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KENYA HUNGER SAFETY NET PROGRAMME

Monitoring and Evaluation Component

Qualitative Impact Evaluation Report: 2009/10 to
2010/11

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Executive summary

Introduction

This report presents the findings of the qualitative fieldwork and analysis conducted as part of the Hunger Safety Nets Programme (HSNP) impact evaluation. The HSNP is a cash transfer programme delivering regular, guaranteed cash transfers to 300,000 chronically food insecure people (60,000 households) in northern Kenya. The HSNP delivers cash transfers of KES (Kenyan Shillings) 2,150 every two months¹ to selected beneficiaries, through a Smartcard using biometric fingerprint identification. During the pilot phase three targeting methodologies were trialled. The HSNP aims to reduce food insecurity and malnutrition, reduce poverty, and promote asset retention and accumulation in targeted households. It is anticipated that the programme will also have positive impacts on a wider range of indicators of well-being and wealth, such as resilience to shocks, health and education uptake, and access to financial services.

The evaluation of the HSNP adopts a mixed methods approach, comprising a quantitative survey using a randomised control trial methodology with qualitative research. Quantitative and qualitative fieldwork was conducted at baseline and follow up after one year. This report presents the findings on impact from the qualitative research at follow-up, that is, after one year of HSNP payments (4-5 payment cycles). Further fieldwork will be conducted in order to evaluate impact after a two year period. The results of the quantitative survey at follow-up are presented in a separate report.

Methodology

Qualitative fieldwork was conducted in sixteen sub-locations across the HSNP programme areas (the former districts of Mandera, Marsabit, Turkana and Wajir) where people were receiving the HSNP cash transfer. These sub-locations were selected from the 48 sub-locations covered by the quantitative survey. While the 48 quantitative sub-locations were selected randomly, the qualitative sub-locations were selected purposively to cover a range of targeting methodologies and livelihood types. In each qualitative sub-location, a range of focus groups, key informant interviews and household case studies were conducted. The data from these research tools were recorded, translated, typed up and analysed.

The qualitative fieldwork was not designed to generate representative results. Every effort was made to provide a broad sample of locations. Respondents were selected at random where possible and findings were triangulated between different respondents and the quantitative survey. However, these results should not be interpreted as conclusive or representative, but as indicative.

Impact findings

The qualitative research indicates that the HSNP has helped beneficiaries to cope with the very difficult conditions in northern Kenya, and especially with the effects of drought and inflation in the period assessed. In particular, it has enabled beneficiaries to continue to access food and to avoid selling livestock, as well as to obtain goods on credit. Taken together, these three impacts should help households to smooth consumption when faced with shocks.

The HSNP also seems to have stimulated markets and there is no indication that the HSNP is producing an inflationary effect on prices as was feared. Beneficiaries were very appreciative of the transfer and respondents in general thought that the HSNP was a good programme.

¹ This amount has now changed to KES 3000.

Overall, the qualitative findings suggest the programme was broadly successful in its primary aims of reducing food insecurity, promoting asset retention and combating vulnerability, and thus that the HSNP represents a viable potential alternative to long-term, non-emergency food aid to help limit vulnerability in northern Kenya – this is not to suggest that HSNP beneficiaries should be excluded from emergency food aid interventions, but only that the HSNP could provide a long-term substitute for non-emergency food aid.

Although the HSNP has been successful in its primary aim to reduce food insecurity and increase asset retention, the qualitative data does not appear to support the hypothesis that the programme has had substantial transformative effects, either positive or negative, or that it has had significant impacts on consumption poverty, asset accumulation, livelihoods, or access to health and education services.

These findings are not altogether surprising given the acknowledged limitations of a cash transfer of this size, and do not imply that the programme represents poor value for money. Rather, they point to the potential for some small design modifications which could help maximise the programme's impact in these areas. Moreover, results from the quantitative survey analysis may yet detect measurable impacts in these areas.

The limited impact was largely expected for three main reasons. First, the amount transferred was very small, at 12% of average consumption expenditure at baseline. This value was further eroded by inflation, and is even smaller for large households. Second, the variety of spending dampens impact on any single area. The benefit of a cash transfer – and of the HSNP – is that households spend the money on what is most important to them and therefore spread the benefit across a variety of different domains. The qualitative data indicate that HSNP beneficiaries have indeed behaved this way, and there is no evidence of 'wasteful' spending. Third, the extreme drought and inflation suffered in northern Kenya during the period under consideration means that poverty has been exacerbated for most people in these areas. In the absence of the HSNP, the situation for beneficiaries would have been substantially worse. In this context, increasing households' capacity to cope with these shocks constitutes the most realistic and valuable impact that could have been expected from the HSNP.

Overall, the data collected under the qualitative research component of the HSNP impact evaluation point towards a positive impact of the HSNP cash transfer and indicate various ways in which, as an alternative form of aid, cash provides an improvement over non-emergency food aid. The table below presents a concise summary of the impact findings in key areas.

Impact area	Finding
Consumption	HSNP beneficiaries spent the transfer on a variety of items, but principally food. Together with the drought and inflation, this variety of spending limits the HSNP's impact on any single area. Some beneficiaries were able to buy new food items and thereby increase dietary diversity. The transfer was small relative to average household consumption expenditure, particularly for large households, but despite limited impact on overall consumption expenditure three significant impacts were observed: the transfers helped households to better cope with drought and other shocks; the transfer improved access to goods on credit; and the transfer enabled households to smooth consumption without selling livestock; beneficiaries felt that hunger was reduced and that this may have a positive impact on child nutrition.
Poverty	While the transfers were undeniably helpful, there was not a substantial impact on poverty. Households view poverty in different ways. For those who equated poverty with lack of cash income, receiving the HSNP reduced household poverty somewhat, though this was limited by the relative size of the transfer. For those who equated poverty with lack of livestock, the HSNP effect was more limited.
Asset accumulation and retention	HSNP transfers seemed to enable many beneficiaries to sell fewer livestock to cover immediate needs and thus cope with drought, so there did seem to be a positive impact on retention of livestock. Transfers were insufficient for most households to accumulate more livestock. Investments in other productive assets were limited.
Health	Some HSNP transfers were spent on healthcare, but the overall impact of the HSNP on health access seemed limited. This is because there are other substantial barriers to health access, including distance and a preference for self-treatment.
Education	Some HSNP transfers were spent on school expenses, but the overall impact on attendance also was perceived as limited. This is again because there are substantial non-financial barriers to education, including attitudes and livelihoods, and because primary enrolment rates were fairly high at baseline. Transfers were not sufficient to cover costs of secondary education. Additional spending on education by households as a result of HSNP is likely to have improved children's school experience, although more research is required to confirm this.
Prices	The HSNP appears to have had no impact on prices. Inflation in programme areas has been significant but is caused by other factors. Inflation has however eroded the value of the transfer.
Markets	The HSNP is perceived to have stimulated markets, both in terms of the volume and diversity of goods sold, and the number of traders selling goods. Traders are typically positive about the HSNP, particularly in comparison to food aid.
Livelihoods	The impact of the HSNP on livelihoods appears limited. The transfers were too small to allow most beneficiaries to invest in new businesses, although some were able to start small kiosks. Some beneficiaries claimed to undertake less casual labour as a result of receiving the transfer.
Saving	The impact of the HSNP on saving appears limited. Beneficiaries tend to withdraw all of their cash to deal with immediate needs. This may be because beneficiaries are required to visit paypoints in order to load the cash onto their card.
Credit and debt	The HSNP has had a positive impact on beneficiaries' ability to obtain goods on credit, which has an important consumption smoothing function. Most beneficiaries did not take cash loans, mainly due to wariness of debt.
Shocks	There were substantial shocks in the period between baseline and follow up that exacerbated poverty and dampened the positive impact of the HSNP. The main shocks were poor rainfall in the March-May 2011 rains in Wajir, Mandera and Marsabit, and generalised price inflation. There were various other more limited shocks. The HSNP does not appear to be related to any of these.

Coping strategies	The HSNP seems to support beneficiaries' extant coping strategies. In particular, beneficiaries seemed better able to maintain food consumption, avoid selling livestock, pay off debts and obtain credit.
Empowerment of women	The HSNP is closely equated with women. While receiving the HSNP cash does not substantially change women's roles or decision-making power, it does seem to enhance their status. There were peripheral reports of gender-related conflict.
Well-being of older people	Qualitative fieldwork did not detect a significant impact of the HSNP in relations between older people and the rest of the community, though older people receiving the transfer maintained the general benefits of the transfer.
Informal safety nets	Sharing is critical in these areas and continues to be even while HSNP is operating. Some beneficiaries claim they are able to share more with others, which enhances their social status. There were a few reports of beneficiaries receiving less support because they received the HSNP transfer.
Mobility	Mobility is complex in these areas with a number of determining factors. The HSNP seems to have a limited impact on mobility overall. Some households have become less mobile so that they can collect their transfers or because they are worried that they will miss future targeting exercises. Some pensioners who were seeking to settle have found this easier because of the HSNP.
Social relations and household structure	The qualitative research found no evidence of significant impact of the on community tensions or changes in household compositions.

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Abbreviations

ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
CBT	Community-Based Targeting
DFID	Department for International Development
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DR	Dependency ratio
FPE	Free Primary Education
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GAM	Global Acute Malnutrition
HSNP	Hunger Safety Net Programme
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
KII	Key Informant Interview
KES	Kenya Shillings
KIHBS	Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
M&E	Monitoring and evaluation
OPM	Oxford Policy Management
QPS	Qualitative Panel Survey
SP	Social Pension
WFP	World Food Programme

1 Introduction

1.1 Evaluation study

The overall goal of the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) project is to reduce extreme poverty in Kenya by delivering regular guaranteed cash transfers to 300,000 chronically food insecure people (60,000 households). It aims to reduce poverty, food insecurity and malnutrition, and promote asset retention and accumulation in these households. It is anticipated that the programme will also have positive impacts on a wider range of indicators of well-being and wealth, such as resilience to shocks, health and education uptake, and access to financial services.

The HSNP delivers cash transfers of KES (Kenyan Shillings) 2,150 every two months to selected beneficiaries, delivered through a Smartcard using biometric fingerprint identification. The transfer value was set to be 75% of the value of a World Food Programme food aid ration in 2006, though this was eroded by inflation by the time the payments began in 2009. The targeting process was designed to test three different targeting mechanisms: community based targeting, dependency ratio targeting, and targeting pensioners over 55.

Oxford Policy Management (OPM) and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) have been contracted by the Department for International Development (DFID) to undertake a rigorous evaluation of the programme's impact. The impact evaluation is based on the collection of quantitative and qualitative information over three years on the following potential impacts of the HSNP:

Key intended impacts:

1. Increased consumption expenditure and poverty reduction
2. Increased food security (increased food expenditure, reduced reliance on food aid and reduced malnutrition rates)
3. Increased asset retention and accumulation

Secondary intended impacts:

4. Increased uptake of health services
5. Increased uptake of education services
6. Stabilise food prices and supplies of key commodities in local markets
7. Increased diversity of livelihood activities
8. Increased financial saving
9. Decreased vulnerability to shocks
10. Increased empowerment of women
11. Improved well-being of older people and children

Possible unintended impacts:

12. Increases in the prices of key commodities in local markets
13. Disruption of informal transfer systems
14. Changes to households' composition
15. Social tensions, conflict and insecurity
16. Changes to household mobility
17. Dependency

During the last 6 months of data collection the worst drought in 60 years in the Horn of Africa has sparked a severe food crisis and high malnutrition rates. Parts of Kenya and Somalia are experiencing famine conditions with estimates of more than 10 million people now affected in drought-stricken areas of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Uganda. It is important to keep this context in mind when interpreting the results here.

This report presents the results from the second year of qualitative fieldwork for the evaluation the HSNP, undertaken between November 2010 and October 2011. It discusses the impact of the programme on HSNP households after 12 months from the point of targeting. Over this 12 month period most of the HSNP households covered by the evaluation had received 4-5 bi-monthly transfers (KES 2,150).

Qualitative fieldwork was conducted in 16 sub-locations where payments were being made, and researchers spoke with beneficiaries, non-beneficiaries and a wide range of other individuals and groups. These sub-locations are a subset of sub-locations where the representative quantitative survey is conducted. Results from this survey are presented in a companion report. The findings from the qualitative study provide complementary data on the same topics covered by the household surveys, thereby triangulating and adding depth or texture to the quantitative findings. They also explore levels of analysis that are not easily captured in household-level surveys, such as intra-household issues, social relations within communities, and market impacts. While responses were cross-checked against each other and with quantitative data to improve rigour, the findings based on qualitative data should not be interpreted as statistically representative or conclusive but as indicative. Section 1.2 provides more information on the methodology and limitations.

This report, which presents just the qualitative impact analysis results, is accompanied by two other reports which together give a comprehensive account of the programme's impact on HSNP households after 12 months: (1) a report summarising the findings of the quantitative impact research (Quantitative Impact Evaluation Report); and (2) a synthesis report which draws together the findings of the qualitative and quantitative impact analysis (Impact Evaluation Synthesis Report). An additional report, the Operational Monitoring Report, assesses the effectiveness of the implementation of the various components of the programme.

A second round of data collection (year 2 follow-up) is on-going and next year (2013) this will enable an assessment of HSNP impact after 24 months. After 24 months the HSNP households covered by the evaluation should have received 10-11 bi-monthly transfers, and may have begun to modify their behaviour (e.g. in terms of investment choices, livelihood activities, etc.) in response to receiving a regular and reliable stream of additional income from HSNP. Therefore the programme may have more pronounced and/or additional impacts after operating for 24 months as compared to the impact findings presented in this report which relate to the impact of the programme on households after 12 months. These results will be presented in a set of year two follow up reports.

This report is structured as follows: the rest of the introduction details the methodology for qualitative fieldwork. Section 2 provides some background context to the HSNP, discussing consumption, poverty and shocks in HSNP areas in relation to the HSNP value. Section 2 presents findings, arranged in line with the key, secondary and unintended impact areas above. Qualitative findings are presented on:

- Consumption and poverty in section 3.1
- Asset accumulation and retention 3.2
- Health in section 4.1

- Education in section 4.2
- Prices and markets in section 4.3
- Livelihoods in section 4.4
- Saving, lending, borrowing and credit in section 4.5
- Shocks and coping strategies in section 4.6
- Empowerment of women in section 4.7
- The well-being of older people in section 4.8
- Informal safety nets in section 5.1, and
- Mobility in section 5.2.

Section 6 concludes and presents some recommendations.

1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 Areas selected for research

Qualitative follow up fieldwork was conducted only in ‘treatment’ sub-locations – places where selected households received the transfer immediately after targeting. This differs from the quantitative survey, for which fieldwork was conducted in treatment sub-locations but also ‘control’ sub-locations – areas where the targeting process was run but selected households will only receive transfers after two years. Qualitative fieldwork was conducted in four treatment sub-locations in each of the four greater districts where the HSNP operates (Mandera, Marsabit, Turkana and Wajir). These sub-locations were selected from the six sub-locations in each district where the quantitative evaluation fieldwork was conducted.

While the evaluation sub-locations overall were selected at random, the four qualitative sub-locations were selected so that the different targeting approaches and different livelihood types were included. This means that data presented here should not be taken as representative of the programme areas, but as indicative only.

The list of sub-locations for qualitative follow up fieldwork is in Table 1.1, organised by district and targeting mechanism.

Table 1.1 Follow up qualitative fieldwork locations

Greater District	Sub-location	Targeting mechanism
Marsabit	Badasa	CBT
Marsabit	North Horr	DR
Marsabit	Lonyoripichau	DR
Marsabit	Marsabit Township	SP
Turkana	Kokiselei	SP
Turkana	Napetet	CBT
Turkana	Kalemungorok	DR
Turkana	Lorengelup	SP
Wajir	Sala	SP
Wajir	Lafaley	CBT
Wajir	Godoma	CBT
Wajir	Wajir Township	DR
Mandera	Kamor	CBT
Mandera	Mado	DR
Mandera	Chir Chir	SP
Mandera	Eldanaba	SP

Source: OPM. CBT: Community Based Targeting. DR: Dependency Ratio. SP: Social Pension.

The geographic and livelihood distribution of these sub-locations is important because it affects the types of impact the HSNP is likely to have, and affects the ease of operations. For instance, remote sub-locations may be more difficult to pay, or have higher prices. The following maps present the location of evaluation sub-locations, with targeting mechanisms and livelihood zones².

² Control Sub-locations are given in red. Note that five sub-locations have not been marked due to insufficient information.

Figure 1.1 Evaluation sub-locations in Mandera

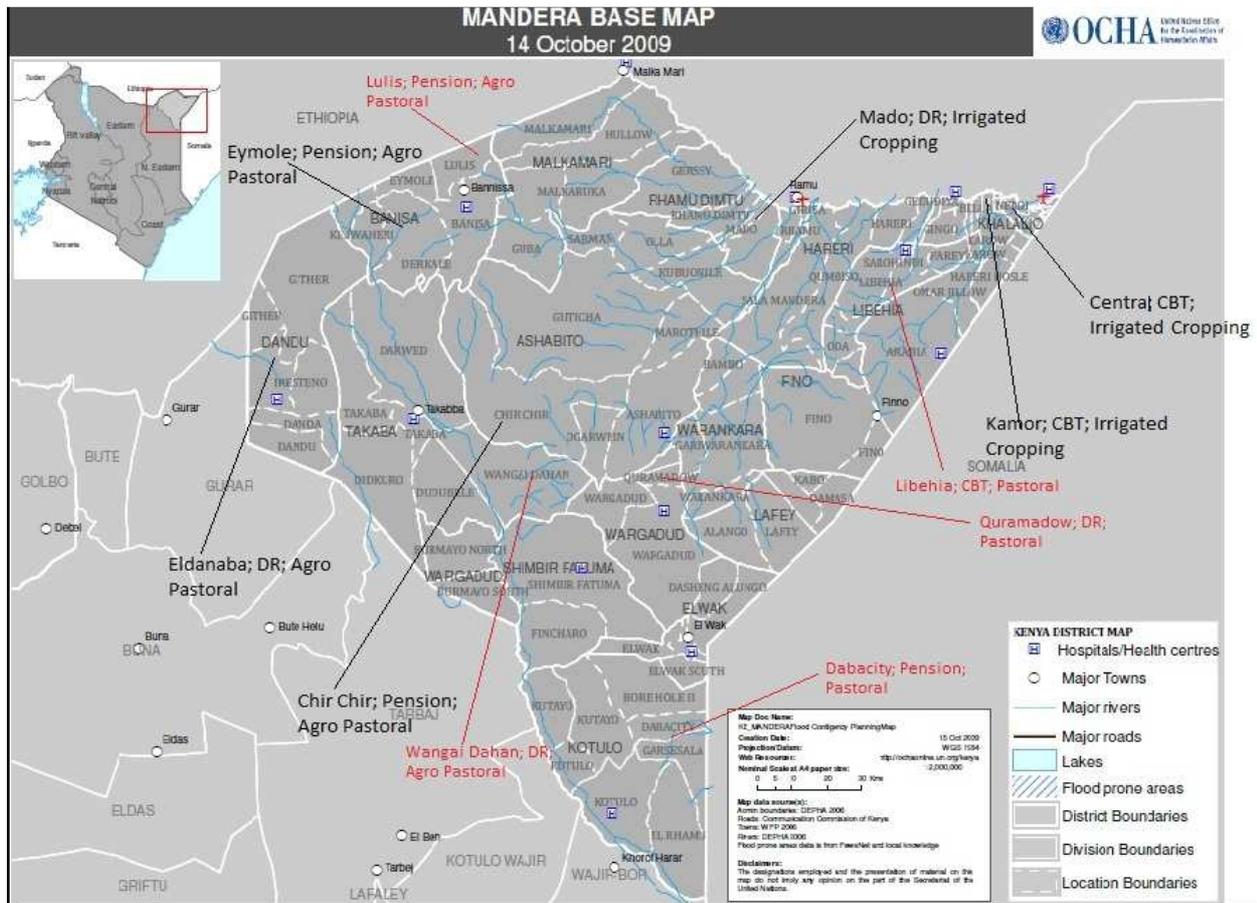


Figure 1.2 Evaluation sub-locations in Marsabit

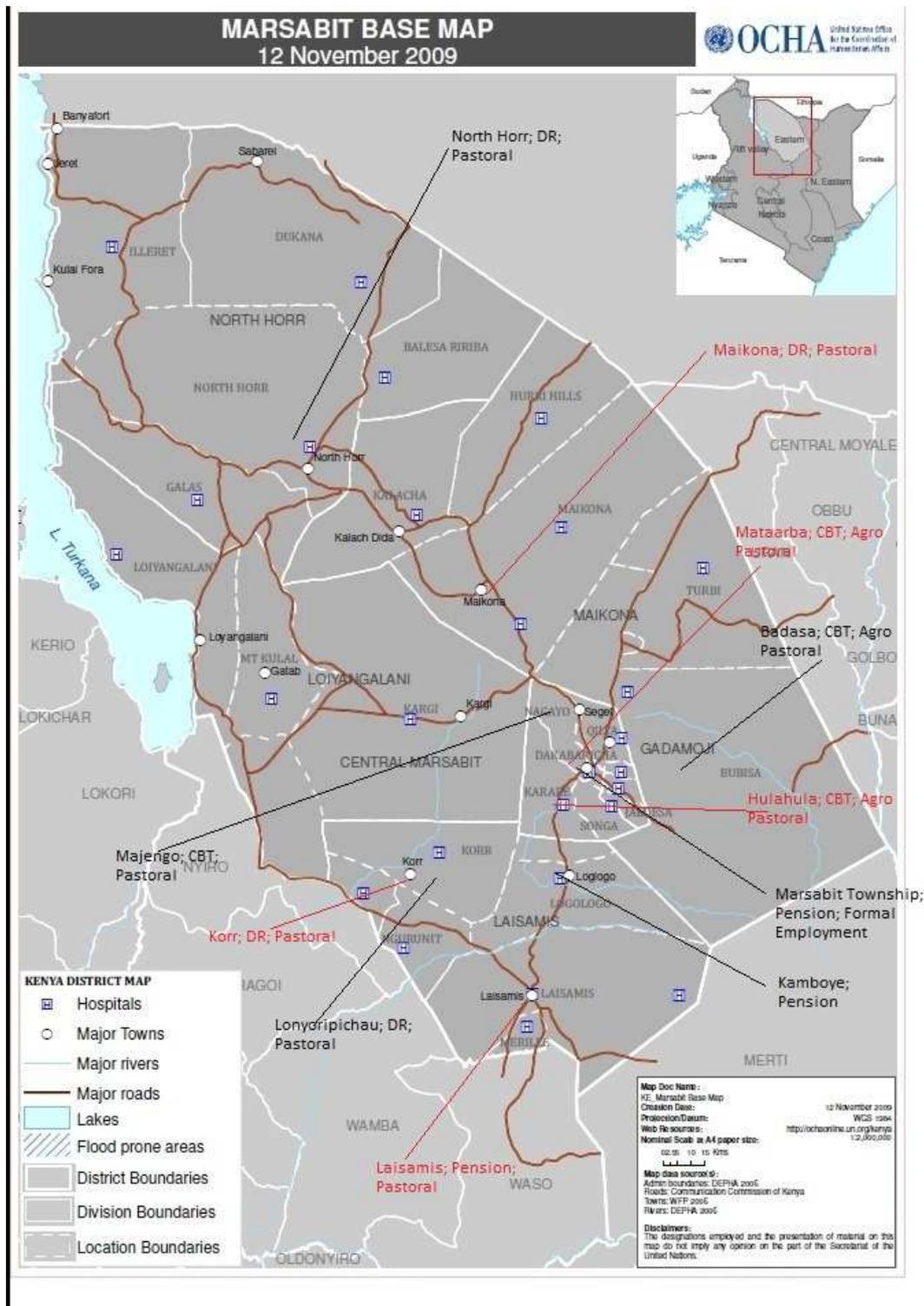
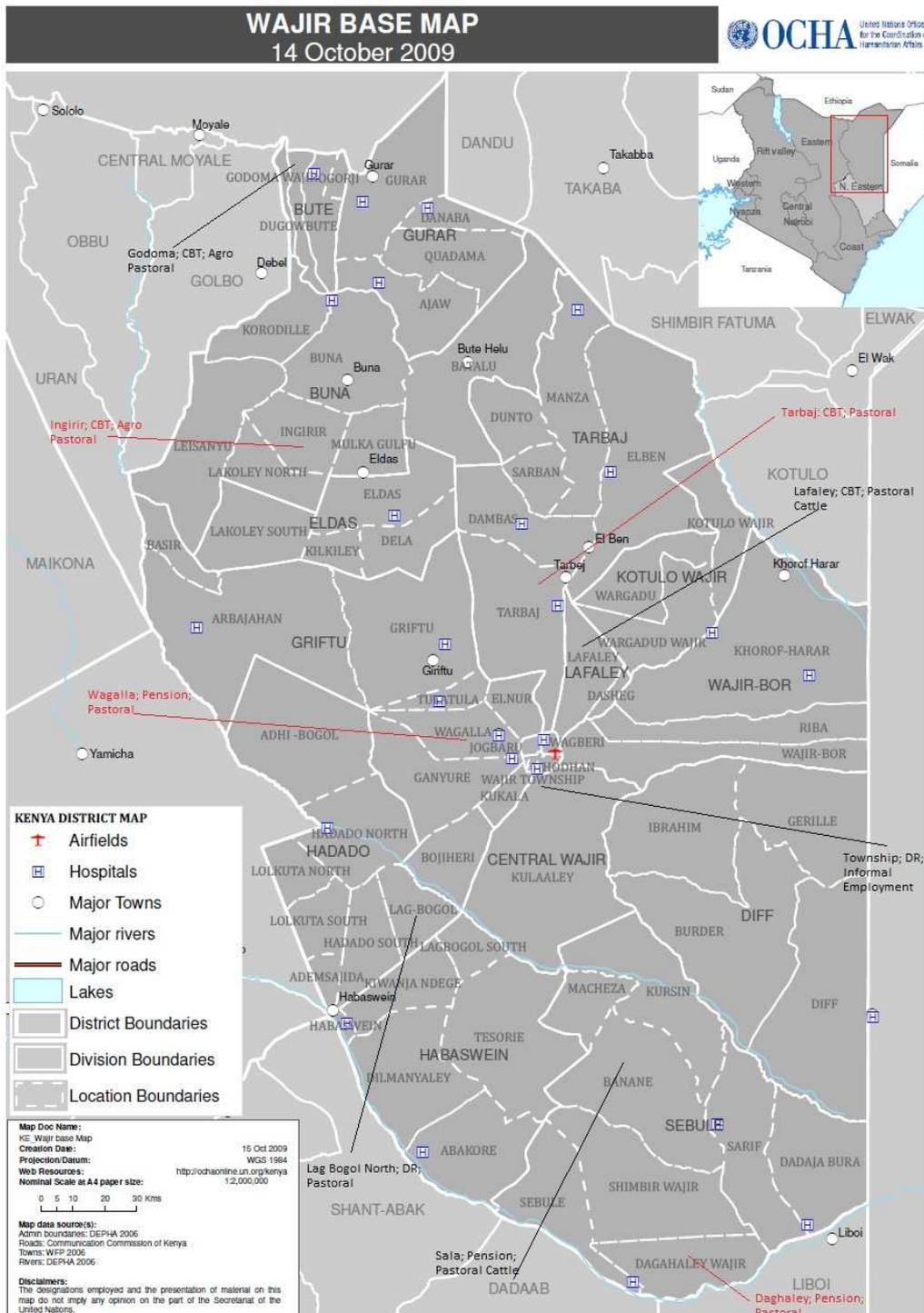


Figure 1.4 Evaluation sub-locations in Wajir



1.2.2 Research activities

In each sub-location, focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews are conducted with beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, as well as other key members of communities (elders, chiefs, teachers, doctors, religious leaders, labourers, minority groups, farmers, young people, and other locally important individuals and groups). In addition, a panel of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries is being interviewed each year to track the impact of the HSNP on their lives. Focus

group discussions were held in each sub-location visited. 78 groups were held in total. Focus group discussions are extremely effective for exploring specific issues in depth with relevant groups of people. The purpose of discussing issues with stratified groups is not to gather 'collective' views or experiences but to stimulate debate and to explore differences in attitudes and perceptions within and between these groups. Participants were selected either randomly from the beneficiary list or from non-beneficiary listing data, or using snowball sampling within the village.

Various different categories of participants were identified. A list is in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Focus groups conducted

Respondents	Mandera	Marsabit	Turkana	Wajir	Total
Causal Labourer	1	1	2	1	5
Farmer	1				1
Female Beneficiary (ies)	2	3	1	3	9
Female Elders	4	4	4	4	16
Female Non-Beneficiary (ies)	2	2	3	2	9
Livestock Keepers				1	1
Male Beneficiary (ies)	2	2	3	1	8
Male Elders	4	3	3	4	14
Male Non-Beneficiary (ies)	2	2		1	5
Trader	1	2	1		4
Young Men	1			2	3
Young Women	1	1		1	3
Total	21	20	17	20	78

Source: OPM

Semi-structured interviews were held in each sub-location. 92 interviews were conducted in total. The questions covered the same topics as the focus group discussions, but the questions may be different. Key informants were in a good position to discuss the HSNP because they were likely to have wider knowledge of the community. They were selected deliberately from categories of individuals likely to be knowledgeable (government officials, teachers, doctors, religious leaders, programme staff) or on the basis of an assessment by the research team. There were many different types of interviewees. A full list is in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3 Key informant interviews conducted

Respondent	Mandera	Marsabit	Turkana	Wajir	Total
Assistant Chief	1				1
Chief	3	4	3	4	14
Community Leader		4			4
Female Beneficiary (ies)			1		1
Health Worker	1		2	3	6
Male Non-Beneficiary (ies)			1		1
NGO Worker	1				1
Paypoint Operator	4	4	3	4	15
Relief Committee	3	4	4	4	15
Rights Committee	3	4	3	4	14
Teacher	4		1		5
Trader	3	4	3	4	14
Vetting Committee				1	1
Total	23	24	21	24	92

Source: OPM

Semi-structured interviews were held with members of a small 'panel' of case study households in programme areas. This panel of 115 households was established at baseline, stratified by beneficiary status (i.e. HSNP beneficiary vs. non-beneficiary and selected household characteristics (e.g. sex and age of household heads). Households are tracked on an annual basis for the duration of the evaluation. A short semi-structured interview is conducted each round. This enables analysis of similar issues but at a much more detailed household level and on a longitudinal basis, tracking changes over time. A list of interviewees is available in Table 1.4.

Table 1.4 Qualitative panel survey interviews conducted

Respondents	Mandera	Marsabit	Turkana	Wajir	Total
Female Beneficiary (ies)	18	20	6	14	58
Female Non-Beneficiary (ies)	4	4	3	3	14
Male Beneficiary (ies)	8	7	10	10	35
Male Non-Beneficiary (ies)	2	2	2	2	8
Grand Total	32	33	21	29	115

Source: OPM

Data were analysed using the qualitative analysis software, NVivo. Transcripts of the fieldwork were typed up and translated into English. These transcripts were coded in NVivo according to the set of codes detailed in Annex A. The annex table includes all the sub-areas of investigation, and how many sources mentioned each, with the number of total references. These codes correspond to the key impact and operations areas for the HSNP.

Qualitative data collected here is not representative of the HSNP population as a whole, but indicative. Qualitative data was collected on a wide range of impact areas. This limited the extent of the detail into which fieldwork could go. Qualitative results should be read in conjunction with the results of the quantitative survey.

2 Background context

This section presents some background to the HSNP areas. It discusses poverty rates, consumption expenditure, inflation, drought and the value of the transfer using the quantitative baseline results and other documents. This is intended to contextualise the qualitative impact findings that follow in subsequent sections.

The HSNP areas are extremely and chronically poor. The HSNP transfers represent a small fraction of average consumption expenditure. Moreover, in the year that HSNP payments were made in evaluation areas, there were two large shocks. First, the quantitative survey indicates high price inflation between the baseline and follow up surveys – continuing a trend of price inflation from at least 2008 that had already eroded the transfer value. Second, there was a significant drought, characterised by lower than average rainfall in the March-May 2011 rains. This should limit expectations about the impact of the HSNP in terms of poverty or hunger reduction, or building an asset base.

The trend identified in the baseline and in other reports on northern Kenya is of increasing poverty and inflation in recent years. The HSNP districts have the highest rural absolute poverty rates in the country, according to the Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS) analysis in KNBS 2007. Also in this report, poverty in the Northeastern province, which contains Mandera, Wajir and Garissa, is shown to have worsened steadily from 1994 to 2005/6, as shown in Table 2.1.³

Table 2.1 Change in poverty rate, Northeastern province

Year	1994	1997	2005/06
Rural absolute poverty headcount (%)	58	65.5	73.9

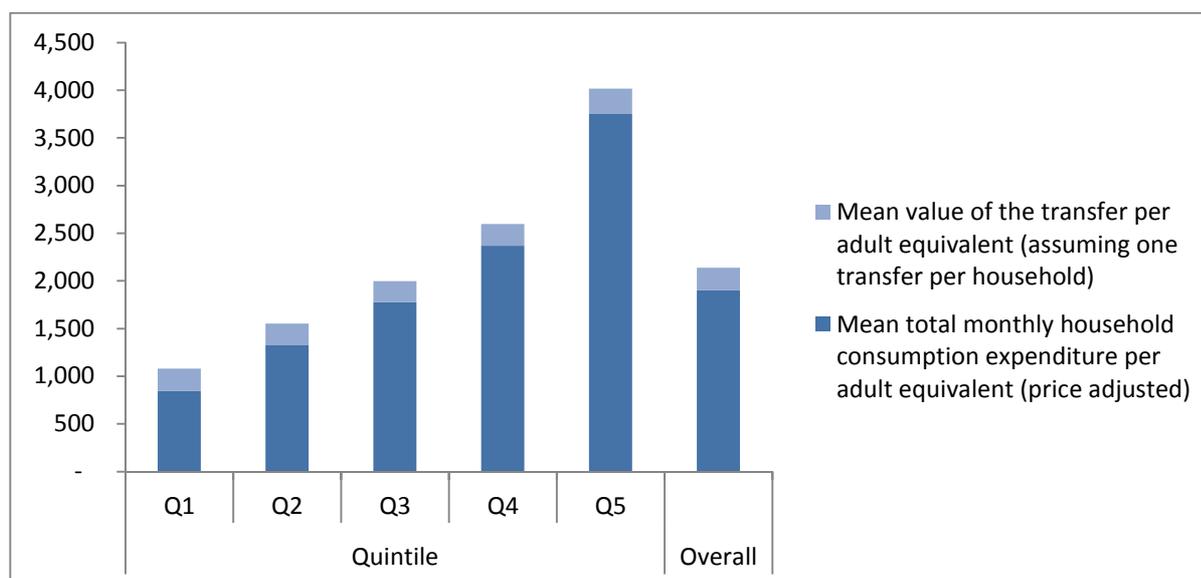
Source: KNBS 2007: 53

The HSNP baseline suggested that per adult equivalent consumption expenditure in the four districts was very low, as shown in Figure 2.1 and Table 2.2. These data exclude spending on investments, such as livestock. The HSNP makes payments of KES 2,150 per household (or per social pension beneficiary) every two months, and Figure 2.1 and Table 2.2 indicate how much the HSNP adds per adult equivalent per month⁴.

High levels of poverty and low consumption expenditure are unsurprisingly also reflected in high rates of chronic but particularly acute malnutrition. The 2008-09 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) suggests that malnutrition rates in 'north-eastern' (which includes Marsabit, Mandera and Wajir) are higher than elsewhere in Kenya and that around 20% of children were malnourished, measured by weight-for height, compared to 7% nationally (KNBS and ICF Macro 2010). More specific nutrition surveys in the HSNP areas often put weight-for-height malnutrition rates (Global Acute Malnutrition) at over 20%, depending on the time of year. For reference, the Integrated Phase Classification for emergencies declares a famine when GAM is over 30% (plus other conditions).

³ Marsabit and Turkana fall within much larger provinces so are not separately identified in this report, but the pattern is likely to be similar.

⁴ Monthly household per adult equivalent consumption expenditure is a standard proxy for household welfare. Variation in this measure is easier to measure than income, less prone to measurement error and less subject to short-term economic effects. Consumption expenditure also provides an indirect measure of permanent income.

Figure 2.1 Consumption expenditure and HSNP transfer values, by quintile


Source: HSNP M&E Baseline Evaluation Survey, Sep 2009-Oct 2010. This chart refers to beneficiary households only, but results for the population as a whole are very similar.

Table 2.2 Mean monthly consumption expenditure and HSNP transfer values

	Quintile					Overall
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	
Mean total monthly household consumption expenditure per adult equivalent (price adjusted)	846	1,324	1,777	2,369	3,752	1,903
Mean total monthly household food expenditure per adult equivalent (price adjusted)	500	741	953	1,240	1,900	1,014
Mean number of adult equivalents per household	4.6	4.7	4.8	4.7	4.1	4.6
Mean value of the transfer per adult equivalent (assuming one transfer per household)	235	227	222	229	263	233
Transfer as a proportion of total household consumption (%)	28	17	12	10	7	12
Transfer as a proportion of food consumption (%)	47	31	23	18	14	23
Percent of HSNP beneficiaries falling in this quintile	23	21	22	17	17	100

Source: HSNP M&E Baseline Evaluation Survey, Sep 2009-Oct 2010. This table refers to beneficiary households only, but results for the population as a whole are very similar.

For beneficiary households in the poorest quintile with an average household size of 4.6 adult equivalents, the HSNP adds another 28% to total consumption expenditure, and would amount to 47% of food expenditure, assuming that households do not change their expenditure when they receive the transfer. This proportion is much lower for the few HSNP beneficiaries in the richest

quintile. As the table indicates, however, HSNP beneficiary households were spread quite evenly over the quintiles, such that 17% of beneficiaries were in the richest quintile. This suggests that there is likely to be quite a heterogeneous impact across the beneficiaries. The transfer is a much smaller proportion of existing expenditure for richer households, and they already have higher expenditure.

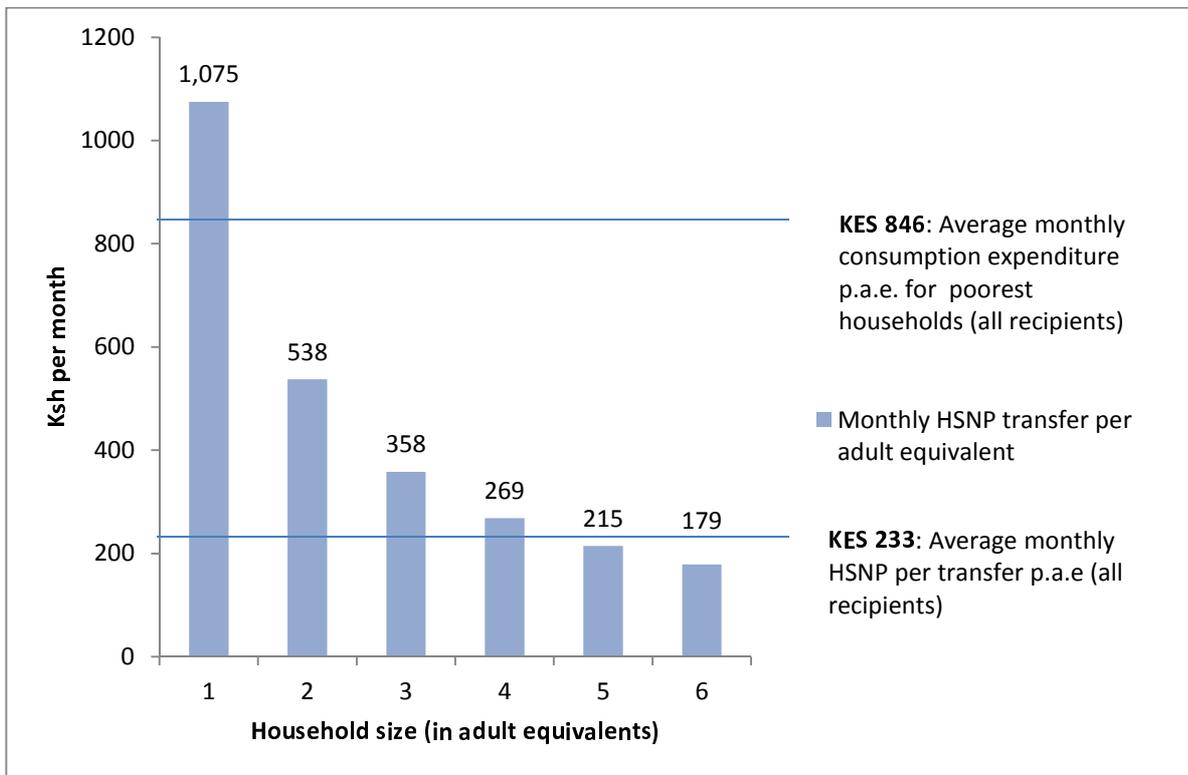
For the beneficiaries as a whole, the HSNP cash adds on average only 12% of total consumption expenditure. The mean per adult equivalent value of the HSNP per month is KES 233. At the time of the follow up survey, this was enough on average in treatment locations to buy almost 5kg of maize, and just over 1kg of goat meat.⁵ The HSNP should therefore take mean monthly per adult equivalent consumption expenditure for beneficiary households from KES 1,903 to KES 2,137.

HSNP payments represent a lower than intended fraction of consumption expenditure. The initial transfer value was calculated at 75% of a food aid ration, which is more than 12% of average expenditure. The decrease occurred because there was significant inflation in the period between setting the transfer and making the first payments. While there are no district specific price data in the period preceding the baseline survey, the KNBS reported a 30% increase in the national consumer price index from 2007 to 2010 (cited in IFPRI, Concern and Welthungerhilfe 2011), and anecdotal evidence suggests that this figure may have been higher in northern Kenya. As we indicate below, this inflation continued while HSNP payments were made, further eroding their value.

The HSNP transfer is invariant to household size. Smaller households therefore have a much more significant per person benefit than larger ones. For instance, a one person household (consider a pensioner living alone) would receive KES 1,075 per month and all of this would be available for that person. This is greater than the monthly per adult equivalent consumption expenditure of beneficiary households in the poorest quintile (KES 846). A six person household, however, would receive only KES 179 per person per month. At the time of the follow up survey, this was enough on average in treatment locations to buy almost 4kg of maize, and not quite 1kg of goat meat. This is presented in Figure 2.2.

⁵ Prices of goods vary substantially across time and space within the HSNP districts, so these prices should be taken only as illustrative.

Figure 2.2 Value of the HSNP transfers per person per month for different sized households (single transfer per household)



Source: Authors' calculations and OPM baseline.

By way of comparison, the rural absolute poverty line used in the 2005/06 KIHBS was KES 1,562 per adult equivalent per month, using 2005/06 prices. Note that this figure cannot be directly compared with the figures below, because a) it is constructed slightly differently and b) it is several years out of date in the context of high inflation.

A second useful comparison comes from an updated poverty line. The HSNP evaluation baseline generated an updated absolute poverty line of KES 3,128, using 2009/10 prices. This was generated by assuming (implausibly) that poverty has not changed since 2005/06 when 85% of the district population were poor according to the KIHBS. The consumption expenditure of the household at the 85th percentile in our current sample is KES 3,128.

A third comparison comes from an updated poverty cutoff for the poorest national quintile. Again based on the KIHBS data, the cutoff expenditure for households in HSNP districts to fall in the poorest 20% nationally is KES 1,794, using 2009/10 prices.

Comparisons with these poverty lines should be made with great caution. However, we can conclude with some certainty that for poorest HSNP beneficiary households (in quintiles 1 and 2) are still likely to be defined as poor in comparison to the bottom national quintile. Compared with the updated poverty line, all but those in the wealthiest quintile will remain poor. This should serve to limit expectations of the poverty impact of the HSNP.

Against this context, there were two significant shocks that affected most evaluation households during the first year of HSNP payments. These were a drought and significant price inflation. Both shocks would have deepened poverty.

First, most parts of northern Kenya recorded rainfall below the average for the March-May 2011 long rains,⁶ but the drought effects seemed most severe in the further Eastern provinces – Mandera and Wajir. FEWSnet reported in June 2011 that

“The 2011 long rains were erratic and below normal, particularly in southern Moyale, eastern Marsabit, Western Wajir, eastern Isiolo, northern Tana River, and north Garissa, where rains were less than 20 percent of normal. Most parts of Turkana and localized areas of southern Garissa received up to 120 percent of normal long rains. Most of the rains occurred after April through mid-May. Subsequently, water trucking needs have declined by up to 50 percent in Mandera, northern Moyale, Marsabit, and Wajir while pressure on boreholes has declined in several areas. However, water shortages are likely to resume in July because of overall rainfall deficits in most pastoral districts.”⁷

The drought, which had severe negative consequences on the HSNP districts due to poorer water availability, increasing population due to IDP and refugee movement, and higher prices, is likely to have contributed to poverty rates.

Second, there was significant price inflation in 2010-2011, continuing the earlier trend of increasing prices, but probably more severely. According to the HSNP quantitative survey, the weighted price of 29 food items, miraa and kerosene, accounting for 78% of consumption, increased by 41% between the baseline and follow up surveys. An even greater scale of price increase was also found in a report in Turkana by the HSNP secretariat in November 2011, which reported commodity prices of maize, sugar, milk, goat meat and beans doubling or more and rice increasingly by up to 30%, from November 2010.

Price increases will have had a negative impact on consumption and poverty, since it seems likely that incomes have not increased in line with prices. They will also erode the value transferred by the HSNP.

⁶ See various rains assessments, including the Government of Kenya’s Meteorological Department press release in September 2011 which reported that “most of the country, especially the northern, north-eastern Kenya...recorded highly depressed rainfall during March-April-May ‘long rains’ season.” <http://www.meteo.go.ke/ranet/Wx/seasonal.pdf>, accessed January 2012.

⁷ http://www.fews.net/docs/Publications/Kenya_Special_Report_2011_06_final.pdf, accessed January 2012.

3 Results (1): HSNP impact - key impact areas

3.1 Consumption expenditure and poverty

3.1.1 Overview

This section presents findings from qualitative fieldwork on the impact of the HSNP on beneficiary households' consumption expenditure and consumption patterns, and on poverty. Beneficiaries spent the transfers on a wide range of items, but primarily on food, clothes, debt repayments, school materials, healthcare where relevant, and sometimes small animals. The variety of spending types means that the impact on any single expenditure type is limited, though households reported less hunger as a result of receiving the transfer. The impact is also limited by the low value of the transfer relative to overall consumption expenditure (12% on average).

3.1.2 Background hypotheses

The HSNP was expected to raise household spending for beneficiaries as compared to control households, with poorer beneficiaries spending more of the cash on food than comparatively less poor beneficiaries. However, given the small value of the transfer, this impact was expected to be small.

The quantitative survey confirms this expectation, finding that the HSNP had a cushioning impact in the context of drought and inflation rather than a positive impact on consumption. In this survey, the consumption expenditure of 'treatment' households receiving cash did not improve. However, the consumption expenditure of similar 'control' households not receiving cash declined. Controlling for households receiving multiple transfers and variations in per capita transfers and a range of other household and community factors, this difference becomes statistically significant.

Moreover, heterogeneity of HSNP beneficiary households, quite different spending patterns and poverty impacts could be anticipated. For instance:

- for those households with animals or seeking a pastoralist lifestyle, it is likely that the transfer may be spent on livestock or on maintaining livestock numbers (i.e. substituting the HSNP for animal sales to protect consumption). This will not show up in the quantitative consumption aggregates (which do not include livestock spending because it is considered as investment expenditure).
- For settled, poorer households, HSNP-related spending is likely to be on food and other basic essentials. However, the quantitative survey results show a significant impact on consumption expenditure for mobile households.
- For settled, wealthier households, HSNP-related spending may also be on larger investment items.
- For each of these households, the receipt of the HSNP cash may provoke some changes in livelihoods which may dampen the overall impact on consumption.
- Finally, receipt of the HSNP may also improve households' access to credit, which may allow households to buy goods more cheaply and efficiently, but again may not lead to a substantial impact on overall consumption expenditure, as measured quantitatively.

The qualitative fieldwork provides insights on each of these potential patterns, adding nuance to the overall quantitative averages.

Impact of HSNP on consumption This section presents qualitative findings on the impact of the HSNP on consumption. More detail, including district specific variations, is available in annex B.1.

HSNP beneficiaries tend to spend the transfer on a wide range of basic items, including mostly food, but also clothes, school materials, health where needed, and in some cases, small animals. It is instructive that although food is a first priority, recipient households do not spend all the money on food, even though rates of malnutrition are extremely high in these districts. This underlines the diversity of household needs. For example:

“When I get the payment I buy myself clothes and food, and also I pay my debt and buy some other items.” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera].

“[as a result of the HNSP] I’m food secure, I can afford to buy my family food, take them to school and also take the sick to hospital.” [QPS with female beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit].

“Households that are beneficiaries can now afford family basic needs like food, clothes, shelter and they are able to send children to school. Old people in the community who are beneficiaries can access better medical drugs and services within or outside the community health centre.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Kalemungorok, Turkana].

“This money mostly ends in our stomach, but we pay school money, buy clothes and do other things.” [FGD with beneficiaries, Kokiselei, Turkana]

In addition, many households were able to spend on items that they would not normally consume, even though they were widely available. These items include milk and meat. This increase in dietary diversity is positive. For example:

“What has changed is that before we always all ate one type of food but now we eat a variety of food. If I cook rice today, tomorrow will be spaghetti. We may sometimes buy meat and vegetables.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir].

“We buy with this what we don’t have like meat and milk.” [FGD with female elders, Eldanaba, Mandera].

“After getting this money people can buy foodstuffs like rice, beans and cooking fat, others would even buy potatoes, onions, royco [an instant soup] and other foods.” [KII with community leader, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit].

When the money is received every kitchen is cooking something that day and can hear people conversing happily unlike the other days when they are sad because they are hungry. [QPS with beneficiary, Lorengelup, Turkana].

This variety of expenditure is normal in cash transfers, but may mean that the impact on any single category of spending is limited, particularly given the size of the transfer and the inflation during the drought. Respondents noted that the transfer was a small addition for larger or wealthier families, but was significant for smaller and older households. For example:

“The money is small and cannot help you for a long period of time. At least it can help someone if one has been in dangerous state of hunger...if you had debt, you can use it to pay the debt.” [FGD with female elders, North Horr, Marsabit].

“The programme is nice since it assists needy and elderly people who don't have energy to work for themselves.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Marsabit Township, Marsabit].

“The negative part of HSNP cash money transfer is that the KES 2,150 is very little for the households. There are households that are big in size. Some are very poor with no other options of accessing help, like widows and old aged households. The delay of cash money transfer doubles the problems in the households. The high prices of goods in the market created tough conditions for the households because households targeted by HSNP cannot budget fully to their household.” [KII with relief committee member, Kokiselei, Turkana].

Nevertheless, respondents noted that the HSNP had a positive impact on hunger. For example:

“Hunger is the worst thing in this world so this money has really saved us from hunger because while your children are feeling hunger you are given 2150 shillings.” [FGD with beneficiaries, Wajir Township, Wajir].

In some cases, respondents felt that this also meant an improvement in child nutrition. This will be assessed in more detail in the year two quantitative survey. Nevertheless, there are some relevant quotes now:

“I am mainly confined to this health facility but in my observation, I have seen that the nutritional level among young children has risen. When the mothers receive payment they buy a lot of nutritious foods. For their children, nutrition has risen. When the mothers receive payment they buy a lot of nutritious foods for their children like vegetables. So it has helped us in that area.” [KII with health worker, Godoma, Wajir].

The variety of spending appears to be correlated to the household type and livelihood. Settled households seemed to spend on a wider variety of items, including food, basic household goods, rent, school, or larger items. Households with poorer access to markets (either because they lived remotely or were mobile) tended to spend on a narrower range of goods, more focused on food or basic household goods. However, the HSNP also appears to have a positive impact on remote markets (see section.4.3.3 for more information).

There are three very significant impacts apparent from qualitative data. First, it is clear that the HSNP was critical in assisting households to cope with the drought, which was severe in Mandera and Wajir, and parts of Marsabit. Many households reported that they were able to sustain their consumption because of the HSNP despite the drought. Without the drought, it is reasonable to expect that the positive impact may be larger – and this could be the case going forward. This mirrors the finding of the quantitative survey. Several qualitative responses illustrate this. For instance:

“The drought [this year] was more difficult than the season before. Before there was a drought but the price of goods was cheap compared to this time...so life is becoming more difficult. We are just saved by the HSNP payment and the food aid we get so we are requesting for more.” [QPS with beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera].

Second, households were everywhere able to use the HSNP transfers to obtain goods on credit. This is consistent with the quantitative results. This did not necessarily imply that they were consuming more (though they probably were), but that they were able to make purchases when they wanted to because shopkeepers knew they would be able to pay later. This important consumption smoothing effect appears as a very significant impact in many communities. For example:

“Actually this programme has financed our customers and that has been reflected in our business. So, although it has coincided with devastating and hard times, it has helped us a lot. I think the situation would have been worse. It has improved the livelihoods of the people. Instead of people begging you to give them something, they would tell you that my money is coming and I want to buy something from you on credit. They get it, because we know that they would pay later on when they receive their payment.” [KII with trader, Godoma, Wajir].

“Life has changed because before we were not allowed credit, but now we are allowed for credit. Currently we can buy milk and whatever you need.” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

“If you aren’t getting regular cash as a beneficiary, you cannot get credit and you will suffer...People know that you receive the money and hence can give you credit.” [FGD with young women, Badasa, Marsabit].

Third, many households reported that they were now able to sustain their consumption without selling livestock. Without this support, households would sell their livestock in order to pay for essential goods, such as food or medical bills, and buy back these animals later. This has a cost to households because they sell when prices are low and buy when they are high. The HSNP allowed households to avoid this. The quantitative survey is less conclusive on this issue. However, this is illustrated by several responses from qualitative fieldwork. For example:

“Instead of selling his goats, he/she uses the money for the daily living and that is a benefit. They have been at least stabilized by the HSNP to an extent that they have spared their animals.” [FGD with young men, Wajir Township, Wajir].

“I had some goats and whenever I was faced by a problem that requires a financial solution, I had to sell a goat. However, I have not sold a single goat since this program started.” [FGD with beneficiaries, Godoma, Wajir].

“The payment has really changed people’s livelihood because they are able to have a saving, before the HSNP started people used to sell their livestock to cater for their family but now they no longer sell the livestock.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Chir Chir, Mandera]

“The only thing is that we have reduced the number of animals we sell. Because at least we have got something that has saved us from a lot of problems.” [QPS with beneficiary, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit].

“Before the program people used to sell goats in order to afford medical services but now the beneficiaries who are mostly old and helpless have been assisted. The old people are mostly the ones who fall sick frequently so the program is really helpful.” [QPS with non-beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana].

Many households receiving the transfers reported that they felt less of a burden on others, and even that they could support other households. This was much appreciated and is discussed further in section 5.1. However, what is relevant here is that this is likely to limit the impact on recipient household consumption.

The focus of spending on basic household items means that the transfer to date is unlikely to have had a transformative effect on poorer beneficiaries. Wealthier beneficiaries were more likely to invest, and since targeting was only mildly pro-poor, many beneficiary households were able to do this. This is also true of households, mainly in Turkana, that are less affected by drought. For instance:

“I am in the middle class...because I have livestock [40 goats and 20 camels] and I can cater for my family...I brought this water tank which cost 2000 shillings when I got my last payment and for sure I don't have any problem because I am able to get enough water.” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera].

“I can say that HSNP has helped me a lot and I say so because I am a widow and most of my children are dead so I am lonely. Also it has improved my life because I was able to buy a goat of my own and each time I get the cash I buy building materials to build my house, so it is helping me a lot.” [QPS with beneficiary, Napetet, Turkana].

However, other poorer households may be able to invest more in future as the regular payments allow households to take loans and larger items on credit.

A more difficult question is the extent to which the transfer was additional or a substitute for other attempts to obtain income. For more information, see the section on livelihoods.

There are some variations in the impact on consumption expenditure by district. These results are presented in more detail in Annex B.1. Broadly, given the drought in Mandera and Wajir, the transfer had more of a cushioning impact in these districts, while in Marsabit and Turkana there was a slightly more transformative impact. However, there is a good deal of nuance to this position explored in detail in the Annex.

Finally, many respondents noted that the two monthly cycle of payments made it more difficult to spend on protecting basic consumption, and that single monthly cycle would be more appropriate. For instance:

“it would be better if to give these people that money after every one month instead of two months because by doing so there will be a lot of changes, like starting small businesses and taking children to school.” [KII with Chief, North Horr, Marsabit]

“The waiting period of two months from the date of the last cash money is too long. Households are not able to plan or budget for such an amount for two months.” [FGD with male elders, Kalemungorok, Turkana]

This should not be interpreted as conclusive, since this was not a key research question and given that the two month period was partly designed so that pastoralists could remain mobile. Nevertheless, this issue should continue to be monitored.

3.1.3 Poverty impact

The qualitative fieldwork also tried to assess whether beneficiaries have moved wealth classes, based on classes defined by respondents. This assessment is naturally subjective and should be interpreted to complement the quantitative assessment of movements of the distribution of consumption expenditure. The quantitative survey found that treatment households did not move out of poverty, though control households were likely to move into poverty. It also found a larger impact on the consumption expenditure of poor households.

The analysis is complicated for two reasons. Since the distribution of HSNP beneficiaries was fairly even across all poverty classes, the HSNP is unlikely to generate any substantial changes to class categories or the overall income distribution. Moreover, in the context of drought, particularly in Marsabit, Mandera and Wajir, vulnerable households have become worse off, so changes to the income distribution are likely in any case.

However, respondents noted that some beneficiaries have been able to move up one wealth class, from very poor to poor, or poor to middle class. For instance, in Mandera, non-beneficiaries noted that:

“I have seen some changes on those who are taking the money (beneficiaries). The very poor people have risen from being very poor to middle class (grown with big stomach), and they look like rich people.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Eldanaba, Mandera].

Discussants in this focus group, however, did not agree why this was, with some arguing that beneficiaries have stopped doing difficult jobs without making any overall expenditure or asset gains, others noting that beneficiaries have been able to open new businesses helping them, and others merely pointing out the new source of income:

Respondent (R): It has become better because what he/she had before she/ he got additional so they have become more desirable. They have moved from where they were before to another level, the poor went to middle class.

R: I disagree...there are some who have left the hardship jobs they used to do because they are getting money and food aid.

R: They are some who used to be herders and when they become beneficiaries they stopped herding their livestock and now just in town and the little money they are getting aren't enough and become less desirable because of the HSNP project.

R: Some had kiosks and when they got this money they have increased their stock in the kiosks.

R: When some of the beneficiaries get the money they become dormant and before they were casual labourers so they stop doing the work they used to do because of the HSNP money and relief food.

This exchange highlights the complexity of what is viewed as poverty and wealth. Partly, wealth is connected to adequate consumption (as measured in the quantitative survey), but it is also related to livestock ownership, lifestyle (whether people are herders or not), and livelihood (with casual labour being seen as highly undesirable). This is probably related to low wages for ex-pastoralists in labour markets (see Little 2006), but also to the status attached to labour. In several other

wealth rankings conducted for this study, casual labourers were always amongst the poorest or very poorest.

Some felt that wealth was measured entirely in livestock. For instance, female elders from Turkana produced these wealth categorisations, based largely on livestock ownership:

Table 3.1 Wealth rankings in Turkana

	Very poor	Poor	Rich	Very rich
Camel	0	2	20	30
Goats	5	10	100	300
Donkey	0	1	20	40
Wife	1	1		

Source: FGD with female elders, Kokiselei, Turkana.

Categories level	Households	wife	Sheep/goats	camels	cow	Donkeys
1 Very poor	10	1	0	0	0	0
2 Poor	5	2	10	5	0	1
3 Rich	3	3	50	40	50	6
4 Very rich	2	5	200	100	40	40

Source: FGD with female elders, Kalemungorok, Turkana

However, most had a more complex view of poverty. A group of male elders in North Horr were explicit that:

“Wealth/money [makes one shift from one status to another]. In order to move someone from one status to another, he needs to be given money.” [FGD with male elders, North Horr, Marsabit].

In towns, wealth categorisations are based on the type of employment rather than livestock. The very poor have nothing, while the next category are charcoal burners, then civil servants, and then those who have everything. The HSNP seems unlikely to have significant impact on this.

Female elders were more likely to attribute change to the HSNP because their wealth classes tended to incorporate more assets and income sources not entirely related to livestock. Some felt that where HSNP beneficiaries are able to start small businesses, this enabled them to move up wealth classes. However, this was unlikely to be sustained in the absence of the programme:

“First the money is very little so two or more beneficiaries join together and starts a business and by doing so they get profits. They also receive money and hence move from one level to another one. The HSNP cash transfer is the main factor that made so many people move from one level to the next but if this programme stops most people will go back to where they were before.” [FGD with female elders, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit].

“We can classify according to what we have economically. People can be classified according to what they have.” [FGD with female elders, North Horr, Marsabit].

Even for these women, however, poverty remained extremely closely related to livestock ownership, and deteriorations in the situation were due to drought and livestock loss:

“Most people who live here are pastoralist and earn a living by rearing livestock. So during the droughts most livestock die so I think most people in this community are poor.”

“Comparing today’s situation and last year’s you find that it is different because last year we had more livestock than now.” [FGD with female elders, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit].

The importance of other factors for poverty noted by male elders, who discussed other factors that caused poverty, including drought and disease, particularly for the most vulnerable in the community:

“The gap has been narrowing since the HSNP began. Poor HSNP beneficiaries are now meeting their needs just like rich people in the community. There are, however, some natural factors like drought, hunger, animal diseases or human diseases which hinder the rapid and quick positive changes for the poor beneficiaries.” [FGD with male elders, Kalemungorok, Turkana]

Drought was particularly felt in the most affected areas, Wajir, Mandera and Marsabit, and this limited HSNP impact. A focus group in Wajir set this out clearly:

“The most vulnerable households are now able to depend on themselves without depending on hand outs from the community, they can stand on their own. However, the change is not big in the categories because of the devastating drought. The categories are now mixed up due to the death of animals. Some households who were improving have now gone to a very poor category.”

The categories are still the same and the difference which could have occurred is currently interfered with by the drought. [FGD with female elders, Lafaley, Wajir]

Others felt, in any case, that the situation of beneficiaries had not been substantially increased by the HSNP because the amounts transferred were small. This is broadly consistent with the comparatively low amounts of transfer per person and the high levels of inequality in these areas. For instance, female elders in Lorengelup, Turkana argued that “the population in the households is greater than any inflow of the cash transfer.” In Wajir, male elders argued that “You don’t expect any immediate change because the amount HSNP is paying is small and cannot make an abrupt big change,” [FGD with male elders, Sala, Wajir]. These assessments seem reasonable and it may be that the poverty impact is larger in the future.

However, the principal reason for limited impact seems to be that if wealth classes are measured (particularly by men) in livestock ownership, the HSNP cash is rarely sufficient to buy livestock:

“[there is little change in status] because even if we get this assistance or not life is hard due to lack of rain. Long ago we didn’t even depend on government we had livestock and we farmed. Those were better days. Now all has finished and due to drought we resorted to the mercy from the government. This money [is not enough to support greater livestock ownership]. That is why we are not improving upwards.” [FGD male elders, Badasa, Marsabit]

“The best way is to reduce the payment duration to one month instead of two months. Also the amount should be increased to at least KES 5,000 so that the livestock are saved from being sold. In this way at the end of at least two years the livestock numbers will increase and one would be able to accumulate and

save good money to enable him start a business.” [FGD with male elders, Sala, Wajir]

Some felt that because the HSNP cash was used to pay off debt and obtain goods on credit, on its own it was insufficient to help many people to move classes:

Without getting fund from another source, this money itself cannot bring about riches; people depend on debts from traders. So once you receive this money you tend to use it to pay debt. If you pay previous debt you start another one so as to pay later, even these shopkeepers only give this debt knowing that one will pay once this money comes. [FGD with female elders, North Horr, Marsabit].

Several respondents argued that the HSNP is improving the lives of beneficiaries but also of the wider community, because beneficiaries shared the cash, employed others or spent the cash at their shops. For example:

“The poor or very poor beneficiaries are the group that gained the most... The rich are not really beneficiaries of HSNP but they gain indirectly since most of them are business people (traders) or pay agents - beneficiaries purchase from their shops when they get cash money from paypoint agent.” [FGD with female elders, Kalemungorok, Turkana]

This perception was common: that although the HSNP made limited impact on the main identifying characteristics of wealth (measured in livestock assets), it was making some poor households take on the attributes of wealthy households, such as paying for school and healthcare, and dressing children:

“[Beneficiaries] can afford food, clothes or to settle medical bills just like rich households .The poor targeted households have now changed into middle rich households in the community due to the HSNP cash money transfer...HSNP has caused households to move from poor category to middle rich category when they buy goats.” [FGD with female elders, Lorengelup, Turkana].

Overall, very few respondents felt that HSNP beneficiaries were no longer poor: most continued to struggle. This is unsurprising given the extent of underlying poverty in these areas, the impact of the drought and inflation. Moreover, the HSNP could only be expected to have a significant impact on small households with low dependency ratios, since the transfer value was fixed per household and not per person. Since poorer households were likely to have larger sizes (OPM 2011: 21), the poverty impact is likely to be further limited.⁸ This reflects the responses from the qualitative follow up analysis set out above where respondents regularly noted that larger households were unable to transform their lives with the little money from the transfer.

3.2 Asset accumulation and retention

As well as meeting consumption gaps, it is anticipated that over time a regular cash payment should enable households to hold on to and to accumulate assets (including livestock and other productive assets). In other words, it is desirable that cash transfers can provide much more than just a safety net, on the one hand protecting from the loss of assets at times of hardship, but on the other hand also facilitating the investment in productive assets, and hence enabling households to move sustainably out of poverty.

⁸ The HSNP baseline found that the mean household size in the poorest quintile was 5.8, and 4.8 in the richest quintile (OPM 2011: 22).

At baseline, the most commonly held productive assets were livestock, with some farming implements in the limited areas where farming is possible. In the follow up qualitative fieldwork, respondents were asked directly about the contribution (if any) that HSNP had made towards accumulation of assets.

The most common form of physical asset held was reported to be livestock. Typically respondents mentioned that HSNP money was used to avoid selling animals to cover immediate needs, as discussed above. Some wealthier households were able to use the money towards buying new animals.⁹

“From the cash money transfer, we beneficiaries have replaced our livestock which we lost during the drought because of diseases and theft by cattle rustlers from our neighbouring communities.” [FGD with male beneficiaries, Kalemrongok, Turkana].

Others mentioned that the transfer money facilitated livestock retention as fewer distress sales were made.

“Previously those of us who own 20 goats, we used to sell 5 of our goats during drought seasons but now we don’t do that. We just take loan and pay it back later.” [FGD with male elders, Mado, Mandera]

“It has become easier, before we used to sell livestock to cater for our family but when the payments started we were able to save our livestock.” [FGD with female beneficiaries, Eldanaba, Mandera].

The quantitative survey also finds a positive impact of the HSNP on sheep and goat holdings in the face of the drought, with a significant positive impact of the HSNP on the proportion of households owning any sheep or goats.

The HSNP had less clear impact on other productive assets. The quantitative survey did not find significant results on ownership of non-productive assets. From qualitative fieldwork, some beneficiaries in the few farming areas reported using the HSNP cash towards farming assets. For example, in Mado where a few respondents were involved in farming, they mentioned that the transfer money had enabled them to purchase farming implements such as fuel for irrigation systems etc.:

“Previously there were some people who could not afford the petrol for the machine and now they can afford.” [FGD with female elders, Mado, Mandera]

“Sometimes you are using five litres of diesel for fuel to generate water but in case you get the cash you will increase the volume and thus this is considered as an added advantage.” [FGD with Farmers Mado, Mandera]

⁹ The transfer does not cover the cost of livestock. According to price monitoring data from markets, a live goat cost on average between around KES 4,000 and KES 5,500 from September 2011 to January 2012.

4 Results (2): HSNP impact – secondary impact areas

4.1 Health

According to the theory of change developed for this evaluation, it is hypothesised that some of the cash transfer income may be allocated to accessing health care for ill household members and other relatives, which is important not only for wellbeing but as an investment in the household's human capital. However, any potential effect on access to treatment, health expenditure and ultimately health status is highly dependent on the state of the supply of health services in the areas of operation of the HSNP.

Qualitative fieldwork assessed barriers to access to health care, including attitudes, costs and other constraints, and then analysed the impact of the HSNP on overcoming these barriers.

4.1.1 Attitudes to Health Care

As in the HSNP Baseline report, the majority of respondents seemed to prefer formal healthcare practices to traditional methods, although the use of traditional methods still exists in some communities. Overall preferences regarding traditional versus formal health care seemed not to vary by types of livelihoods or location. Traditional methods included the use of herbal medicine, consultations with traditional healers and religious healing¹⁰. Formal healthcare included visits to hospitals, health care centres, dispensaries, private pharmacies and private clinics.

“If I compare traditional herbs to the hospital, the hospital is preferable because there is surety of treatment. If you go to the hospital they will examine you and give you proper treatment.” [QPS with female beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit]

“Hey what can a traditional healer do? Can he remove the diseases in my blood? Only medicine can do that. The witch doctor only asks for a goat, a cow, a camel... making you poorer and poorer because he demands a lot from an individual and you spend a lot but medicine does wonders in my veins.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana]

Often traditional methods were used in conjunction with or before using formal healthcare.

“We go to hospital although we do not have money. We read Quran to the sick person for almost a week and if he does not become okay we take him to Ashabito dispensary.” [QPS with non-beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

Traditional practices were identified by some health workers as an important factor that adversely affected the demand for formal health care.

“People rely so much on the witch doctors and follow every little advice the witch doctors give them. This can cause the patient to even stop the medicine midway.” [KII with health worker, Kokiselei, Turkana]

At the same time, the cost of formal healthcare also acted as a deterrent for some respondents in seeking professional medical assistance, thus substituting it with traditional methods or self-treatment. For example a female beneficiary said:

¹⁰ This involves reciting holy verses and praying for the health of the sick individual.

“Before I used to go to witch doctors because they don’t need a lot of money” [QPS with female beneficiary, Napetet, Turkana].

“The one thing that can make you not go to hospital is experience ...so you decide to buy the medicine over the counter and you treat yourself with it and when you don’t feel better you buy another dose again... because if you decide to go to the hospital you will be asked for a lot of money which you can’t afford at that moment.” [QPS with male non-beneficiary, Lorengelup, Turkana]

There was evidence that attitudes to healthcare had changed over time although it was unclear whether HSNP had had any direct effect on this.

“We used to slaughter a goat and treat the person using the intestines of the goat, using also the soup and the hide. Sometimes they got better, at other times they didn’t. So we had to choose another treatment like going to the native doctor and using herbal treatment. Now if you have the money you take you patient to the hospital to seek treatment from there and you are given medicine.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Napetet, Turkana]

HSNP did allow some households to substitute or supplement traditional methods of healthcare with formal health care where the cost of accessing the latter was the key constraint. Nevertheless, the evidence was mixed

“I have never taken any of my kids to hospital. We always read the Quran on them.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Godoma, Wajir]

“We treat illnesses differently because before people were using herbal medicines because they did not have money to go for treatment but since the HSNP payment began people are going to hospitals for treatment. This is the best method because [at hospitals] you know what you are suffering from and you are treated well... before we were just taking herbal medicines without knowing what one was suffering from.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

4.1.2 Costs and Constraints in Accessing Health care

According to the baseline report, these were in order of prevalence, a preference for self-treatment, distance to the health facility, and cost. It is likely that some of these reasons are interconnected. The main constraints to accessing formal healthcare were unchanged since the initiation of the programme..

“First of all money (is a constraint), we all know that nothing will happen without money in this country. Distance also prevents some people to seek medical attention and also taboos and cultures. Some people believe so much on traditional treatment from these native doctors, for example when they find that their child has been struck by Polio, they will just say it is witchcraft and the kid will be taken to the native doctor instead of the hospital.” [KII with health worker, Napetet, Turkana]

Government health facilities in Kenya charge patients a small cost-sharing fee in exchange for all kinds of treatment. However some households were reported to be unable to pay even this small amount, therefore preventing them from seeking health care.

“The cost-sharing fee for adults when they require an injection is 50 KES. Without injection it is 30 KES. Children under the age of 5 are not charged anything. But some people may not come for treatment just because they cannot afford the 50 shillings... even though they will still be given treatment if they don't have the 50 shillings.” [KII with health worker, Godoma, Wajir.]

Given the relatively high cost of accessing health care for poor households, access to credit was an important determinant of their ability to access health care. Pharmacies were therefore sometimes preferred over hospitals because they allowed people to purchase medicines on credit

“Even if a person is critical no one will take him to the hospital. People will prefer the pharmacy over hospital because you can agree with the pharmacy on credit.” [FGD female elders, Wajir Township, Wajir]

Long distances and consequently high transport costs discouraged people to seek treatment. Some respondents noted that it was hard for pregnant women and elderly people to walk for long distances in order to seek proper treatment. The proximity of health facilities also affected the quality of treatment received. For example a respondent in Eldanaba mentioned that he visited the Danaba dispensary for treatment even though the hospitals in Mandera and Moyale offered better treatment. This was “because of the expenses. For me, I only pay 50 KES to be treated and it is nearby so I don't need money for transport.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

The opportunity cost of leaving one's livestock unattended was also found to be an important constraint in accessing health care.

“The main reason people might not go for treatment is because of money... because sometimes you find yourself very sick and you don't have money... even when you try to borrow money you don't get it. Also for a person like me who is a mother and still the provider of the house it's hard to go anywhere because there is no one who will look after the livestock...” [QPS with female non-beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

Other factors such as poor quality of treatment or insufficient capacity at health facilities also acted as barriers to seeking effective treatment.

“Another thing is overcrowding in hospitals. When you go there, you find the number is large. And so some people refuse to queue and return home. From there, they are discouraged. Also nurses discourage the sick from attending hospital. A sick person goes to hospital and stays more hours before the nurse comes. Even at night. And this makes them lose hope in getting treatment.” [FGD, female elders, Napetet, Turkana]

4.1.3 HSNP and healthcare

The majority of the beneficiaries reported that the cash transfer allowed them to seek better health care where cost of treatment and transportation was the main constraint to access. However, the impact on health expenditure and access seems to be limited because the money was small and because there are significant non-financial barriers to health access. This is consistent with the quantitative results that find a small positive impact on health expenditure of the HSNP, statistically significant only when various factors are controlled for.

“Yes, for me things have changed because I have money to pay for my transport and also to pay for my treatment... when I have no money, I borrow credit to go to hospital and when I get the HSNP payment I pay back the debt.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

Some respondents noted that any impact of the cash transfer depended on the timing of the illness. As the amount provided was often insufficient to save; it had no effect on their ability to access healthcare if the illness took place a few weeks after the disbursement.

“This money does not collide with sickness, when we are sick the money has not arrived or it is not the month of payment so I have not used any money in the hospital.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Kalemrongok, Turkana]

“We sometimes don’t use the HSNP money to go for treatment. This happens especially when the money is over and therefore we are forced to use our own means.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Lorengelup, Turkana]

A large number of respondents also mentioned that the amount of money from HSNP was too small to have a significant impact on major health costs.

“When cash money transfer is delayed, family members of beneficiaries keep on waiting for the transfer to take sick people to medical services. Complex cases that require sophisticated attention need much money which household can’t provide or what the cash from HSNP cannot cover for. Alternative medical services in the community are therefore attractive for household members because they are very cheap compared to current medical services and drugs.” [FGD, female elders, Kalemrongok, Turkana]

However borrowing money seemed to be an important strategy to pay for healthcare, and the HSNP improved access to credit as creditors know beneficiaries would be able to repay. Other respondents noted that beneficiaries could now buy medicines on credit from local pharmacies to treat immediate illnesses and repay later from the cash transfer money. Respondents either borrowed money from friends and relatives or were allowed to be treated on credit at some health facilities (mainly pharmacies). Beneficiaries were noted to be more creditworthy and could therefore borrow more easily. The cash transfer also allowed them to pay back the debt that they had incurred to treat illnesses.

“I normally pay cash for health services and when I don’t have cash I agree with a nurse on when I will settle the debt.” [QPS with female non-beneficiary, Lorengelup, Turkana]

“The beneficiaries come and even in cases where they don’t have money, they explain their situation and they are treated. Then after they are paid they just bring the money that they owed the hospital.” [KII health worker, Kokiselei, Turkana]

“Yes when we do not have money we just go to the health centre and we are treated on credit. When we get money we pay the doctor and that way he has learned to trust us with debts.” [FGD male elders, Kokiselei, Turkana]

“When children become sick and you do not have money to pay the medical fees, you get credit from the pharmacy and pay later through HSNP money.” [FGD male beneficiaries, Wajir Township, Wajir]

For households that relied on livestock in mainly agro-pastoral communities, HSNP allowed them to save the livestock that would have been sold otherwise to pay for treatment.

“I spend KES 500 out of the HSNP money to pay for healthcare. Without HSNP it would have been very hard to get medicine. I would have sold one goat to buy medicine.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

The cash transfer also allowed beneficiaries to pay others to care for their animals, allowing individuals to travel to seek health care

“Since the HSNP began I have money to go for treatment and also sometimes when I am not feeling well I leave my livestock with another person to look after them. Then when I come back I pay him 100 KES.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

Some health care workers reported a surge in the number of people coming to health facilities soon after the day of HSNP payment. One respondent also noted that households were now better equipped to prevent diseases like malaria and diarrhoea, although this was not frequently mentioned in the sources. The following quote is an indication of the possibilities created by the HSNP, although it seems doubtful that all of the impacts described by this health worker actually occurred.

“Diarrhoea has reduced since you started the programme because majority of the people are now able to buy utensils and soap which they could not previously. Also malaria has reduced because those who were not able to buy nets can now buy mosquito nets. Those who could not pay the cost sharing money can now pay it and are able to come for the services. Some of the people are now buying chemicals for treating water thus reducing chances of contracting diarrhoea.” [KII health worker, Lafaley, Wajir]

Some respondents mentioned that the HSNP transfer allowed them to pay at dispensaries in cash rather than in kind in instances where previously a barter system was in place:

“You exchange hides with medicine, we take charcoal also and there [at the dispensary] you are treated. We exchange these with the services offered by the dispensary and then the patient-attendant sells these items and recovers his money back. Since HSNP we no longer take hides or charcoal, we pay cash and you get the cash service.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana]

This improved transparency in financial transactions as pharmacists could no longer profit unfairly by under-estimating the value of the goods exchanged

“The cost of treatment has changed since the HSNP project began, from livestock exchange to cash money bill settlement. Children are charged 20 shillings, 50 shillings and adult patients are charged 100 shillings only but before we had to pay for the treatment with a full goat, whose cash value was not estimated properly. Medical personnel took advantage of the ignorance of the community. Since HSNP started there is fairness and transparency in medical bills and consultation fees.” [FGD female elders, Lorengelup, Turkana]

As noted above, some respondents highlighted how HSNP had allowed them to seek treatment at hospitals or health centres instead of seeking traditional forms of healthcare. One respondent also claimed that beneficiaries could now seek treatment at private health facilities as they could now

afford the higher fees [QPS with female beneficiary, Marsabit, Township]. However this was contradicted by another respondent who noted that the cash transfer was not enough to allow them to seek private medical treatment:

“We now go for treatment more frequently because I can afford to pay for the medication, although it is not the best method. The best method is to attend private clinics which are very expensive.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir]

Another way in which HSNP affected the health of households was by allowing beneficiaries to eat better, in terms of food quantity and diversity, as discussed in section 3.1.

This especially affected the nutrition of children and older family members. Elderly people could now be fed with softer foods, which was difficult in the absence of HSNP as the food aid received by most households consisted of harder cereals like maize and barley.

“You know there are many types of people in the house including the elderly and toddlers. You can now use this money to buy them soft foods like pasta whereas maize is for only those with strong teeth. That is why money is better [than food aid].” [QPS with female beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit]

4.2 Education

Under the evaluation theory of change it was hypothesised that some proportion of HSNP cash transfers will often be allocated to meeting the various expenses associated with educating children in recipient households. These costs are likely to include school fees or ‘school funds’, transport, boarding fees, uniforms, books and stationery. Also, the HSNP was expected to facilitate higher school attendance and retention rates and lower absenteeism in the face of livelihood and other shocks, although the effect on most of the mentioned school outcomes would depend on the availability and quality of schools in the areas where the programme operates.

This section examines the barriers to accessing education and the impact of the HSNP as described in qualitative data. The next section focuses on attitudes to education.

4.2.1 Barriers to access to education

Educational facilities included public and private schools, as well as religious schools (madrassahs or duksis). The main constraints to education mentioned at baseline were domestic duties and household work, and parental attitudes to education. Cost was a comparatively insignificant factor (mentioned for only 6% of children not attending school). This section discusses household livelihoods, attitudes and costs.

4.2.1.1 Household livelihoods

School enrolment was also affected by the migratory behaviour of households and the type of schooling facilities in the community. Households that migrated took their children out of school whilst changing locations. It was not clear whether these children were later enrolled in other schools or remained out of school till the next season.

“The reason why it is difficult to take children to school is the drought because we migrate from one place to another searching for pasture.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

“This pattern of lifestyle, of sending children to school, is almost spread to all households who lives near schools but with nomadic households they don't have such chance because there are no mobile schools... because they keep on moving place to place in search of fresh pasture and water for their livestock.” [FGD Female Elders, Lorengelup, Turkana]

There was also some evidence to suggest that the demand for schooling itself affected the migratory behaviour and composition of households. One respondent noted that “The school has also brought some changes in the sense that most parents are sending their children to school so they don't move from place to place because of their children but their livestock moves and some people are left behind in the homestead.” [FGD Male non beneficiaries, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit]

There was little evidence of children working, which when it was mentioned was mainly in the context of children looking after livestock or helping with family businesses. In the townships boys were reported as sometimes being employed in casual labour while girls worked as house maids.

“Some parents involve their children in some small business activities like selling of beer. You realise that children refuse to attend classes because they have a business to do.” [FGD Female Elders, Napetet, Turkana]

“Some parents send their kids to go and herd and they fail to attend school when they go to collect food from far-off areas.” [QPS with female non beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana]

However, some respondents noted that since the drought had resulted in the loss of livestock, children were no longer needed to look after animals. “Before the drought we had animals to look after and our children helped us in looking after our livestock. And now that everything is finished, we have decided to take them to school.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Lorengelup, Turkana] Again, it was unclear whether the cash transfer had had any direct impact on the incidence of child labour. “Yes children's activities have changed. Before the HSNP began children were just looking after the livestock but since the payment started some children are taken to school, I mean the ones who are old enough to go to school because we have money to buy books, pens and also uniforms so it's hard to get children sitting at home and not going to school.” [FGD female beneficiaries, Eldanaba, Mandera]

4.2.1.2 Attitudes

There was a clear indication that attitudes towards education have gradually changed in the long term, but there was no clear evidence to suggest that HSNP had had any direct effect in this regard.

“Yes, previously we never used to take our girls to school because we believed that our girls will get spoiled and become prostitutes but now we take our girls to school and intend to take even the married girls to school.” [FGD female elders, Chir Chir, Mandera]

“We knew the importance of education even before the HSNP program but due to the lack of money it is difficult for us to send the kids to school. With the help of this program it is easier for us to pay for the fees.” [FGD with female elders, Lafaley, Wajir]

This change, in part, seemed to have been brought about due to the government's awareness campaigns and other aid programmes.

“Things have changed because more girls have gone to school. The educated people have come to this place and asked us to let the girls go to school so the number of girls in schools has increased”. [QPS with male non beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

“Households that lead nomadic lives are encouraged by the government to send their children to school instead of working looking after livestock.” [FGD male beneficiaries, Lorengelup, Turkana]

“I was advised by the leaders about it... that child education is good and it can help your family in the future.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Lorengelup, Turkana]

Most respondents stated that educating girls was as important as educating boys.

“All my children go to school. Whether boys or girls; they all need education.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Lorengelup, Turkana]

Some respondents even noted that educating girls was more beneficial as daughters tended to look after their parents more in comparison to sons. “Both of them require education equally. They are all important in the community. Girls help their parents even when they are married.” [FGD female elders, Napetet, Turkana]. Other respondents highlighted that as girls were physically weaker than boys, they could not do physically demanding jobs and thus needed formal education to support themselves financially “Education is very important. If a child is not educated he can turn in to anything but education will help him at least to take care of himself... educating girls is more important because a girl is not strong enough to do odd jobs.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir]

However there was evidence to suggest that early marriages, together with reluctance to invest in girls’ education still acted as barriers to education in some households and communities. There was no apparent impact of the cash transfer on changing such attitudes and practices.

“In our community boys attend school more than girls and the reason is that girls are married earlier and boys take more time before they marry”. [QPS with female non beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana]

“In our culture girls are married and they eventually leave for their husband’s home and we are left with the boy. That is why we give boys first priority.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Sala, Wajir]

Nevertheless, the importance of formal education was raised by most respondents. “My children are my assets and I am investing in them by paying for their education and to me that is of paramount importance.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Sala, Wajir] Education was seen as an investment in a better future for children, especially as sources of livelihood had changed over time and access to formal employment required education. It was assumed that children would assist parents financially when they grew up and found jobs.

“Education is very important because if I send my children to school they can assist me when they get a job and when I want to know anything they can read and explain it to me.” [FGD female elders, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit]

“When your child gets education, he will help you later when he gets employment. At a time like this [of drought] those people who have employed children in town gets lots of help from them....So people have learnt from these experiences of

drought and have started taking children to school.” [FGD with female elders, North Horr, Marsabit]

Key informant interviews with teachers indicated that the overall enrolment in schools had increased. However enrolment was still lower for girls but was seen as improving over time. “The other problem we face is low enrolment of the girl child. The girls are few and by the time they get to class four they drop out of school and get married.” [KII with teacher, Eldanaba, Mandera] WFP school feeding programs were also noted by some respondents as having a positive impact on school enrolment, although it was not clear whether this worked through making education attractive by providing food or changing attitudes towards education itself.

4.2.1.3 Costs

Cost was a barrier to attendance for only 6% of children not attending school. Under the government’s directive, primary schooling at public schools is free and this enabled many households to send their children to school. The remaining costs include school fees for secondary and higher education and expenses such as uniforms, stationery, books, examination fees and transportation costs.

Respondents frequently noted that they had to sell livestock or borrow money to pay for [mainly secondary] schooling costs.

“I have to sell my livestock to afford school fees because one of my children is in secondary school and I do not have any business or any job to help me pay the school fees.” [QPS female beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

“Ever since my grandchild started going to school, I either take credit or sell an animal and to pay slowly for his education cost.” [QPS with female non beneficiary, Sala, Wajir]

4.2.2 Education and HSNP

The cash provided by the HSNP was hypothesised to affect education primarily through reducing the cost barrier. Given that this barrier seemed comparatively insignificant at baseline, the impact through this channel was not expected to be very strong. However, to the extent that the HSNP affects livelihoods and prevents children from having to work, there should also be a positive impact.

The qualitative fieldwork suggests overall that beneficiaries used the HSNP cash to cover some school expenses, but that this is unlikely to affect primary school attendance significantly (since children were attending school anyway). This tallies with the quantitative results that find no significant impact on primary education attendance or on child work. However, increased education spending is likely to contribute to children’s school experience, including success, and it could be that exam pass rates are positively affected. This may be an interesting area of study for the next round of fieldwork.

The HSNP transfers allowed parents to buy uniforms, books, stationery and other schooling expenses for children.

“A lot has changed. Before this program I could not even buy uniforms for them but now I can and it has become easy for me to buy stationery like pens, books and rubbers.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir]

This money also contributed towards the payment of secondary school fees.

“My children are in secondary school and each term I pay KES 7000. When I get the HSNP payment I pay school fees for my children.” [FGD Male Beneficiaries, Chir Chir, Mandera]

Additionally, HSNP enabled households to save livestock instead of selling it to pay for schooling costs.

“It has helped me to buy my children uniform, books and pens so it has really helped my children. Because if I did not have the payment then I would have been forced to sell my small stock but due to the program I am able to send both my boys and girls to school because I consider them both equal. [QPS with male beneficiary, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit].

The contribution of HSNP to schooling expenses was noted in districts under all targeting mechanisms, including pension targeting. Elderly recipients of HSNP spent part of the transfer on the schooling costs of their grandchildren and younger children.

Since borrowing was sometimes mentioned as a means of paying for school expenses the cash transfer reduced the debt burden for some household:

“For the last twelve months I have not sold my livestock or taken credit from other people. I am using this money to take my children to school without getting credit from other sources.” [QPS with female beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit]

The guarantee of a cash transfer also improved the credibility of parents who could now persuade the school authorities to let their children continue with classes, even if their school fees were delayed.

The positive impact of the cash transfer however, was limited for those paying for secondary education which naturally, imposed a greater cost on households than primary education. HSNP also had a relatively smaller positive impact for bigger households where the money was used by several dependants.

“Yes we do sell animals to settle school fees but it is not for the sake of primary age children but those who are going to high school.” [QPS with male non beneficiary, Napetet, Turkana]

“The KES 2150 from HSNP can pay for school fees and school equipment without stress in some of the small households who are beneficiaries, but for large households and households that have children in secondary school, it remains a challenge. Due to the high cost of secondary school fees and the large number of household members requiring education at same time, the money is not enough.” [FGD Female Elders, Kalemrongok, Turkana]

HSNP payments also allowed some respondents to pay for fees at duksis/madrassahs and private schools.

“Since HSNP started I can talk to the teacher and tell him that I’ll pay the fees when I get paid so he doesn’t send the children home. In that way, the children can study and the teacher is satisfied. Fees have to be paid also at the madrassah which is 150/= per child so I also negotiate with them.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir]

“Since this money from the HSNP we take our children to private institutions. We prefer private schools because our children get a better standard of education.” [FGD Female Elders, Kamor, Mandera]

Another channel through which HSNP aided access to education was by improving people's ability to travel. Respondents noted that they could now pay for transport costs and children could commute from schools more easily.

“We can now pay transport for our children when they go to school and even add something to school fees.” [FGD Female Elders, Badasa, Marsabit]

“My three children are all in primary school. I use the money to buy them mock examination papers for revision. This girl standing here just cleared class eight, she has done computer courses and just came back from Marsabit town, because I pay for her upkeep and transport.” [QPS with male beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit]

“I can also give transport fare to those children who are going back to college after the holidays.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir]

On the other hand there was also some evidence that suggested that school enrolment was affected when families settled in one location to easily access HSNP transfers or due to the drought.

“The programme has really changed the livelihood of people in this community. Before people used to migrate from one place to another for pasture but since the programme began many people are settled and they have built semi-permanent houses because they are getting money and they are able to cater for their family and also they are taking their children to school.” [QPS with female non beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

Some respondents raised a few issues regarding the adverse impact of HSNP transfers. First, some reported that children missed school on certain days as they were secondary recipients and had to assist their parents on the day payments were collected.

“I am not happy at all because the programme has affected education in another way... many students are secondary recipients and when the time comes to get the payment, children don't go to school and the teachers are not happy.” [FGD Male Elders, Eldanaba, Mandera]

It may be appropriate to investigate why they are assisting their parents in collecting cash on a school day, if payment days are supposed to be flexible.

There was also some evidence which suggested that schools demanded more money from parents for various school activities since they were now beneficiaries. In some cases this was voluntary whereas others reported that

“in earlier times children went to school and they didn't have to pay anything but nowadays people have become greedy with money. They chase children every day to come home and collect money.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Kalemrongok, Turkana]

“Although education is free teachers do ask little cash money from parents to support school projects and through HSNP the school has received much support from the HSNP beneficiary households.” [FGD Female Elders, Lorengelup, Turkana]

“The cost of schooling has changed since the HSNP began. Schools do make a lot of demands... text books, pens, games kits and other cash money meant to support school activities...Through the HSNP program the school community has been encouraged and motivated in running of the school.” [FGD Female Elders, Lorengelup, Turkana]

Some respondents also mentioned that the cash transfer had allowed them to contribute towards paying for voluntary teachers/tutors. It was unclear whether this was a formal or informal contract between community members and whether schools were officially involved in this arrangement. Such instances were found in Mandera, Wajir and Marsabit although it was hard to ascertain how widespread this practice was. Nevertheless this did indicate a high demand for quality education by parents.

“One of my kids is in Islamic school [Duksi] and I pay the teacher 150KESs per month. In the school I pay KESs 100 for one child, also per month, for a volunteer teacher.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir]

“You know we are normally charged small fees for volunteer teachers. When my children were chased to pay this fees I told them remove their uniforms and stay back at home. But now that I am getting this money I will send them back to school very quickly.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Marsabit, Badasa]

4.3 Prices and markets

4.3.1 Introduction

Markets in the HSNP districts are typically less well developed than elsewhere in Kenya. This has implications for price and supply. The baseline report argued that prices are much higher in the programme area compared with other parts of Kenya because cereal markets in pastoral areas are dependent on trade inflows, are poorly integrated and carry substantial transaction costs. The high costs are attributed to a combination of a poor trade infrastructure, high fuel prices and long distances from the maize production areas. Within the HSNP districts, prices vary significantly over time and space, due to localised transport infrastructure and supply and demand shocks. Prices were significantly higher further from the source of the commodity.

The HSNP areas import most items, except livestock. Prices for most items except livestock therefore increased with remoteness and the difficulty of transport (from insecurity or poor infrastructure). Prices were generally highest in Turkana for all commodities except livestock. Since livestock and livestock products are produced in rural areas of the districts, the opposite price structure holds: lowest in remote markets and Turkana, and highest in towns and Mandera. Overall, accounting for consumption, prices were highest in Turkana and lowest in Mandera. This may be related to illicit imports from Somalia on which duty is not paid.

In this context, what might be the impacts of regular cash transfers given through the HSNP? The positive intended impact was the stabilisation of food prices and supplies of key commodities in local markets. This is based on theory and evidence from Namibia and elsewhere (Devereux 2001, 2001, 2007) that long-term regular cash transfers will attract more traders to isolated communities as household demand increases. A simulation exercise conducted in northern Kenya

prior to the HSNP roll out estimated that a 5% price increase would stimulate trade to cover the gap in annual food requirements (de Matteis 2006).

The obverse of this is a risk that the HSNP will cause prices of key commodities in local markets will increase. This will be the case if supplies do not respond to increased household demand. This is an understandable fear and was found in a shift from a food aid to cash-based programme in Ethiopia (Kebede 2006 cited in DFID 2011: 23). However, this has not been found widely (IEG 2011).

The findings from qualitative fieldwork indicate significant inflation, but this is not attributed to the HSNP transfers. There are good reasons to believe that the HSNP did not cause inflation and in fact stimulated markets. Inflation occurred throughout Kenya (as noted in the section on context) and the region, and while the Kenyan shilling has steadily devalued since 2005, there was a rapid devaluation in 2011, making imports more costly. Inflation was also greater in magnitude than the transfers made, markets did appear to have responded to the HSNP with great supply and variety of goods, and there was no evidence from traders to suggest price hikes related to the transfer.

This reflects findings from elsewhere. The quantitative survey noted price inflation, but no difference between treatment and control areas. A report by the HSNP Secretariat based on fieldwork in Turkana found inflation that was partly driven by flooding that cut off markets, but there was no suggestion that the HSNP had fuelled price increases.

The implication of this for the HSNP was a deterioration of 40% in the real value of the amount transferred, and a strong argument for having transfer values revised periodically to account for long-run inflation. The increase in the transfer from KES 2,150 to KES 3,000 every two months is welcome in this regard. This is not discussed in this report since it took place after fieldwork.

4.3.2 Prices

As noted elsewhere, inflation was extremely high in the intra-survey period.

Price increases were also noted in the qualitative fieldwork, and these have been remarked on in the section on shocks. It is not useful to report price data collective through the qualitative fieldwork, since this is not representative, but this section briefly sets out the trends perceived by respondents, and their views on the causes of price changes.

Overall, people in all four districts felt that the prices of staple foods, sugar, and agricultural inputs had increased, while the price of livestock had declined, but this was not related to the HSNP.

“The prices of goods have changed but it is not because of the HSNP” [FGD with female beneficiaries, Eldanaba]

“Absolutely there is an increase of prices of the items everywhere but we think it’s not because of the HSNP cash transfer.” [FGD with male non-beneficiaries, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit]

Most felt that the price of services was unchanged.

Generally, people (consumers) were clear that the HSNP had not affected the price of goods. Most commonly, the explanation for this was that the HSNP transfers constituted a comparatively small part of the economy of most communities, and because non-beneficiaries have little flexibility to pay more since they are also poor:

“the people who get the payment are less compared to the people who live in this community. So if the price of goods changes the customers will run away because they don't have money. So the prices of goods and services has not change. Very few people are beneficiaries so that cannot influence prices in the market as the bigger population is very poor.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Chir Chir, Mandera]

Given the small HSNP transfer value and targeted nature of the transfer, the limited impact on prices is not very surprising. The HSNP represented only 12% of average consumption expenditure at baseline, and 9% at follow up (given inflation), and the transfers targeted only 51% of households in HSNP areas, so the HSNP cash should represent only around 5% of total consumption expenditure in any settlement, at the most (though a larger fraction of cash consumption). There are also many areas in these districts where the HSNP is not operating at all. This low level of extra cash seems very unlikely to contribute to inflation, and certainly not inflation of 40%. A price increase is particularly unlikely in the larger towns, but remains a small possibility in remote settlements.

People were much more likely to attribute increases in the prices of goods to the drought, to increases in the value of the dollar, to border closures with Somalia (for Mandera and Wajir) or to increases in government taxes. Due to the role of transport prices in driving up overall prices, it seems possible that the more remote areas had greater price increases than elsewhere.

Shopkeepers were adamant that they had not increased their prices as a result of the HSNP, but as a result of inflation, as they keep a fixed margin on their products:

“I have not increased any prices because of the HSNP but things have become expensive nowadays.” [Interview with paypoint agent, Eldanaba, Mandera].

“Normally we do not increase prices in any way. Only that if the price of the items goes up countrywide then we are obligated to increase the price. If there are any reductions we also drop the prices. The increase does not depend on HSNP money.” [Interview with trader, North Horr, Marsabit]

Some felt that actually the HSNP had had a dampening effect on prices, as shopkeepers sought to compete to attract the new demand by lowering prices:

“Nobody has increased prices because of this programme. The funny thing is that others in the name of attracting customers reduce prices from normal.” [Interview with paypoint agent, Badasa, Marsabit].

In some areas, traders also discussed another positive impact (for them) of the HSNP on prices. Since in some remote areas richer traders would visit when the cash was distributed hoping to sell goods, livestock traders could also sell livestock to these rich outsiders, at a higher price. This was only if they had been able to wait to sell their livestock until this time – but it was possible that circumstances had forced them to sell this in advance:

“When this money comes sometimes you will see businessmen coming to buy our animals. So with the presence of money the price of the animals shoots up so we are at an advantage through selling this livestock at high price.”

“As for me it just like what the other old man said we sell those animals when the price has gone up. Even if there is this money there are more needs that would

not allow us to wait for this money so therefore we have to sell the livestock of the circumstances forces us to do.” [FGD with traders, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit]

These traders pointed out that beneficiaries also sold livestock to them at a higher price because of the HSNP, because they had more control over the timing of their sales.

Price increases due to the HSNP were only mentioned by two respondents, but were not confirmed by others in these areas. One NGO worker in Kamor felt that price increases were related to the HSNP, but this was not echoed by others from Kamor:

“[The additional money available from the HSNP] also means that there is high demand of food and rise in prices.” [Interview with NGO worker, Kamor, Mandera]

In Kalemungorok in Turkana, non-beneficiaries did attribute price increases to the HSNP, arguing that they had no alternatives businesses from which to purchase:

“The HSNP cash money transfer is to be blamed for high prices in the market, because people are very aware that households who are beneficiaries get money after two months and they keep increasing prices to gain much profit. On payday business people are not willing to give out credit for services or goods to the HSNP beneficiaries. The high prices in the market is reported throughout the country but our region seems to be the most affected one because there is nothing that our community produces. Instead we buy everything from the shop or market thus life becomes hard.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Kalemungorok, Turkana.

However, it is difficult to know how to interpret this as it was not confirmed by other interviewees in Kalemungorok.

A few respondents in Mandera and Wajir argued that the reason why people had not increased prices was Muslim solidarity. For example:

“I am aware they will not add the price because we are Muslim we cannot do that.” [Interview with paypoint agent, Mado, Mandera]

4.3.3 Markets

One of the fundamental limitations of markets in the HSNP areas is their inaccessibility to many people. For those outside the main towns, markets were often over 10km distant, which requires them to take transport. Even if there are small shops in more remote areas, for more unusual goods such as vegetables, people still need to travel. In this regard, inflation was extremely problematic, but beneficiaries were able to and did use HSNP payments on transport. To the extent that the HSNP was able to stimulate new shops, this problem was reduced. Some respondents did notice this. Moreover, in Lafaley, Wajir, some respondents noted that matatus into town had started since the HSNP payments began, which was extremely useful. This appears good evidence of the stimulation of a useful private service by the provision of cash to an area.

Markets seemed to be stimulated by the HSNP, with new traders coming from outside which probably explains the limited inflation caused specifically by the cash transfer. These changes seem to have occurred across the four districts, in both remote and better connected areas:

“Also something notable is that more business enterprises are now operating in the area due to this money. This has encouraged inflow of a variety of food stuff in this sub location.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Chir Chir, Mandera]

“It is easier nowadays because even the road sellers have increased in number. The miraa sellers have also increases so it is easier nowadays.” [KII with trader, Wajir Township, Wajir]

“Since this programme started we are able to get more food because there are more trucks that are coming in this area to supply goods to shops because the circulation of money around this area has increased. Therefore we can say we get more jobs because of this HSNP.” [FGD with casual labourers, Marsabit Township, Marsabit].

“The number of business people or traders has increased. There were some guys from Meru, a neighbouring town, who normally came here to sell items. Before they were not so many but now the number has increased. They are selling small items and especially kitchen utensils. If any lady who is a beneficiary get her money she normally buys things like plates, spoons, and other small items.” [Interview with trader, North Horr, Marsabit]

“Since the HSNP started there are a lot of business cropping up in the community and prices tend to be very high not just in our trading centre but all country is undergoing the same high prices in market places.” [FGD with female elders, Kalemungorok, Turkana]

Many existing traders felt that they were able to sell more produce because of the HSNP, especially around payment days. Paypoint agents that sell goods are also likely to benefit:

“Since the HSNP started as we have told you earlier our businesses are running very well because we are selling more commodities. For everything has changed, you know before the HSNP began goods would sometimes stay for a long time without being sold because fewer people buy. But now the business is running very well. The only problem we have is that goods are so expensive nowadays.” [FGD with traders, Eldanaba, Mandera]

“Yes, you see in our community almost KES 1 million comes from the HSNP after 2 months and all of this money come to us traders so the demand for the goods is very high since the HSNP began.” [FGD with traders, Eldanaba, Mandera]

“I still sell the same things that I used to sell. But business does well during the week of payment, because even people who live in the bush come to the town for this payment and they buy a lot of stuff.” [KII with paypoint agent, Godoma, Wajir]

“At least I will sell more tobacco and then I can probably go home with a good amount of money than on the other days. One of the beneficiaries will just pass by and remember me and buy my tobacco and that will a difference on that day.” [KII with trader, Kokiselei, Turkana].

“That is why I said when it reaches the time of payment; there is frequent flow of customers for one or two weeks. Sometimes when they know that their time of payment is near may be they will be paid in a week or two weeks’ time come go

to shops to take commodities on credit which they will pay later when they get their cash transfer.” [KII with trader, Napetet, Turkana].

Traders also reported selling more because people were more able to pay with cash rather than have to buy on credit, and up-front payments are more attractive to traders:

“Now the traders were selling more commodities than before. This is because people have money to buy the commodities. Also before people used to take something and they take time to pay back which was a big problem to us. But nowadays everything is different from that since this HSNP payment began, the level of trading has increased.” [KII with trader, Chir Chir, Mandera]

“many customers would buy things from you on credit and they would not pay it on time. So, this was a huge obstacle to trading in this area and this programme has somehow removed those obstacles.” [KII with trader, Godoma, Wajir]

One trader was particularly expressive that the HSNP not only increased the amount of things that customers bought, but the number of customers that came to his shop. This compelled him to restock faster:

“The number of customers that buy things from me and the amount of purchase that they make has increased. Someone who did not have anything before now receives some payments and that is a new and an extra customer to my business because he/she will come with that money and buy something from me. Secondly, someone who used to buy a ¼ kg of sugar for instance, will now buy ½ kg because he is getting some money. So it has generally benefitted my business. The movement of things like foodstuffs and vegetables is now faster compared to before the HSNP Programme. We normally go and re-stock our shops from the wholesalers in Moyale. So, before the HSNP programme, we would only re-stock once in a month but now we purchase new stock like three times a month. So I would say that business operations have gone up since this programme started.” [KII with trader, Godoma, Wajir]

Moreover, traders are appreciative of the transfer because beneficiaries are able to pay off their debt. This was seen by many traders as a really significant barrier to trade, and the HSNP has therefore had a significantly positive impact on trade as a result of easing constraints to finance:

“When the people get the money the first things they do with the money is to pay their debt and the money left they buy some commodities like sugar rice and flour.” [KII with trader, Chir Chir, Mandera]

The HSNP seems also to have led to some increase in the diversity of goods sold, particularly on payment days (although payments should have been flexible, so there should be no designated payment week). As these traders noted:

“Since the HSNP began we are selling different commodities like rice, sugar, wheat, maize and beans. The reason I am saying this is that before we only used to have sugar alone because people had no money to buy as much as they liked. But since HSNP began people's lives have really changed and our businesses are doing well so we are very happy.” [FGD with traders, Eldanaba, Mandera]

“You can even feel from the mood of the town during the week of payment business boom. You see a lot of people coming to buy things from you. I am a

trader and I sell things thing that I never used to sell before like Safaricom cards, sodas and mineral water. And those are maybe as a result of HSNP cash aid.” [FGD with young women, Lafaley, Wajir].

Sometimes, this included entirely new shops, such as chemists, perceived to have started since the HSNP began:

“Commercial medical (chemists) facilities have come up since HSNP came, people can access drugs without wasting time and travelling long distances. Generally money is seen as power and HSNP is encouraging.” [FGD with female elders, Kalemungorok, Turkana].

Markets seem also to have become more diverse since beneficiaries started setting up their own businesses using the HSNP cash, either individually or in a group (see section on livelihoods for more details):

“In our community everything has changed since the HSNP began. There is a lot of business going on e.g. women selling clothes and vegetables and also men selling commodities like rice, sugar, and wheat.” [QPS with beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

“most of the beneficiaries have started small businesses e.g. they have opened kiosks where they can sell small commodities, others sell vegetables e.g. sukuma wiki, onions, tomatoes etc under temporary constructed shades. Others also cook madgis and they sell them in the market on the road so that school children can buy.” [KII with trader, Napetet, Turkana].

However, aside from traders, few respondents commented on a greater diversity of goods sold. This suggests that even if a wider range of goods are available from existing or new shops, most people’s preferences have not shifted to include them in what they usually buy. This impact, should it occur, is likely to operate over the longer-term as preferences and habits slowly change.

Given differences in consumption preferences across the districts, it is likely that the HSNP will have affected different commodities differently. For instance, in the Somali areas, sugar is a key commodity and the HSNP is likely to have a large impact on sales:

“The most common one is sugar. For real if you are a trader and you are not selling sugar your business will not run well because that is the first thing a customer asks for when he/she comes to buy goods. The reason is that we love drinking tea and that’s why we buy sugar than anything else.” [FGD with traders, Eldanaba, Mandera]

“In our community people like tea so the best commodity to sell is sugar. Whenever people get the HSNP payment the first commodity they buy is sugar which is a big profit to us.” [KII with trader, Chir Chir, Mandera].

In Somali areas, miraa is also quite commonly sold, but few respondents reported that beneficiaries were buying more as a result of the HSNP. In Turkana, on the other hand, tobacco is more widely sold, and there were some reports of raised sales following HSNP payments.

There are also seasonal patterns of consumption, with associated seasonal impacts on markets. This includes greater purchase of unusual food items during festivals, and less purchase of essentials during the dry season:

“this time we are in the season of drought and people don’t purchase clothes from us. They mostly buy foodstuff for their family, but if it rains that is the time when we sell clothes, and people buy clothes during the rainy season. So we keep on changing the goods we sell by season. At times like this we sell foodstuffs. If you only sell clothes you will be left in the market sitting the whole day for nothing.” [FGD with traders, North Horr, Marsabit]

In some places, new trade or patterns of purchase by beneficiaries seem to be providing competition for traders, and some traders are worried about this. From the point of view of the overall objectives of the HSNP, this is positive, as it increases the supply of goods and will probably have a dampening effect on price over time. However, from the perspective of individual existing traders, it is worrying. While this seems unlikely at present to have a significant impact, the impact on trade should continue to be monitored over time to ensure that traders are not driven out of business permanently by a temporary cash transfer:

“Yes, others [beneficiaries] are selling tobacco, Magadi and some other items as a group. They unite and buy commodities like sugar, tea leaves, cooking fat and maize meal. So those involved in shop operation are cut off because there are plenty of food stuffs in every house. Those who are outside [non-beneficiaries] will not get this trading opportunity because they don’t go outside their village. Even before this money came they used to be involved in small businesses but since the presence of this money almost all of them have evolved in trade in parallel with shopkeepers, whose stocks are delayed.” [FGD with traders, Lonyoripichau]

Generally, however, traders reported higher profits as a result of the greater demand caused by the HSNP. For example:

“Before the programme begin life for traders was hard because there were few people buying the commodities. But since the HSNP began more people are able to buy commodities and the traders are capable to cater for their needs with the profit they get from the commodities.” [KII with trader, Chir Chir, Mandera]

The section on food aid points out that for traders, cash is far preferable, as food aid has a dampening effect on sales. Unlike food aid, the HSNP has enabled traders to sustain profits during the dry season, when normally business drops off:

“My business was threatened during that time of dry spell, because the sell was too slow and every shilling I got from the sell I made on that day went straight to our needs so I was almost closing down...

...Since the HSNP, it is good, since these people come to buy my tobacco and sugar. One will buy tobacco for 10 shillings and sugar for 50 shillings and when more than ten people buy like this definitely the stock will get finished and this means that I am able to update my stock and earn more profit.” [KII with trader, Kokiselei, Turkana]

Finally, there remains a question of the local multiplier effects of the cash transfers – i.e. the extent to which the money is spent and recycled in the local economy. Some respondents discussed the new money circulating around in the community. However, since a large proportion seems to be spent on imported goods, the multiplier effects may be quite low at the moment. However, it is likely to be positive to the extent that traders make some profit that they spend in the local area.

4.4 Livelihoods

According to the evaluation theory of change the HSNP transfers are expected to enable people to engage in new and more productive livelihood activities (although there is the risk of the opposite occurring, i.e. dependency). Regular cash incomes may allow beneficiaries to take greater risks or invest in new capital that allows them to expand and improve their portfolio of livelihoods.

Findings from qualitative fieldwork suggest that the impact on livelihoods was fairly limited. For most beneficiaries, the amount given by the HSNP was too small, especially given the drought and inflation, to allow them to make substantial changes to their livelihoods or to invest in new livelihoods. In some cases, beneficiaries reduced the amount of casual labour they undertook and a few were able to invest in new businesses.

According to the baseline quantitative survey, the primary source of livelihood across the study locations is livestock rearing and pastoralism, although a range of other activities were reported. However, evidence from the baseline study showed that in many areas, pastoralism and livestock rearing have been disrupted by drought, thus leading to a heavy reliance on other livelihood sources such as casual labour, food aid, etc. As in the baseline, the follow-up found little evidence of farming as a livelihood source because of the continued droughts. Recent data shows that in the last year the drought has been most severe in Mandera, Wajir, and Marsabit.

In theory, the injection of cash from the HSNP should bring positive impacts to livelihoods both at the household and community level. At the household level, cash transfer itself can be considered as an additional form of income, and therefore a source of income diversification, which in turn is a positive attribute for livelihood security. Diversification mitigates the risk of a shock to any single livelihood sources. Beneficiaries may also invest transfers in productive assets (e.g. livestock) or their beneficiary status could also facilitate access to loans for investment. However, negative impacts can occur where beneficiaries of cash transfer abandon other viable livelihood sources and rely solely on transfer benefits. Within the wider community, cash transfers can be seen as valuable contributors to community livelihoods where beneficiaries spend in the local economy. For example, cash transfer beneficiaries may engage in petty trade or employ casual labourers stimulating the local economy and creating opportunities that mitigate risks coming from one income source.

Respondents were asked about the impact of HSNP on their livelihoods. For most respondents, the HSNP had little impact on existing livelihood strategies. Rather, HSNP was seen as an additional source of livelihood which provided for their needs although the livelihood sources remained the same. Respondents went on to explain that money received from HSNP was inadequate to meet household needs. And against a background of the rising cost of basic commodities (40% intra-survey inflation), households could not simply abandon their existing livelihoods activities because the HSNP (at 12% of consumption expenditure) did not cover the increased cost of living from inflation. The following quotes are illustrative of this:

“There is no change in the way my household earns income except that the HSNP money became another source of income for my household. It is better compared to days when we were not getting HSNP money since the HSNP is topping up for our extra needs, though also for this month things started changing because due to the drought” [QPS with male beneficiary, Sala, Wajir]

“Since you last visited me, we still gather wild produce for food, we burn charcoal to get money to buy food because HSNP cash can

never sustain the household food supply for more than a week”. [QPS with female beneficiary , Lorengelup, Turkana]

“People have not changed the way they earn their incomes but they top up with HSNP payments so that it becomes an additional source of income....You think KES 2000 will make someone stop whatever they were doing to earn a living? That money is too small for one to do that. People have not changed the way they earn a living.” [FGD with male non beneficiary, Sala, Wajir]

“The type of work and activities has not changed; we are still doing the same. To continue to earn a living even in a better way the HSNP cash transfer is just but to top-up.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Loyoripichau, Marsabit]

“The one who used to fetch firewood still fetches firewood because the money is very little. Nobody will just sit and wait for 2150. It is not enough for a family if you divide 2150/= by 60 days you will get 35 shillings to spend per day, which is not even enough to buy half a kilo of sugar”. [FGD with male non beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

Nonetheless, beneficiaries acknowledged that the HSNP had increased their standard of living even though it had not led to changes in activities:

“The HSNP cash transfer didn’t change my daily activities of earning a living. I am still doing what I was doing it but the cash transfer has increased my living standard a bit.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Loyoripichau, Marsabit]

“We were not able to go for treatment because we did not have money but since the project started we are able to do many things with the money and we do appreciate it a lot, we are still doing activities nothing has changed.” [FGD with male beneficiaries, Chirchir, Mandera]

4.4.1 Casual labour

Qualitative fieldwork found some evidence of reduced incidence and reliance on casual labour particularly among the direct beneficiaries of HSNP. Casual labour is precarious, offers low wages and often seen as an inconsistent source of livelihood. The qualitative evidence from both rounds of fieldwork shows that casual labour is undertaken where there are no other options available. The following quotes are illustrative of the precarious nature of casual labour as perceived by respondents:

“We have casual jobs and they are not consistent. One may be lucky today and tomorrow you may not get that job again.” [FGD with casual labourers, Marsabit Township, Marsabit]

“I build houses, both muddy houses and houses with blocks and bricks. When a job is available we do it and sometimes we finish in three days without finding another job to do.” [FGD with casual labourers, Napetet, Turkana]

Several respondents reported that they were able to undertake less casual labour as a result of receiving the HSNP transfers. However, this impact was not found in the quantitative survey and it is not clear how widespread it is.

“For me I used to fetch water for people with donkey cart but since the HSNP started I now own a butchery” [FGD with female beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

“Those people who were doing casual jobs some of them stopped like the women who collected firewood, they stopped because they have money to buy food.” [FGD with casual labourer, Kokiselei, Turkana].

“Before the HSNP payment started I used to be trader and also I used to be casual labourer, but since the programme started I am just a trader because the business is booming. People are able to buy the commodities and we get profit.” [KII with trader, Chirchir, Mandera]

Casual labour was commonly undertaken out of distress, and therefore beneficiaries were content that they were able to do less casual labour. This tallies with findings from the quantitative survey that found a statistically significant impact on beneficiaries reporting improvements to their work patterns.

It is not clear whether the reduction in the incidence of casual labour by beneficiaries led to a significant reduction in the overall labour supply for casual labour or a change in wage rates. It is also not clear whether those beneficiaries who have reduced their supply of casual labour have become dependent on the HSNP in the sense that they would be unable to find casual labour again in future. More research should be conducted on this issue in the second follow up.

On the other hand, there were some indications of a positive impact on work and the potential of a multiplier effect. A few non-beneficiaries mentioned that the HSNP provided them with more work opportunities as beneficiaries (probably from smaller, wealthier households where the transfer would go further) were able to hire them to undertake small jobs. It is not clear whether beneficiaries who were previously casual labourers became employers, and this would probably not be widespread. However, this shift is suggested by some respondents. :

“It has uplifted our work because when the beneficiaries get the money he or she will tell you to come and build for them ...” [FGD with casual labourers, Chir Chir]

“These people who were burning charcoal, since they started receiving money they employ people to do these jobs on their behalf and then they pay them later when they receive money” [FGD with casual labourers, Marsabit township]

In summary the cash transfer gave some beneficiaries an opportunity to abstain from livelihood strategies which were considered precarious, often tedious and involved very low returns.. By enabling business startups and replacement of livestock, these cash transfers seemed to overcome these downsides of casual labour. For a start most people seemed to prefer having their own shop and work for themselves rather than others and also investment in livestock provides an opportunity to increase the value of the cash over time. In addition, no beneficiary stated that they exclusively relied on cash transfers, probably because the value of the transfer is considered too

small relative to consumption needs. In subsequent rounds of research this trend has to be observed to ensure that the transfer does not lead to a state of dependency.

4.4.2 Petty trade

Respondents across all locations mentioned that HSNP facilitated an increase in petty trade activities by providing capital. While some beneficiaries were able to start new businesses expand existing ones, this was not very widespread. These activities typically involved putting up a kiosk and selling tea, meat, soap, vegetable, clothing etc. This tallies with the quantitative survey that found a small positive impact on new businesses.

“In our community everything has changed since the HSNP began, there is a lot of business going on”[QPS with female beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera].

“There are so many people mostly women who have set up tables where they sell vegetables and other smaller stuff and they have started these tables after this programme. In fact most of them are people who are beneficiaries of the HSNP. But the big shops have existed even before the HSNP. There are also others, mostly younger women, who started running small restaurants, after the HSNP started.” [KII with trader, Godoma, Wajir]

Discussions with traders revealed that increased beneficiaries’ demand may have improved their business activities, as explored in section 4.3.3.

Petty trade activities were more likely to be undertaken by women and this is in line with the findings at baseline. This may also be relevant for an impact on women’s empowerment.

“Most of the businesses are run by women. If there are 30 shops in town at least 20 would be run by women, men don’t sell in shop, it’s mostly the ladies.” [FGD with Traders, North Horr, Marsabit]

“Women are involved in small business like selling tobacco, and other food stuffs and they are doing this in their house but men go far away to look for animals to buy”. [FGD with traders, Loyoripichau, Marsabit]

4.5 Saving, lending, borrowing and credit

HSNP transfers are expected to allow households to improve their management of cash flows by providing a predictable and regular income. This may allow households to take loans (either directly as the HSNP transfer acts as collateral or indirectly as the greater security encourages loan-taking). It may also reduce households’ need to borrow at adverse interest rates (since they have HSNP cash available). HSNP transfers should also increase household savings directly and enable them to loan money to friends or family in need. Non-beneficiary households may also have access to transfers through borrowing from beneficiaries. Households receiving the HSNP transfer are also more likely to be seen as more credit worthy by shop keepers (in particular the HSNP paypoint agents) because they have a regular income, increasing their ability to purchase on credit and thus helping to smooth consumption.

Qualitative fieldwork indicated a minimal impact on beneficiaries' cash savings or borrowing but a significant impact on their ability to buy goods on credit. This is in line with the results of the quantitative survey.

4.5.1 Saving

Respondents unanimously mentioned that the transfer had very minimal impact on their cash savings. This was attributed by respondents to the value of the transfer relative to their needs:

“Because I have got urgent necessities that cannot wait, I am not able to save. I can't keep this money because I use it for my daily needs.” [KII with relief committee member, Badasa Marsabit]

“It is difficult to save because this money is very little and our large families cannot allow us to save.” [FGD with female beneficiary, Kosikelei, Turkana]

“People have no savings because what they have or get is less compared to their needs, only that those who are benefiting from the programme can manage to save the livestock but with the drought, now the animals are dying. The reason why people have no saving is because they are poor and what they get is less compared to their needs.” [FGD with female non beneficiary, Chir Chir Mandera]

However, the low levels of savings are also driven by a peculiarity of the payments system. In order to load their balance onto their card, beneficiaries must connect their card to a point of sale device. They need to do this irrespective of whether they want to withdraw cash. The requirement to travel to a point of sale device means that there is no automatic savings function. Once someone has travelled to a market, they are much more likely to withdraw the cash. The cash balance should load to the card without this requirement.

4.5.2 Debt and credit

Debt was incurred or credit was sought by most households either to fill in the gap between regular expenditure and income or as a coping strategy for shocks such as sudden illness or drought.

“I have to borrow because I don't have any other option. I borrow credit from the shop where I buy commodities.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

“Yes, I borrowed money when I was sick and did not have money to go to the hospital for treatment. Also sometimes I borrow money when I don't have water.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

Households in the sample had little access to credit from formal institutions like banks, mainly because their income was generated from informal sources and was therefore quite volatile. Households also lacked sufficient assets to pledge as collateral for big loans. Additionally, banks tended to be located far away from the rural communities.

“In institutions like banks you have to pledge your assets and since we don't have assets to pledge, we cannot access credit there.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Marsabit Township, Marsabit]

One respondent even noted the difficulty in accessing informal credit due to the lack of shops in his sub-location

“In this small sub location there are no good shops where you can pick credit from so you are forced to go to Ashabito or Chir Chir to get credit.” [QPS with male non beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

Households tended to borrow from shops, relatives and neighbours. Shop keepers were mainly lending in kind, although some respondents did borrow money from shopkeepers to pay for health and education expenses. It seemed that borrowing cash from shopkeepers and other households was harder than purchasing on credit or borrowing food. There was no evidence which suggested that informal lenders were charging interest on loans, which is probably due to the cultural and religious norms that discourage usury in financial dealings.

“For credit, people may give you food but not money... people are very difficult when it comes to money.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Kamor, Mandera]

“Money is not available at this time so I take fuel on credit.” [QPS with male non beneficiary, Mado, Mandera]

“I don’t borrow money but I go to the shops and borrow food so I take it on credit. I am afraid of cash debts... when it comes to money people are so violent, so to avoid much quarrels I don’t borrow money.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Kalemrongok, Turkana]

There seems a strong distinction made by many people between obtaining goods on credit and borrowing cash. People tend to be very happy to take goods on credit, but wary of borrowing cash. It is not clear why this is, but it seems possible that increases with familiarity with cash will over time change this. This could be explored in further follow ups.

It was unclear whether the amount ‘borrowed’ from relatives and neighbours was more of a sharing practice, charity or money/favour that had to be repaid.

“People don’t assist unless they are your relatives. They assist when you are hungry and you visit them in their homes they give you some beans or maize. They also give credit when members of your family are sick and they can also volunteer to give contribution for the person to be taken to the hospital [FGD female non beneficiaries, Lorengelup, Turkana]

In closely-knit communities it was harder to refuse credit.

“Most of these people are the people we have been brought up together with in the same place and therefore they cannot refuse credit.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Kamor, Mandera]

There was evidence to suggest that the on-going drought had forced households to borrow large sums of money which was often hard to repay. Those who had no remaining livestock because of the drought found it even harder to borrow and repay accumulated debt as they had no collateral and no livestock to exchange for cash.

“Before we used to sell our livestock and payback our debt but now it’s harder to pay back because of the drought.” [QPS male beneficiary, Chir Chir Mandera]

Additionally, as the drought had dramatically reduced the income of most households in the community, there were fewer people who could now lend to others.

“We used to assist each other before the drought but nowadays we have nothing. We are all equally poor. [QPS with male non beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

HSNP payments did allow many households to pay back accumulated debt and make the repayments on time.

“Before people started earning this (HSNP) money, they were heavily indebted but now they easily pay their debts and they can also access credit services from the shops.” [KII with Rights Committee, Lafaley, Wajir]

“Since I have started taking this money I stopped borrowing and I am repaying in small amounts, day by day.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Wajir Township]

Also, beneficiary households could now borrow more money or make (mainly food) purchases on credit as receiving a ‘regular salary-like’ payment improved their creditworthiness. HSNP thus provided assurance to lenders that beneficiaries would be able to pay back money after certain duration. This result is consistent with the findings from the quantitative survey.

“We buy some food stuff like sugar from the shops on credit and pay back later with the HSNP money.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Godoma, Wajir]

“Before HSNP nobody recognised me but now I am like someone who is earning a salary... before nobody allowed me credit but today I get credit and payback when I get the cash.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

“We are now creditworthy and the shopkeeper can give us anything we need because has guarantee of payment when our [HSNP] money comes. Otherwise, the shopkeeper doesn’t just give you credit like that. They need a security of re-payment.” [KII Relief Committee, Badasa, Marsabit]

However, it seemed that the reliability of the HSNP transfer affected some respondents’ perception of how useful HSNP was as a means of repaying debt. Delays in the disbursement of the cash transfer affected the borrowing practices and creditworthiness of some respondents.

“One cannot believe this money... first the beneficiary was chosen by luck... secondly it has no fixed date or time. If there was a specific date or time people could take credit since it would be more reliable.” [FGD male beneficiary, Wajir Township, Wajir]

The HSNP cash transfers allowed some beneficiaries to repay the debt that they had incurred to support their businesses.

“I normally don’t take food stuff on credit but now I can borrow some cash when my money is not enough to buy all the stock needed for my business... but when my HSNP money comes I pay back the debt.” [QPS with female beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit]

It was also used to inject working capital in businesses

“When the business has nothing you are able to get the products from the wholesalers [on credit] and pay them back from the HSNP money.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit]

However some respondents highlighted the insufficiency of the cash transfer in light of the large amounts of money needed to repay debts.

“It is very difficult for us to repay the debt because we are not getting enough money to pay it all in one go”. [QPS with female beneficiary, Mado, Mandera]

Nevertheless, there was evidence to suggest that HSNP allowed some respondents to cope with shocks such as sudden illnesses or drought. Beneficiary households, which were now more creditworthy, could borrow money to deal with such problems or use part of the cash transfer itself to pay for their expenditure.

“I used to sell timber but since I became sick I no longer sell anything... when I need something I borrow from my neighbours and when I get the HSNP payment I pay them back.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

“Before I had no choice of what to do next when a family member became sick but now I have a solution...it doesn’t matter how long this cash will take because I can borrow money on credit and pay it later.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit]

Attitudes to debt varied amongst respondents so it was hard to ascertain whether the increased ability to borrow had an overall positive or negative effect. Some respondents were averse to borrowing, especially in terms of cash.

“I am not the borrowing type, I am afraid of debts. It gives me headache when the owner comes for payment or if there is delay of payment definitely there won’t be peace.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana]

“I don’t like the way people talk when you have their money so I don’t like borrowing.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Napetet, Turkana]

HSNP transfers allowed such risk-averse beneficiaries to reduce their need for debt.

“My life is better now because I take salary form the HSNP Programme. I do not borrow money anymore and I don’t sell my

animals anymore and the HSNP money has supplemented the bill of the family.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Godoma, Wajir]

On the other hand, the majority of the respondents expressed satisfaction at their ability to borrow more easily due to their beneficiary status.

“Borrowing is not stressful because I have something to wait for at the end of the month. People give us goods on credit... our lives have changed for the better now.” [QPS with female beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit]

One non-recipient highlighted how she could now borrow money from HSNP beneficiaries in order to pay for treatment of illnesses [FGD, female non beneficiaries, Lorengelup, Turkana]

There was some evidence which suggested that HSNP might induce debt dependency through a moral hazard effect. The guarantee of a cash transfer could induce some households to spend more than their expected income and in the process, accumulate more debt than they would have done without the assurance of a regular payment. This is something that should be monitored, but currently is not reflected in the quantitative survey that found a statistically significant negative impact on the total value of outstanding debt.

“As the beneficiaries have that hope of getting money after a month or two they end up borrowing more than they are earning so when they are paid all they do with the money is to repay debts. When this money comes all they do with it is to take it straight to the lenders.” [QPS with male non beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana]

“The beneficiaries’ borrowing mostly exceeds their expectations and there are always recurring balances being taken forward.” [KII paypoint agent, Sala, Wajir]

“I take credit from shops and when the HSNP money comes I have already used a lot of credit. Sometime the credit I use is more than the HSNP cash.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

This was apparently exacerbated by the fact that most respondents considered the HSNP transfer to be too small to save or repay the accumulated debt in one payment.

“Generally this money is very little. Even those who are getting the money are unable to settle their debt using it, so they promise to settle the remaining bit using the next month’s disbursement. Then some end up buying goods beyond the amount they are given and are left with nothing at hand. So they promise to settle the remaining amount in the following month.” [FGD Traders, North Horr, Marsabit]

“The amount is too little...after several days this person again goes to the shopkeeper to pick things on credit and when this cash comes another huge amount is deducted so in the long run the shopkeeper is the one who benefits more from this programme.” [FGD Casual Labourers, Kokiselei, Turkana]

In terms of additional costs imposed by the cash transfer, some respondents mentioned that they asked their relatives for ‘assistance’ in order to pay back debts that they had acquired. One

respondent noted that beneficiaries purchased items on credit from shops far away in the town and therefore had to incur transportation costs when repaying their debt. “There are people who earn this money and take credit from shops in Wajir so they have to travel to Wajir to pay back the credit when they receive the money.” [FGD male elders, Lafaley, Wajir] Nevertheless a few beneficiaries did demonstrate a more prudent attitude towards borrowing. For example one respondent saved the HSNP transfer to buy some livestock, which he later sold. The proceeds from this, together with assistance from relatives allowed him to build a house for his family [QPS with male beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit].

Another positive impact of the cash transfer was that easier access to credit appeared to have improved the circulation of money in the local economy and increased market activity. “I am happy during the week when this money is given out because I sell clothes to many people and when they come to settle their credit others will also buy clothes from us. The town becomes very busy.” [FGD traders, North Horr, Marsabit] Some traders noted that their sales had increased as they now lent goods on credit to beneficiaries who promised to pay back later when the HSNP money was delivered. One respondent highlighted that lending to beneficiaries had helped create repeat business “As traders we also know that if you give credit to these people they will pay back on getting this money so they become a regular customer.” [FGD traders, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit]

There was no significant evidence of traders incurring bad debts or individuals renegeing on their promise to pay back debts. This was probably due to the reputational effects at play- non-payment meant that borrowers could not ask for more debt from the same individual. A dearth of borrowing sources (fewer shops and low access to formal credit) together with strong communication networks within closely-knit communities further reinforced these reputational effects.

“It is not easy at all to borrow something, especially money, because the person you are borrowing from will ask you to promise when you will pay him or her back and if you promise and not pay back on time, he or she will never help you when you are in need again.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

There was some evidence to suggest seasonality in the demand for credit which was linked to greater market activity in the rainy season. People tended to borrow in the dry season and repay debts in the rainy season using money from various trade activities. This also suggested some efforts by households to smooth consumption over the year.

“Sometimes the business goes down, especially during the drought period, since our main customers are pastoralists and during this period all animals are very weak, and have to be moved to far places in search of water and pasture. So we usually help them by giving credit... those who buy are fewer than those who ask for credit. If these people don't payback the credit at the end of the month, after two months or half a year then the business will go down. But during the rainy season at least some of the business will come up because there no more people who will ask for credit all they will use animal products and also sell some of them; and will purchase items directly.” [KII with Trader, North Horr, Marsabit]

Improved access to credit via greater creditworthiness allowed some households to consume food, education and health services without severe interruptions. “When I need something and I don't have money and I am not able to sell my livestock then I borrow credit from my neighbour and when I get the HSNP payment I pay it back.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera] Another respondent noted that if parents were unable to pay school fees and were being pressured

by the school headmaster, they would show him their Equity card as guarantee of later payment and their child would continue studying without any disturbance [FGD young women, Lafaley, Wajir].

4.5.3 Lending by paypoint agents

Pay point agents were reported as an important source of lending by beneficiaries. The agent was often a well-known trader/shopkeeper in the community and lent money or goods on credit on the assurance that beneficiaries would repay their debts on the day of disbursement. As with other informal lenders, those who knew the agent well or lived in the same community were more creditworthy.

“Those who take things on credit are those who are near the pay agent but for us who are far, we don’t get credit.” [FGD male beneficiaries, Napetet, Turkana]

Having a degree of control over the disbursement of the HSNP payment also reduced the risk of bad debts for the agent. Some respondents noted that the pay agent subtracted the amount owed before handing over the cash transfer whilst others reported receiving the full amount which was later used to pay off their debt.

“Sometimes you don’t need to go the shop to settle the debt. The agent knows how much you owe him so, you just tell him to take what belongs to him and he gives you your balance.” [FGD, female beneficiaries, Kokiselei, Turkana]

“First he gives me my money that this in my smart card then I pay what I owe him for the goods that I collected on credit”. [QPS with female beneficiary, Mado, Mandera]

There was no evidence of exploitation by the agent in terms of coercing beneficiaries to buy from his/her shop.

“The pay agent does not force anyone to buy food stuff. One may take food stuff in advance and instruct the agent to deduct from the HSNP payment.” [FGD male beneficiaries, Badasa, Marsabit]

One respondent however pointed out that the agent kept her card as a security deposit when she took credit from his shop [QPS with female beneficiary, Badasa, Marsabit]. A beneficiary in Turkana noted that the agent sometimes asked the recipients to take goods instead of cash payments if he had insufficient cash on the payment day [QPS with male beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana] In addition to this some respondents mentioned how the pay agent allowed credit purchases to beneficiaries when the HSNP payment was delayed or the cash on disbursement day was insufficient. This seemed to be beneficial for those who had to pay for urgent expenses. As with other shopkeepers, it was often reported that beneficiaries tended to take back only a small amount of the cash transfer as most of it was taken by the agent as a repayment for the goods bought on credit.

“Most of the people pay the debt that they owe to the pay agents and hence go away without any shillings on the pay day. This situation depends on the status of the family. Some have 2 children; others have 6 to 7 children. So by the time of the disbursement some of

them have already consumed the maximum credit". [KII Community Leader, Badasa, Marsabit]

The additional debt owed to the paypoint agents should be monitored, and if the programme stops, very careful communication should be made to ensure that beneficiaries are not caught in debt.

Some paypoint agents reported that it was financially unfeasible for them to give large amounts of credit "Giving credit is problematic as the money takes time to come back to me but overall the program is good." [KII with pay point agent, Badasa, Marsabit] Another agent highlighted that he gave beneficiaries credit as he was encouraged by the (Equity) bank to do so even though "People take a lot of things on credit and take a very long time to repay." [KII with pay point agent, Lafaley, Wajir].

4.6 Shocks and coping strategies

4.6.1 Introduction

There were two major shocks between the baseline and follow up surveys that operated across most of the HSNP districts: poorer than expected rainfall (drought), and inflation.

As set out elsewhere, the long rains in March-May 2011 were significantly poorer than average in Wajir, Mandera and most of Marsabit, while rainfall in Turkana was better than average. Drought is not new in these areas. Rainfall is normally low, but some years are noticeably worse than others and noticeably below expectations, and this constitutes a drought. The HSNP baseline report noted that major droughts occurred for most of the 1990s and in 2004-2006, 2007-2009 and 2010. The implication of the drought was that herders had to travel further to find adequate pastures (often to risky grazing areas around international borders), and many livestock died as some lost entire herds.

Intra-survey inflation (as calculated from the quantitative fieldwork) was 41% for a bundle of 29 food items, miraa and kerosene, which represented 78% of consumption at baseline. This inflation measure accounts for changes in budget shares. As noted elsewhere, the HSNP provided 12% of expenditure on average. Inflation therefore constituted an extremely significant shock.

In addition to these two major widespread shocks, households in these districts also face a range of shocks that are specific to more specific individuals, such as conflict, disease, accident, death and job loss. Some of these shocks can still affect large numbers of individuals (such as economic downturn, an outbreak of malaria, or fighting), but they are more localised than inflation and drought.

Weather, inflation and health shocks have seasonal dimensions. This section does not discuss seasonality in great detail. However, overall, the impacts of the drought are most likely to be felt in the period before the short rains, which are typically in October or November. Patterns of inflation are more complex, but also related to seasonal food and livestock production. Health shocks are likely to take place when water is short, but also (for malaria) during rains when mosquitoes breed.

The most common response to shocks, according to the baseline report, was consuming less food. Three quarters of households overall and 95% in Turkana did this in the 30 days preceding the baseline and 60% overall (and 76% in Turkana and 71% in Marsabit) had gone entire days without eating solids. The next most common responses were obtaining items on credit (60% overall but 39% in Turkana), borrowing from friends (59% overall but 74% in Turkana), selling livestock (34%), and scavenging for wild foods.

These responses have negative consequences for household resilience and wealth in the long-term. The negative consequences of eating less or nothing are very well known: lower food consumption leads to poorer nutrition, stunting physical and cognitive development in young children and leaving adults less energetic and productive (see Save the Children 2012 for a recent summary). From the baseline, households also felt that borrowing had negative consequences as repayments could be higher, forcing them to sell productive assets such as livestock or risking arrest on default. Moreover, over time, credit becomes harder to obtain as creditors are less certain of poorer households' ability to repay.

Against this background, the HSNP aimed to decrease vulnerability to shocks. This was expected to occur through helping beneficiaries to:

- Reduce exposure to shocks by diversifying livelihood and asset portfolios.
- Prevent shocks, e.g. by immunising herds against disease
- Cope with shocks without resorting to strategies with long-term negative consequences (hereafter 'negative coping strategies').

Qualitative follow up findings indicate that, faced with the two major covariate shocks noted above and a range of other idiosyncratic shocks, some beneficiaries were slightly better able to cope than before as a result of the HSNP. However, the HSNP did not prevent them from suffering shocks. Moreover, most beneficiaries continued to use a range of negative coping strategies when faced with shocks. These included eating less and selling livestock. Given the extent of inflation and the size of the HSNP transfer, this is unsurprising. The HSNP was, however, able to help many beneficiaries to eat more than they might have done, sell fewer livestock than otherwise, spend more on healthcare than otherwise, and spend more on education. The extent of the impact on negative coping strategies depended largely on the size of the household and the cumulative size of shocks to which they were exposed.

4.6.2 Shocks

This section discusses the four main shocks apparent from the qualitative fieldwork: drought, inflation, economic downturn, (human) disease, conflict, and pests and (livestock and crop) disease. There are other significant shocks in these areas that we do not discuss since they were not reported. In particular, these include flooding, which was damaging in Turkana at the time of research conducted by the HSNP Secretariat in November 2011.

Although there are various small insurance projects planned and ongoing, such as a livestock insurance programme for 650 herders in Marsabit run by the International Livestock Research Institute¹¹, there is no formal insurance that is widely available for any of these shocks.

4.6.2.1 Drought

Most respondents discussed drought, but particularly in Mandera, Wajir and to some extent Marsabit. In Turkana, 2011 rainfall was largely good compared with previous years, but previous years have been very bad, and rainfall was poorer in the eastern part of the district (in Kokiselei, amongst qualitative evaluation sub-locations). Even without droughts, the dry season (June-October) in Turkana is extremely harsh and animals die. Communities are still feeling the effects of previous droughts and respondents still discussed drought as a problem. Its principal impact was on livestock, with many herds either significantly reduced or destroyed by death. This affected

¹¹ See <http://www.ilri.org/ilrinews/index.php/archives/7348> for details.

households with livestock. According to the baseline report, 70% of households owned livestock, so this was felt widely, but most strongly in rural communities.

Most simply, long droughts cause livestock to die, particularly goats and cows that are less hardened to prolonged water shortage than camels:

“long droughts can cause the goats to die” [QPS with non-beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera].

“the biggest problem we have is the drought. Many of our livestock are dead – mostly the cows.” [FGD with male elders, Eldanaba, Mandera].

“The last year was better because we had a drought this year...and the animals we had died because of drought. There is no water and no grass. What we have in this area is just cattle and goats and all of them have died so last year was better because we had them.” [QPS with non-beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

“Life is very difficult when there are droughts like now. Because there is no water, the animals are dying and those who survived are very weak.” [QPS with beneficiary, Godoma, Wajir]

“the period of drought is longer than the rainy season and it took almost all animals we have.” [QPS with beneficiary, Badasa, Marsabit]

“The drought and diseases are affecting the livestock, they are actually decreasing.” [QPS with beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana].

“My friend we have never experienced this kind of drought. We have lost majority of our livestock. Did you see three dead camels near the pump as you were coming here? One is mine the other two are my neighbour’s. Last year I had about 100 goats now look I have only seven remaining and I have to share the food I get with them.” [QPS with beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana]

In areas with some agriculture, the drought also makes crop production very difficult or impossible:

In addition, water for human consumption is scarcer, which requires households either to spend on water from tankers, which can be infrequent, or to spend more time trying to find water. Overall, it also probably causes people to consume less water, with obvious health and hygiene implications:

“because of the drought, everything is hard to get. 20 litres of water is 70 shillings.” [QPS with beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera].

As a result, successive droughts cause people to drop into poverty:

“When it rains and the animals get grass and water but if the droughts continue like this even the middle class will be affected and might drop down to poor or very poor in no time...

...These people almost all of them are livestock keepers...even nowadays we do not get milk we used to get from animals. I was away to bush for 14 months and I when came back to the village the children of the richest man in the village had become malnourished and they are taking porridge from Islamic relief. This has

been brought by the drought season. If it does not rain in the next ten days I do not know how things will become” [FGD with female elders, Chir Chir, Mandera]

The drought made livestock more difficult to sell, which meant that households were less able to smooth consumption and buy regular essential items:

“if we compare this time and the last time you visited us people have been struggling. They really need help because of the drought. For us who are non-beneficiaries we cannot sell our livestock because of the drought. Before we used to sell our livestock for between KES 1000 and KES 5000 and when you get that money you are able to buy food for your family, buy books and pens for your children, go for treatment if you are ill, buy clothes and you can save the remaining money.” [FGD with female non-beneficiaries, Chir Chir, Mandera].

“before I could sell my livestock even at KES 10,000. But at the moment there is no market which has brought the problems.” [QPS with non-beneficiary, Mado, Mandera].

“The major problem here is drought and poor market for our livestock. We sell our animals at a low price.” [FGD with beneficiaries, Godoma, Wajir].

The drought also makes it more difficult to sell milk from livestock, either because they produce less or because they die:

“For real at this time of drought you cannot save anything you are really in need. What you get is less compared to the rainy season whereby you can sell milk from your livestock then use the money to buy food for your family buy books and pens for your children, and you can save the remaining.” [FGD with female non-beneficiaries, Chir Chir, Mandera]

“livestock have no market. For example today if you take the goats to the market no one will buy them.” [QPS with beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera].

“This is most difficult to me now where there is serious drought. Even the livestock require food. The few goats are weak. There is no pasture and water source are inadequate. I fetch water from el-Khalif which is about 2 ½ miles away. There is no product coming from the livestock like milk.” [QPS with beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir]

“in the last five months we were experiencing an extremely dry spell and the long rains have failed hence the few livestock we have are all emaciated and weak. Their productivity in the next two months cannot be good and in addition we have to buy food for them.” [QPS with beneficiary, Sala, Wajir]

“Previously animals produced milk and meat but now in drought times these animals are weakened and produce nothing.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, North Horr, Marsabit].

Milk from animals was previously used for consumption, but this has dried up, and this drives up milk prices:

“Some time back the drought was different, and there was enough dry grass. But this time totally there are no animals around and children have no milk – they just feed on dry meal.” [QPS with beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit].

The loss of livestock has several effects. First, since livestock often represent the most important or only wealth assets, households are less able to smooth consumption and pay for urgent needs, such as healthcare:

“It has affected the whole family because all of them depend on these livestock, so if the livestock die they all depend on me and I also depend on the livestock. So if the livestock are dead I don’t have anything to give them.” [QPS with non-beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

Second, it makes it harder to repay existing debts where households have taken debt against the promise of selling livestock to repay:

“All of these problems are because of the drought. Before when you take credit we used to sell our livestock and pay back our debt. But more it’s hard to pay back because of the drought.” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

Third, households have to find other ways to obtain water or other goods. Where before they were able to use larger livestock such as camels to carry water, these animals have either died or become too weak to carry water. The drought therefore forces people to search further afield for water, contributing to time poverty, or to scavenge for less preferable sources of water.

“The animal have no strength to go to the water point that is why I am digging for roots because animals cannot go to Chir Chir to look for water...Due to drought season we buy water from a vehicle which brings water tanker and it is away 10 days. We have not got water for last 7 days” [QPS with non-beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera].

“Even me I had a donkey cart and I collected firewood. Now there is no one who is buying the firewood and the donkey can longer carry the cart. It has become too weak.” [FGD with male elders, Lafaley, Wajir]

One response to losing livestock was to turn to casual labour. Casual labourers noted this:

“There are some people who are 40 years old and above who joined us because their animals have died because of drought. They have no other option to feed their families apart from by doing these kinds of manual work.

Almost 80% of the youths have no any other thing to do in this community because their animals have died due to drought.” [FGD with casual labourers, Chir Chir, Mandera].

Households who lost all of their livestock would move to towns and stay with relatives, greatly increasing the burden on them:

“Now we are somehow weak because we passed a long drought. All our animals have died. All our relatives who had animals and were in bush came to town because their animals have died. They came to town and increased our problems because they have nothing and they came to us.” [QPS with non-beneficiary, Wajir Township, Wajir].

As discussed in the section on mobility, the drought forces households who have retained their animals to move more to find pasture. This has negative consequences for the education of children:

“the reason why it is difficult for me to send my children to school because of the drought it has really affected the studying of the children because we migrate from one place to another looking for pasture.” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

Interestingly, no respondents mentioned conflict as a result of drought (although some were forced to move to places with greater insecurity). This supports recent literature that argues that drought actually suppresses conflict in northern Kenya because individuals need to collaborate to survive (Eaton 2008; Theisen 2012).

“Drought has disrupted our movements. Drought forces people to move to places with a lot of insecurity.” [FGD with male elders, Godoma, Wajir]

4.6.2.2 Inflation

Inflation has been very high in the HSNP districts, at around 40% according to the quantitative survey. This is reflected in findings from Turkana in research conducted by the HSNP Secretariat (2011). It was noted by several respondents:

“Everything has become expensive in Kenya (*Uchumi imepanda* – the economy is high).” [FGD with male elders, Eldanaba, Mandera].

“I remember in this year life became unbearable in March and afterwards. Now life is still hard because prices of goods in the market have shot high.” [QPS with beneficiary, Kalemungorok, Turkana]

Respondents reported that prices have increased for food, transport, and agricultural inputs. However, in most areas, livestock prices have remained low, either because of drought or disease, and agricultural yields have been poor. These two trends dramatically reduce the terms of trade for pastoralists, and the purchasing power of cultivators:

“Yes, there has been a change in the price of goods and services in our local shop and in the market. Prices have shot up and living conditions have become very hard. Costs of transport have double making it even impossible for the household to move and access goods and services at cheaper prices. Households that lead nomadic lives are affected because livestock market still fetches low prices. Livestock health has affected the price in negative way. Farming also have been affected by high prices because the prices of farm inputs and tools are very high. But because of drought and poor livestock health, sale prices have been negatively affected.” [FGD with beneficiaries, Lorengelup, Turkana].

Inflation in combination with drought is particularly devastating:

“The drought was more difficult than last year. Before there was drought but the price of goods were cheap compared to this time whereby you buy a kilo of sugar for 100 shillings, rice 90 shillings, ugali 70 shillings and flour is 100 shillings so life is becoming more difficult” [QPS with beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera].

“the problem we are facing this year, we have not seen such a problem before because we have not seen such drought before. Milk is short – a litre of milk costs one hundred and fifty shillings. Last night and the previous night we even missed the milk we used buy because of drought. We took tea without milk.” [QPS with beneficiary, Wajir Township, Wajir]

“Before this drought I was able to save something albeit a little but now because of the devastating drought, it has become impossible for me to do so. The prices of all commodities have rocketed sky high.” [QPS with beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir]

Some feel that the drought caused inflation, which seems likely to be the case:

“In our area there is no food so the prices have increased. 12 months ago *ugali* (*posho*) used to cost KES 50 but now it costs KES 90 per kilogram. The sugar was KES 60 per kg but now it is KES 150. So there are many problems.” [QPS with non-beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera].

“everything else like the shooting of food prices is tied to the lack of rain so there is nothing we can do.” [QPS with beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir]

Sometimes, there are incidents of localised inflation as rainfall cuts areas off, allowing shopkeepers a monopoly on sales. This was reported even in large towns:

“There are some shopkeepers who had a stock of goods before the rain. When it rained and they know the road is blocked they increased the price because they know no vehicle will come for some days.” [FGD with beneficiaries, Wajir Township, Wajir].

4.6.2.3 Economic downturn

Casual labourers noted that the labour market was tighter, both because of increases in the supply of labour as a result of drought and because labour demand had not responded. For example:

“Nowadays no casual labour because people are many and the activity available is less we are many on this kind of activity while the work itself is not available.” [FGD with casual labourers, Chir Chir, Mandera].

This was not widely discussed. However, it seems likely that given this, labour prices did not increase in line with inflation, so inflation constituted a shock to households’ purchasing power. More work needs to be done here (see also section on livelihoods).

4.6.2.4 Health

Many respondents also face health shocks. In the HSNP baseline, 23% of people had suffered an illness in the three months prior to the survey. For those who fell sick, this was normally the most significant shock they reported. Health shocks are significant because people incur costs in dealing with them (see section on health for more detail) and because ill people are unable to work as much as when healthy or at all.

“I abruptly caught a fever accompanied by vomiting and generally body pain. Within a short time I became generally weak and bedridden. I had a small kiosk before the onset of the programme but it completely failed since I was in hospital for the last three months. I have used approximately KES 30,000...for my treatment.” [QPS with beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir]

“Other include illness amongst family member, if you are employee of government you may get medical cover through NHIF. But poor man cannot afford. We do not have any medical cover, our existence is just survival for the fittest and eliminations for the weakest.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Marsabit Township, Marsabit].

“We normally fall sick, especially stomach ache, which leads to diarrhoea, and you sleep so much. Then I go to the hospital and get treatment most of the time. We use HSNP money to buy for treatment.” [QPS with beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana]

Typically, these additional labour requirements are absorbed in the household, but this places additional burdens on household members:

“When I become sick [my children] fetch water, cook food, and look for firewood. They assist me during the holidays.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera].

“the times that have been more difficult are when my wife was sick and I was forced to do her responsibilities.” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera].

“There was a time I had a problem. Malaria affected my family and I had a hard time, since by then I was not having enough money to take them to the hospital and to feed them well. My husband came and he had something then we supported one another and also with the help of food.” [QPS with beneficiary, Kamor, Mandera].

“We are very poor because I am the main provider but I have been sick for more than a year and no members of this household are working.” [QPS with beneficiary, Marsabit Township, Marsabit].

However, health shocks to adults are particularly difficult to deal with when children are too young to work and need to be cared for. In these instances, health shocks will have negative consequences not only for the person who falls ill, but also for their children:

“The time that has been more difficult is the last 12 months is the time I became sick. Nobody was around, I was just alone with my children. I was not able to go to the hospital because I did not have money so I stayed at home struggling to care for the children.” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera].

“Yes, the most difficult time is when I was sick and no one was there to provide for the family. I had to borrow money from people at least to go to the hospital and also give something to my children to eat but I thank God I got well.” [QPS with non-beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

Health shocks are regular but unexpected, unlike droughts or dry periods that occur every year. This makes it hard to prepare for them:

“In the month of February there was a lot of malaria in my house we almost fell sick all of us in the house. Drought is just a season like any other season but malaria is sickness and we do fall sick from time to time and it is part of life.” [QPS with beneficiary, Lorengelup, Turkana]

4.6.2.5 Conflict

Conflict is common in and around the HSNP districts. There are several different localised issues. Recent evidence from northern Kenya suggests that, contrary to several arguments, conflict is not driven by drought and that in fact drought may reduce conflict since individuals realise that it is suicidal in drought times (Eaton 2008; Theisen 2012)

In Mandera and Wajir, there is ongoing conflict around the Somalia border. This has been particularly significant since autumn 2011, largely after follow up one qualitative fieldwork ended. However, conflict was also a problem before this, particularly affecting those whose livelihood involved trading near or through the border. For example:

“The only threat I have is insecurity in Somalia border since most of our products come from Somalia.” [QPS with beneficiary, Kamor, Mandera].¹²

There are also various outbreaks of conflict between tribes. These are found particularly in Marsabit, where the Samburu/Rendille and Gabra/Borana have ongoing fights, and in Mandera and Wajir. These lead to death, loss of animals and disruption:

“the war is between Dagodia and Gari tribes. They have killed so many men, they also taken camel which is not theirs, and this brought war between two tribes. My brother was killed.” [QPS with beneficiary, Mado, Mandera]

“There are some whose animals have been raided and now empty handed.” [Interview with rights committee member, Badasa, Marsabit].

“Previously they had livestock but their livestock were raided and they lost the livestock. Even though they get this money their situation is not as good as when they could depend on their livestock.” [FGD with female elders, North Horr, Marsabit]

“If the government doesn’t help us then communities will fight. The Gabra and Turkana, they always fight.” [Interview with community leader, North Horr, Marsabit].

In Turkana, there are regular conflicts between groups, usually over pasture or just simple raiding of animals by raiders (*ngingoroko*). Indeed, in Turkana, cattle raiding is endemic, though there is some debate over whether it is driven by external factors such as scarcity, or internal forces such as identity.¹³ In either case, it can be harmful for livestock owners:

“The children have gone to school but before they used to take care of the animals but since drought and the cattle raiders are attacking us on both sides we have nothing left to take care of.” [QPS with beneficiary, Kalemungorok, Turkana]

“But another major problem is these raiders they are not giving us peace of mind.” [QPS with beneficiary, Kalemungorok, Turkana]

In this case, the loss of animals had a positive impact on school attendance, at least in the short term.

¹² Kamor is very close to the border with Somalia and Ethiopia. See map.

¹³ See Lines 2009 for an interesting discussion of the centrality of raiding to Turkana identity.

4.6.2.6 Pest and disease

Those involved in agriculture face a common set of risks. These include pests, crop disease, and animal disease. Animal disease outbreaks were severe in 2009, but there has not been a similar outbreak in the survey period. However, others report problems with pests and crop disease. For example, farmers list challenges they face as:

“pest that destroy the crops. And we don’t have means to fight with such. And, there are intruders like monkeys.” [FGD with farmers, Mado, Mandera].

“One problem is when crops fail to grow due to lack of rain, pest infection and heat from the sun.” [QPS with beneficiary, Badasa, Marsabit].

4.6.3 The HSNP and coping strategies

People in these districts are not insured against and cannot usually avoid the shocks described above. They therefore needed to find ways to mitigate their exposure to these shocks (though livelihood diversification) or to cope with the shocks after they had occurred. This section discusses those attempts and the HSNP has helped.

At baseline, the principal means of dealing with shocks are reducing consumption, borrowing from friends, taking on debt and selling livestock. These four strategies remained the key coping mechanisms used by households at follow up. People also stocked food from the rainy season to consume during the dry season, and drought. However, the covariate shocks, particularly the drought, made it much harder for people to use some strategies they would normally have deployed, or made these strategies less effective. The negative effects of the drought and inflation on coping strategies include:

- Lower prices for livestock, so that selling livestock had less return.
- Death of animals, so that there were fewer animals to sell.
- Death and weakness of animals, meaning that there was less milk to sell.
- Generalised economic difficulty caused by inflation and drought meant that everyone had less to share, and informal sharing was affected.

In this context, the HSNP payments enabled beneficiaries facing shocks to:

- Reduce food consumption less because they were able to use the cash to buy food.
- Sell fewer livestock when faced with shocks because they were able to pay for immediate needs.
- Pay off debts and obtain credit more easily due to the collateral role of the payments.
- Diversify livelihoods into trading when livestock prices were low or animals died.

Each of these coping strategies are discussed in more detail elsewhere (see sections on consumption, livestock, debt and livelihoods). This section therefore briefly considers the role of the HSNP in improving households’ abilities to cope overall with shocks.

Respondents mentioned that the incidences of these negative coping strategies had reduced. First, the HSNP allowed people to maintain food consumption during drought:

“the HSNP payment has helped people because people are able to buy food when they get the payment, particularly at this time of drought.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Chir Chir, Mandera]

Second, they were less likely to sell assets (mainly livestock). Not selling assets had the effect of multiplying the value of the transfers as animals might reproduce. The following response is very typical:

“Before we started earning this money, if for example we wanted to build a house and buy building materials like poles, we had to sell one of the few animals we have. If our children were chased away from school because of fees, we had to sell an animal. Fortunately now, this money can take care of those issues.” [FGD with female beneficiaries, Godoma, Wajir]

Third, HSNP beneficiaries are better able to obtain credit, because the payment acts as a form of collateral. The drought had made this hard:

“Sometimes it’s hard to pay because of the drought. Like now it’s hard to sell your livestock because of the drought, so at a time like this you cannot borrow anything because you know it will be hard to pay back.” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir Mandera]

“[But] because now we are getting money, even the person you took credit from can wait for you. But before we had money, credit was not allowed for us.” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

Fourth, HSNP beneficiaries were better able to move to avoid conflict or to find pasture, because they could spend the cash on transport (see mobility section).

Fifth, HSNP beneficiaries relied less on borrowing or gifts from others, and even started to lend to or share with others themselves. This would have eased the pressure created by successive droughts on informal safety nets (see section on informal safety nets).

Sixth, HSNP beneficiaries were less likely to turn to casual labour (see section on livelihoods). This would have reduced pressure on the labour market overall.

In addition to this, the HSNP cash was everywhere a useful support to expenditure on consumption, agricultural inputs and other household items that had become challenging in the context of high inflation and necessary in the context of drought (see consumption section). It also allowed some beneficiaries to diversify into small kiosks (see livelihoods section).

It is difficult to say which types of households were able to reduce which coping strategies the most. Some were able to reduce their use of two or more coping strategies:

“Now is better for me than before. Before we never had money but now we are getting HSNP money even in this drought...I am recognised by the shop keepers because I am just like somebody who is waiting his salary. So I do not sell animals. Before when my son was chased from school I used sell a goat but not now.” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera].

As with other impacts, the size of the reduction was related to the size of the household and the success of the targeting. Larger, poorer beneficiary households were probably less able to avoid these negative coping strategies than smaller, wealthier ones.

There were many problems, moreover, with which the HSNP payment was unable to help. For instance, some households were unable to move because members or animals were old or weak. Sometimes health crises did not occur close to the day of HSNP payment. The HSNP payments were not enough to cover the loss of many livestock.

The positive impact of the HSNP on reducing vulnerability to shocks should therefore not be overstated. All respondents, beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, felt the impact of shocks very strongly in the intra-survey period. The negative impact of these shocks generally outweighed the positive impact of the HSNP. Some beneficiaries were able to use the cash to reduce their reliance on coping strategies that were likely to have negative long-term effects, but most continued to use the same strategies, just less.

4.7 Empowerment of women

HSNP cash transfers are intended to contribute significantly to household spending on food. This may improve the standing of women in the household and community to the extent that they are primarily responsible for providing food. Furthermore, during implementation transfers have often been targeted towards female household members, even though this was not a specific programme policy, and it is possible that the gender of the beneficiary will influence broader gender relationships within the household.

Empowerment is a complex phenomenon that does not lend itself to simple study. This section analyses, as a proxy for empowerment, the impact of the HSNP on women's status and roles in the household, their decision-making power in the household, and whether any gender-related conflict was caused by the transfer. Broadly, it seems that the HSNP is viewed as 'women's money'. Receiving the money did not alter women's roles significantly, but did improve some women's status. There was no significant qualitative evidence for an impact on women's control over budget decision-making. The transfers did not lead to significant tensions between men and women, though there were isolated reports of divorce related to the transfer.

4.7.1 Gender roles and status

Notably in, Marsabit, anecdotal evidence and field observations show that HSNP has been branded "women's money". Although women are not explicitly targeted, it seems programme staff encouraged households to nominate women as primary beneficiaries:

"They say this is the money for women. We were advised by the programme staff to consider women as primary beneficiaries because they know the problems of the household" [FGD with young women, Badasa, Marsabit].

In general, targeting cash transfers at women is assumed to increase their control of household resources, leading to improvement in various aspects of household welfare.

Traditionally, men are considered the main provider in most households. It is expected that they earn an income and make household decisions on how resources are to be spent. The women's role, on the other hand, is restricted to domestic running of household activities. It is not clear from the data whether there were significant variations by district in gender relations, although this would be expected given the differences across the districts. This may be an issue for further analysis.

This was more strongly expressed in Mandera, where it seems that the women's role was confined to domestic activities. "Us women, our duty is to take care of the children, cook food for the family, and fetch firewood" [FGD with female non beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

During the discussions, respondents were asked specifically whether these distinct gender roles had altered as a result of the HSNP. Beneficiary responses generally suggested that there was no change, and that men were still regarded as the bread winners and retained respect and authority:

“In our community women’s work is to take care of children, cook food and also fetch water so nothing has changed, they are still doing their duty. Men’s work is to provide for the family.” [FGD with male beneficiaries, Chirchir, Mandera]

“No our roles have not changed, we don’t have any problems. We live together as we used to be. We also share our responsibilities as usual. For example, my husband goes to look for our goats and I go to the market to sell goods. [FGD with female elder, Napetet, Turkana]

However, there were also a few comments to suggest that there were some changes that took place, and that women had gained status and respect in the households as a result of the HSNP:

“It is a privilege for a woman to receive money. Men can request for it if they want to have something ... in the past women were not allowed to attend community gatherings. They were meant for domestic affairs such as cooking and looking after the children. Now this has changed. Gathering is attended by both women and elders, we are now the same. It’s a change.” [FGD with female elders, Marsabit, Badasa]

“Before, the man was the final decisions maker in any household but nowadays women are taking part in making decisions. A woman will talk to the husband and when they agree on one thing and a decision is made, so even women make decisions where necessary. Even if it is on this money they sit down and decide on how this money they should be used in their house, whether it is the man getting it or it is the woman... Because both bring the income they both run their homestead unlike before when men were the once saying everything.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Napetet, Turkana]

“There has been empowerment of women in the social scene since this program started and we can now see women engaging in a lot of activities in the community and even opening businesses and uplifting their livelihoods.” [FGD with female elders, Lafaley, Wajir]

4.7.2 Decision-making

Qualitative evidence from the baseline showed that decision-making responsibility lay with both men and women, depending on household composition and the nature and type of decisions being made. In the absence of an adult male figure, the decision making was usually left to the eldest female in the household. In addition, while women were responsible for day to day domestic and household activities, men were responsible for more ‘important’ decisions around livelihoods, migration, etc. However, men and women also consulted each other, although in such cases the ultimate decision rests the men.

Looking specifically at budgetary responsibilities, the quantitative data from baseline shows that HSNP households were more likely to have a female main budget decision maker (46%), than non-HSNP households (36%).

Previous evidence has shown that cash transfers often have effects on household resource distribution and decision making, although the literature on this is still nascent. For example, where women are chosen as the primary beneficiaries of the transfers, they may spend more on food and other household items. In turn, it is assumed that the cash transfer enhances women's decision-making abilities. For example, it enables women to have greater control over resource allocation to food and other household resources.

Qualitative findings show that men were in charge of allocating resources in the household and having the final say in household decisions, although some men reported that they consulted their wives. Women's decision making power was limited to the household duties, mainly around food, child care etc. However, the differences across district were dramatic. In Mandera, male dominance over decision making was strongly expressed, with respondents pointing to the cultural and religious norms that underpinning this:

"I am the one who picks up the payment but we discuss with my husband who decides how to spend it. The reason why I discuss with him is because I am a woman and if I make a decision independently, it is going to be a big mistake in our community. A woman cannot make a decision, she must consult a man." [QPS with female beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

"Any decision is discussed but finally made by the father or the man of the house but after discussion. According to the Sharia law it is not wise for women to make decisions openly." [FGD with female elders, Chir Chir, Mandera].

Overall no noticeable changes were found in resource allocation and decision making process in households since baseline and respondents generally acknowledged this:

"The responsibilities in my household did not change at all. We still do the same just like before- no changes...the same decision maker still makes important decisions because he or she is the head of the household." [QPS with female beneficiary, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit]

"The decision taken depends on the situation and intensity of the matter. So men in the households take hard decisions while women take light decisions in the households" [FGD with female elders, Turkana, Lorengelup]

The above is hardly surprising, in part because it is too early to expect such changes; but also because the process of achieving such changes requires a process of institutional and cultural change which is difficult to achieve over such a short time and perhaps impossible to expect from the programme.

The qualitative data showed that the majority of primary male recipients tended to maintain control over the use of the cash transfer in line with their responsibilities as household heads.

However, there were some isolated cases where respondents mentioned consulting with their spouses because "she is the one who knows the family needs" [FGD with male beneficiaries,

Chirchir, Mado]. The quantitative survey found some increased budget decision-making role of women was found in male-headed households.

However it seems that that ultimately the decision over resource allocation still lay with male household members:

“Because I am the head of my household and when I make decision about how we used the money they respect that and if my children and wife have an opinion I listen to but still mine is always the one they follow.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Napetet, Turkana]

Respondents in female headed households tended to exercise control over the use of the cash independently:

“I decide on how the money is spent because I am the mother of the family and the head of the family” [QPs with female beneficiary, Godoma, Wajir]

For women living in male headed households however, the decision over the use of the cash was made either independently, or in joint consultation with male household’s heads. Interestingly, there were very few respondents who mentioned that the decision over the use of the transfer was made by a third party on their behalf. This evidence perhaps points to the fact that although there is little impact of the HSNP on decision making, the HSNP could be a potential avenue for increased participation of women in decision making in a context where decision making responsibility traditionally rests with men. At the same time it must be acknowledged that in a traditionally patriarchal context, greater control and decision making power placed in the hands of women could lead to tensions and divorces as described earlier.

4.7.3 Conflict

In patriarchal societies where traditionally men control cash income, encouraging women as primary beneficiaries is likely to reinforce gender stereotypes as well as instigate conflicts between men and women, which can often escalate into violence. For example, men and women may disagree over how the money should be shared and spent among household members. And some men may find the new found control that the cash transfer gives women a threat to their role as household heads. For example, in an evaluation of concern worldwide emergency cash transfer project in Malawi, Devereux et al (2007) found that, where the programme exacerbated tensions between men and women, these occurred firstly because some men felt that their role as household heads was undermined and secondly because of disagreements over how the money should be used.

Our study found no direct evidence of violence between men and women (respondents were not directly asked about this). Only one respondent in a male non-beneficiary FGD in Eldanaba, Mandera, alluded to violence between a recipient and his wife, although we are unable to substantiate this, as no beneficiary admitted to either beating or being beaten.

However, our study did find some evidence of conflicts and tension between men and women in the households, which respondents mentioned sometimes led to divorces. In one focus group, respondents were very clear in attributing this to HSNP.

On the one hand, HSNP exacerbated conflicts and tension between men and women as men felt that their roles as head of household were being undermined:

“Somehow the responsibilities that has been given to women makes them feel superior in the household or even sometimes when she is discussing with a man on some issues she might insist on an idea that the man doesn’t like.” [FGD with males non-beneficiaries, Liyoripichau]

“Before the women were taking orders from their husbands, the husbands used to pay the bills and used to be in charge of the households but since the HSNP started women are more powerful than men because they are the primary beneficiaries, they tell you that you have to beg since it’s their money and the men are complaining about their wives because they are not taking orders from them.” [FGD with male non beneficiaries, Eldanaba, Mandera]

It is interesting to note that although the HSNP may have led to women becoming “powerful” or “superior”, these terms were used mainly by men in a derogatory way to define women who became more assertive and challenged male dominance in the home. In a discussion with a group of male elders in Eldanaba, the respondents mentioned that women’s behaviour towards their husbands had changed, and in some cases women were seen to be rude to their husbands: “the programme has made many people fight and disagree, mostly between the husbands and wives. I am saying this because most of the beneficiaries are women so they have become very rude and are not listening to their husbands” [FGD with male elders, Eldanaba, Mandera]. However, it is important to stress that this was not very widespread.

On the other hand, conflicts also arose over how the money was to be shared and spent as well as over the ownership of the HSNP card. There were a few isolated cases (mainly in Chir Chir, Eldanaba, Mado, Lafaley and Godoma) where respondents mentioned that such tensions and conflicts led to divorces:

“Previously the man used to pay for everything. But now when the woman gets the money and she being told to pay for some things, and when she refuses and they start arguing. These arguments can lead to break up in families. The number of divorces has reached 20 cases” [FGD with male elders in Mado, Mandera]

“There are some cases where the husbands and wives disagree and divorce each other. The wife is the primary recipient, while the husband is the secondary recipient. The husband usually wants the money to be divided in to two. But then the wife thinks the money comes in her name and so it belongs to her. But then the husband insists that the money must be shared. So know that becomes a problem.” [FGD with male non-beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

In Kalemrongok, Turkana, a relief committee member mentioned that conflict occurred particularly among polygamous households whereby male beneficiaries failed to distribute the cash transfer equally among all wives. Another respondent from a male elders FGD in Godoma, Wajir mentioned: “HSNP has created some disagreements among families especially men with many wives forcing them to migrate.”

In a focus group discussion with a group of male elders in Eldanaba, respondent mentioned that another potential source of conflict was the limited access to other household resources that women have when they get access cash transfers: “As we told you earlier, the HSNP payments have brought conflicts between husbands and wives. Since the HSNP began, women are treated

differently whenever they ask for something like clothes. They are asked what they have done with the payment so they don't have right to ask for something at all.”[FGD with male elders, Eldanaba]

It is interesting to note that female respondents were less likely to report any conflicts arising from the use of the cash transfers, giving credit to the fact that conflicts arose over the threat of women's newly found control over resources and perhaps that women were happy about the contribution the cash made to their household resources. In general, women were likely to report that their relationships were either the same or that there had been some improvement: “No HSNP has not had any negative effects between men and women. We live together as we used to be. We do not have quarrels now days. We have also discovered that, it was hunger that brings fight and other sad things.” [FGD with female elders, Napetet, Turkana]

4.8 Improved well-being of older people

Qualitative findings from the baseline found the relationship between older people and the community at large to be good, and based on respect. In the follow up research, respondents across the all districts unanimously mentioned that the relationship between elders and the community is “just like it used to be”. In a few focus group discussions, respondents mentioned that they were happy with the leadership role elders played in the HSNP rights committees. These discussion were mainly in social pension areas. A female elder in Lorengelup , Turkana, described this as a positive change.

“The good relationship between elders and community members are the positive changes because all cases related to HSNP cash money transfer are solved under the influence of good relationship from both sides parts (elders and community members)”

However in focus group discussion with female elders and male beneficiaries in Kokiselei and Respondents mentioned that elders typically played advisory roles in the community, settling disputes etc. The following quotes are illustrative:

“The relationship between elders and community members is still good and is the same before and after HSNP cash money transfer started. For example Elders participate in communicating important messages pertaining HSNP to the household members when there are changes.”[FGD with female elders in Kalemrongok, Turkana]

“Mostly they give advice. When there is a meeting of the community, the old men must be present. They play a big role in peace building and the management of family affairs. No, nothing has changed; they still play the advisory roles. For instance now because of this drought, the water point here in Biyamathew has been crowded by people who have come from far places. So if it is not for the old men people would be fighting today.”[FGD with female elders, Sala, wajir]

Despite the above, responses from a few respondents, pointed to potential sources of conflict between the elderly other members in the community. In North Horr, a respondent from an FGD with male elders mentioned being isolated in the targeting: “According to our understanding, our elders themselves have no news about this. They aren't the one who wrote the name nor were they the ones who sent these names.” During an FGD in Chir Chir, where pension was used as the targeting mechanism, a respondent pointed the potential tensions arising as a result of nominating younger people as secondary recipients: “This Programme brought problem between the elders and the young men. Elders have made the young men secondary recipients, the young men

assume that whenever they collect the money, they are entitled to 500 shillings at least. But the elders are not willing to give out money so there is always a problem between the old men and their secondary recipients.”

5 Results (3): HSNP impact – unintended impacts

5.1 HSNP and informal safety nets

Informal safety nets are taken here to mean coping strategies which involves drawing on support from other households or individuals based on reciprocity and solidarity (Wietler, 2007). The extent to which cash transfers affect informal safety nets remains a critical question, although the literature on this is still in its infancy.

Qualitative fieldwork indicated that sharing continued while HSNP payments were made, and beneficiaries were able to share more with others. In some cases, beneficiaries were less likely to receive support from others as they were perceived to have their own support in the form of the HSNP. This last finding is reflected in the quantitative survey.

Across study locations, the sharing and lending of money or goods between households were the most common form of informal safety net mentioned. In general, relief food was most frequently shared, and such sharing practices were seen to be a cultural and religious obligation (zakat), with the latter being predominantly in Muslim areas. In addition, respondents also acknowledged such practices to be an insurance mechanism. In other words, although households who give help derived no direct economic benefit, social norms guaranteed a reverse benefit in the future. The following quotes are illustrative:

“It is customary of Somalis to share what they have.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Wajir Township, Wajir]

“We are all Muslims so we assist each other whether you are rich or poor ...” [FGD with male elders, Chirchir, Mandera]

“When one gets a problem we go to the elders, sit down and tell those with money to contribute in order to assist those people who have got problems. We collect zakat from the rich ones and give to the poor ones... that is how we are assisted.” [FGD with male non beneficiaries, Eldanaba, Mandera]

From the discussions it also emerged that assistance given was between family and community members who were almost the same level of poverty. Indeed given the horizontal nature of this support, it is likely that very little change in poverty and vulnerability levels will be achieved. However, these sharing mechanisms do help households to smooth consumption when they are faced with individual shocks.

With the introduction of cash, respondents gave varying responses with respect to the impact on the sharing practices they rely on as safety nets. First, the majority of respondents mentioned that they continued to give and receive support from each other. These responses were common among beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries alike:

“Nothing has changed. We still help each other. Whenever I have a problem, I ask for help...” [QPS with female beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

“If anyone is faced with a problem we organize a fund- raiser to help the person depending on how much we can contribute. There is still that feeling of helping one another. For example, if I go to the shop

and buy a kilogram of sugar, I have to share it with my neighbour, maybe give him half a kilo depending with the amount I have bought." [FGD with male non beneficiaries, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit]

"Even yesterday a friend of mine sent me 3,000 shillings. We don't come from the same tribe, we still assist one another like before, even with the inception of this programme." [FGD with casual labourer in Chirchir, Mandera]

"When the beneficiaries get their cash transfer, we also get assistance from them. For example you might be given 50 shilling or 100 shillings from a relative and this assists a lot. You can also credit from this people in terms of sickness and they will assist and later you pay them. [FGD with female non – beneficiary, Lorengelup, Turkana]

A few beneficiaries gave reasons why informal support was still important despite receiving HSNP: "Because the money is not enough for me I still need more help with many things from those people who have always assisted me." [QPS with male beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit]. Another male beneficiary mentioned: The HSNP has not affected the way we help one another because we understand that the cash transfer is just a help of a short time. And we will be left behind with our friends, so we should not stop supporting one another at all." [QPS with male beneficiary, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit]

In particular, several responses from beneficiaries seemed to reflect an increased ability to offer assistance themselves, and this was confirmed by non-beneficiaries who mentioned that they frequently received help from HSNP recipients. This help was typically in kind, and respondents mentioned that this was because the value of HSNP was small. Indeed previous evidence shows that people generally tend to share food more readily than money. The following quotes are illustrative of beneficiaries' increased ability to offer assistance:

"The extent to which people support me has increased because some of my friends are beneficiaries and when they get the HSNP money they help me more than they used to help me." [QPS with female beneficiary, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit]

"HSNP cash money transfer have restored the culture of generosity and sharing in among the households members. Non beneficiary households also borrow from beneficiaries since the HSNP program started." [FGD with female non beneficiaries, Kalemungorok, Turkana]

"It has not changed anything. People come to me asking for some assistance and I do help them if I can. The only difference is that before I could not help most of the time because I was unable to, but now I do help most of the time" [QPS with female beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir].

Accordingly, many beneficiaries mentioned that people were more dependent on them; often people who sought their help visited for short periods. However, this did not lead to actual structural changes to household composition.

Over time it is likely that beneficiaries' increased ability to offer assistance to others would improve their social standing. As a male elder in Kalemungorok, Turkana remarked: "...Generosity is exercised by the beneficiaries when they share cash transfer money with members of households, neighbours and friends. The poor and needy people in community are now commanding respect through cash money transfer since the HSNP program started". Another male beneficiary in Eldanaba referred to beneficiaries' new found trustworthiness: "Now if I get a problem I will go and ask for assistance because I am waiting for money from the HSNP or I ask for some contributions from my friends."

Some respondents noted that HSNP reduced the support they received from others or that their status as beneficiaries crowded out benefits from other programme. This was reflected in the quantitative survey that found a statistically significant reduction in the amount of in-kind support given to HSNP beneficiaries.

In beneficiaries' own words, they are viewed as earning a "salary":

"Since we started benefitting from HSNP don't get help from other people like before because they say to receive something at the end of the month" [QPS male beneficiaries, Marsabit township]:

"I don't get much support from other members of the community. People now view me as earning a salary" [QPS male beneficiaries, Wajir, Godoma]

The mixed responses found with respect to the impact of the HSNP on informal safety nets reflects the importance of mutual assistance as a characteristic of informal safety nets in these areas, so that people continue to offer assistance in the hope that, the assistance offered will be reciprocated. In addition, the perceived inadequacy of the transfer means that beneficiaries' living conditions do not change substantially, which means beneficiaries may still depend on assistance from others. At the same time being seen to be 'rich' because of one's HSNP status can cause jealousy and resentment which can reduce the assistance received from others. However, given some uncertainties around this and the importance of informal transfers, this would repay further study.

5.2 Mobility

5.2.1 Introduction

This section discusses the impact of the HSNP on mobility.

Mobility refers to repeated movement as a way of life, as a pastoralist.¹⁴ Defined by mobility status, there are three types of households in the HSNP districts. According to the HSNP baseline (OPM 2011), 73% of households were fully settled before the HSNP. These households may have individuals who have migrated for non-pastoralist work. 17% of households were partially settled – meaning that they had some mobile members herding animals and some settled members. 10% of households were fully mobile – with every member of the household moving together with animals. These latter households are closest to traditional pastoralists.

¹⁴ This section does not look at migration. Migration refers in to the permanent or semi-permanent movement of households or individuals for labour excluding pastoralism (such as someone travelling to work as a guard in Nairobi for most of the year).

Pastoralism has been a traditional livelihood in arid and semi-arid Kenya but there is a trend towards greater sedentarisation. This is partly because pastoralists have struggled to adapt to change (IIED, 2008; WISP, 2008) as their traditional strategies to cope with adverse weather and other shocks have come under stress. These difficulties are related to the sustained erosion of their asset base, and to limits placed on their access to grazing areas as tenure rights to pastoral land were changed (IIED 2008). In addition, food aid in pastoralist areas has generated incentives to settle permanently around distribution points, thereby damaging pastoralist livelihoods (Fratkin 1992; Devereux 2006).

This trend towards sedentarisation is now generally interpreted to be negative. This is because mobility may help to prevent desertification and overgrazing (IIED, 2008; McCabe, 1990). This ‘new range ecology’ approach to pastoralism sees mobility as an “ecological necessity,” (WISP 2008). Nevertheless, it remains unclear how many people pastoralism can sustain, so given population growth the development of alternative viable sedentary livelihoods is likely to be vital.

For those who remain mobile, varied and unpredictable rainfall and the related threat of conflict forces them to move further and more often (WISP, 2008). This puts further pressures on their ability to cope and sustain a mobile pastoralist livelihood.

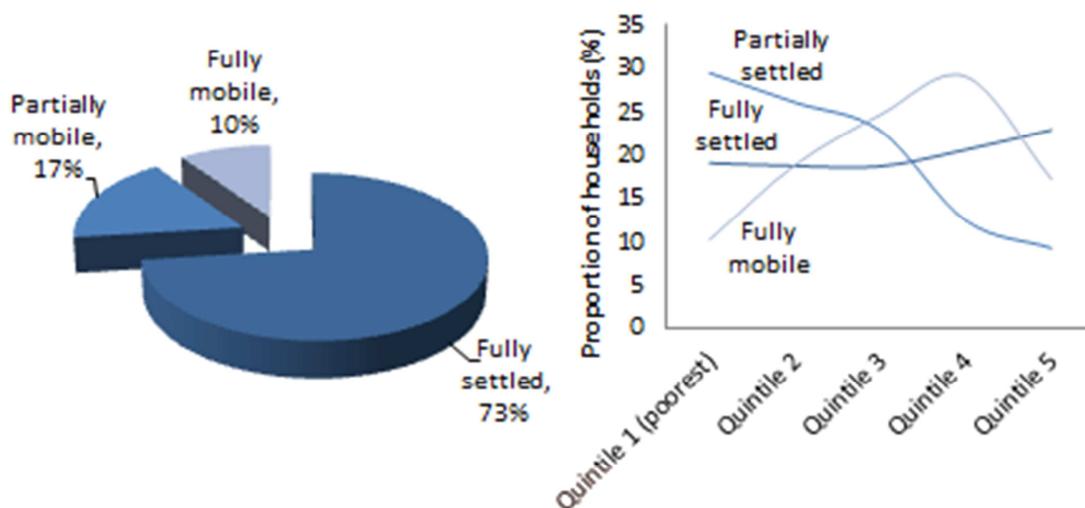
In keeping with the best practice identified in the academic literature, the HSNP was designed specifically to enable mobile pastoralist households to remain mobile. This was the motivation behind the flexibility of payment points in terms both of when and where beneficiaries could collect their cash. The provision of cash is also intended to allow pastoralists to adapt to change while maintaining a mobile lifestyle.

Has the HSNP been successful in allowing households to remain mobile or has it encouraged sedentarisation?

5.2.2 Mobility patterns

The HSNP baseline report (OPM 2011) found that most households were fully settled, poor households were more likely to be partially settled, and fully mobile households were richer (see Figure 5.1). Half the villages surveyed contained mobile pastoralists.

Figure 5.1 Mobility status by all households and quintile



Source: OPM 2011

There appeared to be significant district variation in the extent and nature of mobility. In the sub-locations covered by the evaluation, a quarter of households in Wajir are fully mobile, compared with Marsabit (3%), Turkana (5%) and Mandera (8%). Only 20% of villages in the sample in Turkana had mobile pastoralists, compared with 72-74% of villages in Wajir and Mandera. Movements tended to be over a shorter distance in Wajir, and communications with those left behind more frequent. However, these results are not statistically representative of the districts overall.

Settled households were no more likely to be selected for the HSNP under the dependency ratio or social pension. However, under community based targeting, fully settled households were 19.5 percentage points more likely to be selected for the HSNP than partially settled households, possibly due to community perceptions that people without animals are poor.

5.2.3 Impact of HSNP

Overall, it appears that the HSNP has had the following types of impact on mobility:

- For those partly or fully mobile households retaining livestock after the drought, they still move, either returning every two months to collect payments or nominating a secondary beneficiary. The impact of the HSNP is minimal.
- The drought is increasingly forcing households to settle as they lose animals. For those households who lost livestock or who are settled, the HSNP makes it much easier to make the transition to settled lifestyles. This is particularly the case for pensioners.
- For some particularly vulnerable households, particularly older ones who were struggling to make pastoralism work, the HSNP appears to accelerate sedentarisation.
- The HSNP has caused some very vulnerable households to settle to avoid missing out on future targeting exercises.
- In many areas the HSNP has seemed to restrict mobility by encouraging people to return home every two months to collect their transfer. This was not as intended. However, this is due to informal arrangements rather than the design of the HSNP payment system per se. Most beneficiaries know that they can collect the cash at any time from any place in theory. However, because agents are unable or unwilling to store extra cash, they often informally restrict transfers to locals only, in case they run out. This means that households return to their home paypoint agent every two months to pick up the cash. Compared with food aid, however, they remain more mobile, since they then travel to spend the cash.

However, the variations within districts are interesting and complex. Annex section B.2 explores changes by district in detail. This detail is useful because the quantitative survey does not provide statistically significant results on this important issue.

6 Conclusion

This section summarises the impact findings and presents some recommendations for the programme and for subsequent research.

6.1 Impact findings

The qualitative research indicates that the HSNP has helped beneficiaries to cope with the very difficult conditions in northern Kenya, and especially with the effects of drought and inflation in the period assessed. In particular, it has enabled beneficiaries to continue to access food and to avoid selling livestock, as well as to obtain goods on credit. Taken together, these three impacts should help households to smooth consumption when faced with shocks.

The HSNP also seems to have stimulated markets and there is no indication that the HSNP is producing an inflationary effect on prices as was feared. Beneficiaries were very appreciative of the transfer and respondents in general thought that the HSNP was a good programme.

Overall, the qualitative findings suggest the programme was broadly successful in its primary aims of reducing food insecurity, promoting asset retention and combating vulnerability, and thus that the HSNP represents a viable potential alternative to long-term, non-emergency food aid to help limit vulnerability in northern Kenya – this is not to suggest that HSNP beneficiaries should be excluded from emergency food aid interventions, but only that the HSNP could provide a long-term substitute for non-emergency food aid.

Although the HSNP has been successful in its primary aim to reduce food insecurity and increase asset retention, the qualitative data does not appear to support the hypothesis that the programme has had substantial transformative effects, either positive or negative, or that it has had significant impacts on consumption poverty, asset accumulation, livelihoods, or access to health and education services.

These findings are not altogether surprising given the acknowledged limitations of a cash transfer of this size, and do not imply that the programme represents poor value for money. Rather, they point to the potential for some small design modifications which could help maximise the programme's impact in these areas. Moreover, results from the quantitative survey analysis may yet detect measurable impacts in these areas.

The limited impact was largely expected for three main reasons. First, the amount transferred was very small, at 12% of average consumption expenditure at baseline. This value was further eroded by inflation, and is even smaller for large households. Second, the variety of spending dampens impact on any single area. The benefit of a cash transfer – and of the HSNP – is that households spend the money on what is most important to them and therefore spread the benefit across a variety of different domains. The qualitative data indicate that HSNP beneficiaries have indeed behaved this way, and there is no evidence of 'wasteful' spending. Third, the extreme drought and inflation suffered in northern Kenya during the period under consideration means that poverty has been exacerbated for most people in these areas. In the absence of the HSNP, the situation for beneficiaries would have been substantially worse. In this context, increasing households' capacity to cope with these shocks constitutes the most realistic and valuable impact that could have been expected from the HSNP.

Overall, the data collected under the qualitative research component of the HSNP impact evaluation point towards a positive impact of the HSNP cash transfer and indicate various ways in

which, as an alternative form of aid, cash provides an improvement over non-emergency food aid. Table 6.1 below presents a concise summary of the impact findings in key areas.

Table 6.1 Summary of impact findings

Impact area	Finding
Consumption	HSNP beneficiaries spent the transfer on a variety of items, but principally food. Together with the drought and inflation, this variety of spending limits the HSNP's impact on any single area. Some beneficiaries were able to buy new food items and thereby increase dietary diversity. The transfer was small relative to average household consumption expenditure, particularly for large households, but despite limited impact on overall consumption expenditure three significant impacts were observed: the transfers helped households to better cope with drought and other shocks; the transfer improved access to goods on credit; and the transfer enabled households to smooth consumption without selling livestock; beneficiaries felt that hunger was reduced and that this may have a positive impact on child nutrition.
Poverty	While the transfers were undeniably helpful, there was not a substantial impact on poverty. Households view poverty in different ways. For those who equated poverty with lack of cash income, receiving the HSNP reduced household poverty somewhat, though this was limited by the relative size of the transfer. For those who equated poverty with lack of livestock, the HSNP effect was more limited.
Asset accumulation and retention	HSNP transfers seemed to enable many beneficiaries to sell fewer livestock to cover immediate needs and thus cope with drought, so there did seem to be a positive impact on retention of livestock. Transfers were insufficient for most households to accumulate more livestock. Investments in other productive assets were limited.
Health	Some HSNP transfers were spent on healthcare, but the overall impact of the HSNP on health access seemed limited. This is because there are other substantial barriers to health access, including distance and a preference for self-treatment.
Education	Some HSNP transfers were spent on school expenses, but the overall impact on attendance also was perceived as limited. This is again because there are substantial non-financial barriers to education, including attitudes and livelihoods, and because primary enrolment rates were fairly high at baseline. Transfers were not sufficient to cover costs of secondary education. Additional spending on education by households as a result of HSNP is likely to have improved children's school experience, although more research is required to confirm this.
Prices	The HSNP appears to have had no impact on prices. Inflation in programme areas has been significant but is caused by other factors. Inflation has however eroded the value of the transfer.
Markets	The HSNP is perceived to have stimulated markets, both in terms of the volume and diversity of goods sold, and the number of traders selling goods. Traders are typically positive about the HSNP, particularly in comparison to food aid.
Livelihoods	The impact of the HSNP on livelihoods appears limited. The transfers were too small to allow most beneficiaries to invest in new businesses, although some were able to start small kiosks. Some beneficiaries claimed to undertake less casual labour as a result of receiving the transfer.
Saving	The impact of the HSNP on saving appears limited. Beneficiaries tend to withdraw all of their cash to deal with immediate needs. This may be because beneficiaries are required to visit paypoints in order to load the cash onto their card.
Credit and debt	The HSNP has had a positive impact on beneficiaries' ability to obtain goods on credit, which has an important consumption smoothing function. Most beneficiaries did not take cash loans, mainly due to wariness of debt.

Shocks	There were substantial shocks in the period between baseline and follow up that exacerbated poverty and dampened the positive impact of the HSNP. The main shocks were poor rainfall in the March-May 2011 rains in Wajir, Mandera and Marsabit, and generalised price inflation. There were various other more limited shocks. The HSNP does not appear to be related to any of these.
Coping strategies	The HSNP seems to support beneficiaries' extant coping strategies. In particular, beneficiaries seemed better able to maintain food consumption, avoid selling livestock, pay off debts and obtain credit.
Empowerment of women	The HSNP is closely equated with women. While receiving the HSNP cash does not substantially change women's roles or decision-making power, it does seem to enhance their status. There were peripheral reports of gender-related conflict.
Well-being of older people	Qualitative fieldwork did not detect a significant impact of the HSNP in relations between older people and the rest of the community, though older people receiving the transfer maintained the general benefits of the transfer.
Informal safety nets	Sharing is critical in these areas and continues to be even while HSNP is operating. Some beneficiaries claim they are able to share more with others, which enhances their social status. There were a few reports of beneficiaries receiving less support because they received the HSNP transfer.
Mobility	Mobility is complex in these areas with a number of determining factors. The HSNP seems to have a limited impact on mobility overall. Some households have become less mobile so that they can collect their transfers or because they are worried that they will miss future targeting exercises. Some pensioners who were seeking to settle have found this easier because of the HSNP.
Social relations and household structure	The qualitative research found no evidence of significant impact of the on community tensions or changes in household compositions.

6.2 Recommendations

6.2.1 Further research

The qualitative and quantitative reports together cover a wide range of impact areas, and further issues will be explored in the second follow up survey. Some impacts, particularly around changes in attitudes, livelihoods and financial practice, will probably take longer to arise in any case. For now, there are some potentially interesting issues that could be explored further. These are not necessarily restricted to qualitative research methods. The possible areas for further research include:

- Whether it is more appropriate to have one or two month payment cycles. One month cycles would help more with consumption smoothing, but may impose more demands on mobile households.
- Whether the HSNP is having substantial impacts on casual labour markets, and whether beneficiaries reducing the amount of casual labour they do constitutes dependence on the HSNP and therefore something about which the programme should be concerned.
- Whether any changes to local wages rates are caused by the HSNP or incidental to it.
- Whether there are clearly identifiable multiplier effects of the HSNP.
- Whether there are positive impacts on primary completion rates through HSNP payments being used to cover exam costs.
- Whether there are positive impacts on children's education experience and outcomes through HSNP payments for education expenses.

- Why there is such a strong preference for taking credit rather than borrowing cash, and whether the HSNP affects this.
- Whether there are district-specific variations in the impact HSNP on women's roles.
- Gathering more information on the impact of the HSNP on informal transfers.

6.2.2 Programme recommendations

The HSNP is still in its infancy and further lessons will be learned from the second year of follow up evaluation. Nevertheless, this report is an opportunity to raise suggestions for improving the programme's value for money and impact. These suggestions follow from the qualitative data only, and should be read in tandem with recommendations from the quantitative and synthesis reports:

- Continuing to use the HSNP as a viable alternative to non-emergency food aid, but monitoring the continued availability of food in markets, particularly if food aid is scaled down.
- Indexing the transfer value to inflation would help to ensure that beneficiaries receive a fixed real value and thus help them cope with inflation more effectively. This study acknowledges that the value of the transfer has been changed in response to the drought and inflation already (and will be again), and that this is a positive response. Where the study adds evidence is in its finding that the risk that indexing the value of the transfer to some measure of inflation would drive inflation appears low. One factor conducive to this proposal is that the electronic payment system makes indexing technically feasible. However, to limit administrative challenges and avoid confusion amongst beneficiaries, adjustments to the value of the transfer should be undertaken annually and be based on regionally-adjusted price data at the appropriate level. This proposal also clearly has budgetary implications that would need to be addressed now, via a projection of inflation and subsequent impact on transfer costs. Any indexing to inflation would ideally be linked to the development of similar processes in the government's other cash transfer programmes.
- Setting different transfer values for different household sizes would help to ensure that the HSNP transfers represented a similar fraction of consumption needs for all households. There are various methods to achieve this, such as sliding scales of transfer value per beneficiary household members or banding households into different groups, but whatever the method it would need to be carefully designed and simulated to assess its outcome on programme impact and the propensity for people to 'game' the system by adding people to their household. Any change in the system would also have to be carefully communicated to beneficiaries.
- Loading payments into beneficiaries' accounts without them having to visit paypoint agents. This would encourage saving and reduce negative impacts on mobility.
- Making clearer communications around the rules governing where and when beneficiaries are able to receive payments, in order not to hinder mobility patterns for pastoral households.
- Considering changing the payment frequency to one month and testing the impact of this with further research.
- Investing in ensuring that payments are flexible (i.e. people can pick them up from any location at any time) and that beneficiaries know this.
- Ensure that payments are reliable so that beneficiaries can plan around them.

These recommendations are tentative suggestions made in acknowledgment that the programme operates within defined resource and other constraints that may limit or determine what it is able to do and how. They should be read in tandem with the findings of the quantitative impact analysis.

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Annex A NVivo Code list

Table A.1 NVivo coding list and sources

Investigation area	Sub-area	Sub-sub-area	Sources mentioning	References in total	
Key Features of Community			0	0	
	Community (changes in)		2	2	
	Community Facilities (changes in)		31	48	
	Importance of community features (changes in)		1	5	
Health			0	0	
	Access to Health Care		0	0	
		Attitudes to healthcare or health seeking (changes in)	66	82	
		Constraints to access (changes in)	102	126	
		Cost of access (changes in)	104	132	
		Health facilities (changes in)	22	27	
		Impact of HSNP on accessing health care	121	197	
		Where people access health care (changes in)	114	149	
	Health Situation			0	0
		Main diseases (changes over time)		40	48
Seasonality of diseases			2	2	
	Health worker hours of work		2	3	
	Nutrition (Impact of HSNP on)		26	29	
Education			0	0	
	Access to education		17	18	
		Attitudes to education (changes in)	89	123	

	Constraints to access (changes in)	58	63	
	Cost of access (changes in)	67	75	
	Educational facilities (changes in)	26	40	
	Impact of HSNP on accessing education	177	328	
	Where people access education (changes in)	18	18	
Livelihoods	School attendance & enrolment	19	28	
		1	1	
	Accumulation of assets and wealth	85	107	
	Child Labour	27	28	
	Farming	77	90	
		Female Farmers	2	2
		Impact of HSNP on farming	1	6
		Rain-fed vs irrigation	1	1
		Types of crops	10	10
		Female Traders	3	6
		Ages of female traders	3	3
		Types of trade activity by females	33	37
		Impact of food aid on livelihood systems. Changes in follow up	1	1
		Investment in assets and changes over time. Changes in follow up.	107	160
		Lack of work	23	37
		Livelihoods of different social groups (changes in)	37	53
		Main livelihood systems (changes in)	137	212
		Normal activities (impact on)	82	88
		Saving (changes in)	126	159
		Seasonality	7	8
	Startups	104	138	

Migration		0	0
	Drivers of change to migration (drought, conflict, etc.). Changes in follow up.	93	134
	Migration pattern	15	18
	Migratory behaviours by household type (changes in)	92	107
	Relation between migration and household composition. (Changes in follow up)	3	3
Poverty and consumption		0	0
	Access to food. Changes in follow up	5	8
	Impact of HSNP on accessing food	132	173
	HSNP and poverty and vulnerability	121	169
	Meaning of poverty and types	36	39
	Number of HHs in different poverty categories. (Criteria used)	29	39
	Poverty Assessment	118	136
Shocks		1	1
	Coping strategies. Changes in follow up.	112	141
	Main shocks by different HHs. Changes in follow up	140	183
Institutions		0	0
	Informal transfers (changes in)	2	2
	Social structures and cohesion (changes in)	66	73
Relationships		0	0
	Beneficiary & dependents	35	44
	Breadwinner (changes in)	67	68
	Community support & assistance (changes in)	100	121
	Conflict, tension and stigma in the	59	79

	community		
	Control and decision over use of HSNP	92	122
	Division of labour within HH (changes in)	81	98
	Inequality	21	26
	Marriage and family size (changes in)	40	53
	Divorce	4	4
	Relations between beneficiary HH and others (change in)	85	104
	Relations between communities	6	7
	Relations between different ages in community (changes in)	45	47
	Relations between genders in community (changes in)	28	36
	Relations between HHs (changes in)	43	48
	Relations between non-beneficiaries and others (changes in)	31	41
	Relations within HH (changes in)	130	185
	Sharing practices (changes in). Changes in follow up	128	212
Markets		0	0
	Market accessibility (changes in)	12	13
	Market activity (changes in)	65	97
	Market diversity (changes in)	18	26
	Prices (changes in)	68	91
	Profits for traders	25	48
	Supply and demand of goods (changes in)	19	23
	Demand for particular commodities	20	29
Food Aid		1	1
	Access to food aid (changes in)	144	161

	Food Aid and HSNP	79	84
	HSNP vs Food Aid	148	196
	Sharing of food aid (changes in)	90	95
Overall Perception and Knowledge of HSNP		7	9
	Overall bad	4	4
	Overall good	63	68
	Overall Knowledge about the program	28	29
Debt & creditworthiness (impact of HSNP on)		168	292
	Attitude towards debt	17	18
	Debt dependency	16	17
	Interest	5	5
	Respect & Dignity	6	6
Ethnicity		0	0
	Ethnicity & trade	5	5
	Ethnicity, conflict & corruption	7	7
	Ethnicity, religion & attitudes	2	2

Annex B District variations

B.1 Consumption and poverty

B.1.1 Wajir

Beneficiaries in Wajir spent the HSNP on a range of food, basic household essentials, education, debt and hospital fees.

Food was a significant proportion of HSNP spending, particularly (but not exclusively) where transfers were received by women:

“...the rest we use to buy potatoes, vegetables, oil, rice... which we then use to feed our children.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Wajir Township, Wajir]

Amongst food, sugar features prominently in comparison with non-Somali districts:

“The last time when I received this money we bought one sack of sugar and we have been using this sugar for 25 days so it helps.” [FGD with male elders, Lafaley, Wajir]

However, other food items such as rice and wheat were also important. The cash allowed households to buy food that they preferred, compared with dry relief food:

“The HSNP has allowed us to change the food a lot. From relief, food was dry and couldn’t be eaten.” I [QPS with beneficiary, Wajir Township, Wajir].

“Every household in Ogomdi receives food aid. The HSNP money has also helped people to buy many things, like sugar and also occasionally changed the type of food that they eat.” [KII with relief committee member, Godoma, Wajir].

Sometimes, beneficiaries were also able to buy food that they did not usually consume:

“I do change the food for them by cooking spaghetti sometimes, that is the food they like most, and we cook what we get during other times.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Wajir Township, Wajir].

“What has changed is that before we always all ate one type of food but now we eat a variety of food. If I cook rice today, tomorrow will be spaghetti. We may sometimes buy meat and vegetables.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir].

These changes sometimes implied an improvement in dietary diversity, but for others just a greater variety of food within an existing food group:

“Before we only cooked maize flour but these days we change the food we eat. For example if we cook maize flour today, tomorrow we cook rice.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir].

The HSNP has contributed to reducing hunger amongst beneficiaries:

“Hunger is the worst thing in this world so this money has really saved us from hunger because while your children are feeling hunger you are given 2150 shillings.” [FGD with beneficiaries, Wajir Township, Wajir].

“The HSNP has brought many benefits, the first being that it has satisfied the hunger in the community.” [FGD with male elders, Eldanaba].

Health workers note that the transfer has had a positive impact on the nutrition of children:

“I am mainly confined to this health facility but in my observation, I have seen that the nutritional level among young children has risen. When the mothers receive payment they buy a lot of nutritious foods. For their children, nutrition has risen. When the mothers receive payment they buy a lot of nutritious foods for their children like vegetables. So it has helped us in that area.” [KII with health worker, Godoma, Wajir].

In urban areas, spending includes rent:

“They are poor people who pay the money on school fees, some people pay house rent, some pay the credit they took before, etc.” [KII with Chief, Wajir Township, Wajir].

While poorer households spend the majority or entirety of their transfers on food and essentials, wealthier or smaller households were able to buy animals or more luxury items. The following quotation is from a large household supported by a father who works at the mosque as a religious leader, earning KES 100-1000 by officiating at events:

“Personally it has brought me a lot of changes. I bought goats and I tied them at home, collected some miraa and food remained from a big hotel. I used the animals like that because there was drought. This money has brought a lot of changes to my household... when I got money I can buy vegetables for my children e.g. mangoes.” [QPS with male beneficiary, Wajir Township, Wajir]

Others used the money to improve their housing by buying building materials [FGD with beneficiaries, Godoma, Wajir]. Others buy basic household items or sleeping materials:

“The only change that has happened over the past one year is that we were short of stuff but now we have bought more stuff like utensils and sleeping materials like mattresses.” [QPS with beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir].

Some beneficiaries were able to conserve their animal stocks rather than selling animals to maintain consumption:

“Instead of selling his goats, he/she uses the money for the daily living and that is a benefit. They have been at least stabilized by the HSNP to an extent that they have spared their animals.” [FGD with young men, Wajir Township, Wajir].

This was particularly useful when households faced shocks or substantial recurrent costs (such as school costs) during droughts when their livelihoods were being continually squeezed:

“Before we started earning this money, if for example, we wanted to build a house and buy building materials like poles we had to sell one of the few animals we have. If our children are chased away from school because of fees, we had to sell an animal. Fortunately now, this money can take care of those issues.”

“I had some goats and whenever I was faced by a problem that requires a financial solution, I had to sell a goat. However, I have not sold a single goat since this programme started.”

“This programme has come in a time when we were in a difficult time because of the devastating drought that has finished our livestock. It rescues us. We buy some food stuff, and clothes with this money.” [FGD with beneficiaries, Godoma, Wajir].

“We have passed through difficult times, of severe drought. As you know the people here are livestock keepers and this activity is the backbone of the economy of this area. The animals have now succumbed to this drought and this money has really come to the rescue of the people here.” [KII with Chief, Godoma, Wajir].

The drought was reported to have dampened the impact of the transfer. For example:

“People were living even before this programme started. They had something to earn them their daily bread. Now they still have their normal wages and this extra cash. So was it not for this drought people would buy animals now. Or even marry and pay fees or their children. If it were not for this drought we could even be doing business with this money.” [FGD with male elders, Lafaley, Wajir].

Drought also made it much more difficult to engage in brokerage with animals because there was a high risk that the animals would die. The HSNP helped people to shift out of this previously lucrative but now very risky livelihood:

“I would buy a goat today and sell it back. But because of the drought I don’t do that anymore because, you may buy goat and it is killed by the drought before you sell it back.” [QPS with beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir].

For those who lost animals, particularly older people, the HSNP support was critical:

“Our elder people here are bush people who are livestock keepers and their animals have died they have no job so this money has really helped.” [FGD with beneficiaries, Wajir Township, Wajir]

The HSNP seems to have supported informal sharing networks in some areas, particularly for people who were struggling to sustain casual work. These networks were coming under increasing stress from the drought:

“If I fail to find any income generating activity I’ll go and ask a relative to help me with some of the money he/she got from HSNP programme.”

“We mostly ask for assistance from our relatives who are herders because the villagers have nothing to help with each other and the herders

themselves are finding it difficult to help because of the devastating drought.” [FGD with casual labourers, Lafaley, Wajir].

People were able to obtain goods on credit because traders were aware of the regular HSNP transfers. As this Chief noted:

“A person can go to a shop and buy stuff on credit. He later on pays back the credit with this money.” [KII with Chief, Godoma, Wajir].

Traders agree:

“Actually this programme has financed our customers and that has been reflected in our business. So, although it has coincided with devastating and hard times, it has helped us a lot. I think the situation would have been worse. It has improved the livelihoods of the people. Instead of people begging you to give them something, they would tell you that my money is coming and I want to buy something from you on credit. They get it, because we know that they would pay later on when they receive their payment.” [KII with trader, Godoma, Wajir].

Beneficiaries have also noted this change:

“We can access credit now. People easily give us credit now because we are earning money now.” [QPS with beneficiary, Godoma, Wajir].

In some areas, paypoint agents also extended credit to beneficiaries, implying that the HSNP opened up a new source of credit in these areas:

“If you have someone who is in the hospital and is sick and you don’t have any money, you can go to the pay point agent and ask for an advanced payment.” [QPS with beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir].

B.1.2 Mandera

In Mandera there also appeared to be quite a wide range of spending types.

Beneficiaries largely reported spending the transfer on food and basic household necessities, such as clothes:

“We are given money at which we can use for what we want. For example, I can buy milk and clothes but before I never had this money.” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera].

“When I get the payment I buy myself clothes and food, and also I pay my debt and buy some other items.” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera].

Most respondents noted that their children were therefore less hungry as a result.

It seems likely that some of the households were able to spend on additional food items that they did not usually consume, such as meat or milk. Although these items were not unusual in these areas, many households seem to have consumed them quite rarely, as they were comparatively expensive:

“The food is the one cooked and the money is used for buying additional things to the food.” [KII with relief committee member, Chir Chir, Mandera].

“We buy with this what we don’t have like meat and milk.” [FGD with female elders, Eldanaba, Mandera].

“You will buy milk which was expensive for you before.” [QPS with beneficiary, Mado, Mandera].

Traders also noted that beneficiaries were able to buy small goods and pay off their debts:

“Since HSNP began people are able to buy commodities and also pay debts whenever they pick the payment.” [FGD with traders, Eldanaba, Mandera].

However, the cash was not sufficient to cover household spending needs, as noted above. Respondents noted that prices continued to rise, eroding the value of the transfer.

“If you compare from the last you visited us and know things are expensive. We used to buy a kilo of sugar for KES 70 and now it is KES 100...this is because of the drought”. [FGD with beneficiaries, Chir Chir, Mandera].

The drought has also eroded the value of the transfer because of the additional resource demands and splitting of families. As one beneficiary put it, I haven’t spent on anything other than food “because we were facing drought and the family is split so it is not enough,” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]. The combination of the drought and the prices was proving extremely difficult for people:

“The drought [this year] was more difficult than the season before. Before there was a drought but the price of goods was cheap compared to this time...so life is becoming more difficult. We are just saved by the HSNP payment and the food aid we get so we are requesting for more.” [QPS with beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera].

In this context, beneficiaries also faced demands from relatives and friends to share the cash, and this further reduced the per person transfer in practice:

“Its main disadvantage is that it’s very little and when you are taking the money there are group of relatives and poor people that are not beneficiaries. This being liquid cash, you have to share with them. To make the matter worse it is not even enough, and some will end up missing or not getting something from you.” [FGD with female elders, Chir Chir, Mandera].

Others reported spending on education and health. In addition, food spending allowed them to take the children to school. For example:

“Before we used to struggle to cater for our families but since the HSNP payment began we are able to cater for our family. We take our children to the school buy them uniforms, pens and books and we also buy food for them.” [FGD with beneficiaries, Chir Chir, Mandera].

Others also noted this:

“The changes are for one the number of school dropouts has been reduced...those who are not able to pay school fees have been assisted. So I can say comfortably that the number of school dropouts has been reduced. Also, there are other changes and these are people see it to be positive to engage in education because they are saying the government this time are giving liquid cash and they are taking their children to school so this is change.” [KII with Chief, Eldanaba, Mandera].

Some female respondents felt that they were better able to control household spending because they received the cash, and were therefore able to spend on clothes and education materials. For example:

“To say the truth it has changed our livelihoods because when you get the payment you give it to your family, buy books pens and uniform for your children who are in school and without forgetting we can buy ourselves clothes. You know if you ask your husband to buy you clothes the first thing he will ask or tell you is that there is a report whereby people have died because of food. But there is no report of people who have died, he is just giving an excuse because you’ve asked for clothes.” [FGD with female beneficiaries, Eldanaba, Mandera].

This can also have consequences for unmarried or divorced women, who become much more attractive in some people’s eyes:

“The divorcees who have no husbands were very poor before. But currently they have changed and bought new clothes and turned to being beautiful when they get the cash transfers. These divorcees now got married because they are getting money, many people are competing for them.” [FGD with male non-beneficiaries, Eldanaba, Mandera].

Some but not all reported that people bought animals or large items. For example, “before they were unable to buy clothes for their children but now they can take their children to school, they can buy one goat, at least their life has changed,” [FGD with male elders, Chir Chir, Mandera].

Wealthier beneficiaries were able to buy larger goods:

“I am in the middle class...because I have livestock [40 goats and 20 camels] and I can cater for my family...I brought this water tank which cost 2000 shillings when I got my last payment and for sure I don’t have any problem because I am able to get enough water.” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera].

The pattern of wealthier (hence probably less well targeted) beneficiaries spending on larger and possibly more transformative items is common from other cash transfer programmes.

Beneficiaries were able to obtain goods such as sugar on credit, knowing that the HSNP cash was coming, rather than having to sell goats to pay for goods. For example:

“The payment has really changed people’s livelihood because they are able to have a saving, before the HSNP started people used to sell their livestock to cater for their family but now they no longer sell the livestock.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Chir Chir, Mandera]

“Life has changed because before we were not allowed credit, but now we are allowed for credit. Currently we can buy milk and whatever you need.” [QPS with beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

Many respondents felt that the HSNP enabled beneficiaries to avoid selling livestock to meet their basic needs. This was one of the HSNP’s central objectives.

“For example, a man who had small goats and who used to sell one every two months, now since HSNP started they save the goat that they used to sell. One has enough and has small animal but when he misses something to eat he will sell his goat. But the one who had enough and was targeted by the HSNP becomes like the one who had a small goat who used to sell one after every two months. After every two months they will get KES 2150 so it’s a change to the beneficiaries.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Eldanaba, Mandera].

Some respondents suggested that the HSNP crowded out informal transfers, because people felt that HSNP beneficiaries should be able to cater for themselves. As beneficiaries in Chir Chir reported:

“Our way of earning income has become worse because if you have a person or relative who was providing for you before the HSNP payment started he/she is no longer providing for you. When you ask him/her he/she asks you ‘what, you need help and yet you get the payment?’” [FGD with beneficiaries, Chir Chir, Mandera].

Some beneficiaries also felt that they needed to borrow fewer items because they were able to buy them with the HSNP cash:

“Before we used to share clothes, and borrow utensils from neighbours but since the HSNP payment began we can buy everything.” [QPS with beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera].

On the other hand, non-beneficiaries felt that they also benefitted from the HSNP because beneficiaries share with them:

“In our area water is sold so the non-beneficiaries also get assisted because when the HSNP beneficiaries get the money the non-beneficiaries also borrow some from the beneficiaries.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Eldanaba, Mandera].

B.1.3 Marsabit

As elsewhere, there is a range of items on which households spend. Better off households are probably better able to invest the money on productive activities. This is evident from this discussion of the HSNP’s impact by a paypoint agent:

“One who would have slept hungry has avoided that situation. For the kids who could have starved this money has brought tea and other foodstuffs. The other thing is for people who plan their lives well, they accumulate the money and buy a goat and help themselves that way. There is someone who did that. So if you follow it up, you can find such people who buy a goat from this money.”

“There are situations where this money cannot exceed the needs for foodstuffs in this community. This category cannot afford to buy other things because they don’t have other incomes. They entirely depend on this money. [KII with paypoint agent, Badasa, Marsabit].

Beneficiaries reported spending on food, clothing, education and health expenses, dealing with urgent problems:

“My frequent food shortage is now changed. I can now, from time to time, at least afford to buy clothing for my family. Yes, there was a day that I had no food in the house and at the same time was not feeling well, and this money came. I used it to buy foodstuffs from my children and rushed to the hospital for treatment.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Badasa, Marsabit].

“[as a result of the HNRP] I’m food secure, I can afford to buy my family food, take them to school and also take the sick to hospital.” [QPS with female beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit].

Traders reported that food spending was significant amongst overall spending patterns:

“Mostly what they buy are food preferably, maize, beans, flour, sugar and cooking oil than any other items.” [KII with trader, North Horr, Marsabit]

Beneficiaries were more likely to spend on food when there was no relief food:

“I use it to buy food when there is no relief food, but when we have relief I use to buy clothing and others needs for my family members.” [QPS with beneficiary, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit]

Respondents noted that spending on food had a positive impact on hunger.

As in Mandera, beneficiaries were able to buy foodstuffs that they would normally consume rarely (but which are widely available in the community), contributing to dietary diversity, such as sugar, cooking fat or even vegetables (though this was more common in settled areas with better markets):

“Some had nothing to buy for example foodstuffs like sugar before. They might have stayed long without tea with sugar.” [KII with relief committee member, Badasa, Marsabit].

“After getting this money people can buy foodstuffs like rice, beans and cooking fat, others would even buy potatoes, onions, royco [an instant soup] and other foods.” [KII with community leader, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit].

In other cases, this meant diversifying consumption within the same food group, by eating different types of grain.

“Most of the times, I used to consume more grains, but now that I get this money I buy some soft food like rice and at times when I get a casual job I also buy some soft foods like pasta.” [QPS with beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit].

Interestingly given that one argument for food aid is the maintenance of dietary diversity, some respondents reported that they used the HSNP cash to buy items normally provided by food aid:

“The main food is actually from food aid which is basically maize, peas and beans. We still buy these foods with the HSNP cash, so there are not many changes.” [FGD with female beneficiaries, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit].

Further research in this area would be useful to investigate the extent to which the HSNP is able to substitute for food aid in all aspects, including supporting dietary diversity.

At least in relatively connected areas, traders noted that they were able to sell a greater variety of goods as the HSNP raised demand:

“No I don’t sell the same commodities, though people are buying things like sodas and I will continue selling because there is a demand. I also go for variety of products in my shop.” [KII with trader, Badasa, Marsabit]

Although the cash is not sufficient to cover household needs, the transfers have been able to assist people through difficult periods when they need to pay off debt or when other sources of livelihood fail:

“The money is small and cannot help you for a long period of time. At least it can help someone if one has been in dangerous state of hunger...if you had debt, you can use it to pay the debt.” [FGD with female elders, North Horr, Marsabit].

In settled communities, spending may also extend to rent and a wider range of basic essentials:

“Since they buy themselves foodstuff and rent where they lived in for those who are in rental houses. Some beneficiaries are very old and not able to work for themselves but since they have received this money, they eat and drink like the rest in community.” [FGD with female elders, Marsabit Township, Marsabit].

“Those living in rented houses that were not in position to pay have now got something to pay. Therefore it’s an improvement. At least he has been relieved of two problems and it has even lessened the dependency on other people. So he/she cannot move around begging, he or she has something to eat in house.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Marsabit Township, Marsabit].

The investment in small household items can have important improvements on the quality of life. These are not captured in quantitative assessments of consumption expenditure or assets in the year one follow up survey, but they will be captured in the year two follow up survey. For instance, one group spoke of how the HSNP had allowed people to buy thermoses, therefore giving them hot tea:

“This programme benefits aged people, many of whom are blind. Some of us are very old and after getting this money some end up buying mattresses and pillows. Some people when they prepare tea, they put the tea in the kettle and afterward it becomes cold. But now since the start of

this programme they have bought thermos with the money that they received and keep the tea hot for longer hours.” [FGD with traders, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit].

As noted elsewhere, there are significant inequalities within the HSNP beneficiary population. Female respondents noted that women without husbands continued to struggle, even though the HSNP helps:

“At least it has reduced [our problems] in the sense that some of us here don’t have husbands. So the ones who have husbands are experiencing a change because they are assisting each other to get the household needs. But the ones with no husbands are struggling and you know you can’t sell your livestock every month.” [FGD female beneficiaries, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit].

Demographic structure also affects the impact of the HSNP on consumption and livelihoods. For smaller households of older people, the HSNP social pension cash can operate as their only form of income, and can be sufficient to sustain them:

“Those who benefit are mostly amongst the elders ... because without any other dependent the amount given is sufficient to sustain him, because he/she has no plan of buy luxurious thing like vehicles. It’s only his/her upkeep. But if it would have been youth, who were married they have lots of dependency.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Marsabit Township, Marsabit]

This is because the HSNP is invariant to household size. For one person households, the HSNP transfers represent more than the monthly per adult equivalent consumption of households in the poorest quintile. For these households, therefore, the HSNP could substitute entirely for existing sources of income. For older persons, who are decreasingly able to earn incomes elsewhere (particularly if their animals die), this can be critical. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the HSNP social pension seems to be critical for older persons:

“The elderly people who don’t have energy to work for themselves are benefitting and they are able to buy themselves a glass of milk.” [KII with Chief, Marsabit Township, Marsabit]

“The programme is nice since it assists needy and elderly people who don’t have energy to work for themselves.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Marsabit Township, Marsabit].

For those beneficiaries who depend on livestock, the HSNP payments allowed them to protect their herds rather than sell animals to maintain basic consumption needs. In times of drought (as in 2011), this was extremely useful since herds are at risk of deteriorating anyway through lack of access to water, and because livestock sale prices are low (since they are likely to die):

“Like for my case, my husband has no job and all my children are schooling and we have few number of livestock. At a time of drought like this, these livestock do not help us. We are dealing with small kiosk where we sell few items like potatoes and cabbage, so I feel good because I will have new things coming up for me. I can buy food and other basic things in the house. [QPS with female beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit].

“The only thing is that we have reduced the number of animals we sell. Because at least we have got something that has saved us from a lot of problems.” [QPS with beneficiary, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit].

It has also helped to protect beneficiaries from the negative consequences of other unpredictable shocks, such as death, drought, or illness:

“In our tradition people are allowed to marry many wives, there are others with two wives. If the husband dies or certain natural calamities like drought occur, like what happened in the last years, or livestock are lost, many are left with nothing. Fortunately with the current programme of money distribution at least they have got something to buy foodstuff. This current programme of money distribution has helped the community because if children, fathers or mothers become sick they would depend on their little income to get medication.” [FGD with traders, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit].

Beneficiaries in Marsabit were also able to get credit at shops:

“If you aren’t getting regular cash as a beneficiary, you cannot get credit and you will suffer...People know that you receive the money and hence can give you credit.” [FGD with young women, Badasa, Marsabit].

“Some had nothing to buy for example foodstuffs like sugar before. They might have stayed long without tea with sugar. They could not even get credit from shops because shops owners felt that they had nothing to pay. Now that they are getting the HSNP money, they can get credit as shop owners are guaranteed of payment when the money comes.” [KII with rights committee member, Badasa, Marsabit].

“For needy ones, it is a big help because they can get foodstuff on credit and pay later, so I have not felt bad about it.” [QPS with beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit].

In settled and larger communities where informal credit relations may be harder to develop because people know each other less well, the HSNP has allowed even the most destitute to smooth consumption through credit:

“At least beggars can also go to certain kiosks to get items on credit, because he/she is assured of payment at the end of the month through the HSNP.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Marsabit Township, Marsabit].

Informal support is less required by the beneficiaries, according to both non-beneficiaries and beneficiaries:

“Yes, there are people I used to give food to and even take care of their children but now things are different because they are beneficiaries.” [KII with trader, Badasa, Marsabit].

“The household problems have changed. Before this money came, I used to ask for hand outs from neighbours or relatives to feed my family and now my situation is better.” [QPS with female beneficiary, Badasa, Marsabit].

On the other hand, beneficiaries are also under some pressure to share the cash with others. In some areas, at least, everyone appears to be aware of when the transfers are coming, and there is an expectation that beneficiaries will share at least something. This process may have been accentuated by the recent drought, which had negative effects on everyone after the targeting process, increasing the likelihood of dynamic exclusion error.¹⁵ This response from a group of female non-beneficiaries in North Horr is instructive:

“People are always asking about this money and even those who are not getting keep on waiting for this money because everybody is hungry. Those who are not beneficiaries also flock that day and plead to those who receive this money telling them could you please assisting with something little even if it is KES 100 I will refund you. Others may respond to the plead and assist but some hardy people may refuse therefore there is nothing that we will hide from you.”

Many respondents noted that the two monthly cycle of payments made it more difficult to spend on protecting basic consumption, and that single monthly cycle would be more appropriate.

B.1.4 Turkana

Beneficiaries in Turkana spent the HSNP widely, even in remote areas like Kalemungorok, which is around 100km from Lodwar (the main town in Turkana):

“The beneficiaries and households who are primary beneficiaries are now able to meet the basic needs of their family members. Households are able to send their children to school, pay medical bills, buy clothes, replace livestock, start little businesses, buy inputs for their irrigation farms and build houses for their family. The lives of poor people, like the old, in the community have been improved by HSNP because they were the most vulnerable people in the community with no help. Before they were not in a position to buy food, clothes or pay medical bills but since the HSNP started living standards have improved and they appreciate HSNP very much. [FGD with female elders, Kalemungorok, Turkana]

“Households that are beneficiaries can now afford family basic needs like food, clothes, shelter and they are able to send children to school. Old people in the community who are beneficiaries can access better medical drugs and services within or outside the community health centre.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Kalemungorok, Turkana].

“Changes are experienced with this HSNP money, households buy food, provide transport to the visitors, and share some to neighbouring households. We also sometimes save in replacing livestock, doing business and paying school fees.” [FGD with beneficiaries, Kalemungorok, Turkana].

Usually, food constituted a large part of the spending:

¹⁵ Dynamic exclusion error refers to households who were not eligible at the time of targeting but who became eligible afterwards, because they became poorer, their dependency ratio worsened, or someone aged. The drought is likely to have affected the first two possibilities.

“I would buy maize meal flour, sugar and salt and also cooking oil.” [QPS with beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana]

“This money mostly ends in our stomach, but we pay school money, buy clothes and do other things.” [FGD with beneficiaries, Kokiselei, Turkana]

The positive impact on food consumption was visible in some communities:

“It helps them because they are able to buy food and when they don’t have the money they can still get food on credit unlike those who are not beneficiaries. You see those who receive the cash, you can still see their kitchen fire lighting up but those don’t... for them the fire went off several weeks ago unless relief aid arrives on time.” [Interview with trader, Kokiselei, Turkana]

“When the money is received every kitchen is cooking something that day and can hear people conversing happily unlike the other days when they are sad because they are hungry.” [QPS with beneficiary, Lorengelup, Turkana].

“We don’t have a food shortage nowadays. You can get food at any time. For example, you can even buy at night, because we have many shops around these place. [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Napetet, Turkana].

Other beneficiaries, typically those who are wealthier or from smaller households, invest in slightly larger projects, like house-building:

“I can say that HSNP has helped me a lot and I say so because I am a widow and most of my children are dead so I am lonely. Also it has improved my life because I was able to buy a goat of my own and each time I get the cash I buy building materials to build my house, so it is helping me a lot.” [QPS with beneficiary, Napetet, Turkana].

This spending pattern seems likely to have increased school attendance for those groups whose school attendance was constrained by lack of finance. As one teacher put it:

“Children of poor households were not seen in the school because they were not in the position to afford school uniforms or school personal effects. Households of widows and disabled people were in difficult situation to provide for their children who were in the school.” [KII with teacher, Kalemungorok, Turkana].

However, it appears on balance that this effect has been slightly weaker in Turkana than elsewhere, perhaps because of higher poverty levels or weaker incentives to attend school.

Although in Turkana the drought was much less severe than in other districts, households still face a range of shocks, such as illness, accidents, death, and conflict. The HSNP has helped people to cope with shocks:

“Since I had an accident I was depending on my children and also the HSNP.” [QPS with beneficiary, Kalemungorok, Turkana].

“Some households have replaced livestock that they lost on last drought and animal diseases.” [KII with Chief, Lorengelup, Turkana]

In addition, the transfer has helped some people avoid livestock sales when they are faced with a particular problem:

“Before the program people used to sell goats in order to afford medical services but now the beneficiaries who are mostly old and helpless have been assisted. The old people are mostly the ones who fall sick frequently so the program is really helpful.” [QPS with non-beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana].

In other cases, the two month cash transfer cycle means that beneficiary still have to sell livestock to cover immediate needs (such as illness) but can buy the goats back when the money arrives:

“Nowadays I am well prepared because I have something I can depend on. When I have a problem I sell one my goats and take care of that problem and when I receive money next time I replace that goat that I sold and life goes on.” [QPS with beneficiary, Napetet, Turkana].

Some individuals used the cash to recompense those who are assisting them, but also to make small investments in livestock:

“I am able to give my children something out of my pocket for them to help themselves and also sometimes I send them to buy a goat for me in that process money gets finished.” [QPS with beneficiary, Kalemungorok, Turkana].

This function of reducing the burden on others is important, particularly for beneficiaries who are older and less able to cope for themselves:

“I live with my grandmother and she used to depend on me because her children passed on so I was the only survivor she had. I was the only one who was taking care of her but when she became a beneficiary of HSNP it reduced my burden because she is able to buy her own food. For now I can see she has two goats and it will help her in future and I am able to do my own things.” [FGD with traders, Napetet, Turkana].

Indeed, the receipt of regular cash has turned some beneficiaries from the helped to the helpers:

“I can see changes because that woman is a widow and before she became a beneficiary she used to turn for help to me but now I am the one who turns to help from her. Also her children going again to school and she can buy clothes and feed them also so that is a good change according to me.” [FGD with male elders, Napetet, Turkana].

In Kalemungorok, the HSNP seems to have catalysed the development of new businesses. Although this may not have happened everywhere, this is a very positive sign – and was one of the objectives of the HSNP.

“Since HSNP started, business in our community has increased, more shops and hotels have come up, and school fees are not an issue.” [FGD with female elders, Kalemungorok, Turkana].

Some beneficiaries used the cash to buy goods that they would then trade on:

“I will go to Lodwar to buy tobacco and come to keep myself busy with it, that’s selling it in small quantities to keep going. [QPS with beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana]

Non-beneficiaries confirm this transformative effect:

“Living conditions have improved and life is easier compared to the past years when HSNP had not started. There are a lot of new things that have been established since HSNP started. Some households who burned charcoal to earn living have stopped. Instead they are using HSNP cash money transfer to do alternatives like replacing livestock, farming and doing business. The HSNP has reduced difficulties of living.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Kalemungorok, Turkana].

Indeed, Kalemungorok (a dependency ratio area) seems to have a particularly communal attitude to resources, so the benefits are spread across beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries:

“HSNP beneficiaries’ lives are improved more than non-beneficiaries’. The HSNP targeted beneficiaries, orphans, poor people, old people, disabled people in the community have proved that HSNP cash money transfer can change their lives for them. [However,] our community does share the resources either natural or man-made. Money to our households and community is shared communally and the benefits of the HSNP cash money transfer are felt by beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries.” [FGD with non-beneficiaries, Kalemungorok, Turkana].

This sharing is certainly not the case everywhere. In other sub-locations, non-beneficiaries reported no impact whatsoever on them of the transfer, at least at this stage:

“We are not receiving how do you to see a change? The change may take time before we see it and may be this will come if the money is increased so that we can borrow from those getting this money.” [QPS with non-beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana].

The HSNP also seems to have strengthened the position of vulnerable groups by giving them direct control over cash, where before they were reliant on shared resources or food aid:

“What is great is that the HSNP cash money transfer has allowed most household to access money by male or female beneficiaries equally. Before the HSNP, men were the only members of households that had money and took a lot of decisions on money or aid use or sharing. Most household members like those over 70 had lost hope of ever getting cash because their age could not allow them to work for money since they had no energy to work. Very poor, disabled, old age and widows’ population in the community can now purchase the household effects and services needed

by the household.” [KII with relief committee member, Kalemungorok Turkana].

“Before HSNP project began the decision-making was for only for those who own the property or earn income. But since HSNP started targeting the poor and vulnerable, these members of the households or community have now got the chance to make decisions just like anybody in the household or community.” [FGD with female elders, Lorengelup, Turkana].

Respondents note that the HSNP transfer value is less than the cost of living, given inflation, and that a monthly transfer might be more helpful for budgeting purposes:

“The problem that is experienced is that expenses tend to be more than the KES 2150 in two months. The allocation of cash money transfer should be equal to the current high cost of living. The waiting period of two months from the date of the last cash money is too long, households cannot be able to plan /budget for such an amount for two months.” [FGD with male elders, Kalemungorok, Turkana].

This is particularly the case for larger households:

“The negative part of HSNP cash money transfer is that the KES 2,150 is very little for the households. There are households that are big in size. Some are very poor with no other options of accessing help, like widows and old aged households. The delay of cash money transfer doubles the problems in the households. The high prices of goods in the market created tough conditions for the households because households targeted by HSNP cannot budget fully to their household.” [KII with relief committee member, Kokiselei, Turkana].

Some beneficiaries appear not to use the transfer to smooth consumption over the two months. Instead, they spend the money on satisfying their food needs when the transfer comes, perhaps because it is difficult to store food or to refrain from eating enough when the cash transfer arrives. For example:

“I just wait until the two months elapses then we are given the money. Even you yourself you have seen since I woke up today I have not eaten anything. I am just sitting here until evening when the children will be back and maybe they will bring something with them so that we can eat. We just sustain ourselves with the porridge or whatever has been brought that day and we call it a day. [However,] when I receive the money our stomachs are full.” [QPS with beneficiary, Kalemungorok, Turkana].

Others also note that the HSNP transfer is quite quickly spent on food needs, and does not last for the two months:

“I see because now that I receive the money I can buy food but when the money gets finished that is, we begin to survive again, so it’s not something that I can say it has changed our lives for good but is temporary.” [QPS with beneficiary, Napetet, Turkana]

However, some households (probably slightly wealthier ones), felt that the cash was insufficient for anything useful: “It’s not because after buying a goat with one thousand, the remaining thousand is almost valueless,” [QPS with beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana].

Finally, cash was argued to be much more effective than food aid:

“Living standards are good, very poor widows, orphans and old people are now able to meet their basic needs like purchase of clothes, food, payment of school fees, acquisition of better medical services and replacement of their livestock. Old people in the community before the HSNP started were living in bad conditions and food aid could never have solved their problem of meeting their basic needs which are necessary for life.” [FGD with male elders, Kalemungorok, Turkana].

B.2 Mobility

6.2.2.1 Wajir

In Wajir, where at baseline mobility was most prevalent, there are pastoral evaluation areas and more settled urban areas (see map). Drought has been the major driver of changes to mobility. First, some households have lost their animals and are forced either to settle – for which the HSNP helps – or wander to find resources. This settlement is usually around relief:

“We always lived in the bush. But now due to the drought, most of our animals have died and could not sustain us there anymore. So we came here to settle in the town so that we can at least benefit from the Relief programs that are conducted in the town.” [QPS with non-beneficiary, Godoma, Wajir].

As male elders in Wajir Township pointed out, most people settle in town because their animals died.

In drought conditions, some portrayed mobility as a desperate attempt to find resources for their animals, or to find any source of livelihood. For instance, “Drought has forced people to move with their animals as far as Ethiopia,” [FGD with male elders, Godoma, Wajir].

In this context, the HSNP allowed people who wanted to be more stable to try, and this was a good thing:

“Yes [mobility] changed [as a result of the HSNP], because those who were beneficiaries will stay and are comfortable and us who are not will be suffering and starved here.. Most beneficiaries don’t travel.” [FGD with young men, Wajir Township, Wajir].

However, the HSNP can also be spent on transport, facilitating mobility: “Yes, if someone wants to go somewhere and has no money, he has to wait for the HSNP payment,” [QPS with beneficiary, Godoma, Wajir].

Second, those who still have animals are forced to travel further to find resources for their animals. For instance, “due to the failure of the long rains, there is scarcity of water and pasture in this area so there is migration in search of these things,” [Focus group discussion with male elders, Sala, Wajir]. The HSNP appears to have had no significant impact on the

mobility of these households, and those who wished to continue to travel were also able to do so:

“The money is just little, it does not stop us from going far. We go where pasture and water is available. But people don’t go far because of the water from the borehole.” [QPS with beneficiary, Sala, Wajir]

Moreover, the HSNP cash may allow beneficiaries to retain their animals and therefore remain pastoralists:

“Most of the people here are herders and no one will buy animals now. Life will be difficult and when life becomes difficult, because we are expecting some money after the end of the month, we will just persevere. And if you can’t sell your animals because of the low price, you will ask for credit from the shops. In that way the animals are served and the money will come.” [QPS with beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir].

In terms of the payment process, some households report no change related to the HSNP. This was partly because they could nominate secondary beneficiaries. For example:

“Neither people will nor hurry up so as not to miss the payment. You can get this money anytime so you will only come for the payment when you have finished your business there. Besides the secondary beneficiary can collect the money if the primary beneficiary is away. This programme does not interfere with our other activities.” [QPS with beneficiary, Lafaley, Wajir].

Some paypoint operators echo this, noting that the number of transfers they make each cycle changes, because:

“Almost all the beneficiaries are pastoral people who rear livestock. Hence they frequently shift their herds to where their adequate pasture and water so they might not be within this sub-location throughout.” [KII with paypoint agent, Sala, Wajir].

Others, however, feel that the programme has somewhat tethered them to paypoint areas, particularly in pension areas where beneficiaries tend to be older and less mobile in any case. For example, HSNP pensioners in a focus group in Sala reported that:

We left the bush life because we are unable to shift or move from place to place.

We are aged and our life and energy has ended.

We came from the bush because we receive the money and we are like people waiting for a salary.

Others agreed that “we never used to settle far from town and now when we started getting money we came even closer, just the outskirts of the town,” [QPS with beneficiary, Sala, Wajir]. This household was probably one of the poor partially mobile households, already to some extent dependent on food aid.

6.2.2.2 Mandera

Mobility in Mandera is normally with animals for a search for water sources and an avoidance of conflict. People move with animals to areas where there is capacity to take livestock in response to drought as a normal strategy. Excluding the impact of the HSNP, this increased this year because of the drought and conflict, except for families that lost their livestock as a result of the drought, who were forced to settle.

The HSNP has had an impact on mobility through the targeting and payments, for which people feel they should be at home. For mobile households, this is only a minor inconvenience. For those who settled (particularly older people), settlement is an advantage. However, the largest impacts on mobility seem to come from boreholes, which mean that pastoralists can be more settled, and this is seen as positive.

Where there are no boreholes, people are still mobile in search of water:

In our community we depend on rain to get water because we don't have boreholes. So during the drought we always migrate all the way to Aresteno, Dandu, Moyale and Wajir. [QPS with beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

In these areas, the HSNP has had a limited impact on mobility "because whenever there is rain people go and look for water and grass for their livestock," [FGD with younger women, Kamor, Mandera]. However, even without boreholes, beneficiaries feel that some members of the household have to be in the home sub-location to collect the HSNP payment:

The big problem that forces us to move is the drought because no human being can live without food and water. Also sometimes we are forced to stay when the HSNP payment comes, then when we get the payment we are free to move. [QPS with beneficiary, Eldanaba, Mandera]

The belief that beneficiaries need to be present to collect the payment is widespread, though this is not seen as very inconvenient. Moreover, it does not imply a shift to a permanently settled lifestyle, but an interruption in mobility for partially mobile or fully mobile households.

Boreholes have a much more significant impact on settlement. Respondents report that a new borehole and the HSNP have in Chir Chir encouraged settlement, building houses and business investment, and this is attractive for the beneficiaries in this community:

yes [mobility] has really changed. This is because before, we used to migrate from one place to another because of drought searching for water but now we have boreholes which has made us to settle in this place. Also the HSNP payment has made us settle because we get the payment and we are able to cater for our family. [FGD with male elders, Chir Chir, Mandera]

they [the HSNP and food aid] have changed our life because we are pastoralists. We do not practice farming because we are in a desert...but since the HSNP payment and other programme started we settled in one place because we know at the end we have something to cater for our family. So we no longer migrate from one place to another that is why you have found us here (laughing). [Interview with trader, Chir Chir, Mandera]

Settlement also has positive impacts for school attendance. Talking about the main advantages of the HSNP, a teacher commented that:

There are various issues facing education...one of the major problems faced is brought by the nomadic way of life. Sometimes people migrate in the middle of school. The pupils may go with their families and they lose the education that year like that and they come back in the next year. I hope that you very well know about the Somali nomadic way of life. Know that this programme is trying to attract the people and enables them to come to the settlement areas. Hence they bring their children to school. Since the nomadic people have come to the town due to the HSNP, children are studying [Kil with teacher, Mado, Mandera].

Others argue that the HSNP social pension has an impact on mobility for poor elderly people because where before they used to “go round and look for assistance, [they] have settled because they will take credit from shop. The shopkeeper knows this old man will get his money so he will be given food on credit,” [FGD with male elders, Chir Chir, Mandera] Others say that older people have stopped being pastoralists as a result of getting support:

there are elders who are beneficiaries but before they became beneficiaries they were living with their families and their animals in the bush. Since they were targeted they do not want to go back to the bush they do say that we are waiting for our salary. [FGD with female elders, Chir Chir, Mandera].

The HSNP pension has in some cases contributed to changes to household structure, where the pensioner remains with the children to survive with the HSNP payments, and the rest of the household goes to the bush:

There are those people who shifted to the bush for less expenditure or divided household member. This is to the extent that the old man who is the beneficiary is left behind with the children who are in school, and the mother and the other family members’ shifts to bush to minimize the expenses. [FGD with male elders, Chir Chir, Mandera]

Even in non-pension areas, changes to mobility as a result of the HSNP can be substantial. This can be positive as the HSNP can pay for transport, or negative as people cannot travel where they want because they need to collect payment. The following exchange from a focus group of male elders in Eldanaba (a dependency ratio area) is instructive:

Moderator (M): Has the HSNP project affected where people travel to?

Respondent (R): For the people who are beneficiaries they always travel within the location because if they go far away they are afraid they will not be able to get the payments.

(Laughter)

R: Okay, they travel but they make sure they are back on time. Sometimes you find a person has taken his/her livestock all the way to Moyale and he/she leaves them there and comes back for the payment. Then after getting the payments he/she goes back.

R: Yes it is true.

R: You know before the HSNP began people were not able to travel all the way to far places because they did not have money for transport but since the HSNP began they can go to anywhere to get their money.

M: Are these positive or negative effects?

R: They are negative, because you are not free to go anywhere you want and also how many days you stay. So it could be better if the payments can be given to any member of the household, because when you get the payments you share with all the members in the household you don't use it alone.

The impact on mobility appears to depend on what beneficiaries were told about payment, and probably on local payment practices (see payment section for a discussion of how some paypoint operators require beneficiaries to return to their 'home' sub-location to collect payment, due to cash shortages). For example, elders in Mado argue that "we still travel, because we were told we can get the payment anywhere in Kenya," [FGD with male elders, Kamor, Mandera]

The targeting process also affected mobility because people "come with their children from bush to town and waiting to be targeted and they end up settling in town." [FGD with male elders, Chir Chir, Mandera]

This seems to have affected non-beneficiaries who anticipate more programmes, and particularly in Chir Chir:

Every day there are NGOs who are here. So as why I'm not shifting, I'm avoiding being missed from this sub location [by future programmes]. [QPS with non-beneficiary, Chir Chir, Mandera]

Yes there some who live near the village because of HSNP. They are expecting re-targeting and if they go back to bush they fear that HSNP may come and do re-targeting on their absence. [FGD with female elders, Chir Chir, Mandera].

6.2.2.3 Marsabit

In Marsabit some evaluation communities were highly mobile and others were more settled. Overall, the HSNP has not seemed to affect mobility patterns, but has forced some households to be present on specific days to collect payment.

In one area, people reported that they moved less because of the drought, although their animals were still moved sometimes. They only change animal enclosure during *almado* (the ceremony of milk and fire that marks the end of the solar year in November). Movement was not related to the HSNP: "the HSNP did not initiate any change – so far so good." [QPS with beneficiary, Lonyoripichau, Marsabit]

In the settled communities, the HSNP has a limited impact on mobility as people tend to wait for the payments to be made. In Marsabit Township, most households are permanently settled. Where there is settlement, this appears to be related far more to long-term conditions than the HSNP. For instance, people settle because:

we got tired because of on and off drought, that made animals to move as far as Turkana, so we become exhausted with such movement and get a little near the town and remain with few animals. [QPS with beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit]

In some settled areas, new businesses have started, which makes it easier for settled people to find jobs. However, respondents did not identify this as related to the HSNP.

The HSNP therefore has no impact on current mobility, and beneficiaries claim that it will not affect future decisions:

I will not stay because of HSNP are operation, it will not interfere with my decision. [QPS with beneficiary, Marsabit Township, Marsabit]

Moreover, in those settled areas, people had no wish to start moving again, and the HSNP helps them to avoid having to:

My migration is only death to the grave. I will not move from here. [QPS with female beneficiary, Marsabit Township, Marsabit]

In Badasa, people tend to be largely fully or partially settled, and those mobile members “do not move to far places,” and those remaining behind can collect the money [QPS with beneficiary, Badasa, Marsabit] As the Chief in Badasa commented: “people see [the HSNP] as relief and stay back to wait for the months to end. Hence some don’t engage themselves on other income generating activities.” [KII with Chief, Badasa, Marsabit]

In more mobile communities where pastoralism remains the traditional way of life, there are limited reports of the HSNP affecting mobility significantly. This seems largely because of a strong preference for animals over money:

“Shifting is how you choose. Mr. Ali who is one of the beneficiaries missed [payment] because of shifting. This money cannot make people migrate. We are pastoralist people, if the time of shifting comes to go for pasture of their animals people do not miss to shift because they don’t like this money more than their animals. Also they do not keep their animals unless he shifts and comes back again when the place is not far from the area.” [FGD with male elders, North Horr, Marsabit]

Partly, this is because the beneficiaries are often female, and women do not tend to migrate with animals, so there is no impact on split households:

“Even for those looking after livestock, they come at the stipulated time when the collection time nears. Most of them don’t even migrate with livestock to far places, however most beneficiaries are women.” [FGD with male elders, Badasa, Marsabit]

However, the HSNP payment system has compelled some households to collect their payment when they do not want to:

yes, at times I don’t want to go anywhere, just want to be at home doing some other activities but I have to leave all behind and go to the centre to get this money. [QPS with beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit].

even if we shift far we would not afford to lose this money. There is no way that we will leave that money, now we are settled and there is no shifting anymore. [QPS with beneficiary, North Horr, Marsabit].

6.2.2.4 Turkana

In Turkana, the evaluation took place in pastoral areas, areas on the shores of Lake Turkana where fishing is the main livelihood (though are some pastoralists), and more settled areas near towns. The mobility implications are quite different in each.

Overall, drought has tended reduced people's mobility because their animals have died. For instance, a respondent from a pastoral area reported that "we used to move but now that there is a drought nobody moves. All of us are settled. We don't have goats to herd," [QPS with beneficiary, Lorengelup, Turkana]. One beneficiary felt that they were able to move because of the HSNP cash:

I was able to move my family from one point to another when we really needed to migrate with this money. [FGD with male elders, Kokiselei, Turkana].

It is felt that those who move are people with livestock – the wealthy in Turkana. This reflects the baseline findings. Perhaps because of this, some argue that any sort of programmes requires greater immobility to qualify. Indeed, some argued that mobility was not compatible with being selected for development programmes, leading to an impetus to settle. For example:

Where do you migrate to find government help and help from organisations? If I migrate today, my name will be erased from the list and I won't be able to receive food aid I will be chased from the groups by the clerks because my name no longer exists. So migration is out of question for now. Even if I am forced to migrate and relocate to another community they won't accept me. They will tell me to go back to where am coming from and receive your food there not in this new community. [QPS with beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana].

The need to move specifically to obtain relief was mentioned by several respondents. Some note that mobile people still come back every month to collect their relief food. Others felt that they may need to move because of drought: "maybe if the drought persists we might go to Riokomor or Laukitaung where relief is easily accessible," [QPS with beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana].

This applies also to people who have been forced to move because of the drought. People who have lost their animals move to areas such as Napetet that are near towns in order to find alternative livelihoods or relief.¹⁶ As one non-beneficiary explained, "I am also one of the IDP's who are waiting for HSNPs organization to retarget people again," [FGD with female non-beneficiaries, Napetet, Turkana].

In a largely fishing community, there were limited impacts on mobility. As male elders said:

Around this area people do not move much, even before the money people did not move much, only those who are herding our animals relocate to

¹⁶ Napetet is near Lodwar town where many NGOs have Turkana offices.

areas where there is pasture and enough water for the animals. [Focus group discussion with male elders, Kokiselei, Turkana]

In a more pastoral community, some people understood that the HSNP was designed not to restrict mobility, understanding that the amount does not need to be taken out in full or at a specific time or place, and people can plan around it:

“No, HSNP does not stop movement of the community members who are beneficiaries by whichever means. Beneficiaries can move and get access to the cash money transfer at whichever pay agent they come across, provided they have their beneficiary card with them. The movement is caused by their own reasons, but HSNP doesn’t stop them from moving. Beneficiaries track the number of days when they are supposed to receive cash. Delays in taking cash do not change the amount. The cash will remain on the cash account. The beneficiaries can make a choice to take out the entire amount or make a saving of some of the cash transfer.” [FGD with male elders, Kalemungorok, Turkana]

“People who are beneficiaries knows how this programme works, they know that the money is received after every two months, so one does the calculation if it is to travel he/she goes earlier and when the payment month approaches one reduces his/her travels and hangs around until the money is given out then he plans his journeys again.” [QPS with beneficiary, Napetet, Turkana]

However, it seems that this message hasn’t been communicated to everyone. There is some indication from Turkana that although the HSNP does not necessarily prevent movement, it encourages households to remain reasonably close to the payment agents:

Movement depends on many factors such as drought, hunger, animal diseases, human disease or conflict between our community and the neighbouring communities. Sometimes lack of pasture and water are the major causes of movement from one place to another. Poor and very poor beneficiaries can as well as move when the current settlement place cannot encourage or support the replaced livestock they have bought with HSNP cash money transfer. Their move is never for long or far from the trading centre because the trading centre is the only place they can access the pay agent and purchase supplies for the household and family use. [FGD with male elders, Kalemungorok, Turkana]¹⁷

Others confirm that mobile people come back every two months to collect their HSNP money, and without the HSNP they would travel more. One interviewee in Turkana felt that the HSNP had prevented them from moving away to seek new pastures, although the drought also played a role:

They used to move but now that, we have drought nobody moves. All of us are settled. We don’t have goats to herd. [The HSNP] has stopped us from moving to other places and as I have told you we only go around to burn charcoal and market but nowhere else. Days are communicated when we are supposed to take them [the cash]. [But] my grown up children take the

¹⁷ Italics added for emphasis.

animals while I remain at home. [QPS with beneficiary, Lorengelup, Turkana]

This limited impact on mobility is also related to the identification in Turkana of wealth with animals and being mobile. As one beneficiary put it:

No, [the HSNP has limited impact on mobility] because HSNP does not live with us it just helps us. Our migration has changed because we don't have animals to move we only have two to five goats which you cannot migrate. Because of this so we do zero grazing just around here. [QPS with beneficiary, Kalemongorok, Turkana].

Others report that people are less likely to move when they get older, while young people are still mobile. The HSNP therefore has less effect on mobility for pensioners, who are anyway not mobile. This response is typical:

There is no reason that makes me to move somewhere because of my old age staying here is what I decided because is near to payment agent and medical services. [QPS with beneficiary, Kokiselei, Turkana].

I am an old man... so my children are the ones who go looking for pasture... they go far places looking for pastures. To some extent [the HSNP prevents me from moving], but I don't plan to move because my children can take care of livestock. I am an old man and I can't move around to look for pasture as I am settled now. [QPS with beneficiary, Napetet, Turkana]

Another felt that the HSNP has affected slightly mobility in a pension area "since people fear that when they shift they will miss their pension and get eliminated from the list," [FGD with male elders, Kokiselei, Turkana]. This suggests that the programme should be much clearer in its communication around eligibility and remaining on the programme, given that one objective is to allow beneficiaries to remain mobile.