed sharing of HSNP transfers. In the absence of information, respondents asserted that they could not make allegations against the programme.

There were few instances of animosity as a result of HSNP. What mention was made was in Turkana and Wajir and centred around inclusion and exclusion in the programme. In these cases, tension was created by some emergency beneficiaries wishing to become routine beneficiaries, and non-beneficiaries wishing to be a part of the programme. A few routine beneficiaries in these counties also noted how others “talk badly” of them, which according to a teacher in Lodwar Town, Turkana demoralises the community.

³⁴ Often the amount that they report to receive is less than the official amount, due to purported charges by pay agents.

8.3 Intra-household relations

8.3.1 Household decision making

Almost universally, those in male-headed households stated that the man of the house makes the main decisions, even though they might consult with their wife.

This is especially true of decisions about larger household purchases such as livestock. The reason given is often that God provided men with this responsibility. Power hierarchies are therefore evident. As a female routine beneficiary, Kalemunyang, Turkana stated, “I just follow his orders and agree on what he says.” Women make decisions when their husband is away, or when they reside in female-headed households, and even in some female headed households decisions may be jointly carried out with the eldest son. This dominant form of gendered decision-making is unlikely to be shifted significantly in the long term as a result of HSNP.

Some women reported that their role in household decision making has increased in recent years.

In these cases, women noted small increments in their decision making capacity and opportunities to make decisions on small household items. This change was referenced to the work of external CSOs in disseminating information about women’s rights, but it has also been informed by HSNP. In the words of a male emergency beneficiary in Kulaaley, Wajir: “Previously, it was the husband [that was responsible for decision making] but now that has changed. Women are concerned with decision making because they have heard of the so called ‘women’s rights’. They want to rule us even!” A male routine beneficiary in Goromuda, Marsabit lamented, “The challenge we have is that a man cannot use any money before he consults with his wife”, without noting any advantages that consultation brings. In Wajir, some men also believed that women’s rights—as informed by various CSO-led activities—were making women “big headed”, causing divorce and going against religion. This suggests that **some men feel threatened by this form of female empowerment.**

Decisions on the use of HSNP are affected by whether the beneficiary is a male-headed or female-headed household, who is the named beneficiary, and whether they are a routine or emergency beneficiary. In general, **beneficiaries in female-headed households are the sole decision makers in regard to how the transfer is spent**, regardless of whether they are routine or emergency. This has increased their autonomy and the respect that others show to them (see Box 9). In male-headed households, there is a more complicated picture, with some households making a joint decision and in others men taking sole responsibility.

The named beneficiary is often seen as entitled to choose how the transfer is spent. This includes women. For emergency beneficiaries, we found that female named beneficiaries do not generally consult with their husbands, because the amount is small: “There is no need to tell him about something so small like 2000 shillings.” (Female Emergency Beneficiary, Burabor, Mandera) For routine beneficiaries, in contrast, if the named beneficiary is female, she often consults with the husband. When routine named beneficiaries are male, we find that some consult with their wife, while others make the decision alone. We heard some cases of tension as a result of some men not sharing the HSNP money with the rest of the family (in Goromuda, Majengo and Eldas).

8.3.2 Gendered roles and responsibilities affect intra-household relationships

Gendered divisions of labour are quite pronounced in northern Kenya. Many respondents explained that this is intended by nature and God. Social norms dictate that women are responsible for household chores, and perform much of the unpaid work; while men are mainly responsible for income generation. **This gendered division of labour affects how household members relate to one another, and associated relations of power.** For example a male routine beneficiary in Kalemunyang, Turkana stated, “Her work is to cook and to serve me and the kids. That is her job.” Similarly in Kulaaley, Wajir, a male non-beneficiary noted, “Everything I tell my wife she does.” Boys are taught “men’s work” by their fathers, and girls learn from their mothers. There has been very little change in this division of labour as a result of HSNP. This is not surprising, as gender roles tend to change only over the long-term.

However, there were a few hints from women acknowledging the imbalance of power in relations between the sexes. For example, a female community

A photograph of a traditional kitchen. The roof is made of a dense thatch of dried grass or straw. A large, dark, rounded pot sits on a wooden stand. The walls are made of mud or clay. The lighting is warm and low, creating a rustic atmosphere.

“My husband makes the important decisions. What can we do as women? Less important decisions—such as what to cook for dinner—can be a decision made by the wife.”

Female emergency beneficiary, Kulaaley, Wajir

Box 9

Increased autonomy and increased respect shown to female-headed households

This household consists of a divorced mother, her three daughters and her two sons. She earns her own income but occasionally also receives money from her brothers. She noted how other community members see her, saying “People believe that single women like me cannot survive. But we can survive!”

Relations with neighbours and relatives are positive, and because of HSNP she is now able to provide meals to her neighbour. She also gives KES 100 or 200 to her relative. She contrasts the freedom in how she uses the money with other women who are married. Those women are “controlled” by their husbands. In a marriage there can be disagreements on expenditure, with some men who prefer to spend HSNP on khat. Since receiving the transfer, her social status has increased, with people now considering her advice and opinions.



leader in Kerio, Turkana said, “Her responsibilities are so many: cooking, washing dishes, washing clothes, washing children, fetching water, (laughter) and others during night times.” Some men also recognised the heavy burden of labour put on women, “There are times I tell my wife to wash my clothes and she tells me she is tired, so I do understand her.” (Male non-beneficiary, Turkana County) In Turkana, male respondents expressed the value of women’s work and the difficulty that men face when managing a house alone and taking care of children. Yet the difficulties that female-headed households face was not explicitly acknowledged by any male respondents.

In male-headed households both men and women perceive the husband as main provider, even though the mother undertakes much work for household members. This sentiment is sometimes strong: “My families entirely depend on me for survival.” (Male non-beneficiary, Didkuro, Mandera) Some male beneficiaries, particularly poorer men, spoke of their struggle to provide for their household. Due to this strain, intensified by drought conditions, some respondents explained that income generation is also the responsibility of children and women. In female-headed households it is only the mother that provides. In male-headed households, **HSNP is also shifting definitions of the household head**, since women can also be the beneficiary of HSNP and therefore have increased purchasing power. In Kulaaley, Wajir, female routine beneficiaries mentioned that children are now going to mothers if they want something, since they know it is the mother who receives the money through HSNP.

The role of the elderly is mainly to give advice and direction to others, and they receive help from sons and daughters. According to a male routine beneficiary in Elwak, Mandera, there are many programmes that target the elderly and the rest of the household benefits from this assistance. They are less able to work due to ill health.

8.3.3 Alcoholism and violence in Turkana

Male consumption of alcohol was frequently mentioned in the mainly Christian county of Turkana. When husbands become intoxicated it can lead to fighting between couples. Some respondents felt that young men are vulnerable to becoming drunk, as mentioned by a female routine beneficiary from Lodwar Town: “This young one solves most of his things through fighting. Sometimes he took the knife to threaten us. He chased us away out of home. When he drunk alcohol, we hid and even sometimes we didn’t sleep at home. It reached a point where I took him to face the law.” The Chief is often called upon to mediate in these kinds of cases.

8.3.4 HSNP and Intra-household relations

Most routine beneficiaries feel that HSNP has created more peace and unity within the household. There is less stress to earn money which has meant there is less conflict in the household in general: “It [HSNP] has brought exceptionally high levels of peace in the household because at least basic needs are being met.” (Male Routine Beneficiary, Goromuda, Marsabit)

However, **some routine beneficiaries spoke of domestic disputes over the HSNP money.** In several communities in Turkana, for example, we heard of tension caused by men wanting to spend money on miraa, alcohol or khatsee, whereas women wanted to spend it on family welfare. In Mandera, some female respondents commented that men have become lazy since gaining access to HSNP.

A few male respondents also claimed that women have become disrespectful to their husbands because of HSNP: “There are women who have become stubborn... Yes, let the truth be told! They have gone against our culture and now they are not obedient to their husbands just because of this money.” (Social Worker, Eldas, Wajir) There can be “wars of words” (Female Routine Beneficiary, Majengo, Marsabit), but also **physical violence towards women** (“wife beating”). This was reported in Majengo, Hafare and Kulaaley, with some people “meeting death in this money.” (Mixed gender community leaders, Lodwar Town, Turkana). **Divorces** were reported in urban areas across the sample (e.g. Goromuda and Majengo in Marsabit as well as in Lodwar Town, Turkana).

Emergency beneficiary households experienced less tension. This was attributed to the lower value and intermittent nature of the payments that they receive.

8.3.5 Extended family relations

In general, the research found good relations within extended families, and many respondents reported that they can rely on wider kin networks for support. In particular, those who have wealthier family members can often reach out for them in times of financial crisis. Male relatives (usually brothers) almost exclusively provide money, whereas female relatives provide in-kind assistance such as milk or caring for the sick. It appears that female relatives are less likely to be asked for financial support, presumably because it is men who make such decisions over finances. Meanwhile, we also heard that households are often not able to call upon relatives for assistance, due to the context of hardship: “Everybody is struggling for his or her life.” (Burabor, Mandera); “Everybody carries his own cross alone.” (Marsabit)



9 Conclusions

- 9.1 Summary of findings
- 9.2 Implications for HSNP policy
- 9.3 Potential areas for further inquiry

9 Conclusions

This round of qualitative research has provided general information about the context in which HSNP2 is operating and the perceptions of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries about the impacts of the programme.

Fieldwork was timed such that preliminary findings from the research informed the design of the quantitative component of the IE. Two quantitative IE studies will provide robust estimates of programme impacts on households and the local economy. The next round of qualitative research will focus on a one or two special themes – to be identified in conjunction with DFID and the HSNP – as well as follow-up on any issues or queries stemming from the quantitative analysis. The final round of qualitative research will look at medium-to-long-term impacts of the programme.





9.1 Summary of findings

The general perception of both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries is that the impact of the HSNP CTs have been largely positive.

CONCLUSIONS

While there are some recognised issues with the targeting performance of the programme, beneficiaries of both routine and emergency payments consider the transfer to be a valuable supplement to their income and there are indications that the injection of money via the programme into the local economy is also benefitting some non-beneficiaries.

The majority of beneficiaries use the HSNP transfers for food and meeting basic needs, with indications that the programme is helping to smooth consumption for routine beneficiary households. HSNP has also enabled some beneficiaries to pay off debts, make modest investments in small livestock and contribute to costs of schooling children.

With regards to its impact on poverty and wellbeing, there is testimony to suggest that the transfer has enabled poorer routine beneficiaries to move towards a standard of living more comparable to what they describe as middle class. This includes missing fewer meals; diversified (though still precarious) livelihoods; increased resilience to shocks, both in the form of asset-building through the accumulation of small livestock, and the ability to access credit; and, for some, starting or further investing in small businesses. Even routine beneficiaries who acknowledge that the transfer has not enabled them to participate in productive activities or

diversify their livelihoods, consider themselves better off than they were before they began receiving the transfer.

HSNP has also improved the psychosocial wellbeing of beneficiaries, primarily by increasing the respect beneficiaries feel from other members of their communities.

Routine beneficiaries feel that the HSNP is increasing their ability to cope with shocks by supporting their capacity to purchase items on credit, invest in productive assets such as livestock, or even save. For emergency beneficiaries the infrequency and lower monetary value of emergency payments mean that these tend to be used much more exclusively to cover basic needs rather than to invest in productive assets that may enhance resilience.

HSNP is considered an important source of income for both routine and emergency beneficiaries. For the former, the transfer is felt to support their own income generating activities (e.g. petty trade, livestock production, casual labour and assistance from relatives). A few households claimed to have used the transfer to diversify their livelihood activities, for example via petty trade or small-scale production of items such as mats and brooms.

The HSNP is not felt to influence local prices, which are seen to be set by national or global conditions. The transfer is considered to have produced some positive spill-over effects for local businesses, especially those near pay points, but to a lesser extent for those in other villages. HSNP is accredited with helping some women enter the local economy at a small scale.

The HSNP is generally perceived to have had a positive effect on social relations. By easing some of the negative effects of poverty, HSNP strengthens the reciprocal social networks that exist in communities, where people are accustomed to mutually supporting and helping one another. HSNP money makes it easier for people both to offer and return support. HSNP is also felt to have a positive impact on intra-household relations. By assuaging the stresses associated with poverty and hardship, it is helping to create more peace and unity within beneficiary households.

HSNP is contributing to emerging notions of women's empowerment outside and within their homes. The CT appears to do this in two ways. First, it increases beneficiary women's purchasing power and therefore their visibility as economic actors. Many women reported previously not being a significant part of their community's economic life, but thanks to being HSNP beneficiaries, they are now out shopping, making financial decisions, and more visible than they used to be. Second, it improves their standing or status within their households and families.

9.2 Implications for HSNP policy

These findings will feed into a robust assessment of HSNP impacts. This can be utilised to improve programme operations and advocate for continued and improved support for the programme.

Findings of the HSNP IE can also be leveraged for advocacy purposes for the NSNP as a whole. The insight they give into beneficiary behaviours and effects on the local economy should inform the evolution of all NSNP CT designs as well as any complimentary programming.

9.3 Potential areas for further inquiry

The next round of qualitative research is intended to investigate any issues or areas of interest coming out

of the quantitative IE component, as well as focus on a couple of special areas of interest. These latter will be identified in conjunction with DFID and the HSNP. However, this round of qualitative research produced many findings and highlighted some possible areas for further enquiry in its own right. These are described below, and will be considered during the design phase of next round of qualitative study.

This research indicates that few routine HSNP beneficiaries are able to save any of their transfers, seemingly because the money is primarily used for meeting basic needs. Given one of the programme's objectives is to improve access to financial services, it could be that further investigation into the underlying reasons why people do or do not engage with formal and informal savings structures, and how the HSNP transfer has influenced these. Linked to this, the evaluation could analyse the role of savings groups in preventing or mitigating financial vulnerability for transfer beneficiaries, and building and sustaining livelihoods. This round of research also produced some indications that those in receipt of lump-sum payments were more likely to invest in productive assets. Although the receipt of lump sum payments was not part of the intended HSNP design, investigating the relation between receipt of lump-sum payments and the type of impacts observed would expand understanding of the potential for HSNP to influence livelihoods. This line of enquiry would depend on the results of the quantitative IE and whether threat also indicates differential impacts of the programme for those that received lump-sum payments as compared to households that did not.

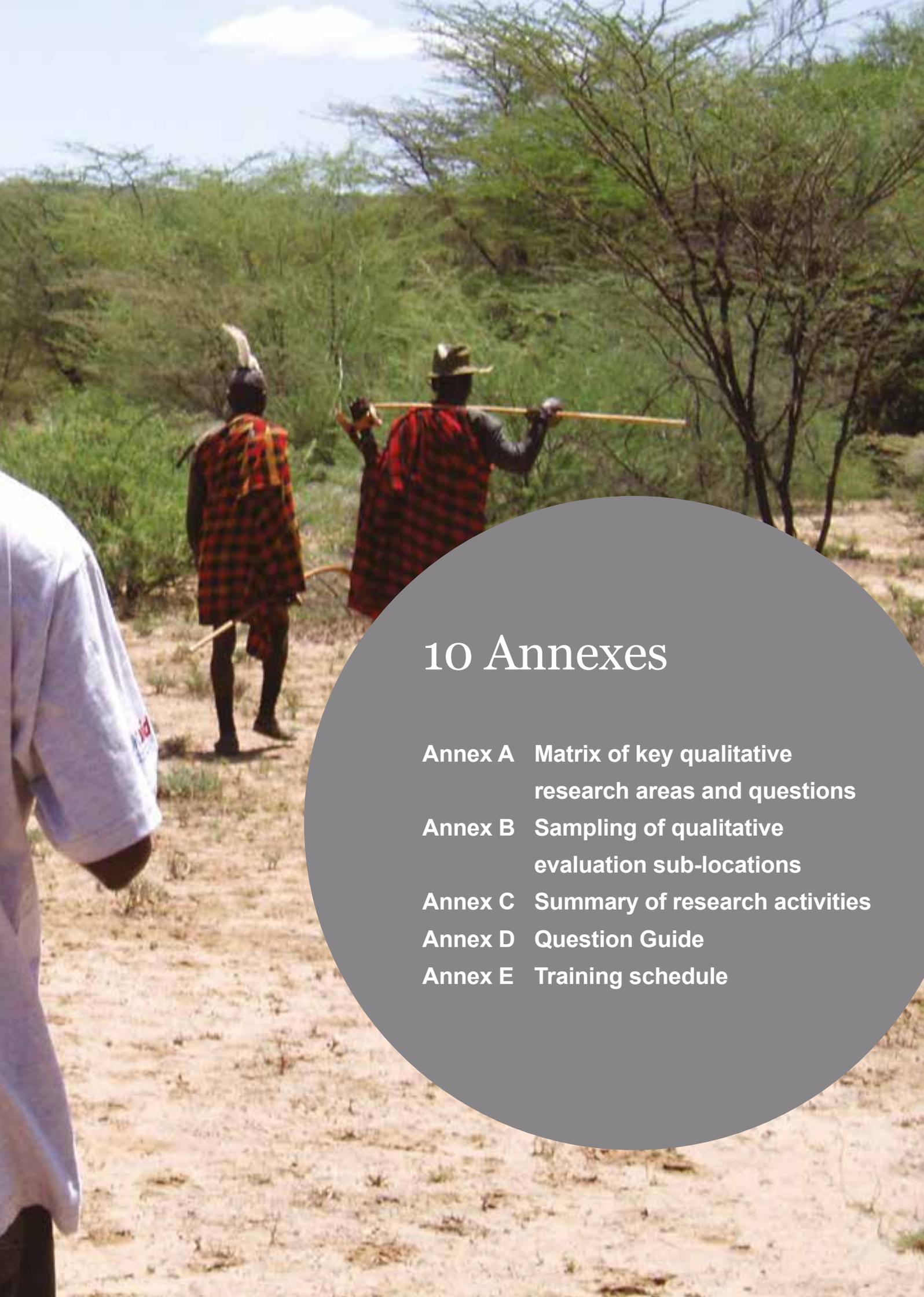
Further qualitative research might also focus on the transfer's impacts on leadership structures and community decision-making. In this round, beneficiaries described feeling more visible and respected within their communities. We could thus examine whether this has translated into improved access to opportunities to participate in community life, such as committees or elder groups. Is there a need to better understand the way power and leadership may be shifting within households, with a particular interest in gender relations, such as instances of intimate partner violence that are directly linked to the transfer. We note here that whilst such violence did not emerge as a dominant issue in this first round of research, it was raised by a couple of individual respondents. As such, it may be appropriate to follow-up on this theme, and to enquire how and to what extent the HSNP transfer appears to be influencing any such negative behaviours (including alcoholism etc.) among beneficiary households, for example through supporting emergent women's empowerment.

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A person is seen from behind, wearing a white polo shirt. The shirt has the words "MONITORING AND EVALUATION" printed in blue, bold, capital letters on the back. The person is standing in a dry, open landscape with sparse green and brown vegetation. In the background, there are more trees and a low, rocky ridge under a clear blue sky.

**MONITORING
AND
EVALUATION**



10 Annexes

- Annex A** Matrix of key qualitative research areas and questions
- Annex B** Sampling of qualitative evaluation sub-locations
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Annex A

Matrix of key qualitative research areas and questions

| Research Area | Key research questions |
|--|---|
| Dimensions and perceptions of wellbeing (levels or categories, distribution and trends of wellbeing) | <p>How do community members perceive wellbeing? What are the different dimensions of wellbeing in the community?</p> <p>What different wellbeing categories exist within different communities? How have these categories changed over time?</p> <p>What are the main characteristics of the different wellbeing categories (e.g. social characteristics, assets, coping strategies, power and influence, etc.)?</p> <p>How are households in the community distributed among these categories? How does this distribution change over time?</p> <p>What is the distribution of wellbeing within households (e.g. between old and young, male and female, etc.)? How has this changed over time?</p> <p>How has the HSNP affected wellbeing among different social groups?</p> |
| Vulnerability and resilience | <p>What are main shocks faced by individuals, households and different social groups? How do shocks affect different individuals, households and social groups? Have the main shocks faced by households changed over time? How and why?</p> <p>How are these shocks categorised (e.g. long-term trends, seasonal)?</p> <p>What determines different levels of vulnerability and resilience to these shocks?</p> <p>What effects do these shocks have if they occur?</p> <p>What strategies are adopted to reduce, mitigate and/or cope with vulnerability to and the effects of these? How do these strategies differ within and between different households and social groups? How have these changed over time?</p> <p>How do the HSNP and emergency payments affect the ability to reduce, mitigate and cope with different stresses and shocks at the individual, household and community levels? How do they help to build households resilience?</p> |
| Livelihoods and local markets | <p>What are the main livelihood activities undertaken within the community?</p> <p>What livelihood activities are associated with or done by different social groups? Why is this? How and why have these changed in recent years?</p> <p>How and why do people move between different livelihood activities?</p> <p>What are the preferred sources of livelihoods and why? What are the constraints and challenges to participating in these forms of livelihoods?</p> <p>How do participation and forms of livelihood activities vary within households?</p> <p>How do people save and/or invest in assets? How has this changed over time? Why? How and why have asset levels changed over time?</p> <p>What is the level of trade and business activity in the community? How and why has this changed in recent years?</p> <p>What livelihood support programmes are available in the community? How do these affect the wellbeing of community members?</p> <p>How has the HSNP CT affected livelihood choices and options?</p> <p>How have the HSNP and emergency payments affected the local markets for goods, services and labour markets?</p> <p>What are the interactions among the HSNP, emergency payments and other social assistance or livelihood support programmes (e.g. ASP)? Has the HSNP affected access to these programmes? What are the impacts of this on households?</p> |
| Social relations | <p>How are households defined within the community?</p> <p>What social structures and institutions exist at community level?</p> <p>What influence do social norms based on gender, age, ethnicity, etc. have on an individuals' and households' capacities and entitlements?</p> <p>How do social norms affect control over resources and decision making?</p> <p>What factors affect levels of social cohesion within the community?</p> <p>What are the forms and sources of disputes and tension between and within households?</p> <p>How have the HSNP and emergency payments affected, or been affected by, informal institutions, social relations and cohesion? Why? What are the effects of these changes?</p> |

Annex B

Sampling of qualitative evaluation sub-locations

This note presents the criteria used in the preliminary selection of sub locations for the qualitative component of the IE. In each county, research will take place in three sub- locations. The sub- locations have been purposively selected to reflect different livelihood zones, geographical locations (urban, rural), and poverty rates. In each county, we have aimed to capture some of sub-locations that are in Emergency Payments and ASP.

Below we outline the process followed:

- In each county the three most prevalent livelihood zones in each county was identified. Each sub location was grouped according to the relevant livelihood zone. For example, in Mandera County, this a list of 43 sub-locations in pastoralist (all species) livelihood zones, 30 sub-locations in agro-pastoralist zones, and 26 sub location in irrigation cropping zones. Each list was then randomised.
- In order to include at least one urban sub-location in each county we followed two approaches. In some counties, only one livelihood type offered urban sub-locations; in such instances we selected the first urban location with sufficient beneficiaries (>50) from the randomised list.
- In other counties, all three major livelihoods included urban sub-location options; in this case, we randomised the list of all sub-locations in the county and selected the first urban sub-location with sufficient beneficiaries.
- The first sub-location from the randomised lists of the remaining two livelihood groups was selected. In order to include a range of poverty profiles in the sample, we calculated the overall poverty rate of each county, and ensured that one sub-location had a similar rate, and one sub-location had a poverty rate much higher than the average, moving down the randomised list to find the next appropriate sub-location³⁵.
- In each county, we aimed to capture, sub locations where ASP and emergency payments are being implemented.
- The selected list was validated with field teams. In some cases, some sub locations had to be replaced due to security and other logistical constraints. In this case, a replacement sub location was randomly selected matching the characteristics of the initial sub location selected.

³⁵ For our purposes here, 'poverty rate' refers to the proportion of households that fall below the county level PMT cut-off.

Turkana County Sub-locations sample

| Sub-location name | Livelihood type | Poverty Rate | Rural/Urban | Number of Beneficiary households | Emergency Payments | ASP |
|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|-----|
| Lodwar Town | Pastoralist (all species) | 11.6% | Urban | 325 | No | No |
| Kerio | Fishing and Pastoralist | 28.5% | Rural | 280 | No | No |
| Kalemnyang | Agro-pastoralist | 35.3% | Rural | 667 | No | Yes |

Notes: The average poverty rate for sub-locations in Turkana County is 29.1%. The only livelihood with any urban sub-locations was pastoralism (all species), so we sampled the first available sub-location on the randomised list of sub-locations in this livelihood zone.

Marsabit County-sub-location sample

| Sub-location name | Livelihood type | Poverty Rate | Rural/Urban | Number of Beneficiary households | Emergency Payments | ASP |
|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|-----|
| Goromuda | Agro-pastoralist | 58% | Rural | 516 | Yes | No |
| Hafare | Pastoralist (all species) | 13.8% | Urban | 385 | Yes | Yes |
| Majengo | Irrigated cropping | 10.4% | Rural | 74 | Yes | No |

Notes: The average poverty rate for sub-locations in Marsabit County is 34.7. All of the three dominant livelihood groups had urban sub-locations, so we selected the first urban location from a randomised list of all the sub-locations in the county. When sampling formal trade livelihood, picked the first from a randomised list which had sufficient number of beneficiary households (e.g. the first on the list had only 8 households, so we sampled the second, which had 245). NB: Some of the Marsabit ASP data did not include info on which sub-location the beneficiaries live in, so we will need to double check ASP participation

Mandera County sub-location sample

| Sub-location name | Livelihood type | Poverty Rate | Rural/Urban | Number of Beneficiary households | Emergency Payments | ASP |
|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|-----|
| Didkuro | Agro-pastoralist | 58% | Rural | 516 | Yes | No |
| Elwak South | Pastoralist (all species) | 13.8% | Urban | 385 | Yes | Yes |
| Burabor | Irrigated cropping | 10.4% | Rural | 74 | Yes | No |

Notes: The average poverty rate for sub-locations in Mandera County is 25.9%. Same process of selecting urban as above. NB: Urban sub-location is also representing the sub-location with representative average poverty rate, as high poverty rate sub-locations were only available for selection from agro-pastoralist livelihood group (irrigated cropping poverty rates very low).

Wajir County sub-location sample

| Sub-location name | Livelihood type | Poverty Rate | Rural/Urban | Number of Beneficiary households | Emergency Payments | ASP |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|-----|
| Eldas | Agro-pastoralist | 47% | Rural | 2209 | Yes | No |
| Wagalla | Pastoralist (all species) | 28.3 | Rural | 412 | Yes | No |
| Kulaaley | Pastoralist (cattle, sheep, & goats) | 15.8 | Rural | 231 | Yes | No |

Notes: The average poverty rate for sub-locations in Wajir County is 20.7%. There are no urban sub-locations among the available sub-locations in Wajir County.

Annex C Summary of research activities

| County | Sub-location | QPS | | | | | | FGD | | | | | | KII | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|----------|----------|--------------|------------------|----------|--------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|---|---|
| | | Group 1 | | Group 2 | | Non-beneficiary | | Group 1 | | | Group 2 | | | Community Elders | | | Chief | Rights Committee | Trader | Other | | |
| | | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | Mixed Gender | M | F | Mixed Gender | M | F | Mixed Gender | | | | | | |
| Turkana | Kalemnyang | 3 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | |
| | Lodwar Town | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 | |
| | Kerio | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | Namadak | | | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | | | 0 | | | | 2 | 1 |
| Marsabit | Majengo | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| | Hafare | 2 | 3 | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | |
| | Goromuda | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| Wajir | Eidas | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| | Kulaaley | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| | Wagalla | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| Mandera | Burabor | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| | Didkuro | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | |
| | Eiwak South | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| Total | | 26 | 36 | 13 | 15 | 14 | 11 | 12 | 14 | 1 | 8 | 9 | 2 | 11 | 9 | 6 | 11 | 11 | 17 | 14 | | |

Notes: M = Male; F = Female.

Annex D Question Guides

Chief or Assistant Chief

Hello! My name is *[insert name]*. I work for Research Guide Africa, and have come to this sub-location to find out about people's lives and their experiences. We are talking to many people in this sub-location, and across 11 other sub-locations in northern Kenya. Before I go any further, can I check that you are the *[insert the person you are hoping to speak with e.g. HSNP beneficiary. Only continue if you have confirmation]*.

We have some questions that we hope to ask. There are no wrong answers but we request that you answer as honestly as you can. There are no benefits from taking part but we would be very grateful for your participation and what you say will help us improve social assistance programmes across northern Kenya. Any information you provide will be kept confidential i.e. your name will not be mentioned in the reports that we write.

It will take approximately *[insert]* minutes/hours of your time.

You may choose not to answer any question or to stop the interview at any point. If anything I say is unclear, please ask me to clarify.

Would you like to volunteer to take part in this study? *[Only continue if "yes"]*

Do you have any questions for me before I begin?

Definition of a household: those eating from the same pot and answerable to a head.

Understanding their role in the HSNP

1. What information were you given about the programme when it first started? What did you think about this information? Was it useful? Why, Why not? Would you have liked some additional information? What is this?
2. What is your role on the HSNP programme? Are there any challenges that you face in this role? What are these?
3. Have you received any feedback or complaints on the programme from the community? What do people complaints about? How do you deal with these complaints?

Discussion on their perceptions on HSNP processes

4. What do you think about the way households were selected to receive HSNP payments in this sub location? Was the process easy or challenging? What was your role in that process?
5. What do you think about the HSNP payment process? Is the process easy or challenging for households to access their money? Please explain

6. Do you have any complaints or feedback on the programme processes? What are these? Who did you give these to? Was the complaint addressed satisfactorily? If not, what could have been done better?

Their view on the impact of HSNP

7. Has there been any changes to the lives of households in this sub location as a result of this programme? If yes, what are these changes? Are these changes the same for all households?

[Probe: Ask about positive and negative changes. Ask about changes for different types of households e.g. female headed, different social groups. etc]

Understanding their involvement in the emergency payments

8. Are you aware that in times of drought there are additional beneficiaries' who are paid in addition to the regular ones? Were there any of such payments in made April and or May of this year?
9. Who told you about these additional beneficiaries? When were you informed? How long after you were informed did payments start?
10. Why are these additional payments being made? Was this explained to you?
11. Do you know how households were selected to receive these payments?
12. What was your role in that process? What did you do? Did you find this easy or challenging? Why? Please explain
13. What is your view on making these additional payments? What are the advantages and disadvantages to households in this sub location? Is this the same for everyone?
14. Were there complaints raised about these? What were these complaints?
15. How do you think the process of making these additional payment can be improved

Conclusion

Is there anything else you would like to add? Do you have any questions?

Annex D Question Guides

FGD Beneficiaries Routine

Introduction

Hello! My name is *[insert name]*. I work for Research Guide Africa, and have come to this sub-location to find out about people's lives and their experiences. We are talking to many people in this sub-location, and across 11 other sub-locations in northern Kenya. Before I go any further, can I check that you are the *[insert the person you are hoping to speak with e.g. HSNP beneficiary. Only continue if you have confirmation]*.

We have some questions that we hope to ask. There are no wrong answers but we request that you answer as honestly as you can. There are no benefits from taking part but we would be very grateful for your participation and what you say will help us improve social assistance programmes across northern Kenya. Any information you provide will be kept confidential i.e. your name will not be mentioned in the reports that we write.

It will take approximately *[insert]* minutes/hours of your time.

You may choose not to answer any question or to stop the interview at any point. If anything I say is unclear, please ask me to clarify.

Would you like to volunteer to take part in this study? *[Only continue if "yes"]*

Do you have any questions for me before I begin?

Can we all introduce our names? I would like to request that we are all respectful of each other's opinions and we won't tell other people what was mentioned in this interview.

Reminder

Ensure that all thematic areas are covered during the discussion

Household: those eating from the same pot, and answerable to a head.

Ask the respondents about their livelihood activities

Reminder: livelihood means work that a household undertakes to earn money

1 What are the different ways that you earn income?

Reminder

Probe further into the livelihood activities of different social groups and households within the community such as children, elderly, women, religion, political belief, ethnic group, disability, female-headed households etc

2 Are some ways of earning income more desirable than others?

3 Has the way you earn income changed over the last two years? How and why?

Reminder

Has the productivity/income from their existing livelihoods changed? Are there any new income sources?

- 4 How do you use your income? Has the way you spend money changed over the last two years? How and why?

Ask respondents about the shocks they face in earning a living

Reminder: shocks are problems that occur very suddenly and are unexpected e.g. drought, unemployment, conflict, price inflation, death of household member etc.

- 5 What are the main shocks that your household experiences?
- 6 What have been the effects of these shocks?
- 7 Have the effects of the shocks changed over the last two years? How and why?

Ask the household how they deal with shocks

- 8 How does your household cope with potential problems/shocks? Do you do anything to reduce or stop the shocks from occurring? Is this effective? Why/why not? Do different households cope with shocks in different ways?
- 9 Do you feel more able to cope with these problems/shocks now compared to two years ago? Why/why not?

Ask the respondent about responsibilities, control of resources and decision making within the household

- 10 Within your household, who makes important decisions? Who decides how to use household income? Why?
- 11 Has this changed over the last two years? If so, how and why? What kind of decisions have changed? Who? Why? (probe: gender, age, etc)
- 12 Who is in charge of particular things in the household? (e.g. cows, chickens, children's education, health, money, cooking etc.) Has this changed over the last two years? If so, how and why? What kind of things? Who? Why? (PROBE: recipients, older men, younger women etc)
- 13 Have the different roles and responsibilities that individuals play in your households changed over the last two years? Whose role has changed and why? (PROBE: recipients, older men, younger women etc)

Ask the respondents about the relationships with other households in their community

- 14 How do households behave towards each other? When your household experiences difficulties, does it receive help from other people in the community? Who from? Why? [*reminder: help can be financial and non-financial help e.g. receiving food*]
- 15 Has the support you receive from other households changed compared to two years ago? Why is this?
- 16 Do you give support to others when they face problems? What, who and why?
- 17 Has your household's ability to give this support changed in the last the two years? Why?

Ask the households more directly about the HSNP programme

Reminder: Only ask where questions have not been answered above

- 18 Now I would like to ask you about the cash that you receive from HSNP and how it affects your households.
 - a. How did you use your HSNP cash? Why did you use it in this way?
 - b. Who decides how to use the transfers in your household? Is this the same person who normally makes important decision in your household? Why/ why not?

Annex D Question Guides

- c. Has the HSNP affected your household's ability to earn income? Are households now earning income in a better, worse or the same way compared to before HSNP? Why has this changed?
- d. How has the HSNP affected how you can buy and sell things (goods and services)? *[positive and negative]* Has HSNP affected your ability to hire labour? *[positive and negative]*
- e. Is your household able to save now compared to before HSNP? Why?
- f. Have you reduced the likelihood or severity of a shock because of HSNP money? And after a shock has happened, how does it affect your ability to cope with it?
- g. Has receiving HSNP payments affected the way your household is helped by other community members? *[reminder: help can be financial and non-financial help e.g. receiving food]*
- h. Has the HSNP affected the relationship between men and women in your household?
- i. Has HSNP affected the way decisions are made in your household?
- j. Has the HSNP changed the way decisions are made in the community? Has HSNP affected your ability to influence community-level decisions? How and why?
- k. Has this programme created/reduced any tensions or conflict in the community? How and why? *[probe jealousy, resentment about targeting, probe positive and negative changes]* Has anything been done about this?

Ask respondents if they receive any other social assistance programmes apart from the HSNP

- 19 Apart from the HSNP, are you part of any other social assistance or livelihood support initiatives? Can you list these programmes? How does HSNP compare with these?
- 20 What are the benefits of receiving these other programmes in addition HSNP? Has being an HSNP beneficiary affected your ability to access other social assistance programmes? For example, has the amount of food aid received by your family changed since you started receiving the transfers?
- 21 Do you know about the ASP programme? Does anyone in your household or community benefit from this programme? What are the benefits of this programme?

Ask the respondents about their experience of HSNP operational processes

- 22 What do you think about the payment process? Why? Is it easy or difficult for you to get your payment? Why?
- 23 What do you think of the way households are selected to receive HSNP? Is it fair?
- 24 Are you aware that in times of drought there are additional beneficiaries' who are paid in addition to the regular ones? Who told you about these additional beneficiaries? When were you informed?
- 25 Do you have any complaints or concerns about the programme? What are they? Why are they concerns? Have you mentioned this to anybody? Who? Why not? *[Probe for awareness of any grievance mechanism, behaviour of staff e.g. fear of punishment, cost, lack of trust]*
- 26 Do you think that you are entitled to complain? Why? Why not?

27 How do you think the HSNP programme can be improved?

28 Do you know where the HSNP money comes from?

29 What is your understanding about how long HSNP will continue?

Ask respondents if they have any questions for you.

Thank the respondents for their time

END

Annex D Question Guides

FGD Beneficiaries Emergency

Introduction

Hello! My name is *[insert name]*. I work for Research Guide Africa, and have come to this sub-location to find out about people's lives and their experiences. We are talking to many people in this sub-location, and across 11 other sub-locations in northern Kenya. Before I go any further, can I check that you are the *[insert the person you are hoping to speak with e.g. HSNP beneficiary. Only continue if you have confirmation]*.

We have some questions that we hope to ask. There are no wrong answers but we request that you answer as honestly as you can. There are no benefits from taking part but we would be very grateful for your participation and what you say will help us improve social assistance programmes across northern Kenya. Any information you provide will be kept confidential i.e. your name will not be mentioned in the reports that we write.

It will take approximately *[insert]* minutes/hours of your time.

You may choose not to answer any question or to stop the interview at any point. If anything I say is unclear, please ask me to clarify.

Would you like to volunteer to take part in this study? *[Only continue if "yes"]*

Do you have any questions for me before I begin?

Can we all introduce our names? I would like to request that we are all respectful of each other's opinions and we won't tell other people what was mentioned in this interview.

Reminder

Ensure that all thematic areas are covered during the discussion

Household: those eating from the same pot, and answerable to a head.

Ask the respondents about their livelihood activities

1. What are the different ways that you earn money?

Reminder

Probe further into the livelihood activities of different social groups and households within the community. Examples of social groups: children/elderly, male/female, ethnic group, disability, religion, political belief, female-headed household. Livelihood: means work that a household undertakes to earn money

2. Are there preferred livelihood types? If so, what are these?

3. Has the way you earn money changed over the last two years? How and why? Are there any new income sources?

4. What do you spend your income on? Has the way you spend household income changed

in the last two years? How and why?

Ask respondents about the shocks they face in trying to earn a living

Reminder: shocks are problems that occur very suddenly and are unexpected e.g. drought, unemployment, conflict, price inflation, death of household member etc.

5. What are the main shocks that your household experiences? How do shocks affect you as a household? How do different households cope in different ways?
6. Have the way these shocks affect your household changed the last two years? How and why?

Ask the household how they deal with shocks when they occur?

7. How does your household deal with potential problems or shocks that you face? Can you do anything to reduce/stop the shocks from occurring?
8. Are you better able to cope with these problems now than had they occurred two years ago? Why/why not?

Ask the respondent about responsibilities, control of resources and decision making within the household

9. Who makes the important decisions in your household? Who decides how to use household money or income? Why?
10. Has this changed over the last two years? If so, how and why? What kind of decisions? Who? Why? (probe: gender, age, etc)
11. Who owns or controls particular things in the household? Has this changed over the last two? If so, how and why? What kind of things? Who? Why? (PROBE: recipients, older men, younger women etc)
12. Have the different roles and responsibilities that individuals play in your households changed over the last two years? Whose role has changed and why? (PROBE: recipients, older men, younger women etc)

Ask the respondents about the relationships with other households in their community

13. How do households behave towards each other? Do you receive support or assistance from others within the community? Who from? [*support can be financial or non-financial e.g. food*]
14. Has the support you receive from others in the community changed compared to two years ago? Why is this?
15. Do you give support to others when they face problems? What, who and why?
16. Has your household's ability to provide this support changed in the last the two years?

Annex D Question Guides

Ask the households more directly about the HSNP emergency they received in April and or in May 2015

17. Now I would like to ask you more the HSNP cash that you recently received. When did you receive this payment? Do you understand why your household was selected to receive this payment?
18. How did you use this money? Why? Did you share the payments with other households?

Ask the respondents about emergency payment operational processes

Communications

19. How did you hear that an emergency payment was to start? What do you think about the way information was given to you? Could it have been done in a better way? How?

Payments

20. What do you think about the payment process? Is it easy or difficult for you to get your payment? Why?
21. What was your experience at the pay point? Did you have to wait? How long?

Targeting

22. What do you think of the way households were selected to receive this payment?
23.
 - a) Are there some households who received this payment that shouldn't have? Why?
 - b) Are there some households that did not receive this payment but should have? Why?
24. How do you compare the way households are selected under HSNP to other social assistance initiatives?

Complaints

25. Have you ever had a complaint? What was the complaint? Who did you mention it to? Was it resolved?

Ask respondents if they receive any other social assistance apart from the HSNP emergency payments

26. Apart from the HSNP, are you part of any other social assistance or livelihood support initiatives in the community?

27. Has receiving this payment in April and or May 2015 prevented you from accessing benefits from other social programmes? Did you receive less food aid?
28. Do you know about the ASP programme? Does anyone in your household or community benefit from this programme? What are the benefits of this programme?
29. How do you think HSNP can be improved?
30. Do you know where the HSNP money comes from?
31. What is your understanding about how long HSNP will continue?

**Ask respondents if they have any questions for you.
Thank the respondents for their time.**

END

Annex D Question Guides

Focus Group Discussion Community Elders

Introduction

Hello! My name is *[insert name]*. I work for Research Guide Africa, and have come to this sub-location to find out about people's lives and their experiences. We are talking to many people in this sub-location, and across 11 other sub-locations in northern Kenya. Before I go any further, can I check that you are the *[insert the person you are hoping to speak with e.g. HSNP beneficiary. Only continue if you have confirmation]*.

We have some questions that we hope to ask. There are no wrong answers but we request that you answer as honestly as you can. There are no benefits from taking part but we would be very grateful for your participation and what you say will help us improve social assistance programmes across northern Kenya. Any information you provide will be kept confidential i.e. your name will not be mentioned in the reports that we write.

It will take approximately *[insert]* minutes/hours of your time.

You may choose not to answer any question or to stop the interview at any point. If anything I say is unclear, please ask me to clarify.

Would you like to volunteer to take part in this study? *[Only continue if "yes"]*

Do you have any questions for me before I begin?

Can we all introduce our names? I would like to request that we are all respectful of each other's opinions and we won't tell other people what was mentioned in this interview.

Reminder:

Ensure that you have covered all question areas in this guide before you end the interview.

Household: those eating from the same pot, and answerable to a head.

Ask about the wellbeing of community members in the community

Reminder: well-being is about being comfortable, happy and healthy.

1. What are the ways (or categories) are used in your community to describe the well-being of a household or person? *[Brief discussion. Examples: very poor, better-off, destitute, very rich].*
2. What are the main characteristics of the households in these categories? *[Brief discussion. Probe: number and types of things owned, source of livelihood, occupation, structure of household, health and education status, ethnic group, how they cope with problems, power and influence etc.]*
3. How are households in the community distributed among these categories? *(e.g. 60% are extreme poor, 20% are poor and 20% are rich)*

4. In which category can HSNP beneficiaries be found? Are these the neediest in the community? Have these beneficiaries move wellbeing category over time? Explain.

Ask about the shocks faced in the community, their effect and how they cope with shocks

Reminder: shocks are problems that occur very suddenly and are unexpected e.g. drought, unemployment, conflict, price inflation, death of household member etc.

5. What are the main shocks that different households/social groups face in this community? *[very brief discussion, probe are they long term? seasonal? Examples of social groups are male/female, ethnic group, disability, religion, political beliefs, age, the poor etc.]* Have these changed over the past few years?
6. What makes some households/social groups more prone to shocks?
7. How do shocks affect different households/social groups? Have the effects of these shocks changed over recent years? How and why?
8. How do different households/social groups cope with shocks if they occur? Has the way households cope changed over recent years? How and why?
9. What do different households/social groups do to prevent themselves experiencing a shock? *[Probe buying land, animals, members of savings groups, diversifying livelihood activities etc.]*

Ask the respondents about livelihoods and local markets

Reminder: livelihood means work that a household undertakes to earn money

10. What are the main ways in which people earn money in this community? Have the ways people earn money changed over recent years? How and why? *[brief discussion, probe changes in terms of diversification, investment in existing livelihoods etc.]*
11. What are the livelihood activities undertaken by different social groups? Why is this? Has this changed in recent years?
12. What are the preferred ways for people to earn money? Has this changed in recent years? How and why? What are the challenges in participating in preferred types of livelihood?
13. What is the level of trade and business activity in the community? Has this changed in recent years? How and why? *[probe diversification of items sold, new businesses setting up, probe for goods and services]*

Annex D Question Guides

Ask the respondent about community ownership of resources and decision making in the community

14. What are the important goods and resources in this community? *[e.g. borehole, land, medical clinic, ((not just natural resources))]*
15. Who normally owns the important goods and resources in this community? What do they control? Why is this?
16. What factors determine use and control of these important resources?
17. Who makes decisions about how these resources should be used? How does this affect other people in the community? *[Probe on social groups]*

Ask the respondent about social structures and community relations

18. How do people help each other in the community? Do poor households receive support from others? *[support can be financial and non-financial support e.g. receiving food]*

Ask respondents about their views on the HSNP programme

19. Has HSNP affected the wellbeing of households? How? Have some households moved into different well-being categories since the programme began?
20. Has the HSNP transfers affected the ways in which people earn money? How and why?
21. For HSNP beneficiaries, do they experience less shocks? Of the shocks they face, are they less serious or not?
22. Does the HSNP transfer affect the ability of a person/household/social group to cope with the shock after it has happened?
23. Has HSNP affected the ways that people support or help each other in this community? If yes how? If not, why not? *[probe for who benefits and who loses, whether there is more or less support, how things are shared]*
24. Has HSNP affected the way people behave towards each other? Are HSNP households treated differently because they are recipients of the programme?
25. If a household receives support from HSNP, does it affect whether they receive support from other organizations?
26. Has HSNP affected the local economy? How? Are markets busier?
27. Has this programme created/reduced any tensions or conflict in the community? How and why? *[probe jealousy, resentment about targeting, probe positive and negative changes]* Has anything been done about this?

28. What do you think about the way households are selected to receive the HSNP payment? Do you think that it's fair?

29. How do you think the programme can be improved?

**Ask respondents if they have any questions for you.
Thank the respondent and end the discussion**

END

Annex D Question Guides

KII Community workers (social worker, community health worker, borehole committee member, NGO worker etc.)

Introduction

Hello! My name is *[insert name]*. I work for Research Guide Africa, and have come to this sub-location to find out about people's lives and their experiences. We are talking to many people in this sub-location, and across 11 other sub-locations in northern Kenya. Before I go any further, can I check that you are the *[insert the person you are hoping to speak with e.g. HSNP beneficiary. Only continue if you have confirmation]*.

We have some questions that we hope to ask. There are no wrong answers but we request that you answer as honestly as you can. There are no benefits from taking part but we would be very grateful for your participation and what you say will help us improve social assistance programmes across northern Kenya. Any information you provide will be kept confidential i.e. your name will not be mentioned in the reports that we write.

It will take approximately *[insert]* minutes/hours of your time.

You may choose not to answer any question or to stop the interview at any point. If anything I say is unclear, please ask me to clarify.

Would you like to volunteer to take part in this study? *[Only continue if "yes"]*

Do you have any questions for me before I begin?

Household: those eating from the same pot, and answerable to a head.

Ask about their role in the HSNP

1. What information were you given about the programme when it first started? What did you think about this information? Was it useful? Why, Why not? Would you have liked some additional information? What is this?
2. Have you had any role on the HSNP programme? What is this? *[role can official role, or unofficial]*

Ask about their perceptions on HSNP processes

3. What do you think about the way households were selected to receive HSNP payments in this sub location? Was the process easy or challenging? What was your role in that process?
4. What do you think about the HSNP payment process? Is the process easy or challenging for households to access their money? Please explain
5. Do you have any complaints or feedback on the programme processes? What are these? Who did you give these to? Was the complaint addressed satisfactorily? If not, what could have been done better?

Ask about their view on the impact of HSNP

6. Has there been any changes to the lives of households in this sub location as a result of this programme? If yes, what are these changes? Are these changes the same for all households?

[Probe: Ask about positive and negative changes. Ask about changes for different types of households e.g. female headed, different social groups. etc]

Ask if there is anything else they would like to add?

Ask if they have any questions for us

Thank the respondents for their time.

END

Annex D Question Guides

KII Traders

Introduction

Hello! My name is *[insert name]*. I work for Research Guide Africa, and have come to this sub-location to find out about people's lives and their experiences. We are talking to many people in this sub-location, and across 11 other sub-locations in northern Kenya. Before I go any further, can I check that you are the *[insert the person you are hoping to speak with e.g. HSNP beneficiary. Only continue if you have confirmation]*.

We have some questions that we hope to ask. There are no wrong answers but we request that you answer as honestly as you can. There are no benefits from taking part but we would be very grateful for your participation and what you say will help us improve social assistance programmes across northern Kenya. Any information you provide will be kept confidential i.e. your name will not be mentioned in the reports that we write.

It will take approximately *[insert]* minutes/hours of your time.

You may choose not to answer any question or to stop the interview at any point. If anything I say is unclear, please ask me to clarify.

Would you like to volunteer to take part in this study? *[Only continue if "yes"]*

Do you have any questions for me before I begin?

Household: those eating from the same pot, and answerable to the same head

Ask the trader a little bit about themselves and the business they run

1. How many years have you been a trader in this community?
2. What types of trading are you involved in? Are the commodities you trade the same all year round, or are there differences from one season to another? Why is this?
3. Have the volume AND types commodities you trade in changed in the last two years? If so how? Can you explain the reasons for these changes?
4. When you are trading, what sales do you have? Can you estimate how much profit you make in a week? Does this vary according to time of year? *[profit is calculated by taking costs (e.g. transport costs, money to hire market stall, electricity etc. away from income, the money you make from sales]*
5. How did you start your business? Is it easy or difficult to get start-up money for trading? Why? Is it easier or difficult now than two years ago? How? Why?

Ask the trader about trading activities in the community

6. What are the main types of trading that happen in this community? Has this changed in the last two to three years? If so how? Can you explain the reasons for changes? Is it easier or more difficult to make a living from trading these days compared to before?

Why?

[Probe: Have there been new entrants into the market? Who are these people? What type of trading activities are they engaged in?]

7. Are most of the traders in this community men or women? Do male and female traders engage in different types of trading, or can they both do all types of trading if they want to? Has this pattern changed in the last two to three years? If so explain
8. Are there some people/ social groups who are now involved in trading but were not before? If so, why?

Ask about the impact of HSNP on trading activities

9. Have you heard of the HSNP? What do you know about this? Who gave you this information?
10. What do you think are advantages of the programme? Is this the same for everyone?
11. What do you think are the disadvantages of the programme? Is the same for everyone?

[Probe: If HSNP was not referred to in the above discussion on changes in trading activities in the community, then ask the following]

12. How has trading changed since the HSNP started? How and why is this? Are there new businesses starting up? Has there been a diversification in the types of foodstuffs and goods sold because of HSNP? How? Why?
13. Are markets more active now than before? (e.g. how many traders; how many buyers; diversity of products/goods etc.)? How have these changed over time? How has HSNP influenced this? How do you think HSNP has affected your business?
14. Has HSNP affected commercial activity in other nearby communities? How?
15. What do you think about the way HSNP selects people to be beneficiaries?
16. Where do you think HSNP money comes from?
17. Do you think the HSNP should continue? Why? Why not? If yes what, if anything, can you do to encourage it to continue?

ASK THE TRADER IF HE/SHE IS A PAY AGENT OR HSNP. IF HE/SHE IS, THEN ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

Getting to know the pay agent

18. How did you first hear about the programme? What were you told? Why did you decide to become an agent?
19. How long have you been a pay agent for? Were you an agent in the first phase of HSNP?
20. Did you receive any training in your role as a pay agent? Who did you receive training from? What were you trained on?

Annex D Question Guides

21. What type of businesses are you involved in? What items do you stock? How long have you been trading in this community for? Do you trade in these items all year?
22. How is business at the moment? How many customers do you serve in a day? Can you estimate how much profit you make in a week? Does this vary according to time of year? *[profit is income minus the costs for doing business e.g. renting a place in the market, transport costs etc.]*

Understanding their experience as an HSNP pay agent

23. On average how many people get paid from here each payment cycle? *[payment cycle is every 2 months. Refer to last payment cycle]*
24. Describe to me, a typical payment day? Does every body come on the first day? If yes, how do you deal with this? Are you able to pay them all on the same day? Are there long queues? Does this affect your business? How?
25. Do you typically have enough money to pay beneficiaries in one payment cycle?

[Probe: If YES, how do you ensure that you have enough money?]

[Probe: If NO, how do you deal with this? Do you have to travel to get some cash? Where do you travel to? How long does this take you to travel there? Do you incur additional cost in trying to get more cash? How much]

26. On a typical payment day, what challenges do you face? How do you deal with these problems? Do you know where to complain about these problems? Who is your main point of contact for problems arising on payments?
27. Do you think these problems affect beneficiaries in anyway?

[Probe: If YES, please explain]

28. Do beneficiaries complain to you? What do they complain about? What do you do with people's complaints? Are you able to help them?

Understanding their experience of the emergency payments

29. Are you aware that in times of drought there are additional beneficiaries' who are paid in addition to the regular ones? Who told you about these additional beneficiaries? When were you informed?
30. Did you make any of such payments in April and May of this year?
31. What was your experience of making these payments? Did you encounter any challenges? What were these? Did these challenges affect your business in anyway?
32. Did these additional payments affect your business in any way?

Pay agents view of the HSNP programme

33. What is your view on HSNP overall? What are the advantages of the programme? Are these advantages the same for every one?
34. What are the disadvantages? Are these the same for everyone?
35. Have you benefited from your engagement in the programme? If so how?
36. Has the HSNP affected your business in any way? During payment days, are you able to continue with your business as usual? Why, why not
37. Do people usually spend their cash in your shop? Do they withdraw all their money at once? What sort of items do they buy?
38. How business is now compared to the time when you were not an agent? How does HSNP affect your business? Has the HSNP affect you in any other way?
39. In what way can the programme be improved

Ask if there is anything else they would like to add?

Ask if they have any questions for us

Thank the respondents for their time.

END

Annex D Question Guides

Qualitative Panel Study Beneficiaries Routine

Introduction

Hello! My name is *[insert name]*. I work for Research Guide Africa, and have come to this people in this sub-location, and across 11 other sub-locations in northern Kenya. Before I go any further, can I check that you are the *[insert the person you are hoping to speak with e.g. HSNP beneficiary. Only continue if you have confirmation]*.

We have some questions that we hope to ask. We would like to ask you these questions today, and again in September 2016 and June 2017. There are no wrong answers but we request that you answer as honestly as you can. There are no benefits from taking part but we would be very grateful for your participation and what you say will help us improve social assistance programmes across northern Kenya. Any information you provide will be kept confidential i.e. your name will not be mentioned in the reports that we write.

It will take approximately *[insert]* minutes/hours of your time.

You may choose not to answer any question or to stop the interview at any point. If anything I say is unclear, please ask me to clarify.

Would you like to volunteer to take part in this study, and again in September 2016 and June 2017? *[Only continue if "yes"]*

Do you have any questions for me before I begin?

Household: all those eating from the same pot, and answerable to a head

Get to know the household. Ask the respondent to tell you a little bit about their household

1. Tell me a little bit about this household?
 - a. How long have you lived in this community?
 - b. Do you or any member of this household hold any position of responsibility in the community? What is it? [e.g. member of women's group, head of borehole committee, social worker etc.]

Ask the respondents about the composition of their household

2. Who lives in this household?
 - a. How many people live in the household?
 - b. Who is the main provider for the household?
 - c. Can you tell me how you are related or connected to the household head? What does each member of the household do for a living?
 - d. Has the number of people living in this household changed in the last two years? Why is this?

Reminder

Go through Household Composition Sheet provided

Tick 'Yes' if household member is still in household

Tick 'No' if member is no longer part of household

Fill in empty cells with the details of any additional household members

Ask household about their assets

3. What assets does your household own? [e.g. land, animals, farm equipment etc.]
 - a. How did you acquire these?
 - b. Have the assets you own changed in the last two years? How and why
 - c. Have you had to dispose of any assets recently? why and how?

Ask the household about their livelihoods and income sources

Reminder

Use the household income and expenditure analysis tool to facilitate the following discussion about income and expenditure

4. How do you earn money? What types of work and activities do the other people in your household do to earn money?
 - a. Do you face any challenges in earning this money? What are these? Why?
 - b. Has the types of work people in this household do to earn an income changed in the last two years?
 - c. Apart from this income, what other sources of income does your household have?
 - d. Do you receive any income or support from social assistance programmes? Which ones are these?

Reminder

If HSNP is not mentioned, probe for income from HSNP

- e. Do family members outside the household contribute to household income? Who?
- f. Has your income changed in the last two years? Why and how?
- g. What has been the impact of these changes on the wellbeing of your household?
- h. Have these changes been positive or negative?

Ask the household about how they spend or use their income

5. How do you use the income that you earn?
 - a. Is this different now compared to two years ago?
 - b. What do you do differently? Are there things you buy now that you didn't buy before or no longer buy? Why?

Ask the respondent about the wellbeing of their household

Reminder: well-being is about being comfortable, happy and healthy.

6. How would you describe the wellbeing of your household? [give examples if needed, e.g. rich, struggling, poor, doing just ok, doing well, very poor etc.] Why would you describe it this way?
 - a. How does this compare to two years ago? Is your wellbeing the same, going up, or going down? Why is this?

Annex D Question Guides

Ask the household what the sources of shocks they experience

Reminder: shocks are problems that occur very suddenly and are unexpected e.g. drought, unemployment, conflict, price inflation, death of household member etc.

7. What are the main shocks that your household experiences? Are there things that you fear might happen that will cause your household problems?
 - a. How do shocks affect you as an individual and as a household?
 - b. Have the way these shocks affect your household changed the last two years? How and why?

Ask the household how they deal with shocks when they occur?

8. Does your household do anything to stop or reduce shocks from happening? What does your household do to cope with shocks after they have happened?
 - a. How do you get back to normal after these shocks have occurred?
 - b. How do you compare your household's ability to deal with these shocks two years ago?
 - c. Do you feel more able to cope with these problems if they occur now compared to two years ago? Why?
 - d. If one of the shocks you face happens to you, how do you deal with it? It is different from what you would have done two years ago?

Ask the respondent about responsibilities, control of resources and decision making within the household

9. Within your household, who is responsible for different activities? [Give examples if needed, e.g. childcare, looking after livestock, collecting wild foods, marketing, cooking, etc.]
 - a. What are the important resources in your household? [land, family labour, animals, cash etc]
 - b. Who owns resources in the household? What about compared to 2 years ago?
 - c. Within your household, who makes decisions as to how these resources are used? Why is this?
 - d. Who makes decision over different issues in the households? Why is this?

Reminder:

[Probe different types of issues: sale of assets, child care, consumption, use of labour , etc]

- e. Has this always been the same or has this changed in the last two years

Ask the respondents about the relationships within their household

10. What are the gender roles in your household?
 - a. How do men and women behave towards each other? Describe it to me
 - b. Has this changed in the last two years? How and why?
 - c. Has the way household members behave towards each other more generally changed in the last two years? How and why? [Reminder: here you may ask about sharing patterns. Are there tensions and disagreements? What are these over?]

Ask the respondents about the relationships with other households in their community

11. Can you describe your relationship with other households in this community?

- a. How do households behave towards each other? Why is that?
- b. Do you receive support or assistance from others within the community to help you when your household faces difficulties? Who from?
- c. How do you feel about this type of support?
- d. Has the support you receive from household members changed compared to two years ago? Why is this?
- e. Do you give support to others when they face problems? What, who and why?
- f. Has your household's ability to give this support changed in the last the two years?

Ask the households more directly about the HSNP programme

Reminder: Only ask where questions have not been answered above

12. Now I would like to ask you about the HSNP programme that you are receiving and how it affects your households.
 - a. Who picks up the HSNP transfers?
 - b. How many payments have you received to date? How many back payments have you received?
 - c. When did you receive your last payment?
 - d. How much was this?
 - e. Did you ever receive a back payment? How much was it? [*back payment is a payment that was received after it was due*]
 - f. In the last two months, how did you use your HSNP transfer?
 - g. Who decided to use it for this? Is this the same person who normally makes important decision in your household? Why/ why not?
13. Can you describe how the HSNP affects the wellbeing of your household?
 - a. Do all household members benefit from this money? In what way and why?
 - b. Has the HSNP affected your ability to earn an income or a living? Are households now earning a living in a better, worse of the same way as before HSNP? Why has this changed?
 - c. Are you able to save now compared to before you started receiving the HSNP? Why? Have you manage to accumulate any assets? What are these? Why?
 - d. Has the HSNP affected your ability to deal with shocks and problems that your households face?
 - e. Has HSNP affected the support you give to others when they face a problem?
 - f. Has receiving HSNP payments affected the way your household is helped by other community members when you face a problem?
 - g. How does it affect your relationship with others? Has receiving HSNP affected the way different households behave towards your household? How and why? Are there positive or negative changes that have occurred because of this? Why?
 - h. Has the HSNP affected the relationship between men and women in your household?
 - i. Has HSNP affected the way decisions are made in your household?
 - j. Has this programme created/reduced any tensions or conflict in the community?

Ask respondents if they receive any other social assistance programmes apart from the HSNP

14. Apart from the HSNP, are you part of any other social assistance or livelihood support initiatives in the community? [*can be from NGOs*]

Annex D Question Guides

- a. Can you list these initiatives? [*can be NGO initiatives*] Which are the most important initiatives?
- b. How do you compare the HSNP these other initiatives
- c. What are the benefits of receiving these initiatives in addition HSNP
- d. Has being an HSNP beneficiary affected your ability to access other social assistance initiatives in the community? For example, has the amount of food aid received by your family changed since you started receiving the transfers?
- e. Do you know about the ASP programme? Does anyone in your household in your community benefit from this programme? What are the benefits of this programme?

Ask the respondents about their experience of being HSNP operational processes

15. What do you think about the payment process? Why? Is it easy or difficult for you to get your payment? Why?
16. What do you think of the way households are selected to receive the HSNP transfers? Is it fair?
17. Do you have any complaints about the programme? What are these?
18. How do you think the programme can be improved?

Ask respondents if they have any questions for you.

Thank the respondents for their time, and tell them you (or someone else) will be back in a years time to follow up.

Reminder: do you need to give them a camera?

END

Qualitative Panel Study Beneficiaries Emergency

Introduction

Hello! My name is *[insert name]*. I work for Research Guide Africa, and have come to this people in this sub-location, and across 11 other sub-locations in northern Kenya. Before I go any further, can I check that you are the *[insert the person you are hoping to speak with e.g. HSNP beneficiary. Only continue if you have confirmation]*.

We have some questions that we hope to ask. We would like to ask you these questions today, and again in September 2016 and June 2017. There are no wrong answers but we request that you answer as honestly as you can. There are no benefits from taking part but we would be very grateful for your participation and what you say will help us improve social assistance programmes across northern Kenya. Any information you provide will be kept confidential i.e. your name will not be mentioned in the reports that we write.

It will take approximately *[insert]* minutes/hours of your time.

You may choose not to answer any question or to stop the interview at any point. If anything I say is unclear, please ask me to clarify.

Would you like to volunteer to take part in this study, and again in September 2016 and June 2017? *[Only continue if "yes"]*

Do you have any questions for me before I begin?

Household: those eating from the same pot, and answerable to a head

Get to know the household. Ask the respondent to tell you a little bit about their household

1. Tell me a little bit about this household?
 - a. How long have you lived in this community?
 - b. Do you or any member of this household hold any position of responsibility in the community? What is it? *[e.g. member of women's group, head of borehole committee, social worker etc.]*

Ask the respondents about the composition of their household

2. Who lives in this household?
 - a. How many people live in the household?
 - b. Who is the main provider for the household?
 - c. Can you tell me how you are related to the household head? What does each member of the household do for a living?
 - d. Has the number of people living in this household changed in the last two years? Why is this?

Reminder

Go through Household Composition Sheet provided

Tick 'Yes' if household member is still in household

Tick 'No' if member is no longer part of household

Fill in empty cells with the details of any additional household members

Annex D Question Guides

Ask the household about their assets

3. What assets does your household own? [e.g. land, animals, equipment etc.]
 - a. How did you acquire these?
 - b. Have the assets you own changed in the last two years? How and why
 - c. Have you had to dispose off any assets recently? why and how?

Ask the household about their livelihoods and income sources

Reminder

Use the household income and expenditure analysis tool to facilitate the following discussion about income and expenditure

4. How do you earn money? What types of work and activities do the other people in your household do to earn money?
 - a. Do you face any challenges in earning money? What are these? Why?
 - b. Has the types of work people in this household do to earn money changed in the last two years?
 - c. Apart from this income, what other sources of income does your household have?
 - d. Do you receive any income or support from social assistance programmes? Which ones are these?
 - e. Do family members outside the household contribute to your household income? Who?
 - f. Has your income changed in the last two years? Why and how?
 - g. What has been the impact of these changes on the wellbeing of your household?
 - h. Have these changes been positive or negative?

Ask the household about how they spend or use their income

5. How do you use the income that you earn?
 - a. Is this different now compared to two years ago?
 - b. What do you do differently? Are there things you buy now that you didn't buy before or no longer buy? Why?

Ask the respondent about the wellbeing of their household

Reminder: well-being is about being comfortable, happy and healthy.

- c. How would you describe the wellbeing of your household? [give examples if needed, e.g. rich, struggling, poor, doing just ok, doing well, very poor etc.] Why would you describe it this way?
- d. How does this compare with others your community?
- e. How does this compare to two years ago? Is your wellbeing the same, going up, going down? Why is this?

Ask the household what the sources of shocks they experience

Reminder: shocks are problems that occur very suddenly and are unexpected e.g. drought, unemployment, conflict, price inflation, death of household member etc.

6. What are the main shocks that your household experiences? Are there things that you fear might happen that will cause your household problems?
 - a. How do shocks affect you as an individual and as a household?
 - b. Have the way these shocks affect your household changed the last two years? How and why?

Ask the household how they deal with shocks when they occur?

7. Does your household do anything to stop or reduce shocks from happening? What does your household do to cope with shocks after they have happened?
 - a. What are the things you do? Do you turn to any individuals?
 - b. What do they do to help you? What do you think about the support they give you? Is it effective? Why, why not?
 - c. Can you do anything to reduce the effects of the shock when they occur? How do you get back to normal when these risks occur?
 - d. Do you feel more able to cope with these problems if they occur now compared to two years ago? Why

Ask the respondent about responsibilities, control of resources and decision making within the household

8. Within your household, who is responsible for different activities? [Give examples if needed, e.g. childcare, looking after livestock, collecting wild foods, marketing, cooking, etc.]
 - a. What are the important resources in your household? [land, family labour, animals, cash etc]
 - b. Who owns resources in the household? What about compared to 2 years ago?
 - c. Within your household, who makes decisions as to how these resources are used? Why is this?
 - d. Who makes decision over different issues in the households? Why is this

Reminder:

[Probe different types of issues: sale of assets, child care, consumption, use of labour , etc]

- e. Has this always been the same or has this changed in the last two years

Ask the respondents about the relationships within their household

9. What about gender roles in your household?
 - a. Has this changed in the last two years? How and why?
 - b. Has the way household members behave towards each other more generally changed in the last two years? How and why? [Reminder: here you may ask about sharing patterns. Are there tensions and disagreements? What are these over?]

Ask the respondents about the relationships with other households in their community

10. Can you describe your relationship with other households in this community?
 - a. How do households behave towards each other? Why is that?
 - b. Do you receive support or assistance from others within the community to help you when your household faces difficulties? Who?

Annex D Question Guides

- c. Has the support you receive from household members changed compared to two years ago? Why is this?
- d. Do you give support to others when they face problems? What, who and why?
- e. Has your household's ability to give this support changed in the last the two years?

Ask the households more directly about the HSNP emergency they received in April and or in May

11. Now I would like to ask you more the HSNP emergency payments that your household recently received.
- a. When did you receive this payment?
 - b. How much did you receive? Do you understand why your household received this payment? Please explain.
 - c. Have you received back payments?
 - d. How did you use this money? Did you share the payments with other households?

Reminder

Engage the respondents in a proportional piling exercise to estimate proportions against different expenditure categories

- e. Why did you use the money in this way?
- f. Did you buy anything that you would normally not have bought at this time of year
- g. How does using the money this way affect the wellbeing of your household?
- h. Did the cash come at the right time?
- i. Would a smaller earlier payment have been more useful?

Ask the respondents about emergency payment operational processes

Communications

12. How did you hear that there was going to be an emergency payment was to start?
- a. How did you find out that your household was receiving cash?
 - b. How long in advance of pay day were you informed of the emergency payments?
 - c. Did you have any questions? If yes, who did you ask it to? Did you get any feedback?
 - d. What do you think about the way information was given to you?
 - e. Could it have been done in a better way? How?
 - f. Did you know how much you will receive? Did you understand how the amount you received was calculated?

Payments

13. What do you think about the payment process?
- a. Is it easy or difficult for you to get your payment? Why?
 - b. Was the distance to the pay point okay or was it too far?
 - c. How did you travel to the pay point?
 - d. Did it cost you anything to travel? If yes how much?
 - e. What was your experience at the pay point? Did you have to wait? How long?

Targeting

14. What do you think of the way households were selected to receive this payment?
 - a. Do you think there are some households who received this payment that shouldn't have?
 - b. Do you think there are some households that did not receive this payment but should have
 - c. Should household have been selected in a different way?

Complaints

15. Have you ever had a complaint?
 - a. What was the complaint?
 - b. Who did you mention it to?
 - c. Was it resolved?

Ask respondents if they receive any other social assistance programmes apart from the HSNP emergency payments

16. Apart from the HSNP, are you part of any other social assistance or livelihood support initiatives? in the community?
 - a. Can you list these initiatives? [*include NGO initiatives*]
 - b. Which are the most important initiatives for you? How do you compare the HSNP emergency payments to these other initiatives?
 - c. Has receiving this payment in April and or May locked you out of other social initiatives? Did you receive less food aid?
 - d. Do you know about the ASP programme? Does anyone in your household or community benefit from this programme? What are the benefits of this programme?
 - e. How do you compare the way households are selected for this programme to other social programmes?

Ask respondents if they have any questions for you.

Thank the respondents for their time, give them the details of when you will be back to visit the household.

END

Annex D Question Guides

Qualitative Panel Study Non beneficiaries

Introduction

Hello! My name is *[insert name]*. I work for Research Guide Africa, and have come to this people in this sub-location, and across 11 other sub-locations in northern Kenya. Before I go any further, can I check that you are the *[insert the person you are hoping to speak with e.g. HSNP beneficiary. Only continue if you have confirmation]*.

We have some questions that we hope to ask. We would like to ask you these questions today, and again in September 2016 and June 2017. There are no wrong answers but we request that you answer as honestly as you can. There are no benefits from taking part but we would be very grateful for your participation and what you say will help us improve social assistance programmes across northern Kenya. Any information you provide will be kept confidential i.e. your name will not be mentioned in the reports that we write.

It will take approximately *[insert]* minutes/hours of your time.

You may choose not to answer any question or to stop the interview at any point. If anything I say is unclear, please ask me to clarify.

Would you like to volunteer to take part in this study, and again in September 2016 and June 2017? *[Only continue if "yes"]*

Do you have any questions for me before I begin?

Household: those eating from the same pot, and answerable to a head

Get to know the household. Ask the respondent to tell you a little bit about their household

1. Tell me a little bit about this household?
 - a. How long have you lived in this community?
 - b. Do you or any member of this household hold any position of responsibility in the community? What is it?

Ask the respondents about the composition of their household

2. Who lives in this household?
 - a. How many people live in the household?
 - b. Who is the main provider for the household?
 - c. Can you tell me how you are related or connected to the household head? What does each member of the household do for a living?
 - d. Has the number of people living in this household changed in the last two years? Why is this?

Reminder

Go through Household Composition Sheet provided

Tick 'Yes' if household member is still in household

Tick 'No' if member is no longer part of household

Fill in empty cells with the details of any additional household members

Ask household about their assets

3. What asset does your household own? [e.g. land, animals, farming equipment etc.]
 - a. How did you acquire these?
 - b. Have the assets you own changed in the last two years? How and why
 - c. Have you had to dispose off any assets recently? why and how?

Ask the household about their livelihoods and income sources

Reminder

Use the household income and expenditure analysis tool to facilitate the following discussion about income and expenditure

4. How do you earn money? What types of work and activities do the other people in your household do to earn money?
 - a. Do you face any challenges in earning this income? What are these? Why?
 - b. Has the types of work people in this household do to earn an income changed in the last two years?
 - c. Apart from this income, what other sources of income does your household have?
 - d. Do you receive any income or support from social assistance programmes? Which ones are these?
 - e. Do family members outside the household contribute to household income? Who?
 - f. Has your income changed in the last two years? Why and how?
 - g. What has been the impact of these changes on the wellbeing of your household?
 - h. Have these changes been positive or negative?

Ask the household about how they spend or use their income

5. How do you use the income that you earn?
 - a. Is this different now compared to two years ago?
 - b. What do you do differently? Are there things you buy now that you didn't buy before or no longer buy? Why?

Ask the respondent about the wellbeing of their household

Reminder: well-being is about being comfortable, happy and healthy.

6. How would you describe the wellbeing of your household? [give examples if needed, e.g. rich, struggling, poor, doing just ok, doing well, very poor etc.] Why would you describe it this way?
 - a. How does this compare with others your community?
 - b. How does this compare to two years ago? Is your wellbeing the same, going up? Going down? Why is this?

Ask the household what the sources of shocks they experience

Reminder: shocks are problems that occur very suddenly and are unexpected e.g. drought, unemployment, conflict, price inflation, death of household member etc.

Annex D Question Guides

7. What are the main shocks that your household experiences? Are there things that you fear might happen that will cause your household problems?
 - a. How do shocks affect you as an individual and as a household?
 - b. Have the way these shocks these shocks affect your household changed the last two years? How and why?

Ask the household how they deal with shocks when they occur?

8. Does your household do anything to stop or reduce shocks from happening? What does your household do to cope with shocks after they have happened?
 - a. What are the things you do? Who do you turn to? Do you turn to any individuals?
 - b. What do they do to help you? What do you think about the support they give you? Is it effective? Why, why not?
 - c. Can you do anything to reduce the effects of the shock when they occur? How do you get back to normal when these risks occur
 - d. How do you compare your household's ability to deals with these shocks two years ago?
 - e. Do you feel more able to cope with these problems if they occur now compared to two years ago? Why

Ask the respondent about responsibilities, control of resources and decision making within the household

9. Within your household, who is responsible for different activities? [Give examples if needed, e.g. childcare, looking after livestock, collecting wild foods, marketing, cooking, etc.]
 - a. Why do some people have particular responsibilities?
 - b. What are the important resources in your household? [land, family labour, animals, cash etc]
 - c. Who owns resources in the household? What about compared to 2 years ago?
 - d. Within your household, who makes decisions as to how these resources are used? Why is this?
 - e. Who makes decision over different issues in the households? Why is this

Reminder:

[Probe different types of issues: sale of assets, child care, consumption, use of labour , etc]

- f. Has this always been the same or has this changed in the last two years

Ask the respondents about the relationships within their household

10. What about gender roles in your household?
 - a. How do men and women behave towards each other? Describe it to me
 - b. Has this changed in the last two years? How and why?
 - c. Has the way household members behave towards each other more generally changed in the last two years? How and why? [Reminder: here you may ask about sharing patterns. Are there tensions and disagreements? What are these over?]

Ask the respondents about the relationships with other households in their community

11. Can you describe your relationship with other households in this community?
 - a. How do households behave towards each other? Why is that?
 - b. Do you receive support or assistance from others within the community to help you when your household faces difficulties? Who from?
 - c. How do you feel about this type of support?
 - d. Has the support you receive from household members changed compared to two years ago? Why is this?
 - e. Do you give support to others when they face problems? What, who and why?
 - f. Has your household's ability to give this support changed in the last the two years?

Ask respondents about the views on the HSNP

12. What do you know about the HSNP programme that is operating in this community?
13. Have you previously received money from this programme?
 - a. Are any of your neighbours or friends receiving money from this programme at the moment?
 - b. Have they received any back payments?
 - c. How long have they been receiving these transfers for?
 - d. Do you know how and why they are selected?
 - e. What do you think of the way households are selected for this programme
 - f. Do these payments helped them? What do you think are the advantages to their household? What are the disadvantages to their households?

Ask respondents if they have any questions for you.

Thank the respondents for their time, give them the details of when you will be back to visit the household.

END

Rights committee

Hello! My name is *[insert name]*. I work for Research Guide Africa, and have come to this sub-location to find out about people's lives and their experiences. We are talking to many people in this sub-location, and across 11 other sub-locations in northern Kenya. Before I go any further, can I check that you are the *[insert the person you are hoping to speak with e.g. HSNP beneficiary. Only continue if you have confirmation]*.

We have some questions that we hope to ask. There are no wrong answers but we request that you answer as honestly as you can. There are no benefits from taking part but we would be very grateful for your participation and what you say will help us improve social assistance programmes across northern Kenya. Any information you provide will be kept confidential i.e. your name will not be mentioned in the reports that we write.

It will take approximately *[insert]* minutes/hours of your time.

You may choose not to answer any question or to stop the interview at any point. If anything I say is unclear, please ask me to clarify.

Would you like to volunteer to take part in this study? *[Only continue if "yes"]*

Do you have any questions for me before I begin?

Ask about their role on the HSNP programme

1. What is your role on the HSNP? Please tell us in detail what you were told your responsibilities are.
2. Do you have other responsibilities in the community? What are these?
3. What have you been told about your role as a Rights Committee member? What do you have to do and why? Do you feel that it was fully clear?
4. Do you get any support from the Rights component? What sort of support? Is this enough? What more support would you like from them?
5. Has this required you to change your normal livelihood? How and why?
6. Have you been paid in any way for your work? How have you been paid?

Ask about their perceptions of the HSNP operational processes

7. What do you think about the way households were selected to receive HSNP payments in this sub location? Was the process easy or challenging? What was your role in that process?
8. What do you think about the HSNP payment process? Is the process easy or chall Have you received complaints about any aspect of the HSNP? Please give us examples. Please tell us in detail what happened
9. Do you use complaints forms?

10. What have you been able to do about these complaints? Have you had adequate support to deal with them?

Ask about their views on the impact of HSNP

11. Has there been any changes to the lives of households in this sub location as a result of this programme? If yes, what are these changes? Are these changes the same for all households?
12. How does your experience with the HSNP so far compare with other programmes assisting people in this community (e.g. food aid)? Why is this?
13. What benefits do you think different programmes in this community have compared to each other? Why is this?

[Probe: Ask about positive and negative changes. Ask about changes for different types of households e.g. female headed, different social groups. etc]

Ask about their involvement in the emergency payments

14. Are you aware that in times of drought there are additional beneficiaries' who are paid in addition to the regular ones? Were there any of such payments in made April and or May of this year?
15. Who told you about these additional beneficiaries? When were you informed? How long after you were informed did payments start?
16. Why are these additional payments being made? Was this explained to you?
17. Do you know how households were selected to receive these payments?
18. What was your role in that process? What did you do? Did you find this easy or challenging? Why? Please explain
19. What is your view on making these additional payments? What are the advantages and disadvantages to households in this sub location? Is this the same for everyone?
20. Were there complaints raised about these? What were these complaints?
21. How do you think the process of making these additional payment can be improved

Conclusion

7. Is there anything else you would like to add? Do you have any questions for us?

Annex E

Training Schedule

10th August to 14th August 2015

| TOPIC | TIME | Lead Trainer |
|---|----------------|--------------|
| Monday 10th | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introductions | 9:00 – 9:30 | Ramla |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overview of training, pilot and fieldwork • Some ground rules | 9:30 –9:45 | Ramla |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharing experiences of qualitative research • Lessons from HSNP Phase 1 | 9:45 – 10:30 | Sope |
| TEA BREAK:10:30 -11:00 | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction to the Hunger Safety Net Programme | 11:00 to 13:00 | PILU |
| LUNCH: 13:00-14:00 | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objectives of the impact evaluation • Understanding the programme Theory of Change • Introduction to research themes and objectives | 14:00 –15:45 | Ramla |
| TEA BREAK:15:45- 16:00 | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overview of the field work process: • Research Methods and Tools • Sampling • Community entry protocols • Ethics and team conduct- remaining objective • Fieldwork road map • Team roles and responsibilities • Daily Debriefs | 16:00 – 18:00 | Sope |
| Tuesday 11th | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sampling | 8:00-9:00 | Ramla |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of day 1 • Any questions? • Agenda for day 2 | 9:00 – 9:15 | Sope |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction to FGDs: Some general guidelines • Understanding the community context and introduction to social mapping and wellbeing tool • Discussion of community elders FGD guides (including translation of key words) | 9:15 –10:40 | Sope |
| TEA BREAK: 10:45 to 11:00 | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Breakout and practice | 11:00 –12:00 | All |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feedback to community elders FGD practice session | 12:00 – 13:00 | Sope |
| LUNCH: 13:00-14:00 | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Group 1 and Group 2 FGDs overview • Introduction to vulnerability and risk mapping • Discussion of Group 1 and Group 2 FGDs (including translation of key words) | 14:00 – 15:30 | Chris |
| TEA BREAK: 15:30-16:00 | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Breakout and practice | 16:00 – 17:00 | ALL |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feedback to Group 1 and Group 2 FGD practice session | 17:00 –18:00 | Chris |

| TOPIC | TIME | Lead Trainer |
|--|----------------|--------------|
| Wednesday 12TH | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Review of day 2 Any questions? Agenda for day 3 | 9:00 – 9:10 | Sope |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Introduction to Qualitative Panel Studies: Some general guidelines Introduction to household income and expenditure tool Discussion of QPS guides (Group 1 and Group 2) (including translation of key words) | 9:15 –10:45 | Sope |
| TEA BREAK: 10:45 to 11:00 | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Breakout and practice (Group 1 and Group 2) | 11:00 –12:00 | All |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feedback to practice session | 12:00 – 13:00 | Sope |
| LUNCH: 13:00-14:00 | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Breakout and practice (Non beneficiaries) | 14:00 – 15:30 | All |
| TEA BREAK: 15:30-16:00 | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feedback to practice session | 16:00 – 17:00 | Chris |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Introduction to participatory photography | 17:00 –18:00 | Sope |
| Thursday 13th | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Review of day 3 Any questions? Agenda for day 4 | 9:00 – 9:30 | Chris |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ethics in research, including informed consent | 9:30- 10:30 | Chris |
| TEA BREAK: 10:30-11:00 | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Introduction to key informant Interviews: Some general guidelines Discussion of KII guides | 11:00 – 12:00 | Chris |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Breakout and practice | 12:30 – 13:00 | All |
| LUNCH 13:00- 14:00 | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feedback to practice session | 14:00 –14:30 | Chris |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Practice session QPS and feedback | 14:30 –15:30 | Chris |
| TEA BREAK: 15:30-16:00 | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Note taking and transcription | 16:00 –17:00 | Ramla |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Outputs from the field and management of outputs | 17:00 –18:00 | Sope |
| Friday 14th | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Review of day 4 Any questions? Agenda for day 5 | 9:00 – 9:10 | Sope |
| Practice session : FGD and Tools | 09:10 to 10:30 | All |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feed back to practice session | 11:00 to 12:00 | Sope |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Infield analysis process and debriefing | 12:00 to 13:00 | Ramla |
| LUNCH | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Finalise plans for fieldwork, logistics; communications etc Meet in individual county teams to discuss plan pilot and fieldwork , team roles and responsibilities | 14:00-16:30 | Chris |



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