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The Role of Cash Transfer Programmes in Promoting Social Cohesion in
the Turkana Community: The case of Hunger Safety Net Programme
(HSNP), Turkana, Kenya

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DECLARATION

I, Amleset Tewodros hereby declare that this Project Paper is my original work and has not been presented in any other university for the award of a degree.

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C50/P/8791/05

This Project Paper has been submitted with my approval as university supervisor

Dr. B.M Mutsotso

Date

DEDICATION

To my daughter Abigail Tewodros who had to endure my absence when I was attending classes, during field work and analysing the findings and writing the project report. She has been very supportive and understanding. I hope this work will be inspirational for her.

To all my family for their love, support and encouragement at all times.

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ABSTRACT

Cash transfer (CT), a mechanism for the provision of cash payments directly to the very poor, are increasingly perceived as an effective tool for poverty alleviation especially among vulnerable groups. We are living in a context of high vulnerability, and consequently it is an era in which comprehensive social protection that guarantees citizens of basic minimum standard of living is on top of global and national development agenda. The Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) is a social protection project being conducted in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) of northern Kenya. The ASALs are extremely food-insecure areas highly prone to drought, which have experienced recurrent food crises and food aid responses for decades. The HSNP is intended to reduce dependency on emergency food aid by sustainably strengthening livelihoods through cash transfers. Whereas several studies and reviews are carried out to assess the socio-economic impact of the programme on beneficiaries, this study uniquely attempted to understand the role of HSNP CT in promoting social cohesion among communities in Turkana, Kenya.

The specific objectives of the study were: To examine the community's level of awareness about HSNP CT and its processes, to assess the role of cash transfer in promoting social cohesion among the communities in Turkana, to analyse the effects of HSNP CT in enhancing reciprocal relationship at the household, community and state level and to examine the perception of the community on the 3 HSNP targeting methods in view of their fairness and contribution to social cohesion. The study was carried out in Turkana Central District, Central and Turkwel divisions. A cross sectional design was employed and it purposively selected 80 beneficiaries and conveniently selected 45 non-beneficiaries. The study collected both quantitative and qualitative data through informant interviews and questionnaires. Twenty key informants were interviewed and their responses are integrated in the analysis. Data analysis was done using SPSS and descriptive analysis were done. For both beneficiaries and non beneficiaries the average household size was 6.08 persons per household which is higher than the national average of 4.4 in the 2009 population census. The HSNP processes disbursed payment to beneficiaries in cycles of Kshs 3000 bimonthly and most of the beneficiaries were in their

tenth cycle at the time the field work took place. The findings of this study revealed that the HSNP used three targeting methods that comprised community based, social pension and dependency ratio and both beneficiaries and non beneficiaries highly preferred the community based targeting which had employed open and transparent processes in beneficiary identification and hence promoted cohesion. The study also revealed a high degree of awareness among beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries alike about the purposes and mechanisms of beneficiary identification. Beneficiaries showed improvements across all the five livelihood areas: Increased number of meals, ability to access health care, improved ability to withstand the effects of drought, ability to send children to school and improved shelter. There was collaboration between beneficiaries and non beneficiaries in several activities and evidence showed that this was further enhanced by the availability of cash in some households. HSNP has promoted innovation in business and diversification of livelihoods. The beneficiaries are buying more livestock; and some women beneficiaries have started small kiosk (shops), and involved in petty trading. The CT has also improved state citizen relationship with increased interaction and trust harnessed through rights awareness that accompanied the CT programme. Changes of perception were realized where community's response to government mobilization on public issues has risen and there is increased participation in meetings organised by government *barazas*. The CT has also reduced the gap between the haves and have not's, as the beneficiaries are regarded worthy and their opinions are considered. No evidence was found that the CT has led to the erosion of the traditional roles of elders hence resulting in disharmony. It has to the contrary enhanced their role in conflict resolution, performing of traditional rituals, making important decisions that affect families and communities. On the other hand the CT has also enhanced the unification of families as testimonies from respondents indicated a number of young people returning from towns such as Eldoret and Kitale. The study concludes that improved economic wellbeing increases capability and willingness to voluntarily engage in reciprocal support and hence the study recommends increasing the coverage of the cash transfer programme will go a long way in promoting social cohesion and thereby strengthen state citizen relationship.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

From time immemorial, society has always devised measures for protecting the vulnerable population through various mechanisms. The pillars of the African traditional support system, the extended family and community structures were based on cultural values that serve as safety nets for cushioning the vulnerable population. With the wave of colonization followed by urbanization, these traditional safety nets gradually started weakening. The impact of industrialization, urbanization and reduced agricultural productivity, led to the influx of a large number of people from rural areas to urban centres. In Kenya urban growth is a combination of deep evolutionary changes in social values, motivation, technologies and economic systems (Luigi and Gerhart, 1972). However, the urban opportunities were not necessarily wide enough to absorb everyone that flocked to cities and towns. Hence, the economic growth and prosperity that a number of African Governments registered since independence in the 1960s was accompanied by increased homelessness, destitution and poverty.

The understanding that poverty affects not only the impoverished, but an entire society has led to a variety of innovative poverty alleviation strategies. In recent times, cash transfer programmes are increasingly being utilized to meet cash requirements for the poor. World Bank (2006a) categorically presents transfer programmes as conditional and unconditional: conditional in the sense that common conditions including school attendance requirements and regular preventive healthcare or engaging in work are used as benchmarks while the unconditional are for all that qualify without specific expectation. In Latin American countries, cash transfer programmes have become a commonplace under the belief that “human capital can be enhanced as a development vehicle by providing money to families to persuade them to invest in themselves through greater participation in education and health services” (Hall, 2006). A principle

underlying this belief is that a lump sum transfer of cash maximizes the social welfare of both the providers and receivers (Bawden, 1972).

Over the last two decades poverty has been exacerbated by weakening economies, manmade and natural disasters and effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The Millennium Development Goals aim at collectively achieving specific targets for reducing poverty, inequality and reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS (Hall 2006). In addition the Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS) indicates an increase in the number of Kenyans living below the poverty line. It further elaborates that past responses for curbing poverty in the form of food relief, food for work and cash for work were not sustainable (KIHBS, 2007).

In Africa, the first social funds that were introduced in the 1990s were aimed at poverty reduction and human development (World Bank 2001). Since then, social funds have targeted risk and poverty reduction, employment creation, infrastructure development and decentralization modelling (Steen, and Van, 1999).

Different countries in Africa also adopted measures aimed at tackling poverty. For example the Malawi Social Action Fund (MASAF) has been successful not only in providing safety nets for the poor, but also in enabling communities to take charge of their own development. MASAF interventions are reported to be cost-effective in comparison with other community development models (Kamwendo, 2005).

According to Jones *et.al.* (2006), social transfers are rapidly gaining support as a response to chronic poverty, food insecurity and the impact of HIV and AIDS. Various cash transfer schemes have been introduced or are being piloted in the region. This is partly a response to the growing unmet needs for social protection, and partly a reaction against institutionalized food aid, with several governments and donors shifting in favour of meeting predictable hunger with predictable forms of transfers that include cash transfers (*ibid*).

Kenya is not an exception to this trend. Cognizant of the ravages of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on the Kenyan population and its consequences in aggravating poverty and

vulnerability, since 2004 the Government of Kenya has been implementing a pilot Cash Transfer program for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (CT-OVC). The transfers targeted orphans and vulnerable children [OVCs] living alone or under the care of adults.

The pilot covered 500 OVCs in nine communities in three districts with Garissa accounting for 50 OVCs while Kwale and Nairobi accounted for 130 and 320 OVCs respectively. An evaluation of the impacts of the pre-pilot led to the designing of a full scale pilot scheme to cover 2,500 OVCs in Garissa, Kwale and Nairobi, as well as another 4,500 children in Homa Bay, Kisumu, Migori and Suba districts. The pilot designed to run over three years rolled out between December 2006 and January 2007. The objective of the CT-OVC programme funded by development partners including the UK Department for International Development (DFID), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the Government's own resources was to provide a social protection through regular cash transfers to families living with OVC to encourage fostering and retention of OVC within their families and communities (Othieno, 2007). Various other social transfer programmes are also under implementation including the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP).

The Hunger Safety net Programme

The HSNP began in 2008 in four poorest districts in Kenya (Turkana, Marsabit, Mandera and Wajir). The programme was designed to give long term support through regular cash transfers, to those households most vulnerable to food insecurity. The safety net programme is funded by the Department for International Development (DFID). The overarching goal of the programme is to reduce extreme poverty in Kenya through guaranteed cash transfers to chronically food-insecure households. The programme is structured in phases of five years and in the first phase (2008-2012) it reached 60,000 households. Furthermore the programme aimed at testing three different approaches (described below) which were expected to provide learning for eventual takeover and scale up by the Government as a strategy to alleviate poverty and bring equity among the Kenyan population (OPM, 2013).

Targeting methods

Community Based Targeting (CBT)

CBT is a households based entitlement, where the threshold is set per geographical targeting unit (ie 50% per sub-location) according to poverty and demographic data. Communities (with guidance from Oxfam) determine relevant enrolment criteria and decide in open meetings which people within the sub-location meet these criteria based on the definition of poorest households for each community. The criterion, therefore, differ from one community to another and from district to district. The whole process of targeting and final enrolment takes one and a half months.

An advantage of the CBT approach is that it allows communities themselves to identify those amongst them who are most in need. The participatory nature of this approach leads to effective targeting of the poorest because communities themselves are best placed to identify the most needy amongst them which drives the common use of this targeting approach.

Social Pension targeting (Pure Categorical)

The social pension targeting criteria is based on an 'on-demand approach', with all those aged above 55 years coming forward to register. Unlike community based targeting, this criterion targets individuals, not households. All persons who can prove by presenting their Identification Cards or being vetted by community members that they are over 55 years are included in the programme. There is no predetermined limit of eligible people per sub-location under this method.

The rationale for SP targeting is to assess the appropriateness of targeting on a single objective and (potentially) verifiable categorical characteristic. It is argued that there are a number of clear advantages of such categorical targeting. First, it is transparent and easily grasped by households in programme areas. While this may be true, in fact in certain contexts and cultures singling out specific categories of people regardless of their poverty status may seem confusing.

Dependency Ratio Targeting

The rationale for DR targeting was to have an approach which explicitly targeted poor households based on objective, observable and verifiable characteristics.

This method identifies households on the basis of how many members are able to work and provide income and how many are dependent on those who work. It gives a good approximation of structural poverty. The process involves registration of all households in the target sub location with a list of all the household members and their ages. In this method the dependency ratio is calculated using a given formula for each household and the ratio is compared to a threshold - 60% as the threshold that makes one eligible. Dependents are children (under 16), elderly (over 55). The selection criteria is the existence of 3 dependents against 2 able bodied family members in any household –or people living with chronic illness or disabilities. This is a household entitlement and there is no pre-determined limit of eligible households per sub-location under this method.

The Turkana District

The Turkana District in northwest Kenya is a semi-arid climate region bordering Lake Turkana in the east, Pokot, Rendille and Samburu to the south, Uganda to the west, and Sudan and Ethiopia to the north. The Kenya census 2009 indicates that the population of the Turkana is 855,399, or 2.5% of the Kenyan population (KNBS, 2010). They are semi – nomadic pastoralists noted for raising animals. They are also known for weaving baskets and wearing wraps made of rectangular woven materials and animal skins. Women customarily wear necklaces and have beads attached to the loose ends of their hair.

Livestock is an important aspect of the Turkana culture as it functions not only as a milk and meat producer, but as form of currency used for bride-price negotiations and dowries. The Turkana practice polygamous lifestyles, since livestock wealth determines the number of wives each can negotiate for and supports.

The Turkana rely on several rivers, such as the Turkwel River and Kerio River. Drought is often followed by cross-border armed conflict over resources among Turkana pastoralists. Besides rampant malnutrition, the desperate competition has led to increased livestock theft, shootings and forced migration. With greater pressure on fewer resources, the consequences are particularly dire for pastoralists, who make up 60 percent of the population in Turkana district.

Although cattle rustling is deeply rooted in pastoral culture, raids have turned deadly since the herding communities became heavily armed, mostly with weapons inherited from conflicts in neighbouring countries such as the Sudanese and Ugandan wars (IRIN 2011).

1.1 Problem Statement

Cash transfer (CT), a mechanism for the provision of cash payments directly to the very poor, are increasingly perceived as an effective tool for poverty alleviation especially among vulnerable groups. CT programs have been highly successful in Latin American countries, and are increasingly perceived as a magic bullet for poverty reduction. De Janvry and Sadoulet, (2006) highlights some CT in Latin America as follows: the *Progresa* (now called *Oportunidades*) in Mexico, *Bolsa Escola* and *Bolsa Familia* in Brazil, *Red de Proteccion Social* in Nicaragua, *Programa de Asistencia Familiar* in Honduras, Program of Advancement through Health and Education in Jamaica, Food-for-Education (FFE) in Bangladesh, and *Subsidio Unico Familiar* in Chile. In addition, the Philippines piloted a CT program in four provinces in the year 2007 and since January 2008, they started implementing this program nationwide (Hyun, 2008).

Despite the macro economic growth Kenya has registered since it gained independence in 1963, economic growth has not been matched proportionately with human development that is characterized by adequate and equitable economic prosperity that ensures access to basic social amenities such as education, food security, affordable quality health care, etc for all persons. Emphatically, the Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS) 2005/06, indicates an increase in the number of Kenyans living below the poverty line.

In further elaborates that past responses for curbing poverty in the form of food relief, food for work and cash for work were not sustainable (KIHBS, 2007).

The Arid Semi Arid Lands has the highest rate of poverty due to long term marginalisation as it had remained a low priority for public resource allocation and programming. Drought, hunger and conflict have been the hallmarks of this region. Cattle rustling are widespread and the increased dependence on relief food has been threatening the social cohesion and the traditional fabric of the Turkana society where the study is focused on.

The GoK and the international community are increasingly recognizing the value of social transfers (including pensions, grants for families, cash transfers to children and poor households, public works schemes and other programs) in achieving the Millennium Development Goals and the targets of Vision 2030. A number of impact studies have been carried out in the past on cash transfer programmes focusing on economic, health and human capital outcomes. Some literature has started to emerge linking social protection to social cohesion from conceptual point of view. However, little or no information exist on explicit assessment of cash transfer programmes measuring their contribution to social cohesion. The Arid and Semi Arid Land of Kenya where Turkana the study area is found is known for sustained conflict due to continued drought and competition over scarce resources. This study is therefore designed to examine the Role of the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) cash transfer in promoting social cohesion among communities in Turkana, Kenya, an aspect which has not been widely studied in the past. This study is inspired by the increased popularity cash transfers are gaining globally and hopes to contribute to the debate moving beyond the equity in wealth and economic gains and analysing factors such as social collaboration and state citizen relationship as key indicators for social cohesion measuring the three targeting methods used in the pilot HSNP phase.

1.2 Objectives

Broad Objective

The broad objective is to explore the community's awareness on the Hunger Safety Net Cash Transfer programme implemented by the Government of Kenya in Turkana, Kenya, and its effects on the well being of the community and contribution to social cohesion.

Specific Objectives

1. To examine the community's level of awareness about HSNP cash transfer and its processes
2. To determine the role of HSNP cash transfer in promoting social cohesion in Turkana, Kenya
3. To analyse the effects of HSNP cash transfers in enhancing reciprocal relationship at the household, community and state level
4. To examine the perception of the community on the three targeting methods in relation to their contribution to promoting cohesiveness among the Turkana community

1.3 Research Questions

- 1 Is the community aware of the HSNP cash transfer programme and its operational processes?
- 2 Does the HSNP cash transfer programme promote social cohesion in the Turkana community of Kenya?
- 3 Does the HSNP cash transfer programme have an effect in enhancing reciprocal relationship at the household, community and state levels
- 4 How does the community view the three targeting methods used in the HSNP cash transfer programme in respect of promoting fairness and social cohesion?

1.4 Justification

There has been a dramatic shift in the global debate surrounding poverty and more focus is now drawn to social transfer programs as having an immediate impact on hunger and poverty, and a wider impact on the poor accessing health and education services and on economic growth (DFID, 2005). Therefore, this study will further enrich the theoretical understanding of the paradigm shift the world has experienced in influencing change in the perceptions of poverty, hunger and vulnerability and the mechanisms for its alleviation.

In Kenya, Turkana district has a high poverty index exacerbated by high prevalence of food insecurity and conflict (KIHBS, 2007) and thus the need for workable mechanisms for combating further escalation. Turkana in particular has a history of political marginalisation with poor resources, infrastructure and communications. The district has a history of food insecurity requiring extensive external assistance, and more recently Turkana has experienced both a series of unpredictable, poor or failed rainy seasons and a deadly livestock disease. These factors have severely affected people's ability to cope. Around 94% of the district's population now live below the poverty line and are unable to meet their basic food needs.

Social protection is important in helping to reduce dependency on humanitarian aid, particularly in ecologically-fragile and crisis-prone areas to rebuild livelihoods poor men and women need a buffer that meets their day to day survival needs and allows them to engage in activities to enhance their livelihoods. Studies have demonstrated predictable problems such as those that are commonly experienced in Turkana from natural calamities such as persistent drought, floods, loss of livestock due to cattle diseases and conflict particularly with neighbouring communities need predictable solutions. Safety nets such as the HSNP are known to have resulted in respite moving away people from reliance in emergency focused food-based interventions which have had their own pros and cons.

The project under discussion is therefore designed to provide a new dimension of knowledge by examining the extent to which the HSNP CT has made contributions to enhancing social cohesion an area of study on which much literature has not been available. As indicated in the literatures section social cohesion is a multidimensional concept and it is an aggregate of various indicators. The literature offers a multitude of indicators for measuring social cohesion which does not have a universally accepted definition but different scholars have measured cohesiveness from various strands. The dimensions of social cohesion that this study will examine are limited to voluntary mutually reciprocal assistance, participation, and state citizen relationship which have been achieved as a result of the CT.

1.5 Scope of the Study

The study explored a number of variables that assessed the community's awareness about the cash transfer programme, understanding of the methods used in identifying beneficiaries and their responses in respect of the improvements that are attributable to the CT. The study examined whether or not targeting as opposed to providing universal benefit contributed to tension among the society by studying the social reciprocity among the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries on the one hand and how the wider community related to the state and its organs.

Geographically the study covered Turkana Central District, with respondents from eight villages in Turkwell and Central divisions. However, the study didn't endeavour to carry out an in depth and comprehensive impact assessment of the CT programme. It has not also assessed the operational procedures focusing on effectiveness of the management, coordination and payment systems. A brief analysis of the changes brought about by HSNP has been discussed to an extent they were able to link to social cohesion.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This section provides a synthesis of the various literatures that were reviewed to support the study. Key areas reviewed include Social Protection as a mechanism of addressing poverty, and its functions and objectives from global perspectives, regional and country specific policy instruments and frameworks that are increasingly influencing national programmes addressing poverty and vulnerability. Cash Transfer as one of the instruments of social protection is widely discussed with focus on its origin, evolution and how it has been implemented in various contexts.

Considering the link the study attempted to make between Cash Transfers and Social Cohesion, a section has been dedicated to share the different ways through which scholars and practitioners coined social cohesion. The chapter also presents the conceptual framework of the study.

2.1 Over view of Social Protection

The Africa Union (AU) understands Social Protection as a "package" of policies and programmes with the aim of reducing poverty and vulnerability of large segments of the population. This is done through a "mix" of policies/programs that promote efficient labour markets, reduce people's exposure to risks, and enhance their capacity to protect and cover themselves against lack of or loss of adequate income, and basic social services (African Union, 2007). Social protection consists of a range of public (government funded) measures that gives support to all citizens and helps individuals, households, and communities to better manage risks and participate actively in all spheres of life (Taylor, 2007).

According to the Department for International Development (UK), there are many definitions of social protection (DFID, 2006). Broadly defined, it encompasses a sub-set of public actions, carried out by the state or privately, addressing risk, vulnerability and

chronic poverty. Operationally, it is more helpful to define social protection by subdividing it into three key components:

- Social insurance comprises individuals pooling resources by paying contributions to the state or a private provider so that, if they suffer a “shock” or permanent change in their circumstances, they are able to receive financial support. Examples include unemployment insurance, contributory pensions and health insurance. Social insurance is, in general, only appropriate for better-off individuals although it can have an important role in preventing them from falling into poverty. (Samson M, Niekerk I and Mac Quene K 2006)
- Social assistance involves non-contributory transfers to those deemed eligible by society on the basis of their vulnerability or poverty. Examples include social transfers and initiatives such as fee waivers for education and health, and school meals.
- Setting and enforcing minimum standards to protect citizens within the workplace, although this is difficult to achieve within the informal economy.

Social protection systems consist of the set of:

- a) All transfers in a society that seeks to provide income security and prevent and alleviate poverty
- b) All measures that guarantee access to health and social services
- c) All measures that protect workers’ income, health and well-being.

Social protection thus seeks to free people from social insecurity and consequential fear; thus inevitably an income redistributive system. If designed, managed and administered well, social protection systems generally achieve social security, social impact and economic performance (Cichon and Scholz, 2006).

Social protection provides a means — arguably the best means — of addressing and managing a specified range of “life risks”. However, social protection embraces a much wider range of issues. Arguably the most important of these is that of equity. It provides effective income security to the poor who require enhanced equity — not only equity of wealth and income but also equity of opportunity, to a degree which market forces will not produce if left to themselves. An improvement in equity in this way should enable the poor to participate in economic growth and hence, for example, increase the public acceptance of globalization.

In the same light of social protection, Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR 1948) documented that regular income is an essential component of the rights to social security and an adequate standard of living. Its articles 22 and 25 state that:

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and the resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 25

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being of himself and his family including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance.

These articles in effect place the responsibility of providing for basic needs where individual/private resources are inadequate on national governments (and the international community). It underscores the principle that all people are born equal,

giving society the obligation of providing a level playing field for all, given factors that might impinge on equality, such as the conditions cited above to be traditionally targeted by social security.

The Commission for Africa on the other hand identified social transfers as a key tool in tackling extreme poverty in sub-Saharan Africa (Africa's Development, 2008). Nonetheless, Steen and Julie (1999) postulates health, education, water and social security as essential public services that are recognised as the critical components of the range of social protection measures.

2.1.1 Cash Transfers (CT)

Cash transfer is a relatively new instrument in the range of interventions that donors and governments have supported in Africa. Using experiences gained from different pilot programs, a number of countries in Africa are beginning to formalize this instrument as a mechanism to tackle the uniquely high and rising levels of vulnerability and poverty. However, its organization, beneficiary identification processes and social impact are scarcely documented (Armando, 2008).

Cash transfer gives people more choice than food. The rationale for cash transfer programs is that the state, often supported by and/or driven by other external agents such as donors or NGOs must take responsibility for the precarious situation of vulnerable citizens (Skoufias, 2001). This is increasingly recognized to be the case not only in an emergency context but also in situations of chronic poverty and illness. Cash transfer is being accorded increased priority within an integrated social protection framework as emphasised in recent poverty reduction strategy papers and national poverty reduction plans on vulnerability and accountability especially in relation to the needs of households affected by HIV/AIDS (Kanbur, 1988).

2.1.2 General functions and objectives of Social protection

Deveruex and Sabates-Wheeler (2007) suggests that social protection measures provide income (cash) and/or consumption (food) transfers to the poor, protects the vulnerable against livelihood risks and enhances the social status and rights of socially excluded and

marginalised people. Social protection in contemporary society is understood to have 5 general functions and objectives.

Protection function

Social transfers provide important protective value through cash transfers, emergency relief (food parcels), feeding schemes in schools and clinics, HIV/AIDS treatment and care, to children, the elderly and disabled people enabling households to cope at least temporarily with circumstances of poverty. This protective measures save lives and reduce levels of deprivation in a society.

Preventive function

Social protection has a preventive function because it seeks to assist people from falling into deeper poverty or becoming vulnerable to risks and contingencies arising from natural disasters, crop failure, accidents and illness. Programmes designed to achieve preventive objectives include support to community disaster management projects, subsidies to farmers, unemployment and health insurance, and support to community savings schemes. Preventive programmes can also include basic social services, health care and education.

Promotion function

Its aim is to enhance the capabilities of individuals, communities and institutions to participate in all spheres of activity. Measures that promote the well-being of all can include school-feeding schemes, participating in public works programmes that create community assets and social infrastructure, conditional cash transfers that require children to be sent to schools and clinics.

Transformative function

It focuses on reducing inequities and vulnerabilities through changes in policies, laws, budgetary allocations and redistributive measures. Its aim is to ensure social, economic

and political inclusion of the poorest by removing barriers and reinforcing access to rights (Devereux and Sabates–Wheeler, 2004).

Developmental and generative function

Social protection also has a developmental and generative function. Countries that have introduced cash transfer programmes are producing social and economic developmental outcomes. UNICEF (2007) reports that in Zambia, 28% of cash transfers in a pilot scheme are spent on investments and households do not sell their assets for food. In Malawi cash transfers resulted in a 4 percentage point increase in school enrolment among children under-10 years and a 36 percentage point decline in child labour. In South Africa, transfers contribute to boosting local economic consumption and growth and encourages job seeking behaviour.

Research based evidence shows that countries with comprehensive social protection systems were, over time, able to build inclusive social and economic processes with the participation of their poorest citizens. Today, many of these countries are leading industrial nations with highly developed economies and significantly higher human development indicators (ILO, Peter Townsend, 2007).

Recent studies on countries in Africa that have introduced social protection programmes reinforce such evidence and demonstrates that government led social protection programmes are both necessary for sustained economic growth and is affordable in low income countries when considered as part of a package of measures supported by the international community (DFID, 2006; Pal et al, 2005).

The lessons from these studies confirm that when social protection is located as a critical component of social policy and development, it has the potential to address multiple dimensions of poverty, reduce inequities and inequalities and play a role in the national economic growth agenda. The key policy consideration related to such shifts in thinking about the importance of social protection is not whether countries should have social protection programmes but rather how to promote social protection to ensure it generates pro poor human development and pro poor economic growth.

2.1.3 Policy Frameworks and Instruments

Over recent years social protection has gained currency and several global and regional institutions have been pushing for its formalisation through binding legal instruments. Such instruments are vital in enforcing social protection as citizen's rights and strengthening state-citizen contract.

Adopting the values and principles of a human rights framework for social protection implies that if a right exists, governments have an obligation to make sure it is fulfilled. In adopting a human rights approach each member state needs to advance a social protection agenda that gives effect to rights and entitlements of citizens to social protection. In a region where the resources to redress rights are limited and where even material resources such as food is scarce the political will and commitment to actualise rights to social protection become critical. Principles of equity and equality, solidarity, inclusion, subsidiarity, participation, accountability, access to information and to resources are important in social protection measures. A human rights approach to social protection requires countries to reach consensus on what constitutes a socially acceptable minimum package of social protection below which no one should fall.

Bilateral and multilateral arrangements with financial institutions and international development partners can influence the potential for policy and programme coherence on social protection within Africa. Efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) can also be combined within a comprehensive social protection agenda. In countries that have introduced unconditional cash transfers significant impacts are made in reducing destitution and deprivation of the poorest as well as in increasing levels of consumption and productivity (Parker, 2003).

Parker, (2003) goes on to say that the design and development of social protection systems requires a coherent policy framework that includes long term strategies. Implementing long term strategies in a phased approach based on transparency and democratic governance with multiple stakeholders enhances institutional sustainability. High maternal mortality rates and low attendance of girls in school indicates that barriers

to access to health and education are real and influence the life choices of girls and women in multiple ways.

In this section a few of the international and regional policy instruments that have played critical role in driving social protection at national levels are discussed.

The Ouagadougou Declaration and plan of action

The Ouagadougou Declaration and Plan of Action (POA) is an outcome of the third assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union in September 2004 in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Its overall aim was to empower people, open opportunities and create social protection and security for workers by building a people-oriented environment for development and national growth. The POA was based on mobilising resources for implementation of the plans of action at the national, regional, and international levels. It recognised the need to address social development, poverty alleviation and employment creation in a coherent and integrated manner (African Union, 2007).

The Ouagadougou Declaration and POA – is today considered the blueprint of the AU strategy on social development. It places emphasis on the need for action at the national, regional, and international levels. The Declaration also highlights the need to enhance the capacity of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) to promote productive employment and social protection within the framework of regional and inter regional cooperation in Africa. Member States of the AU and Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are designated as the principal bodies responsible for the implementation of the Declaration and the Plan of Action, with the AU Labour and Social Affairs Commission as the coordinator of the implementing mechanism (African Union, 2007). The linking of poverty reduction, productive employment and social protection in the POA relate directly to the decent work agenda of the ILO.

Promoting the Decent Work Agenda of the International Labour Organisation (ILO)

The Ouagadougou Declaration and Plan of Action promotes the Decent Work agenda of the ILO including the enhancement of the coverage and effectiveness of social protection

for all sectors in society, particularly the poor and vulnerable (African Union, 2007). Referring to decent work as “work that not only provides a sufficient level of income but also ensures social security, good working conditions and a voice at work” (World Employment Report 2004-05:24), the report highlights the extent to which millions of workers and their families, especially in Africa, are doomed to a life of poverty.

The ILO’s World Employment Report (2004-2005) estimates that 49.7 per cent of the world’s workers are not earning enough to lift themselves and their families above the crude US\$2 a day poverty line and that 19.7 per cent of employed persons in the world are currently living on less than US\$1 a day.

Not surprisingly the numbers of working poor increased in low income countries with Sub-Saharan Africa having the largest share estimated at 55.8% in 2003. These trends also indicate that increasing numbers of people work in hazardous conditions and are not able to provide adequately for themselves or their households. Further, social security (in the form of work based social insurance) is increasingly being delinked from waged work as labour markets evolve and global markets extend (Taylor, 2007).

Such trends arising from a globalising process add new risks and vulnerabilities onto existing structurally based poverty and unemployment in Africa. As more workers are being pushed into informal and casual labour the guarantee of long term secure employment with pensions on retirement and health care are less available. In this context social protection is considered an essential part of the decent work agenda in Africa to ensure the human security of workers in the formal and informal sectors. It also requires an approach that includes all workers (regulated and unregulated) into a system of social provision.

The need for a comprehensive approach to work and rights is clearly reflected in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights as well as in recent studies (Amartya, 2002). The promotion of "opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work, in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity” (Sen, 2000: 120)

becomes a critical building block of the approach to social protection of the ILO and the AU.

According to Sen (2000), the Nobel laureate of economics, asserts this goal must include "all workers", irrespective of their sectors, whether they are waged or unwaged, male or female, unregulated, self-regulated and home workers. A comprehensive approach to social protection ensures that different parts of the working population whose fortunes do not always move together are not neglected in furthering the interests and demands of other vulnerable groups (Sen 2000: 120). This is an important reason why social protection in the region is gaining momentum and efforts are being made to sustain and expand existing measures to include those currently excluded.

The Social Protection Floor

The Social Protection Floor (SPF) is a global social policy approach promoting integrated strategies for providing access to essential social services and income security for all. Social protection floors are nationally defined sets of basic social security guarantees that should ensure, as a minimum that, over the life cycle, all in need have access to essential health care and to basic income security which together secure effective access to goods and services defined as necessary at the national level. These social policies must be combined in a coherent and integral life cycle approach and have a special focus on the most vulnerable groups of society, including women, children and youth. (ILO & WHO 2009).

Recognizing the importance of ensuring social protection for all, the United Nations System Chief Executives Board for Coordination (UNCEB) adopted, in April 2009, the Social Protection Floor initiative, as one of the nine UN joint initiatives to cope with the effects of the economic crisis. This initiative is co-led by the International Labour Office and the World Health Organization and involves a group of 17 collaborating agencies, including United Nations agencies and international financial institutions (ILO 2011).

The Livingstone Call for Action and the Yaoundé Declaration

The Livingstone Conference, held in March 2006 was yet another turning point in African governments' commitment to promote social protection as an urgent response to the increasing vulnerabilities of people to chronic and new crises in the region. A call for action was adopted at the meeting and this call is now known as the Livingstone Call for Action (African Union 2006) on social protection in Africa. Significant consensus was reached on the need to implement more widely throughout Africa programmes such as social pensions and cash transfers to vulnerable groups including children, older people and people living with disabilities are to be prioritised. An important meeting in Yaoundé also played a significant role in prioritising action on social protection.

The Livingstone Call for Action adopts the guiding principle that social protection is embedded in both a human rights and an empowerment agenda. Social protection programmes, including social transfers and cash transfers, when combined with other social services, directly reduce poverty and inequality.

Social Protection Policy in Kenya

Kenya ratified The Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that social protection is a fundamental human right for all citizens. Articles 22 - 25 of this declaration specifically focus on social protection. Kenya is also a signatory to the Livingstone Call for Action of 2006 which committed Governments under the auspices of African Union (AU) to improve on the implementation of Social Protection Programme. The Commission for African Union identified social transfers as a key tool in tackling extreme poverty in sub-Saharan Africa.

The National Social Protection Policy provides the Government's intention of putting in place a National Social Protection Program to improve the lives of the poor and vulnerable. The policy focuses on the following:

- Recognises the need to look at poverty in an integrated and coordinated manner
- Prioritizes reduction of extreme poverty

- Advocates the provision of cash transfers for those who cannot support themselves
- Emphasizes long-term and predictable interventions
- Stresses on asset creation and support

The policy defines social protection as follows (GoK, 2011)

Policies and actions, including legislative measures, which enhance the capacity and opportunities for the poor and vulnerable to improve and sustain their lives, livelihoods and welfare; enable income-earners and their dependants to maintain a reasonable level of income through decent work; and ensure access to affordable healthcare, essential services and social transfers

Vision 2030

The vision is a national long-term development blue-print aimed at creating a globally competitive and prosperous nation with a high quality of life by 2030 (GOK 2007). It aims to transform Kenya into a newly industrializing, middle-income country providing a high quality of life to all its citizens by 2030 in a clean and secure environment. The vision is anchored on three key pillars: economic, social and political governance.

The objective of the social pillar is to build “a just and cohesive society with social equity in a clear and secure environment” (Morris, 2004). It covers Social Protection through the Social Strategy with a number of flagship programs outlined in the document. The strategy seeks to achieve transformation through eight sectors that include Education and Training; Health; Water and Sanitation; the Environment; Housing and Urbanisation; Gender, Youth Sports and Culture; equity and poverty reduction. It also makes special provisions for Kenyans with various disabilities and previously marginalized communities.

2.2 Social Protection and Social Cohesion

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) links social cohesion to social protection in its assertion expressed in this paragraph. *“A holistic approach to social protection can help identify policies that foster social cohesion. Coverage is particularly important for at least two reasons: first, providing effective support to those most in need so as to ensure their social inclusion remains a challenge in many countries; second access to social protection is also a matter of horizontal equality especially among workers. Social Protection is a form of institutionalized solidarity. Excluding certain categories from social protection system whether by neglect or design, deprives them of risk management and risk sharing tools and runs the risk of alienating segments of society, a social cohesion agenda requires that attention also be paid to other forms of exclusion.”* (OECD, 2011).

Among both the academics and the policy makers, “social cohesion” is a term that enjoys ever-increasing popularity. The Canadian federal government, for example, set up in 1996 a “social cohesion Network”, which has since then become one of the most active social cohesion research groups in the world. Across the Atlantic, both the Council of Europe and the European Union have called for more attention to the issue of cohesion in settling public policy. The EU Cohesion Funds, in fact, is now one of the major items featured in the Union annual budget.

Social cohesion has relational and distributional elements. The relational aspect concerns the nature and quality of interpersonal and social relations, and the distributional aspect refers to the patterns and the extent of the distribution of resources and opportunities in a society. The Council of Europe for example proposes 20 key areas for assessing social cohesion. (Babajanian, 2012).

OECD and the World Bank, have recently come to realize the importance of social-cultural factors in economic development and growth. A cohesive society is one that —works towards the well-being of all its members, minimizing disparities and avoiding

marginalization and entails —fostering cohesion by building networks of relationships, trust and identity between different groups, fighting discrimination, exclusion and excessive inequalities, and enabling upward social mobility (OECD 2011).

The World Bank (WB, 2013) on the other hand emphasizes that social cohesion as a concept cannot be separated from the generation of shared values, identities and norms. A degree of social consensus on norms and values in the following areas is not just associated with — but actually inherent and constitutive of social cohesion:

Social membership/national citizenship — a clear sense of who belongs (community, nation) is necessary to establish clarity around the basic rights and obligations which govern social interaction.

Fairness and equity — different societies have different levels of tolerance for inequality and for variations in equality of opportunity and social mobility. Such norms change over time, sometimes rather rapidly.

Security of access to livelihoods and basic services — Social insurance cushions individuals against a relative loss of income or wealth; social assistance may intend to ensure that no individual can dip beneath a social floor; a guarantee of livelihoods may be accompanied by a degree of guarantee of certain basic services; education can be a key instrument for building a common national identity.

The role of the state is critical to and cuts across these three issues: it legitimizes national membership/citizenship (and the conditions of access for outsiders), and it embodies national norms around fairness and to different degrees ensures individuals/household access to basic livelihoods and services. (Norton A and de Haan A, 2013)

Social Cohesion is the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity based on a sense of hope, trust and reciprocity (Jeannotte, 1997). Five dimensions of social cohesion have been coined:

- Recognition/rejection
- Belonging/isolation
- Legitimacy/illegitimacy

- Participation/non-involvement
- Inclusion/exclusion
- These dimensions stressed social and political inclusion as key issues.

First of all social cohesion is based on the *willingness* of people in a society to cooperate with each other in a range of actions necessary to survive and prosper. Willingness to cooperate means people have a choice to freely decide who and how to form partnership with and have a reasonable chance of realizing them, because others are willing to cooperate as well. This, of course, implies a *capacity* to cooperate. Social protection creates the enabling environment that empowers people to have the capacity to earn a livelihood and be in a position to engage in a mutually reciprocal relation. Furthermore the redistribution function of social protection enhances equity and promotes equality hence cultivating social cohesion between societies and strengthening state citizen relationship.

2.3 Social Cohesion in Kenya

“Social Cohesion” as a theme is embedded in a number national policy documents in Kenya. Whilst the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) of Kenya created by the National Accord and Reconciliation Act of 2008 following the 2007- 2008 post-election crisis has a major emphasis on nurturing a cohesive society, the vision of the Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs also states - a Just, Cohesive, Democratic, Corruption-free and Prosperous Nation. Additionally one of its strategic objectives is promoting ethnic harmony and national cohesion (Strategic Plan 2008-2012).

The Social Pillar of Vision 2030 aims to give a Just and Cohesive Society enjoying equitable social development in a clean and secure environment. The Vision 2030 makes special provisions for Kenyans with various disabilities (PWDs) and previously marginalized communities (Vision 2030, 2007).

Considering the multi-ethnicity of the country and the political tensions that flare up between people, particularly during elections, building strategies, systems and structures

that promote social cohesion is a key function of the Government. The Cash Transfer programme is also seen as one that has been put in place to tackle poverty and vulnerability and redress marginalization. Kenya is often said to be the most unequal country. Effectively implemented social protection is one of the mechanisms where redistribution of wealth can take place by creating equity among the population. Cash Transfers enables to do that. The more cohesive a community is the greater an influence it will have on individual members to conform to the group's norm.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The study made references to the Rational Choice Theory and Durkheim's Theory of Social Class. These theories focus on understanding attitudes and predicting human behaviour and social interactions and roles within a system.

2.4.1 Rational Choice Theory

Rational choice theory, also known as rational action theory, is a framework for understanding and often formally modelling social and economic behaviour (Homans, 1961). Homans grounded the theory in assumptions drawn from behaviourist psychology; assumptions that are not necessarily a full description of reality, rather, they can aid reasoning and provide help in formulating testable hypotheses.

Over the last decades rational choice theory has also become increasingly employed in social sciences, for example in poverty alleviation programmes such as sociology and political science (*ibid*). Models that rely on rational choice theory often adopt methodological individualism, the assumption that social situations or collective behaviours are the result of individual actions. The poor fit between this and sociological conceptions of social situations partially explain the theory's limited use in sociology.

The basic idea of rational choice theory is that patterns of behaviour in societies reflect the choices made by individuals as they try to maximize their benefits and minimize their costs. As a result, patterns of behaviour will develop within the society that result from those choices.

Describing the decisions made by individuals as rational and utility maximizing may seem to be a tautological explanation of their behaviour that provided very little new information. While there may be many reasons for a rational choice theory approach, two are important for the social sciences. First, assuming humans make decisions in a rational, rather than stochastic manner implies that their behaviour can be modelled and thus predictions can be made about future actions. Second, the mathematical formality of rational choice theory models allows social scientists to derive results from their models that may have otherwise not been seen.

The rational choice theory assumes that all action is fundamentally 'rational' in character and that people calculate the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do. In rational choice theories, individuals are seen as motivated by the wants or goals that express their 'preferences'. They act within specific, given constraints and on the basis of the information that they have about the conditions under which they are acting. At its simplest, the relationship between preferences and constraints can be seen in the purely technical terms of the relationship of a means to an end. As it is not possible for individuals to achieve all of the various things that they want, they must also make choices in relation to both their goals and the means for attaining these goals. Rational choice theories hold that individuals must anticipate the outcomes of alternative courses of action and calculate that which will be best for them.

For example beneficiaries of cash transfer are able to meet a wide range of basic needs as well as enjoying the freedom to make rationale choices on how to use the cash beyond the direct material benefit cash gives. Reciprocal relationship, participation recognition and sense of belonging are equally important for people and the CT can stimulate this. Consequently, households receiving cash will compare the costs and benefits of some of their actions, and take the most appropriate decision. Cash Transfer as opposed to food aid is flexible and allows people to make rationale choices on how they prefer to spend their money. Being in a position to make choices and decisions and taking charge of one's own fate is dignifying, increases self esteem and dispenses freedom that is fundamental to making rational choices suitable to oneself responding to one's priorities. Food meets only one need whereas cash is convertible to any form of commodity and

meets a wide range of needs. It pays for food, medical care and other needs and generally gives beneficiaries the liberty to prioritise their needs and spend on what they deem is important. It is empowering and liberating with significant impact on one's social and emotional status (Heath, A. 1976).

2.4.2 Durkheim's Theory of Social Class

In order to ground the concept of social cohesion, this study turns to Emile Durkheim's theory of social class. Through his works on *The Division of Labour* (1893), *Suicide* (1912) and *Religion*, Durkheim's theory focuses on the functionalist view of society. In sharp contrast to the conflict theories of Marx and Webber, Durkheim's theory looks at the roles played by social objects or actors in shaping society. He believed that harmony, rather than conflict, defined society. He looked at the actors in society and their functions in creating social cohesion (Palumbo and Scott, 2003).

Durkheim was primarily concerned with the issue of solidarity, basically looking at what held individuals together in various groups in society. He believed, contrary to Marx and Webber, that solidarity rather than conflict should be the normal order of social life and conflict, even if it was occasionally found, was not normal. Social cohesion, therefore, was brought about by two types of social solidarity or integration. These are mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity (Calhoun, 2002).

Mechanical Solidarity takes place in a society where division of labour has not gone beyond the basic biological one and social cohesion is based on shared beliefs and sentiments or as Durkheim called it, *common conscience*. The individuals in this sort of society are brought together by account of their similarities. The societies tend to be small and organised around kinship relationships with strict regulations whose violations attracted punitive redress since they were seen as a threat to the shared identity (Poggi, 2000).

Organic solidarity on the other hand referred to integration that emanates from the level of specialisation and interdependence in society. These are societies where work is highly differentiated; division of labour has increased and society becomes more complex.

These societies are larger, and the things that hold them together differ from those that hold simple and smaller societies together. For instance, collective conscience diminishes and social cohesion that is based on similarities and beliefs is no longer possible (Poggi, 2000).

It is in organic solidarity that Durkheim seems to describe the modern society in which we live today. He believed that specialisation leads to more interaction between individuals and a realization that each individual needs the other. Societies of organic solidarity are arranged around economic and political organizations with their legal systems regulating the way individuals behave. Regulation is no longer punitive (Allan and Allan, 2005).

He argues that the division of labour encourages the growth of individualised spheres of activity, thereby grounding a comprehensive mutual dependence between citizens. Basically, an individual depends upon other individuals in society and therefore, depends on the society. By extension, an individual is a part of individuals who are part of a whole which forms society and which in turn forms the state. It is this interdependence that comes as a result of specialisation which forms social cohesion in modern society (Allan and Allan, 2005).

What is clear in Durkheim's theory is the notion of the ability of individuals to contribute to the sustenance of other individuals, to society and the state. The role of individuals basically underpins their value in society and how the other members will interact with them. It is this realisation of value and the need for each other that promotes social cohesion. Thus, if the injection of cash through a social protection programme increases the options available to individuals in terms of the range of activities that they can engage in and the contribution they can make to other members of society, then the Hunger Safety Net Programme implemented in Turkana should contribute to social cohesion among the people of the area.

2.5 The Conceptual Framework

In attempting to demonstrate the links between social protection and social cohesion, this study will use the definition of social cohesion provided by the Council of Europe as ‘the capacity of a society to ensure the welfare of all its members, minimizing disparities and avoiding polarization’ in conceptualizing the framework that explains links between social protection and social cohesion (COE 2004: 3).

Additionally, various scholars and champions of pro-poor policies have sufficiently explained how social protection enables the realization of cohesiveness where state - citizen contracts can be strengthened. Cash transfers, as part of a wider social protection system, have the potential to strengthen state-citizen relations and by extension the legitimacy of the state (HelpAge, 2011). However, discussions on legitimising the state through cash transfer programmes need to move from the narrow view of providing cash transfers do address poverty and vulnerability. It is critical to view cash transfers as enablers of the state to demonstrate its commitment to all citizens to achieve a basic minimum standard of life particularly by supporting labour constrained households and those that have been marginalized in successive systems in the past through a range of comprehensive social protection programmes. Social membership and national citizenship, fairness and equity and security of access to livelihoods and basic services (Norton, et al 2013) which are all the preserve of the state to ensure their delivery provide the ingredients to social cohesion. The HSNP CT is precisely doing that.

Areas such as Turkana fall within the broader definition of fragile contexts considering that their vulnerability, risk and poverty are not only a result of harsh environmental conditions but the central underlying manifestation of fragility – the absence of a functioning state-citizen relationship. Whilst the potential gains from implementing cash transfer programmes include raising the living standards of vulnerable groups and providing them with opportunities to exercise their rights as Citizens, for the state, the benefit of implementing sustainable cash transfer programmes is to increase its legitimacy and popular support. It is also a vehicle to strengthen state institutions which are critical in conflict prevention, recovery from conflict and state resilience and lead to cultivating cohesiveness between the state and its citizens. For a country as diverse as

Kenya, with multi-ethnic groups, diverse geographic environments and socio-economic contexts; the role that comprehensive social protection programmes and subsequently, cash transfer programmes, can play in redressing previous marginalization and stimulate a sense of belonging and identity among the people cannot be under estimated.

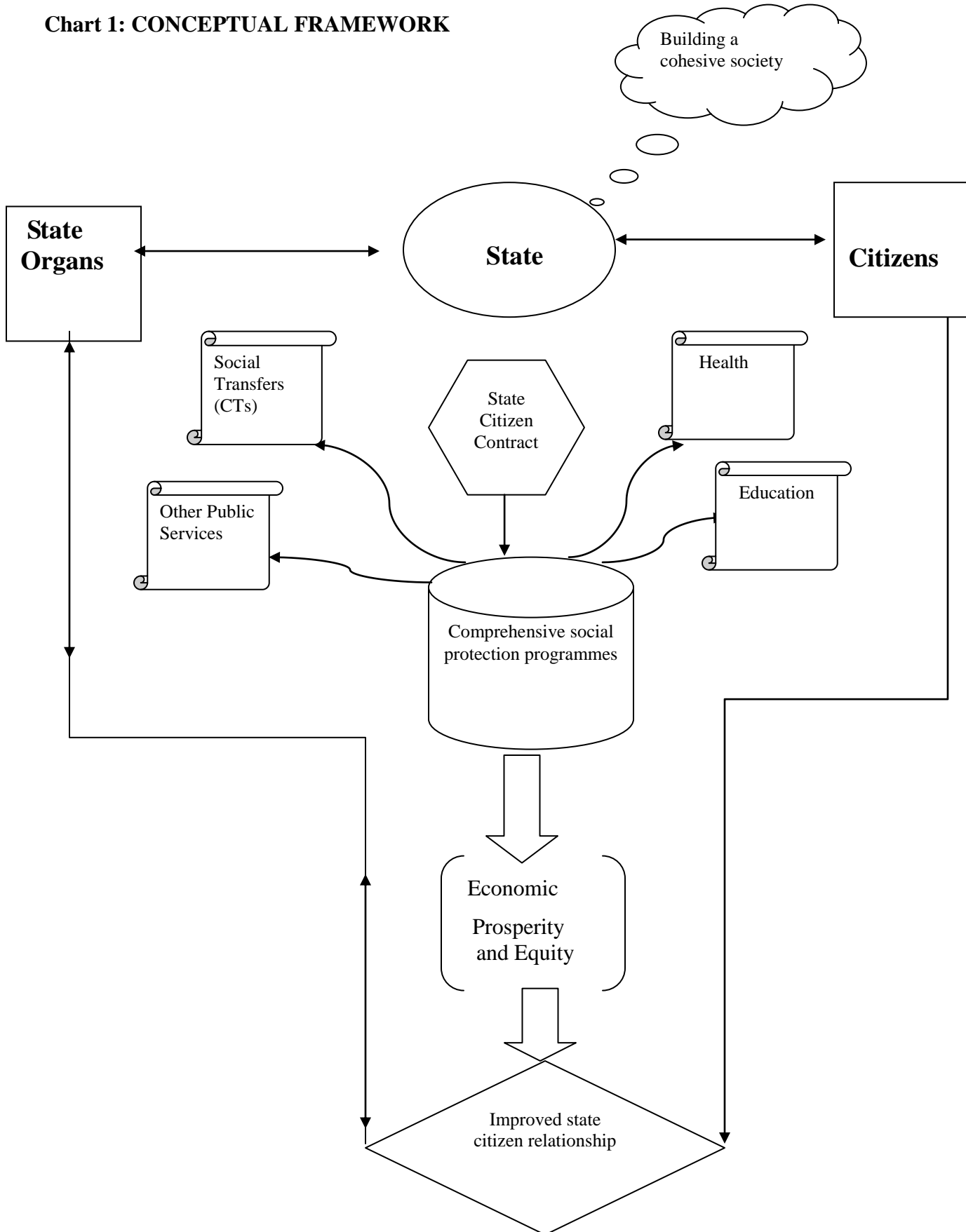
The concept of social cohesion implies the interconnectedness of two sets of relations: relations between citizens, and relations between the state and the citizens. The relations between the state and citizens are often conceptualised as a state-society or social contract, defined as ‘a dynamic agreement between state and society on their mutual roles and responsibilities’ (OECD 2008: 17). A state-society contract emerges from the people’s expectations of their state, which are shaped by the state’s capacity and political will to finance and deliver important public goods and services.

While explaining how social protection can play a role in fostering social cohesion, Mitchell Bachellot, Head of UN Women said:

“The Social Protection Floor can respond to calls for social cohesion by transforming the lives of impoverished and excluded people and can promote political stability and resilient economic growth. Social Protection is a feasible and sustainable solution that very much corresponds with the reality of our time in which some countries are facing increasing social unrest and sluggish economic recovery”. (Bachellot, 2011).

Figure 1 below is a diagrammatic representation of a conceptual framework that shows how the provision of comprehensive social protection programmes can enhance social cohesion at all levels of society. Social protection mechanisms can minimize the rising income inequality, ensure a fair distribution of the results of economic growth and promote a better relationship between states and citizens.

Chart 1: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



According to this framework, a cohesive society, which is founded on the basis of a state that is fulfilling its obligations to all its citizens without discrimination, can achieve, broadly speaking, the following:

- Individual wellbeing, including the fulfilment of needs and capabilities in education and health.
- High rates of economic growth, improved quality of life of all citizens.
- Greater peace, security and stability due to reduced crime and violence
- Good governance and state legitimacy.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The main focus of this chapter is to describe the methods that were applied in carrying out the study. The chapter is organized under the following sections: Study area, target population, study design, sample size and sampling techniques, methods of data collection, data type, ethical considerations and methods of data analysis.

3.1 Study area

The study was carried out in Turkana Central District, in Rift Valley Province of Kenya. Within Turkana Central district the study focused on two divisions: Central and Turkwel. In Central division, Lodwar Township and Kanamkemer locations were considered while in Turkwel division Lorugum location was considered. It is from these locations and villages the respondents for the study were chosen. The focus villages of the study included Turkwel centre, Nakamane, Napeteo, Napuu, Kacheimeri, Lainimoja, Kakwanyang, Narewa.

Turkana District is located in Northwest Kenya and is bordered by Lake Turkana in the East, Pokot, mRendille and Samburu to the south, Uganda to the west, and Sudan and Ethiopia to the north. Turkana has a population of approximately 855,399 (KNBS, 2009). Despite the progress made by many organisations, Turkana remains the poorest district in Kenya (Kenyan Government, 2006). According to the Kenya Household Budget Survey of 2006, 94% of the population in Turkana live below the poverty line and only 19% can read and write compared with the national average of 79% (Kenyan Government, 2006). Turkana Central District had a total population of 254,606 people, 41,120 households and a population density of 17. Central Division had a total population of 58,290 people, 11,437 households and a population density of 70 where as Turkwel Division had a total population of 79,028 people, 12,151 households and a population density of 14 (RoK, 2009).

Turkana Central District is hot and dry for most part of the year. Average rainfall in the plains is about 300-400 mm falling to less than 150mm in the arid central parts. Rainfall is erratic and unreliable and famine is a constant threat.

Of the four districts the HSNP Cash Transfer is implemented (Wajir, Mandera, Marsabit and Turkana), Turkana has a unique characteristics as it is primarily inhabited by relatively homogenous community as opposed to the other districts.

3.2 Study Population

The study targeted a diverse population who reside in central Turkana district Turkwell and Central divisions. The key criteria used in the selection was participation in the Hunger Safety Net Programme Cash Transfer as beneficiaries for the 80 respondents. Additionally 45 non-beneficiaries from the same area as the beneficiaries were involved to provide their perspectives on the various aspects of the HSNP CT to draw conclusions linking the Cash transfer to Social Cohesion. In an effort to match the responses of the beneficiaries with that of the non-beneficiaries a broad age cohort of 20-80 were identified consistent with the broader population covered by the HSNP and bearing in mind a significant number of the beneficiaries were drawn categorically based on their age hence the concentration of the respondents from the social pension recipients.

Considering the remoteness of some of the areas most of the villages chosen were nearer Lodwar town and as different villages were targeted through different methods, efforts were made to cover all the eight villages which enabled us to get respondents that cover all the three methods. It is to be noted that only in a few cases one can find beneficiaries of the mixed methodology in a single village.

The overall selection of the villages was carried out in consultation with the key informant from Oxfam who held the master registry.

3.3 Study design

For this study a cross sectional design that entails, studying either the entire population or a subset thereof is selected and from these individuals, data was collected to help answer

the research questions of interest. The study examined data that was collected from the purposively sampled population of Turkana Central District (80 beneficiaries and 45 non-beneficiaries) to provide a snapshot of the wider populations' view on the role of the Hunger Safety Net Programme in promoting social cohesion. It was employed to pick out associations between the HSNP CT and attributes that implied existence or non-existence of social cohesion among the population group in the study location. Additionally, a sample of 20 key informants were purposively identified to provide information that was otherwise not provided by the study population. The sample selection of key informants was pre-determined and purposive based on pre-determined characteristic where the researcher selects the sample subjectively based on this characteristic (Patton, 1990). However, the sample selection aimed to ensure the spectrum of respondents was representative of the relevant institutions that have policy, political and operation roles in the HSNP CT and associated activities.

3.4 Sampling

Recognising the HSNP CT was delivered through the three targeting methods: Social Pension, Community Based Targeting and Dependency Ratio, the respondents were chosen to ensure representation of the three methods and hence spread out across the study area. The study purposively selected households of 80 beneficiaries of the programme that represented beneficiaries from the above three methods and 20 key informants from across the two districts and at the national level. It also conveniently selected households of 45 non-beneficiaries as well from Turkana Central and Turkwel Divisions to include their perspectives on the contribution of the CT to social cohesion.

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

The study collected both quantitative and qualitative data through key informant interviews and household questionnaires. The key informants interviews targeted a diverse group of people involved in the programme both in the field and in Nairobi. The interviews enabled the collection of information on the roles of HSNP cash transfer, targeting methods, and effects of the cash transfer from representatives of Equity Bank in

Lodwar, the Africa Platform for Social Protection, the Rights Committee members of HSNP, Payment Agents, and Area Assistant Chiefs, HelpAge International, Oxfam and the HSNP Secretariat, the Catholic Diocese of Lodwar, the Ministry of North Eastern Kenya and the Ministry of Social Welfare.

The questionnaires were directed at both the beneficiary and non-beneficiary households and were used to gather information on the socioeconomic issues of the households, measured level of awareness about HSNP and its processes, the roles and effects of HSNP and the communities' perceptions on the cash transfer in enhancing social cohesion. It is to be noted in most cases the respondents were living in households with family size averaging 6.08 and hence their views were considered to be representatives of the wider household. Even beneficiaries of social pension, despite targeting being on an individual's age rather than status of household, most of the beneficiaries lived with dependents ranging from one to 12.

3.6 Data collection tools

Various methods and data collection tools were used in this study. These included:

3.6.1 Semi Structured Questionnaire Guide

Two sets of household questionnaires were used in the study: one for the beneficiary households and the other one for the non-beneficiary households. The one for beneficiaries targeted 80 beneficiary respondent population of the cash transfer programme comprising of households headed by older people (social pension beneficiaries), heads of households in those selected for Community Based Targeting and in the households identified as a result of dependency ratio. All households included in the HSNP CT are recognized as vulnerable due either to old age, orphan hood, disability and HIV/AIDS status. On the other hand 45 non-beneficiaries residents of the same geographic location and depicting more or less similar characteristics as that of beneficiaries but who were not targeted by the programme were interviewed. The questionnaires sought awareness about the cash transfer program (beneficiaries and selection methods), its socio-economic impact on beneficiaries and their dependents, and sought to identify if non-beneficiaries felt resentment towards beneficiaries and the local

authorities as a result of their exclusion from the CT. They were further requested to identify the specific ways through which they showed reciprocal collaboration including their participation in activities mobilised by local government authorities such as *Barazzas*.

3.6.2 In-depth Interview guide for key informants

Key informants included twenty officers from the Ministry of Gender, the Hunger Safety Net Programme Secretariat, DFID, Ministry of Northern Kenya, HelpAge International, Oxfam, Equity Bank, Payment Officers, the Africa Platform for Social Protection, Sub-location officials and the Catholic Diocese of Lodwar. The interviews sought views on beneficiaries, targeting methods, coordination and management of the program, the delivery mechanisms, and plans for national up-scaling of the programme and assessed respondents' view on how the cash transfer programme enhanced or hampered social cohesion.

3.6.3 Secondary Sources

The study examined key documents including the national policy frameworks and District Development Plan that guided the design of the cash transfer program. It also reviewed the National Social Protection Strategy, the Kenya Vision 2030 and the operation manual of the HSNP. The study went further and analyzed the project design documents such as the proposal, reports of regular internal monitoring and external evaluation, correspondence between the HSNP secretariat and the Management Consultants and the various arms of the Government including the Ministry of Gender, Youth and Social Development and the Ministry of North Eastern Kenya. Additionally various academic research and policy briefing notes sourced from various international institutions and on line based materials were reviewed to identify previous research findings and inform the knowledge gap this study was trying to find.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

The researcher observed ethical issues as far as data collection is concerned. She sought authorization from the University and the local administration officers. Consent from the respondents was sought in advance and high privacy, confidentiality and dignity was observed. Cultural and religious considerations were upheld throughout the research.

3.8 Methods of Data Analysis

The data collected were analysed using quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative data from household questionnaires was subjected to computation of simple statistics such as frequencies, totals and percentages which was presented in tables and graphs. The SPSS (version 19) programme was used for this analysis. In one case t-test was applied to further test differences between views of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries to measure if the views were significantly different. On the other hand the qualitative data from the interviews was subjected to content analysis and merged into coherent descriptions that supported information acquired through household questionnaires and was woven in the findings, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter gives detailed analyses of the data collected from interviews conducted with the 80 beneficiaries and 45 non-beneficiaries drawn from the two divisions of Central Turkana and presents the findings. Views of twenty key informants carefully identified from diverse national and local organizations with significant links to the HSNP also formed part of the analysis in this chapter. The section summarises the characteristics of the respondents using differentiators such as age, gender, income, education, marital status, dependents and occupation for both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. It further discusses levels of awareness among communities; roles of HSNP CT in promoting social cohesion, its effect on reciprocal relationships at the household, community and state level and finally assesses the views of the respondents on the different targeting methods used in the CT in respect of social cohesion. The data was analyzed and presented in the form of frequency tables, charts, graphs, percentages and inferential statistics.

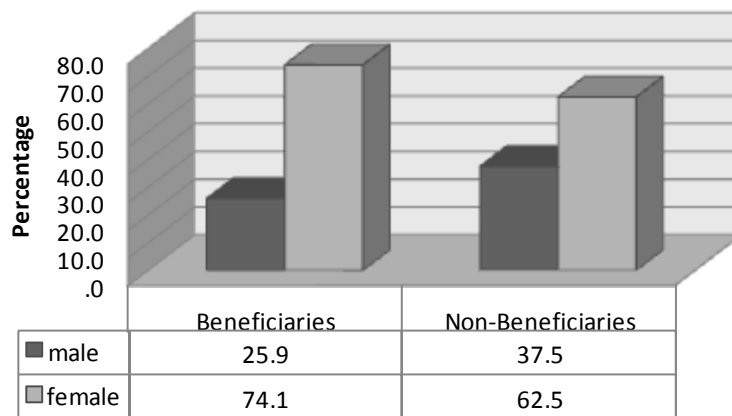
4.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of Respondents

4.1.1 Gender

The study targeted beneficiaries and non beneficiaries of HSNP cash transfer which comprised both male and female as shown in Figure 4.1. Women constituted 74.1% and 62.5% for beneficiaries and non beneficiaries respectively. This is because across all the three targeting methods the number of female beneficiaries was more than those of their male counterparts consequently resulting in more women respondents in both instances. This was particularly noticeable among the social pension beneficiaries which targeted people above the age of 55. Women live longer and in almost all societies there are more older women than older men. Although more men than women are born, women depict higher survival rates and hence higher life expectancy levels compared to men (Institute of Economic Affairs, Kenya, 2008). Although the overall poverty incidence in Kenya declined from 56% in 2000 to about 47% in 2005/06, the poverty headcount among

women was in both rural (50%) and urban (46%) areas. The ratio for male-headed households (48.8%) was slightly lower than for female-headed households (50%) (*ibid*). This explains why there are more women than men in this programme whose main eligibility criteria is poverty.

Figure 4.1: Gender of Respondents



4.1.2 Age

The respondents were grouped in age cohorts to ascertain their representativeness across the age groups. From Table 4.1 it is evident that majority of the respondents for both the beneficiaries and non beneficiaries were above 50 years of age. This is because the study targeted household heads across the targeting methods as their views on the use of the CT and its impact provide an overview of the entire members of households. Furthermore the social pension targeted people over the ages of 55 years that qualify due to their age. However it was evident that most of these older men and women live with other dependents despite being singled out as beneficiaries for the social pension.

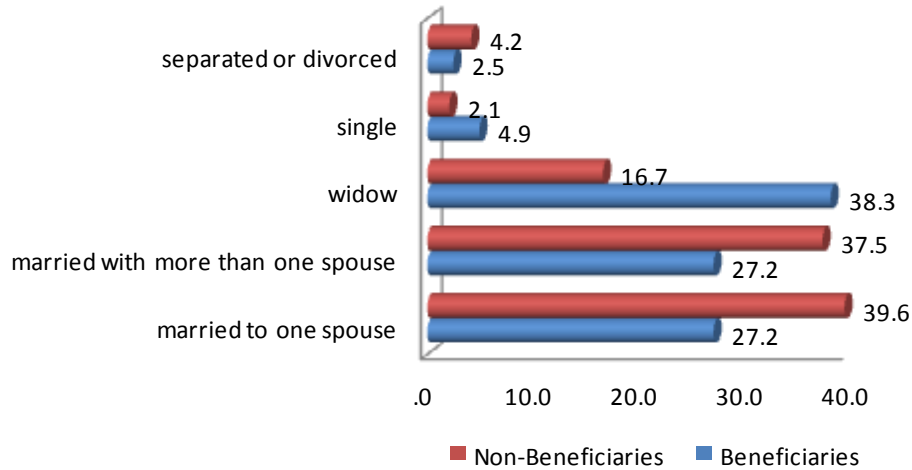
Table 4.1: Age of Respondents

Age Group	Beneficiaries		Non-Beneficiaries	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
20-34	15	18.5	14	29.2
35-49	9	11.1	11	22.9
50-64	22	27.2	12	25.0
65-79	28	34.6	9	18.8
80 +	7	8.6	2	4.2
Total	81	100.0	48	100.0

4.1.3 Marital Status

In terms of marital status the study found out that respondents represented diverse family status that included polygamous and monogamous marriage, widow, single and separated or divorced. Nonetheless, as shown in Figure 4.2 widows constituted 38.3% of beneficiaries far much more than those who were non beneficiaries (16.7%). Thus the study established that by all measures widows stand out to be among the poorest hence their relative higher number.

Figure 4.2: Marital Status of respondents



4.1.4 Family Size

The sizes of the families were ascertained for both beneficiaries and non beneficiary households and the average household size computed showed 6.08 persons per household which is slightly lower than the district (6.19) and higher than the national average of (4.40) household size according to the Kenya Census Report of 2009 (Republic of Kenya, 2009). Thus, it is observed that households in the study area have large families and were a true representation of the situation in the district.

4.1.5 Dependants

The study investigated the dependants comprising children, grandchildren and relatives that stayed in a particular household for both the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Dependants of respondents

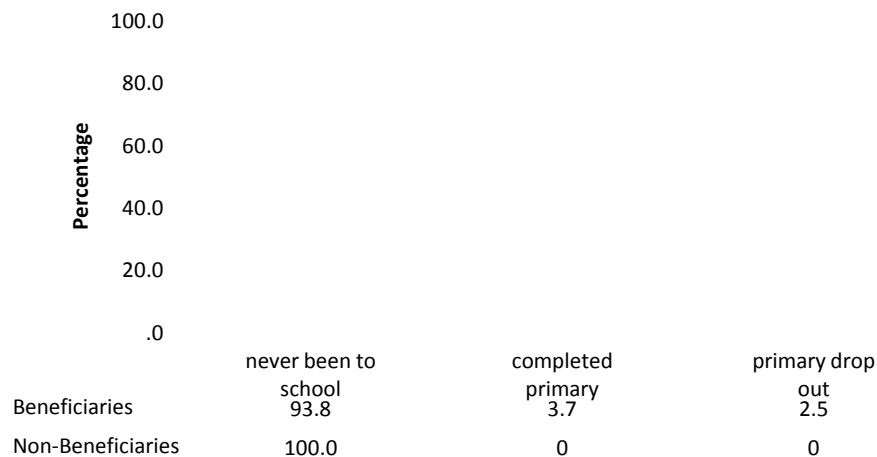
Number of Dependants	Beneficiaries		Non beneficiaries	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
0	1	1.3	0	0.0
1	2	2.5	2	4.2
2	2	2.5	2	4.2
3	6	7.5	4	8.3
4	16	20.0	11	22.9
5	14	17.5	6	12.5
6	11	13.8	9	18.8
7	8	10.0	4	8.3
8	10	12.5	6	12.5
9	4	5.0	2	4.2
10	2	2.5	1	2.1
11	3	3.8	1	2.1
12	1	1.3	0	0.0
Total	80	100.0	48	100.0

In some beneficiary households there are as high dependants as 12 double the size of the national average family size.

4.1.6 Education

The study established the educational levels of the respondents as shown in Figure 4.3 where majority (93.8% and 100% for beneficiaries and non beneficiaries respectively) had never been to school. It is understood that Turkana district has lower school enrolment rate and the slightly higher rate of literacy among the beneficiaries is perhaps due to the fact that beneficiary respondents were twice as much as the non-beneficiaries. Considering the high concentration of women and those over the age of 55 in this programme, gender and age interplay in demonstrating a lower level of education. Only 26% of boys and 2% of girls under 6 years of age have ever enrolled in school in Turkana District (UNESCO 2006).

Figure 4.3: Education level of respondents

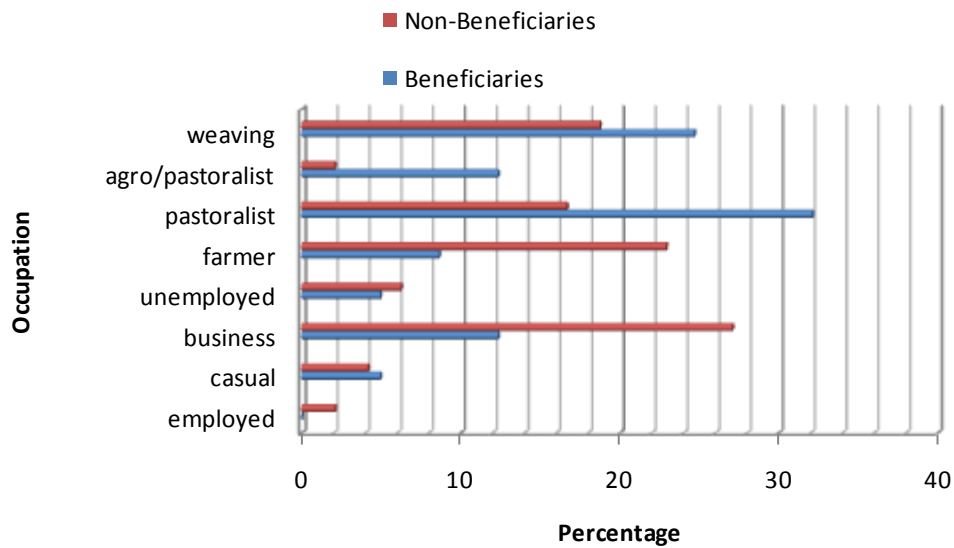


4.1.7 Occupation

The respondents undertook varied activities for a living. Most of the beneficiaries were pastoralists while non beneficiaries dominated in business mainly charcoal burning. Pastoral way of life is dominant occupation but in the face of drought a negative coping mechanism that of burning charcoal is wide spread as one of the business activities that cuts across both beneficiaries and non beneficiaries. Weaving was common in some

households (Figure 4.4), these enabled them maintain their traditions as well as earn income by selling some artefacts. Very few of the respondents were employed and thus poverty levels in the community were glaring.

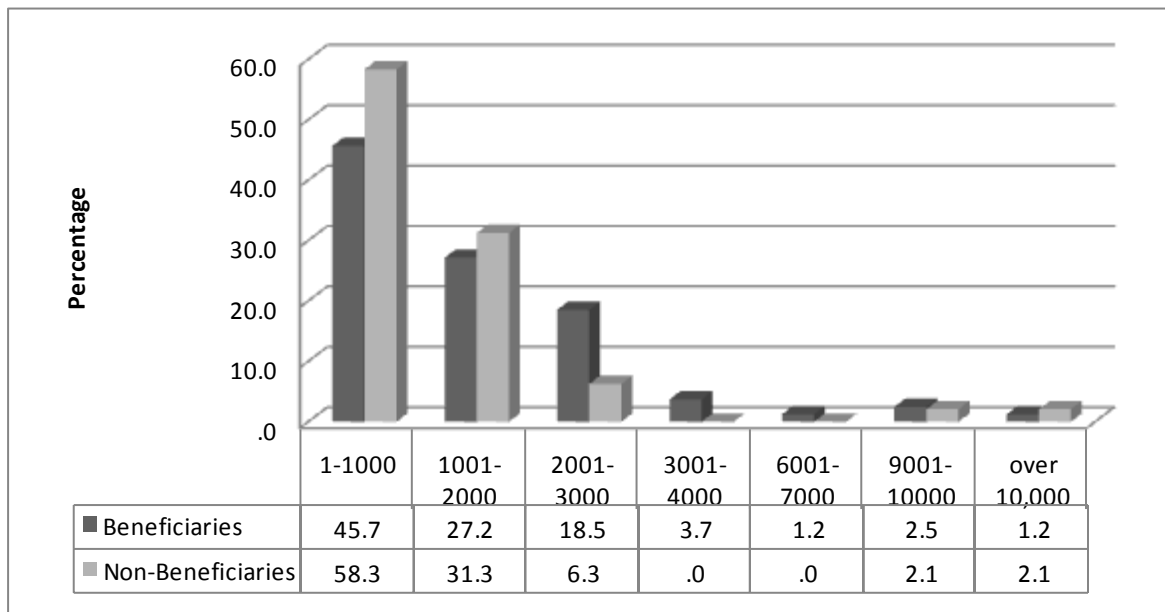
Figure 4.4: Occupation of respondents



4.1.8 Income

As majority are pastoralist their main livelihood source and wealth is often expressed in livestock and thus monthly income (in terms of cash) were very low as shown in Figure 4.5 where more than half of the beneficiaries earned less than Kshs. 3000.

Figure 4.5: Income Levels of respondents



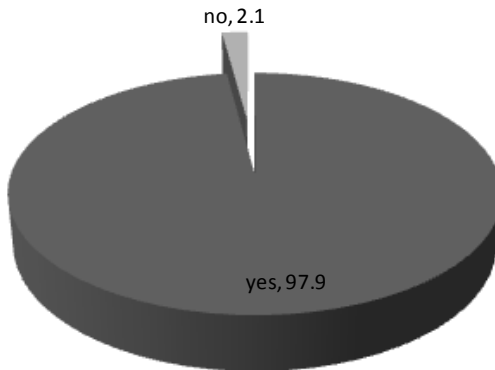
4.2 Findings

4.2.1 Community’s Awareness about HSNP Cash Transfer and its Processes

The study sought to establish the communities’ awareness about the HSNP cash transfer programme. To ascertain these both the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries were considered. All the beneficiaries interviewed alluded to the fact that indeed they are beneficiaries of HSNP. This was complemented by their knowledge on the existence of other beneficiaries where 80% knew other beneficiaries by name and where they lived but 20% did not. The 20% comprised primarily those that did not attend community meetings (*Barazaas*) for various reasons including due to sickness and limited mobility.

In the same light awareness on the existence of the cash transfer programme by non-beneficiaries was established, where 97.9% were aware while 2.1% were not (Figure 4.6). This is a clear indication that the programme has made deliberate effort in creating awareness among the community through civic education while the community remained alert about important issues that affect their lives.

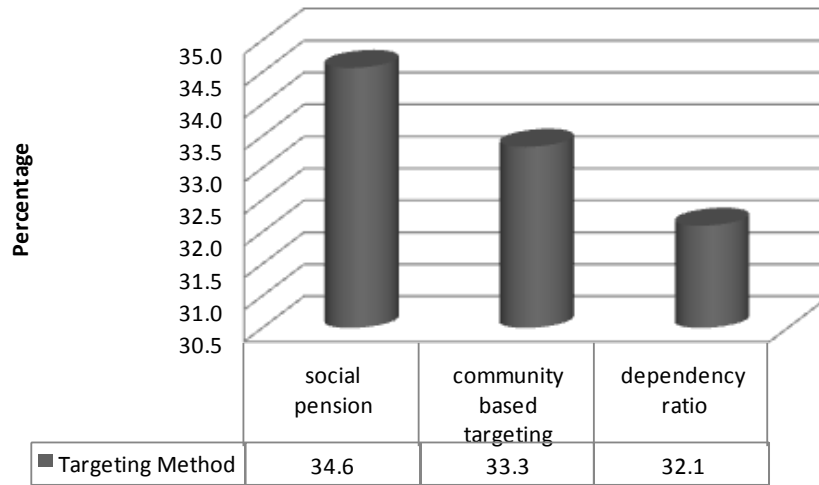
Figure 4.6: Non-Beneficiaries Awareness about HSNP



The HSNP processes entailed disbursement of payment to beneficiaries in cycles of once every two months. Key informants' interviews revealed that the cash transfer started with Kshs 2150 payable in cycles of once every two months to the beneficiaries in 2005; later on raised to Kshs 3000. The change was necessitated to provide beneficiaries with the capacity to withstand the inflation felt in the country in 2009 that saw huge increases in the cost of basic needs. The increase was also made to enable beneficiaries cope with the effects of the recurrent drought that affected many parts of the country. However, key informants expressed their concerns about the inadequacy of the Kshs 3000 paid every two months in the wake of the 18% inflation that led to the doubling of the cost of basic commodities such as sugar, maize flour, cooking oil, medicine, school uniform etc.

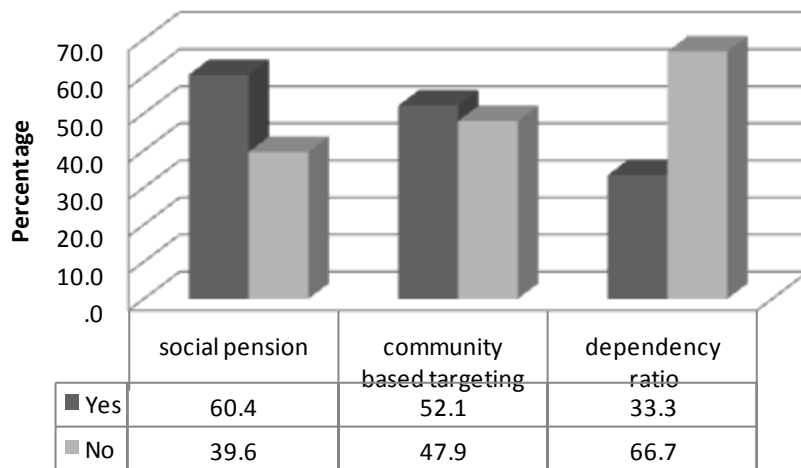
Beneficiaries also indicated that they were aware of the targeting methods through which they were selected and they cited each as shown in Figure 4.7.

Figure 4.7: Targeting Methods used to select Beneficiaries



The non-beneficiaries also identified the targeting methods employed by HSNP as shown in Figure 4.8. They were more aware about social pension (60.4%) than community based (52.1%) and dependency ratio (33.3) an indication of high level awareness on the categorical method in this case the social pension and the CBT which has deliberately involved the community in defining eligibility and the selection of those that qualify.

Figure 4.8: Non-Beneficiaries Awareness of the Targeting Methods



Non-beneficiaries that were aware of the targeting methods gave the main factors that HSNP used in selecting beneficiaries as summarised in Table 4.3. According to responses from non-beneficiaries old age (50%) was regarded as the main reasons followed by general poverty at 35.4% for selection as a beneficiary. By and large the factors mentioned by non-beneficiaries constitute the vulnerability criteria used particularly in CBT hence a confirmation of heightened awareness and increased participation in community *barazaas*.

Table 4.3: Reasons given by non-beneficiaries for the selection of Beneficiaries

Reasons	Percentage
Absence of children to support	8.3
Lack of assets such as livestock	33.3
Poor health	22.9
General poverty	35.4
Old age	50.0
Disability	22.9
Favouritism by someone in authority	12.5

Identification and registration of beneficiaries was the other HSNP process where 90% of the beneficiaries interviewed were aware of while 10% displayed that they were not. Consequently non-beneficiaries gave their views to this effect and while 92% indicated high level awareness 8% did not display knowledge. The non-beneficiaries were further asked whether the identification and registration process was fair and transparent, and if they felt the selected people deserved. Amidst their responses, 96% alluded to the fact that the identification and registration process was fair and transparent and 94% were satisfied that the selected beneficiaries duly deserved it.

4.2.2 Role of HSNP Cash Transfer in Promoting Social Cohesion among the Turkana Community

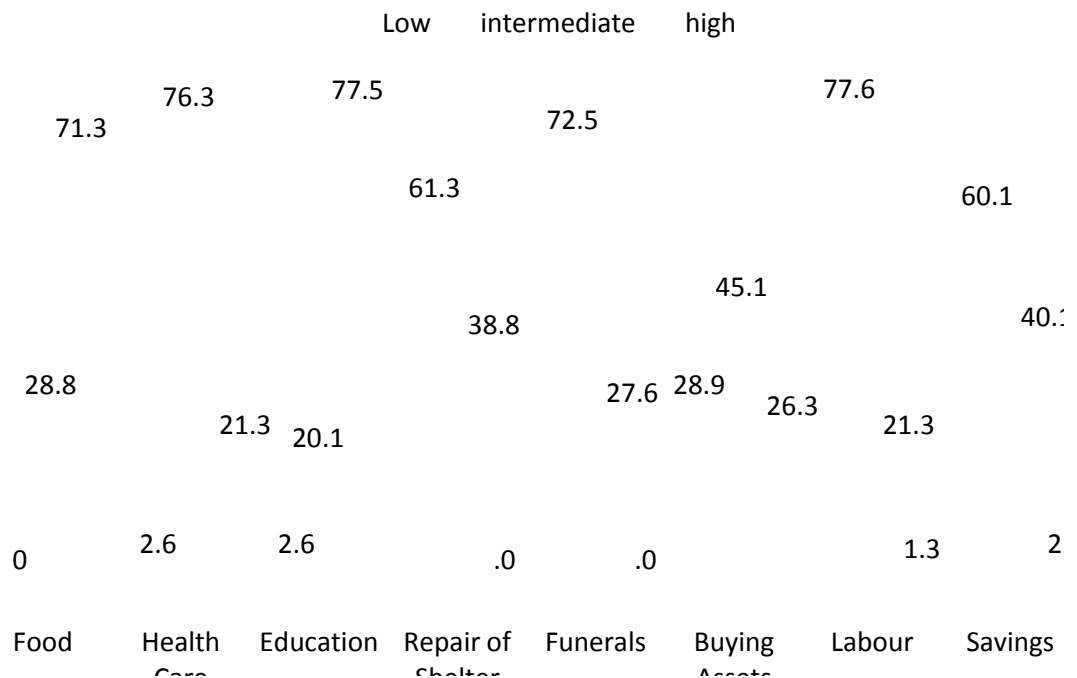
Cash transfer programmes can, in theory, contribute to building social cohesion and strengthen the legitimacy and effectiveness of states in a number of ways. They are generally seen as one of the main instruments for delivering social assistance (OECD, 2009). The rationale behind HSNP CT is to fight chronic food insecurity, promote peace building, conflict prevention and inclusion of particular social groups (*ibid*). To ascertain these statements the study examined the different roles of cash transfer and their contribution towards promoting social cohesion in Turkana Central District. In order to assess these three attributes were defined which included: (a) Defining what areas the Cash Transfer was used for, (b) Identifying areas of life that have shown improvement (c) Examining if there have been differences between the Roles of Elders before and after HSNP and (d) defining areas of social collaboration if they have been affected by the HSNP.

4.2.2.1 Areas the Cash Transfer is used for

The beneficiary respondents were asked to prioritize what they used the cash for on a scale of 1 to 8 where 8 was the expenditure area that consumed the highest of the transfer and 1 that consumed the least (Figure 4.9). The findings showed that education was the highest ranked with more than 70% of beneficiaries using cash transfer on children's education paying for uniform and books, followed by food and investment in assets. Health care was also regarded favourably with 21% respondents indicating expenditure in that area. Key informant respondents also affirmed that HSNP cash transfer acted as a guarantee for obtaining drugs on credit from dispensaries. Similarly, during the interviews, respondents said that CT has provided ready cash for buying food unlike the unpredictable and unreliable food aid they heavily depended on in the past. This flexibility, they said, with proper budgeting has provided for steady capacity to purchase food and consequently increase the quantity and variety of food available at the household level.

In a nutshell, cash transfer has shored up education by enabling families to keep their children in school, improved diets and access to health care. Although an overwhelming number of beneficiaries (60%) responded that saving is their lowest priority, during interviews with key informants, the representative of Equity Bank confirmed that the number of people opening new account has increased with over 7000 beneficiaries of HSNP having recorded new accounts.

Figure 4.9: Prioritization of use of Cash Transfer



Besides the above main areas in which the cash transfer was used for, there is an overall consensus that cash increased household expenditure level. Some key informants identified that cash was also used to buy beads which were an essential cultural requirement for young girls' beautification. It is believed that it is only girls wearing beads that can attract suitors and consequently get married. This in essence is enhancing the status of the girls in the community as well as upholding cultural practices that were at risk of diminishing due to vulnerability.

4.2.2.2 Improved Areas of Life

Significant improvements in some key areas of life as a result of the HSNP cash transfer were sought. The study itemized five key areas of life and established from the respondents how they had consequently improved. These included: (a) Increased number of meals, (b) ability to access health care, (c) improved ability to withstand the effects of drought, (d) ability to send children to school and (e) improved shelter. These five areas ranked from 5 to 1 with 5 depicting most improved and 1 the least improved.

According to Figure 4.10, increased number of meals and ability to send children to school both scored highest with over 70% of the beneficiaries ranking them as areas with the highest rate of change. This is consistent to the areas where the CT was used for (4.2.2.1) above. Ability to access health care had 32.6% rank it low and 43.8% ranked it intermediate.

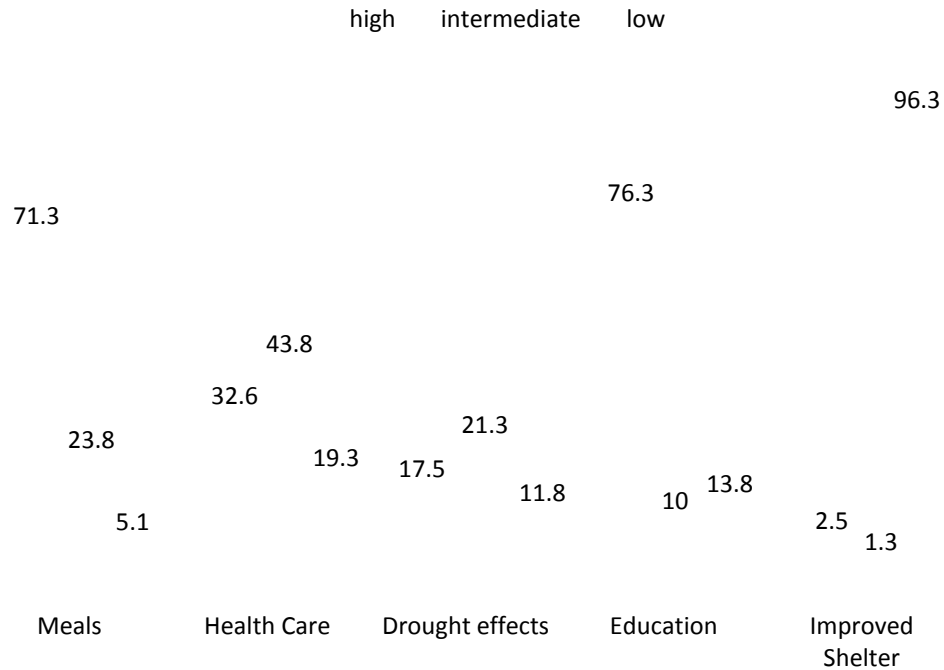
Key informant interviews established that the HSNP cash transfer has had contribution to improved economic status of beneficiaries. Evidence shows that people are buying more livestock, children are being taken to school and they are increasingly accessing books and other materials, beneficiaries can afford medication, some women beneficiaries have started small kiosk (shops), and involved in petty trading. For instance, the representative of the Catholic Diocese of Lodwar said:

For the last ten years I have been here, I am seeing change. Certainly in the towns and generally in the villages more small kiosks, semi permanent houses, diversity in the type of food available in the market is evident.

Interviews revealed that beneficiaries are using the cash to buy more livestock such as sheep and goat to rear and build their asset base. They further said that beneficiaries have earned respect and acceptance in society that they previously didn't have as a result of their investment in livestock given that in a pastoral society livestock is the measure of wealth and subsequently social status.

Similar observations were also captured using the quantitative approach where all the beneficiaries (100%) attested that change in individual's lives associated with cash transfer consequently contributed to improved household relationships.

Figure 4.10: Improved Areas of Life as a result of Cash Transfer



The key informants emphasized that for decades the community relied on food aid that lacked variety. However cash transfer gave beneficiaries an opportunity to choose and buy a variety of food stuffs curbing malnutrition. Thus, a cost effective and flexible option compared to food relief. Similarly, Skoufias (2001) documented that Cash transfer gives people more choice than food and the cash transfer programmes often supported by other external agents such as donors or NGOs must take responsibility for the precarious situation of vulnerable citizens. Improved shelter is the one that had the least improvement with the low rank above 90%. This low ranking of improvement in shelter was attributed to weather conditions and cultural beliefs that promote the *manyatta* type of housing. The study concluded that effects of cash transfer on livelihood are tangible and real as depicted by the improvements in the key areas and an important ingredient for household and neighbourhood cohesion as will be discussed later in other sections.

4.2.2.3 Roles of Elders before and after HSNP

Each society has elders that are responsible with bringing harmony and social order. Often sitting under a tree, elders discuss the affairs of the present (Barrett, 1998). Turkana communities like many other African traditional societies revere their elders as attested by one of the key informant interview respondents. One of the areas the study aimed to find out was whether the gradual move to a cash economy with the infusion of cash will have any bearing in the perception of the valued role elders played in building cohesion among the society. 98.8% of the beneficiaries attested to the fact that cash transfer has not brought any changes in the roles of the elders whatsoever. In order to ascertain this view key attributes of elders' roles were initially identified and weighted in respect of their value before and after the CT in the order of importance on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 depicting most important and 1 the least important as shown in Tables 4.4 and 4.5 respectively.

Table 4.4: The role of Elders before HSNP

SN.	Role of Elders before HSNP	Ranks (%)				
		5	4	3	2	1
1	Dispute resolution	5.0	12.5	33.8	26.3	22.5
2	Negotiate for marriage	0.0	35.0	42.5	13.8	8.8
3	Perform traditional rituals (initiation, marriage)	0.0	5.0	17.5	32.5	45.0
4	Decision making on critical matters of the community	0.0	27.5	8.8	35.0	28.8

Respondents ranked these roles perceived to be common duties of Elders. 35% of the respondents valued the negotiation for marriages with five percent marking dispute resolution as the highest scoring role for elders. The respondents ranked these same roles of elders to measure if any changes, attributable to the CT, have been experienced as explained below in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: The role of elders after HSNP

SN.	Role of Elders after HSNP	Ranks (%)				
		5	4	3	2	1
1	Dispute resolution	8.8	23.8	30.0	30.0	7.5
2	Negotiate for marriage	0.0	31.3	25.0	20.0	23.8
3	Perform traditional rituals (initiation, marriage)	0.0	15.0	35.0	23.8	26.3
4	Decision making on critical matters of the community	5.0	36.3	15.0	27.5	16.5

On individual roles the score before and after the HSNP cash transfer showed some differences, especially in the two highest ranks (4 and 5). Roles in performing traditional rituals gained after the infusion of cash while that of negotiating for marriage reduced after the introduction of the cash transfer. However, more inquiry needs to be carried out as to why these specific roles changed. Nevertheless it is evident despite individual differences no drastic drop in the role of Elders was observed. Furthermore key informant interview respondents attested to the fact that the nomination of recipients who collect the payment on behalf of the beneficiaries (for example for those who are unable to walk to the pay points) has strengthened the relationship between the generations, particularly in cases the young receive on behalf of the old. In other cases as evidenced by comments from a members of a Rights Committee where the council of elders that has been responsible for maintaining, security, law and order affirmed that with the advent of cash there is less theft reported and the potential tension that arises from the effort to maintain peace by elders did not arise.

4.2.2.4 Social Collaboration

Social cohesion in the context of this study constitutes a range of collaborative actions that are mutually beneficial to the society at large but are practiced at household, neighbourhood or community level including collaboration between state organs and the community. Given the emergence of cash, by and large an unfamiliar phenomenon, and

bearing in mind that this cash is not provided universally, the study attempted to assess whether the cash has been divisive and created tension between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries and affected their traditional collaboration in any way. The attributes of collaboration examined included: (a) participation in social activities, (b) attending community meetings (*barazas*), (c) visiting the sick, (d) attending funerals and (e) exchanging cash and in kind assistance. Both the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries ranked these activities on a scale of 5 to 1 (5 being the highest and 1 the lowest) and their responses are summarised in Table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6: Social Collaboration

		Ranks (%)				
		5 (high)	4	3	2	1 (low)
social activities	Non-beneficiary	4.2	8.3	8.3	39.6	39.6
	Beneficiary	39.6	39.6	8.3	8.3	4.2
community meetings	Non-beneficiary	0	2.1	8.3	45.8	43.3
	Beneficiary	43.3	45.8	8.3	2.1	0
visiting during sick	Non-beneficiary	20.8	27.1	37.5	12.5	2.1
	Beneficiary	2.1	12.5	37.5	27.1	20.8
Funerals	Non-beneficiary	8.3	22.9	50.0	10.4	8.3
	Beneficiary	8.3	10.4	50.0	22.9	8.3
material assistance (as food and cash)	Non-beneficiary	14.6	37.5	18.8	18.8	10.4
	Beneficiary	8.3	2.1	18.8	18.8	52.1

This data was further subjected to an independent sample t-test with grouping variable being either a beneficiary or a non-beneficiary to ascertain whether there is significant difference in their ranking of these activities. Results in table 4.7 for the five activities recorded a significant difference (below 0.05 significance level on 126 df) hence the conclusion that there is a significant difference between beneficiaries and non-

beneficiaries views on collaboration on these activities apart from key social activities such as funerals where there was a fair amount of agreement.

Table 4.7: T-Test results on ranking of Activities on which Beneficiaries and Non-beneficiaries Collaborate

		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
social activities	Equal variances assumed	9.283	.003	-3.664	126	.000
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.803	110.601	.000
community meetings (Barazas)	Equal variances assumed	8.352	.005	-3.110	126	.002
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.231	110.915	.002
visiting the sick	Equal variances assumed	40.387	.000	-13.428	126	.000
	Equal variances not assumed			-15.075	125.948	.000
Funerals	Equal variances assumed	23.888	.000	-11.907	126	.000
	Equal variances not assumed			-12.638	116.982	.000
material assistance such as food and cash	Equal variances assumed	40.077	.000	-6.269	126	.000
	Equal variances not assumed			-7.126	125.790	.000

One can deduce from this, that often targeting in communities where poverty level is 94%, results in the exclusion of those who truly deserve to be in the programme. Even CBT which respondents praised for its openness and transparency is not universal

meaning not all those who qualify to be poor were admitted. As key informant interview from the HSNP Secretariat explained each location was given a quota of 50% once that number of reached even those who were equally were left out. Universal programmes reduce the likelihood of excluding those who need them (Adato, et al, 2008), avoid polarization and divisiveness among the community.

On the same note, key informants noted that the cash transfer has harnessed harmonious collaboration between traders and the community and there is increased interaction between people in business and community members to an extent that community members send traders to buy for them materials and goods that are not locally available from towns where they get their supplies. A key informant interview respondent had to say this:

“Some business people who have been arrogant to people who they thought will never get money, are now seducing them to borrow as they are guaranteed they can pay them. They know they will get something from the beneficiaries”.

In addition, the programme promoted state-citizen relationship through the civic education embedded in the programme on rights and accountability which has brought changes in how the community is being governed by creating opportunities for closer interaction between the program officials, the government and the citizens. The Rights Committees are also involved in conflict resolution, reconciliation and handling disputes and have contributed to improved relationship within the community. The Social Protection Rights Coordinator at HelpAge added the following comments:

“The Rights Committees which are established to create awareness and promote beneficiary accountability have been trained through the programme and are considered to be knowledgeable on human rights approaches. They are used in many ways by the chiefs and other NGOs. They empower the community with information on their rights and entitlements. Key mobilization messages from the government and development organizations are passed through these Committees. They are involved in conflict resolution, reconciliation and handling

disputes and have contributed to improved relationship within the community. Some of them consequently have been co-opted into the chief's office. The RCs address public meetings. They have contributed to the knowledge of rights by both the community and the chiefs. The service charters were not known by the citizens but the programme has made them aware”.

Participation at community meetings (*barazas*) the key informant respondents added has increased as the programme places the task of identifying the most vulnerable on the community itself. The community also defines the criteria and prioritises the most deserving including the verification and vetting of the final beneficiaries. This has enhanced communication, and harmony between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries and the rest of the community members.

As explained by the representative of Oxfam, different communities used slightly varying threshold of wealth to define the poor. She said “*some defined those with 10 and less small animals are considered poor while in other communities higher numbers were used.*”

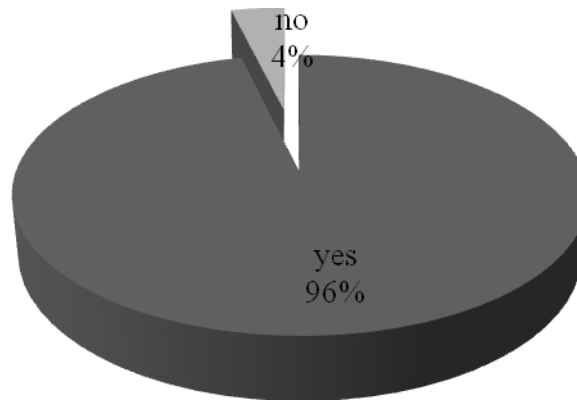
4.2.3 Effects of HSNP in enhancing reciprocal relationship at the household, community and state level

The cash transfer has positive effects on the local economy with increased spending capacity among beneficiary households. Evidence showed that some women have started small businesses, those who were trading have been able to expand their businesses. Key informant interview respondents emphasized that it has begun to stimulate the local economy. The study looked at some more attributes as proxies to measure if the CT resulted in economic gains that enhanced reciprocal relationships at household, community and state level. These include: (a) curbing youth migration and influence their return from urban areas and (b) disharmony among community members (c) bridging the gap between the haves and have not's and (d) Perception towards state citizen relationship.

4.2.3.1 Curbing Youth Migration and Influence their return from Urban Areas

All the beneficiaries (100%) interviewed confirmed that cash transfer aided in curbing youth migration to urban areas in search of employment. In terms of the youths that had already migrated, the study wanted to establish whether the cash transfer has influenced their return. A majority (96%) reiterated that youth are beginning to return and reunited with their families due to the raised expectation that cash in the household will enable building livelihoods, can guarantee food and investment (Figure 4.11).

Figure 4.11: Curbing Youths' Rural – Urban Migration



In the same light the key informants indicated that older people that had been at first deserted by their children and grandchildren are now beginning to see their children return because there are indications that they are receiving resources. Some children who had run away to town such as Kitale and Eldoret are beginning to return. This is because most of the beneficiaries are beginning to invest in business and the youths return and serve in these businesses while the school going age that had left in search of domestic work as herds' boys or security guards (watchmen) are returning to school. Their return on the other hand has improved the security within their homesteads i.e. they watch over their livestock and the older people have relatives to care for them hence improved social cohesion in families.

4.2.3.2 Disharmony among Community Members

The open and transparent process particularly the Community Based Targeting has embedded is one of the key features of the CT programme that has played significant role in building harmony among the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. As one key informant noted:

“The HSNP contributed to peace building and harmony in our community by openly communicating the objectives of the programme, and allowing us to give our voice on who among us should benefit. We know many people who went to complain when they noted that they are not included but were satisfied by the complete explanation they received.....This is a major move from programmes that have been marred in secrecy and shrewdness”.

The community *barazaas* have been instrumental in promoting peace and harmony among community members removing potential suspicion and grievances among beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries.

In order to validate the views of key informants with the study respondents, beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries were asked to score with values between 1 and 6 the attributes that have direct and indirect bearing on peace building among the community as shown on Table 4.8 below.

97.5% of the respondents said that CT does not result in disharmony. They placed high importance to its role in creating dependable and predictable income and giving the community relief in the face of reduced food aid with their 5th and 6th ranks having a cumulative percentage above 50. Contrary, reduction of tension that arises between beneficiaries and non beneficiaries and improvement of traditional reciprocal assistance among the community members were ranked low. Increased collaboration among the community through other services received intermediate ranks.

Table 4.8: Ways through which HSNP Cash Transfer promotes Cohesion and Peace Building

Cash Transfer through HSNP has :						
	created dependable and predictable income	reduced potential tension	increased collaboration through services such as rights awareness	beneficiary identification for CBT involve the community	given people relief	improved traditional reciprocal assistance
1.lowest factor	1.3	16.3	10.0	17.5	17.5	36.3
2	0	20.0	25.0	21.3	16.3	13.8
3	2.5	20.0	35.0	16.3	1.3	22.5
4	11.3	11.3	23.8	28.8	13.8	8.8
5	48.8	20.0	3.8	7.5	11.3	6.3
6 highest factor	33.8	10.0	.0	6.3	37.5	10.0

Noting that a minority group acknowledged the existence of disharmony within the community as an inevitable feature, the study attempted to establish some of the causes of conflict and disharmony through pre-defined attributes that include (a) high unemployment rate, (b) emergence of urban centres, (c) increase in the circulation of money due to HSNP, (d) drought and other calamities that cause loss of property and (e) conflict with neighbouring communities. Result from the respondents as shown in table 4.8 indicate that drought and other calamities that cause loss of property were the greatest threats to harmony followed by high unemployment rate then conflict with neighbouring Pokot and Karamoja communities. The emergence of urban centres had intermediate

ranking while the increase in the circulation of money due to HSNP was cited as the least contributor to disharmony.

Table 4.9: Causes of Disharmony among the Turkana Community

Causes	high unemployment rate	emergence of urban centres	increase in circulation of money	drought and calamities that cause loss of property	conflict with neighbouring communities
1 least	0	0	91.3	0	8.8
2	30.0	17.5	6.3	15.0	32.5
3	17.5	46.3	2.5	13.8	20.0
4	31.3	27.5		18.8	22.5
5 most	21.3	8.8		52.5	16.3

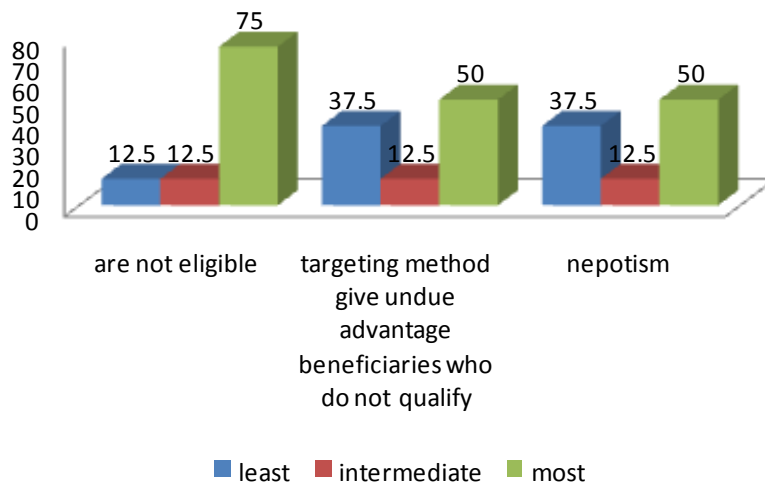
Evidently, the drought that is cited as being the most contributing factor to disharmony is one of the main reasons that the HSNP is introduced and it is no doubt with the gradual diversification of livelihood enhanced by the CT, tensions resulting from drought are likely to be minimized. Furthermore as some key informant respondents stated the gradual move to cash economy in the long run will reduce cattle rustling a practice most common in the areas.

The study went further and investigated the reaction of non-beneficiaries towards beneficiaries where the beneficiaries were asked to indicate if they have witnessed any kind of resentment or hostility from the non-beneficiaries. Findings indicate that 10% had witnessed whereas a majority of 90% had not. This is an indication that hostility wasn't absent but was at minimal level. However minimal (the 10% above) hostility was, the study investigated along a continuum of greatest to least contributors for three factors which included: (a) assumption that the particular beneficiaries do not meet the criteria for the cash transfer, (b) the targeting method used in identifying the beneficiaries gives undue advantage to people who should otherwise not be selected and (c) selected

beneficiaries have relationships with those in authority. The findings in figure 4.12 indicate that of the three factors: assumption that particular beneficiaries do not meet the criteria for the cash transfer was the most (75%) contributor to hostility. The targeting method used in identifying the beneficiaries gives undue advantage to people who should otherwise not be selected and selected beneficiaries have relationships with those in authority registered similar result as nepotism. As the key informant from the Ministry of Gender stated:

“one of the guiding principles of the social protection policy is the promotion of equity and social justice and the progressive realization of human rights that are guaranteed by the Constitution and relevant national, regional and international instruments to which Kenya subscribes.”

Figure 4.12: Main Contributors to Hostility



In this same light of hostility, the study established that 12.5% of the beneficiaries experienced negative relationship with non-beneficiaries of their communities whereas 87.5% didn't.

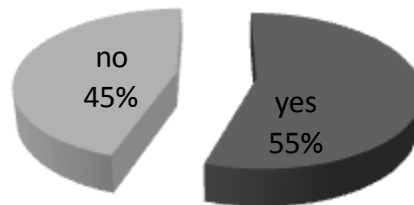
4.2.3.3 Bridging the Gap between the Haves and Have Not's

According to the study findings in Figure 4.13, 55% of the beneficiaries attested to the fact that the HSNP cash transfer has contributed in bridging the gap between the haves

and have not's where 45% felt otherwise.

Key informant respondents also reiterated that the CT brought income to the community which provided a guarantee hence reduced incidences of sell of assets. It has further earned beneficiaries dignity because in the Turkana cultural setting those that have resources are regarded highly. For instance, one key informant said “*When you have something you are respected*” thus the perceptions of the community towards the beneficiaries has changed and the beneficiaries themselves now have an uplifted self esteem. Specifically, the social pension beneficiaries self esteem has improved as they can afford to look after their dependants that they couldn't support prior to the cash transfer.

Figure 4.13: Does Cash Transfer Bridge the Gap between the Haves and Have Not'



In light of this, the interviews revealed that material possession is a key factor for respect due to poverty but with the advent of HSNP the beneficiaries are regarded worthy and their opinions considered. One of the key informants said:

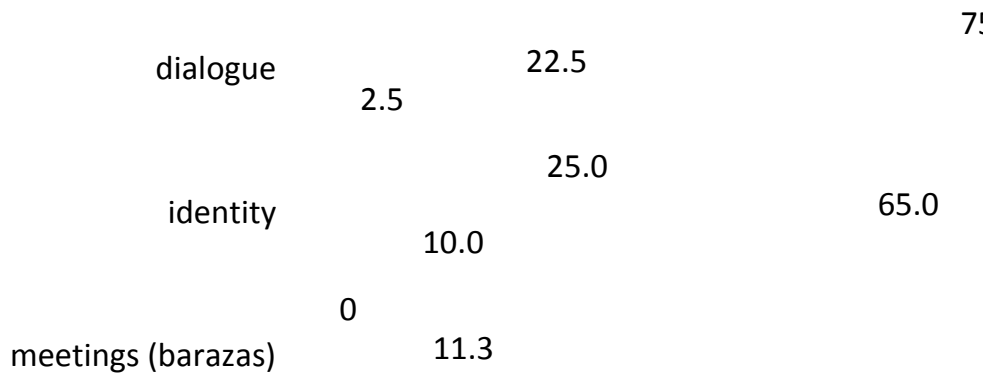
“If you are poor you are seen as someone who is incapable of expressing his/her views as the mind is believed to be pre-occupied with problems of poverty”.

They further noted that traders are relating better with the beneficiaries of HSNP in the sense that beneficiaries would pay if they take goods on credit which would not happen in the past.

4.2.3.4 Change of Perception towards state citizen relationship

Another area of inquiry was on change of perceptions towards state and its institutions which was unanimously confirmed (100%) by respondents that the cash transfer has changed the beneficiaries’ perception towards state and its institutions. The change of perception was measured on three issues, namely: (a) increased participation in meetings organised by government (*barazas*), (b) increased demand for Identification Card as a key to eligibility and (c) increased sense of citizenship through improved dialogue between beneficiaries and local politicians as shown in Figure 4.14.

Figure 4.14: Indicators of Change of Perception towards State and Its Institutions



Key informants (local government officials) claimed that the HSNP cash transfer has enhanced the community’s response to government mobilization efforts on public issues. There is restored trust between the government and the community. In addition, most of the respondents ranked highest (88.8%) increased participation in meetings organised by government (*barazas*) where the attendance and participation in meetings had grown and consequently a change of perception towards state and its institutions. This is a pointer to increased acceptance and reduced suspicion of government since they now feel responses to their predicament is beginning to be realized. There is also increased demand for identification cards as key to eligibility which received (65%) ranking whereas increased

sense of citizenship through improved dialogue between beneficiaries and local politicians was ranked the lowest, hence improved social cohesion.

CT has also promoted communication between the community and the government and thus contributing to social cohesion in a manner that: strengthens the ‘contract’ between citizens and the state; promotes social inclusion, integration and greater accountability. This is primarily attributed to the accompanying rights education the CT programme made available to beneficiaries so they are aware of their rights not only linked to the CT but as citizens enabling them to hold leaders accountable to commitments and entitlements they have. The CT has removed fear and mistrust towards appointed government officials and in turn cultivated close working relationship and removed barriers due to power relationship between officials and the citizens.

4.2.4 Perception of community towards the 3 HSNP Targeting Methodologies in terms of ensuring Fairness and Social Cohesion

The three targeting methods employed by HSNP were social pension, community based targeting and dependency ratio.

Figure 4.15 shows the representation of respondents across the three targeting methods that participated in the study.

Figure 4.15: HSNP Targeting Methods



The respondents also gave their views as to whether the targeting methods for selecting beneficiaries employed by HSNP were fair. All the beneficiaries (100%) confirmed that the methods ensured fairness. The study went further to determine respondents’ perceptions (both beneficiaries and non beneficiaries) about the targeting method that promoted social cohesion and was widely preferred by the community. Responses of both the beneficiaries and non beneficiaries with their preferences are shown below in table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Preferences of respondents

			Targeting Method			Total
			Social pension	Community based targeting	Dependency ratio	
Beneficiaries Vs Non-beneficiaries	Beneficiaries	Frequency	28	45	7	80
		%	35.0%	56.3%	8.8%	100.0%
Non-beneficiaries	non beneficiaries	Frequency	14	29	5	48
		%	29.2%	60.4%	10.4%	100.0%
Total		Frequency	42	74	12	128
		%	32.8%	57.8%	9.4%	100.0%

As shown in the table above, both beneficiaries and non beneficiaries preferred the community based targeting, 56.3% and 60.4% respectively. Nonetheless the general distribution of the perceptions for the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries depicted similarities. Therefore this study concludes that community based targeting as the one with highest level of consensus among beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries and the preferred targeting method by the community.

Likewise, a cross section of key informants confirmed that the community based targeting was regarded to be more transparent because it defines household poverty and used the community *barazas* to determine the vulnerability rankings, covers a broad spectrum of vulnerable groups. Thus its registration was household based as opposed to social pension, whose eligibility was based on an individual's age and dependency ratio based on the number of dependents to determine eligible households. Inevitably, however, even social pension beneficiaries who were eligible by virtue of their age as indicated in their response and their prioritization of responses do share their income with the wider household contributing to improvement in education, food and other needs.

They further pointed out the shortcomings of the dependency ratio and social pension methods. Dependency ratio had instances when those who are indeed needy such as lonely disabled young or older persons were excluded due to the fact that the criteria is based on the proportion of dependents to the main breadwinner in a household. Social pension on the other hand inconvenienced those that lacked identification cards or the inaccuracy of identification cards had resulted in the exclusion of deserving older people. Key informant interview respondents underscored the need to ease the verification of age as historically acquisition of birth registration and identification cards has not been promoted due to poor infrastructure and inefficiency.

According to the Oxfam representative however, DR targeting may not be appropriate in the specific context of the HSNP districts since it is anecdotally reported that in the nomadic cultures of northern Kenya, richer households tend to gather dependents and therefore may have higher DRs than some poorer households. This problem was actually recognised during the programme's inception phase, and at one point it was proposed that

DR targeting would be complemented with some sort of means testing (IDS 2011).

Literature review on how other categorical targeting methods such as focused on elderly, children or people with disability have been rated in view of their effectiveness indicated that whereas its transparency and the fact that it is easily grasped by households in programme areas is an obvious fact, in fact in certain contexts and cultures singling out specific categories of people regardless of their poverty status may seem confusing or even downright bizarre (Cody et al, 2004). Second, it is often suggested that categorical targeting is administratively simpler and quicker to implement accurately than other targeting approaches based on multiple objective characteristics (e.g. DR). In fact, verifying age is actually very difficult to establish accurately in the HSNP districts, where few individuals have birth certificates or accurate national identity cards, and where calendar systems differ from each other.

A majority of the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (98.8% and 79.2%) respectively had attended community *baraza* where identified beneficiaries were validated and confirmed. These respondents were further subjected to other questions to ascertain their perceptions in describing the process of validation and confirmation of beneficiaries. The results were subjected to a cross tabulation in order to see whether the views of both the beneficiaries and non beneficiaries were congruent or not as depicted in Table 4.11.

The following questions were further asked to affirm why respondents prefer CBT as the main criteria expressed has been the open and transparent process used in identifying beneficiaries.

Table 4.11: Beneficiary Selection Process and the Respondents who attended Community *Baraza* that Validated and Confirmed Beneficiaries

	Perceptive Questions (T- true, F- false)		Beneficiaries	Non beneficiaries
1.	Sufficient information was provided about the beneficiaries to the people gathered	T	80 (100%)	38 (100%)
		F	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
2.	Participants of the meeting were given enough opportunity to express their views	T	78 (97.5%)	38 (100%)
		F	2 (2.5%)	0 (0%)
3.	The meeting was dominated by few speakers who appeared to favour the selected beneficiaries	T	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
		F	80 (100%)	38 (100%)
4.	The leaders of the meeting not allowing participants to comment	T	2 (2.5%)	0 (0%)
		F	78 (97.5%)	38 (100%)
5.	The meeting ended peacefully	T	80 (100%)	37 (97.4%)
		F	0 (0%)	1 (2.6%)
6.	The meeting ended with disagreement	T	3 (3.8%)	0 (0%)
		F	77 (96.3%)	38 (100%)

As shown in Table 4.11, there were no major differences between beneficiaries and non beneficiaries. The beneficiary selection processes were highly accepted by all and regarded as enhancing cohesion in the community.

Therefore this study concludes that community based targeting was the best preferred method by the community. Likewise, a cross section of key informants confirmed that the community based targeting was regarded to be more transparent because it defines household poverty and used the community *barazas* to determine the vulnerability rankings, covers all groups of vulnerable groups. Thus its registration was household based as opposed to social pension, whose eligibility was based on an individual's age and dependency ratio that is based on the number of dependents to determine eligible households.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This study investigated the Role of Cash Transfer Programmes in promoting social cohesion among the Turkana Community: the case of the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP). The study was based on both quantitative and qualitative data. The qualitative data provided information collected from a broad spectrum of institutions that played critical role in the design and implementation of the HSNP CT.

Data processing and analysis involved checking for completeness of questionnaire, verifying consistency, data coding and entry, computation and presentation of descriptive statistics. This chapter summarizes the findings of the study, draws conclusions and makes recommendations.

According to interviews carried out with a representative of Oxfam, the number of beneficiaries of HSNP in the six districts of Turkana was 27,000 people who were receiving a bi-monthly Ksh 3000. The study which was conducted in Central Turkana District focused in two divisions: Central and Turkwell. Questionnaires were administered on 80 purposively selected beneficiaries and 45 conveniently selected non-beneficiaries. Of the eighty respondents involved in the study 28 were recipients of the social pension, 45 community based targeting while 7 were beneficiaries of the Dependency Ration. The key informant respondents were 20 representatives of Oxfam, the HSNP Secretariat, HelpAge International, Equity Bank, Ministry of Social Welfare, Youth and Women, Ministry of North Eastern Kenya and the Africa Platform for Social Protection, Area Chiefs, the Catholic Diocese of Lodwar, Payment Agents and rights committee members.

Respondents of the study both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries demonstrated high level awareness about the programme, its objectives, eligibility criteria and methods used in targeting beneficiaries. Cash received by beneficiaries was mainly used in buying

foods and pay for costs associated with children's education. The Cash Transfer resulted in improvements across all the five livelihood areas: Increased number of meals, education of children, improved access to health care, enhanced ability to withstand the effects of drought, and improvement in shelter of beneficiaries and thus the effects of cash transfer were tangible and real. It has also demonstrated the potential in diversifying livelihood options which is threatened in the face of drought and climate change with more people venturing in small businesses. A member of the rights committee in Lodwar town attesting to increased household expenditure level said:

“The Cash received is enabling the community to uphold a cultural practice that was under threat due to vulnerability. Capacity to spend in households receiving cash has increased. Our girls are wearing more beads and are more likely to attract suitors than those without enhancing the status of the girls in the community”.

Both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries and key informants acknowledged that Cash Transfer brings predictable income to the community and protects assets. In pastoralist communities where wealth and asset is often measured in the form of livestock, during drought communities were forced to sell their assets. People have better clothing. Older people particularly have enhanced role in the wellbeing of families as they are able to care for grandchildren.

Access to cash to most beneficiaries has brought dignity and cash is empowering and enhances self esteem. *“When you have something you are respected”* added the HSNP Social Protection Rights Coordinator at HelpAge International. Response to hunger and vulnerability through food relief is often regarded very costly to deliver and has no flexibility in terms of extending family expenditure beyond food consumption. Many times, families receiving food relief sell part of it to obtain cash to meet other non-food needs. Cash on the other hand pays for a variety of food that people want, pays for medical care and supports children's education. One key informant said *“You can't give food to a shop keeper in exchange to an item”*. It is flexible and gives beneficiaries a wide range of choices. It is universally acceptable and can be exchanged with any form of

commodity and services and hence empowering, compared to food relief. Cash has promoted dignity in a community where for the last 30 years food aid was the norm. As Homans through the rationale choice theory asserts individuals actions enhance collective gains which is evidenced by the CT.

Cash transfers can prevent migration and displacement and thus help maintain the integrity of families and local communities (Babajanian, 2012). Cash has enhanced in curbing migration and facilitated family integration as has been observed by the return of some young people who had gone to cities in down country such as Kitale and Eldoret are beginning to return as witnessed by one rights committee member.

Respondents also acknowledged that cash is stimulating ties within the family and community strengthening reciprocal support between household members, neighbours and the wider community. Money received through the CT is shared among family members. Perceptions and attitudes towards people who receive cash is changing. The beneficiaries of the CT are recognized as valuable members of the family. Those who are not respected due to poverty and are not considered important are now being consulted as the coordinator of the HSNP Secretariat attested.

“If you are poor you are seen as someone who is incapable of expressing his/her views as your mind is believed to be pre-occupied with problems of poverty”.

There was collaboration between beneficiaries and non beneficiaries in several activities. Beneficiary households reported sharing at least some of their transfers with other households. These norms of sharing and mutual support are strongly grounded in cultural practices and religious obligations said the Assistant Chief of the area but added that the CT has promoted sharing of cash and in-kind resources between members of households and neighbours.

Cash is also stimulating the local economy, there is more trade with commodities that were not available in the area because people could not afford them. Furthermore, traders are willingly bringing items on demand for those who ask for specific materials. Trust and confidence is being built among the traders and the local community. This gesture

is also extended to dispensaries that also give credit for medical care and medicines. As a sign of this harmony traders are being sent by beneficiaries to buy materials from towns where they get their supplies for beneficiaries. Before the CT people used to go to trading centres only to buy but now consumers and traders are co-dependent on each other

Similar assertions are made by the final evaluation of the project which states that the influx of cash increases demand to which the traders are responding. Beneficiaries claim to have started or improved their businesses where they have them. Non-beneficiaries claim to benefit from the provision of goods and services to beneficiaries (HSNP 2013).

Although the study did not attempt to look at the manner in which the CT was delivered, it is important to acknowledge the use of technology has promoted transparency with the use of Smart Card which electronically verifies the beneficiaries. No one else can take the money other than those that have been registered as “recipients” on behalf of the beneficiaries. It is exposed to less fraud as cash is handled by traders while selection of beneficiaries is open.

The CT also brought transformation of the local economy. Respondents acknowledged the increased signs of development in their communities and its contribution to improved economic status (poverty alleviation) of beneficiaries. The potential for diversification of livelihoods is being developed. There is evidence that people are buying more livestock, children are being taken to school and they are increasingly accessing books and other material. Beneficiaries can afford medication, women have started small kiosk (shops), and involved in petty trading. Especially the social pension beneficiaries have improved self esteem, can look after their children. The intra-household relationship has improved. According to the representative of Equity Bank, 7000 beneficiaries have opened bank account.

The cash transfer is also opening up opportunities for other skills improving the vibrancy of the community as evidenced by the statement below from the representative of Equity Bank during key informant interviews:

“As a bank we are interested in the overall socio-economic change exhibited on the lives of beneficiaries not only the number of people paid. As a result we have incorporated financial literacy for sustainability. Equity bank offers support to improve their livelihoods beyond its role in the CT. We train beneficiaries in budgeting and debt managing. Beneficiaries who are near our branch and those who are near bank agents have started to open bank accounts. The CBT beneficiaries are the ones with the higher rate of saving. Because of literacy in finances we anticipate to see diversified livelihoods. There are good life changing stories we continue to hear”.

The findings of this study revealed that the HSNP used three targeting methods to deliver cash to communities that comprised Community Based Targeting, Social Pensions and Dependency Ratio and both beneficiaries and non beneficiaries highly preferred the Community Based Targeting. CBT is preferred for a variety of reasons including its transparency. In CBT registration is house-hold based as opposed to pension where eligibility is based on an individual’s age. CBT defines household poverty and gives vulnerability ranking. Poverty cut lines, such as for example, ownership of 10 or less animals in a pastoralist set up have been considered eligible. Such vulnerability criteria were set through community *Barazas* in transparent ways.

In Dependency Ration the selection criteria is the existence of 3 dependents (below the age of 18 and over 55) against 2 able bodied family members in any household – 60% as the threshold that makes one eligible. This resulted in huge inclusion and exclusion error as those with the right numbers automatically qualified regardless of their economic status.

In Social Pension areas the both the beneficiary and non beneficiary respondents were above 55 years of age. This is because majority of the villages selected for the study, were covered by social pension. The concentration of social pension targeting methodology in some of the villages identified for this study is one of the reasons why most respondents were above 55 years. Social Pension reaches only a few people in each village, although in the villages identified to benefit from social pension, most of those

that qualified were included. This is because the proportion of older people is often lower compared to the overall population hence fewer beneficiaries in a village covered by SP compared to beneficiaries of CBT. DR and CBT on the other hand cover a cross section of the society who meet the set criteria. In Social Pension the lack of ID or the inaccuracy of age in the IDs has resulted in the exclusion of deserving older people. An older person of 80 was registered as 40 and that had led to his exclusion. In a number of cases older people had to be vetted by the community who interrogated in a process that aimed at verifying their age. Targeting a section of community i.e older people particularly when birth registration and coverage of ID are not reliable can lead to exclusion of those who are in the category but fail to enrol due to the lack of documentation.

Of the three methods the Community Based Targeting method was the most preferred due to its inclusiveness of all forms of vulnerabilities and the transparent manner through which the selection of beneficiaries was carried out.

The study showed that there is very little change in the roles of elders which have been examined across five areas including dispute resolution, negotiating for marriages, performing traditional rituals and making important decisions remained by and large the same. The Council of Elders which is entrusted with conflict resolution is cited as having to deal with reduced crimes such as cattle rustling as it is believed cash enhanced peace with better economic results.

There have been changes of perception where community's response to government mobilization on public issues has gone up and there is an increase in participation in meetings organised by government *barazas*. One respondent of key informant interviews commented:

“Formerly Chiefs were regarded as tyrants. Now there is evidence of a bonded relationship. Communities are now demanding accountability from politicians. People are now demanding ID cards. Without ID one needs to delegate someone to receive the cash on his or her behalf. Whereas the nomination of “recipients”

has stimulated intergenerational relationships in some cases with the weak and old sending the young and energetic to collect for them, in other cases conflict has ensued where those who received have refused to give the money to the beneficiary”

With regard to bridging the gap between the haves and have not's, the interviews revealed that in the society poor and destitute people have very limited voice but with the advent of HSNP the beneficiaries are regarded worthy and their opinions are considered. Some people who had very few animals or non have been able to buy more hence uplifting their social status.

Overall social cohesion measured by the various indicators such as improved income and its contribution to promoting reciprocal support within the community has by and large shown a positive result in that respondents both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries alike agreed that increased cash enabled people to give and receive engaging in reciprocal exchange. The demand for the cash promoted potential beneficiaries to seek verification of their eligibility hence strengthening their need for seeking identification cards from the local authorities.

“It is obvious that the number of older people registering for national ID cards has dramatically increased in recent times. In the past, many did not see the value of having a national ID card but now the cash transfer programme has created the incentive for them to either apply for the first time or seek to correct the misinformation on their current cards.” (HelpAge 2011).

The communities involvement in the identification of beneficiaries has been vetted as fair, transparent and informative hence building trust and confidence between those responsible with its implementation and the communities. Communities generally believed that the people included in the programme were selected because they fitted the set criteria affirming no or limited resentment towards beneficiaries by non-beneficiaries – an often divisive process when people feel excluded.

5.2 Conclusion and Recommendations

In this globalised world where a Country is held accountable to its commitments made not only through national instruments such as its constitution, and policies and legislations, but also other regional and global human rights instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The findings of this study affirm that cash transfer is a viable means by which Kenya can attest to the international community that it is on the right path towards fulfilling the global commitments and resolutions with regard to Social Protection. Kenya is a signatory to the African Union (AU) Social Policy Framework for Africa which included the proposal of a “minimum package” of essential social protection. This is more observed through its recent commitment to extending coverage of social protection encapsulated in the Yaoundé tripartite declaration of the implementation of the Social Protection floor (ILO 2010) and through endorsing the Bujumbura Resolution (2011).

As (Norton et al, 2013) indicated while discussing social cohesion and its implication for social policy, the three pillars they identified as critical are social membership or national citizenship, fairness and equity and security of access to livelihoods and basic services as preconditions to build a cohesive society. The role of the state in guaranteeing these conditions is fundamental. They added that it legitimizes national citizenship, embodies national norms around fairness and equity and ensures, to a greater or smaller extent, individuals/household basic livelihoods and services. Programmes such as HSNP CT enable the state to play its constitutional role and fulfill the state citizen contract by guaranteeing citizens the basic livelihood needs with fairness and equity and hence promoting their sense of identity.

5.2.1 Community’s Awareness about HSNP Cash Transfer and Its Processes

The study concluded that the wider engagement of the community both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries in consultations during the selection of beneficiaries has been the central pillar for the trust and confidence the programme has built among the community. Awareness among beneficiaries was critical with 96% of the non-beneficiaries asserting

their knowledge of the identification and registration processes rating it fair and transparent, while 94% believed those selected were legitimately identified. These factors played significant role in building popular support for the programme and hence trust towards those involved in its operation. This significant level of awareness was achieved, due partly, to the embedding of the Rights and Grievance mechanism which laid out a charter of service rights that stipulated the beneficiary right and also mobilised a community structure that was rooted in the society to continuously give information and receive grievances and complaints which is consistent with the use of a rights approach to the HSNP.

The HSNP should therefore strengthen the role of the Rights Committees who have been identified to have played this critical role in enhancing rights awareness and the regular community *barazaas* should continue to be held to keep the momentum built by the HSNP. The potential for transforming the role of the Rights Committees to sustain the gains made by the HSNP in the event the programme comes to an end post 2017 should be explored. The RCs have also been critical in bridging the link between local authorities and the citizenry and a formal mechanism to ensure their consistent presence will be a critical aspect of to strengthen the state citizen contract.

5.2.2 Role of HSNP Cash Transfer in Promoting Social Cohesion among communities in Turkana

Conclusions have been made by the study that the cash transfer through HSNP in Turkana have the potential to contribute to achievements of enhanced capabilities in education and health, result in increased rates of economic growth, improved quality and sustainability of growth. They also have the potential for broader social dividends, such as reduced crime and violence, greater peace and stability. There are indications that they are contributing to better citizen state relationships increasing the state's legitimacy and good governance. All evidence indicates that there is progress along all these factors based on interviews held with beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries as well as key informants.

Cash as opposed to food empowers beneficiaries with the opportunity to make rational choices on their needs and priorities and is dignifying. It is liberating with significant impact on one's social and emotional status. As Homans propagates through the Rational Choice Theory, regular cash transfers will enable recipients to buy basic commodities and to channel the money originally set aside for food, to be spent on reinforcing their livelihoods, increasing their resilience to future droughts.

CT has reached only 27,000 people in 6 districts of Turkana constituting only 3.2% of the total population. The Cash Transfer programme should increase its geographic coverage and be universally accessible to all in marginalised areas such as Turkana considering the high rate of poverty (97%) and low performance against most human development indicators the district has shown including nutrition, education, health and access to water and sanitation.

5.2.3 Effects of HSNP Cash Transfers in enhancing reciprocal relationship at the household, community and state levels

The study concluded that the HSNP has stimulated harmony between communities due to the transparent systems it adopted in beneficiary identification ensuring communities had the bigger say in determining who deserves most. The injection of cash in the households has also been critical in regaining confidence among the youth that had left for towns to engage in casual labour, encouraging their return home. Improved ties between traders and communities is one of the key features of CT as traders are targeting the new set of customers whose economic capacity has been enhanced to gain more. The increased availability of cash has expanded household expenditure with people being able to spend in areas they never did before – better and more frequent meals, increased investment in the education of children which have been critical in bridging the gap between the haves and have not's. Cash transfers have brought about transformation of the local economy and development that is pegged to the widespread availability of cash which has brought about innovation in business and diversification of livelihoods with more people engaging in small businesses hence also increasing availability of merchandise that were not available locally.

There is evidence of change of perception as community members have increased their participation in meetings organised by government (*barazas*), they have increased their demand for Identification Card as key to eligibility and increased sense of citizenship through improved dialogue between beneficiaries and local politicians. The community's response to government mobilization on public issues has also risen.

The HSNP should not only be singled out as an instrument of tackling poverty and vulnerability but also seen in the context of achieving the long term vision of building a cohesive society built on equity, non-discrimination and building human capital. The lessons learnt from the HSNP where the indicative achievements of improving state citizen relationship, curbing youth migration and strengthening the reciprocal gains other than the often obvious impact analysis based on basic needs should be strengthened and evidence both on outcomes and processes built in future cash transfer programmes. Barriers to accessing such rights and entitlements and those that result in exclusion of deserving people including lack of identification cards or error in their birth dates need to be addressed. Although the study did not set out to analyse the operations of the CT, poor targeting and delivery can create grievances and affect harmony and subsequently social cohesion. Durkehim's theory of social class reminds us individuals depend upon other individuals in society and therefore, on the society. By extension, an individual is a part of individuals who are part of a whole which forms society and which in turn forms the state hence cohesion should be seen on the basis of relationship between individuals and individuals and the state.

5.2.4 Perception of community on the 3 HSNP Targeting Methodologies in terms of ensuring Fairness and Social Cohesion

Beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries and respondents of the key informant expressed their full awareness of the methods used in targeting in the HSNP CT. All the beneficiaries (100%) confirmed that the methods ensured fairness and transparency. With regard to the most preferred targeting method most respondents, both beneficiaries and non beneficiaries, preferred the community based targeting, 56.3% and 60.4% respectively. Payment should be made every month and the transfer amount increased.

The study concludes that CBT which is based on poverty targeting is preferred in reaching the poor and potentially productive age groups. Many of the respondents recommended the provision of cash to all deserving cases in the community. This near universal approach, according to the respondents eliminates exclusion error and hatred between beneficiaries and non beneficiaries and harnesses cohesion. In a population where poverty rate is very high if CBT was used as the only method, it is estimated up to 70-75% of the population will benefit when eventually the programme is scaled up beyond 2012 and it is highly recommended.

The study recommends beyond providing cash transfer in upholding the state citizen contract, mechanisms built in to programmes such as HSNP demonstrate the manner through which the state shows responsiveness, recognition and inclusivity to its citizens. Whether universality will be achieved with the Kenyan Government having the capacity to cover all vulnerable groups, or conditional CTs promoted that are pegged to education and health attendance or categorical such as child, disability or old age based, building this as a state citizen contract by enforcing rights and entitlements can enhance political support and popularity among the public hence achieving equity, addressing marginalisation and building a cohesive society as explained in the conceptual framework (page 32).

The study recommends that areas such as Turkana with high level of poverty should receive universal benefits rather than targeting. Targeting in such a situation not only is expensive and results in exclusion error. It can be divisive and creates resentment between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries and between those that believe they are excluded and the state hence destabilising the cohesiveness of the society. As the Africa Union recommends the key policy consideration of any social protection programme is to ensure that it generates inclusive human development and pro poor economic growth in the African social and economic context which can be achieved if all poor people are included. (African Union 2008).

5.3 Areas the study recommends for future study include:

- How Cash Transfer programmes in arid lands can build resilience in the face of climate change
- The effect of cash transfer in mobile pastoralist communities
- Measuring the effect of cash transfers in outcomes of health and education
- How CT is enhancing intergenerational relations in households where social pension is received

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Annex 1

SEMI STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE (For Beneficiaries)

This questionnaire guide is developed to collect primary data from beneficiaries and is structured in five sections. Section 1 provides demographic information about the beneficiary respondent, Section 2 confirms about the beneficiaries involvement in the CT and the perceived benefits from the CT, Section 3 discusses the role of CT in promoting social cohesion, Section 4 assesses awareness of CT and perception of beneficiaries on the 3 HSNP targeting methodologies and their impact on social cohesion while Section 5 discusses the relationship between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries

Name: _____	Sub-location: _____
Village: _____	Targeting methodology: _____

Section 1: Demographic information

- 1) Sex Male () Female ()
- 2) Age of the respondent _____
- 3) Are you the household head?
Yes () No ()
- 4) Marital status
Married with one spouse ()
Married with more than one spouse ()
Widow ()
Widower ()
Single/never married ()
Separated or divorced ()
- 5) Number of members in the family
1 - 5 ()
6 - 10 ()
11- 15 ()
More than 15 ()
- 6) Level of education of the head of the household
Never been to school ()
Primary complete education ()
Primary drop out ()
Secondary complete education ()

Secondary drop out ()
 College education ()
 University ()
 Others _____

- 7) Occupation of the household head
- Employed (civil servant or private sector) ()
 - Casual (such as cattle herder, construction site worker) ()
 - Runs own business ()
 - Unemployed ()
 - Fisher folks ()
 - Farmer ()
 - Pastoralist ()
 - Agro/pastoralist ()
 - Pensioner (formal) ()
 - Others _____
- 8) What was the monthly income of the household before the transfer?
- 1 –1,000 sh ()
 - 1000 – 2000 sh ()
 - 2001 - 3000 sh ()
 - 3001- 4000 sh ()
 - 4001- 5000 sh ()
 - 5001 – 6000 sh ()
 - 6001- 7000 sh ()
 - 7001- 8000 sh ()
 - 8001-9000 sh ()
 - 9001- 10,000 sh ()
 - Over 10,000 sh ()

Section 2: Cash receipt and benefits

1. Are you a beneficiary of the CT provided through the HSNP?
 Yes ()
 No ()
2. How many cycles of payment have you received
 3 cycles ()
 6 cycles ()
 10 cycles ()
 15 cycles ()
 Others (indicate the cycle) ()
 Not yet waiting to receive ()
3. How was the transfer received used (indicating a scale of 8 for the item which consumed the highest amount to the lowest in the order of (8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1)

- Food ()
- Medication/health care ()
- Education ()
- Repair of shelter ()
- Funerals ()
- Productive assets (i.e buying of agric inputs, livestock, fishing gears, etc.) ()
- Paying for labour to plough land or construct shelter, etc. ()
- Savings ()
- Others ()

4. What are the main areas in which your life has shown improvement through the cash transfer? (indicate the highest area of change with 5 and the lowest with 1)

Increased number of meals ()

Ability to access health care ()

Better able to withstand the effects of drought ()

Ability to send children to school ()

Improved shelter ()

Others (specify) ()

5. Do you think this change in individual's lives has contributed to improved relationship in households

Yes ()

No ()

6. Has the transfer improved beneficiary perception towards the state and its institutions

Yes ()

No ()

7. If yes, what are the ways this was expressed (rank in the order of importance from 3 to the highest to 1 to the lowest)

a. Increased participation in government called barazaas/meetings ()

b. Increased demand for identification as a key to eligibility ()

c. Increased sense of citizenship through improved dialogue between beneficiaries and local politicians ()

Section 3: Role of CT in promoting social cohesion

1. What are some of the occasions through which communities in Turkana show social cohesion (solidarity and unity) (Put them in the order in which they brought togetherness 5 being to the highest factor and 1 being to the lowest factor)

- (i) Initiation ceremonies ()
- (ii) Marriage ceremonies ()
- (iii) Death ()
- (iv) Disasters such as drought, floods or epidemics ()
- (v) External aggression ()
- (vi) Others (specify) _____()

2. Before the cash transfer through the HSNP what was the role of elders: (rank in the order of importance, starting with 5 for the role that is considered to be the most important and 1 for the least important role)

- (i) Dispute resolution ()
- (ii) Negotiation for marriage ()
- (iii) Performing traditional rituals such as initiation, marriage and death ()
- (iv) Decision making on critical matters of the community ()
- (v) Others Indicate ()

3. After the HSNP was introduced in the Turkana community, has the role of the elders¹ changed ?

Yes ()

No (), If no, go to questions number 26.

4. If yes, show the roles by the extent to which they have changed , with the highest 7 given to the role that is considered to be severely affected by the emergence of the HSNP (cash) and 1 given to the role that is least affected)

- Dispute resolution ()

¹ This needs to be asked differently depending on whether the area is rural where tradition still prevails and traditional rituals are being performed or peri-urban areas where traditional leaders are elected by the chief as council of elders to mainly support in conflict resolution

- Negotiation for marriage ()
- Performing traditional rituals such as initiation, marriage and death ()
- Identify a survey team to assess potential areas for grazing and watering for animals in times of drought ()
- Negotiation for resource sharing while taking animals to graze in land belonging to other communities ()
- Decision making on critical matters of the community ()
- Others Indicate ()

5. If any of these roles have been enhanced as a result of the CT, score the roles with the rate at which they have been enhanced with the highest figure given to the one you think has significantly improved:

- Dispute resolution ()
- Negotiation for marriage ()
- Performing traditional rituals such as initiation, marriage and death ()
- Decision making on critical matters of the community ()
- Others Indicate ()

6. Is the problem of youth migration to urban areas in search of employment a major problem in the Turkana community?

Yes ()

No ()

7. If yes, has the cash transfer programme influenced the return of some of the youth to their village, hence creating family reunification

Yes ()

No ()

8. Before the HSNP, communities in Turkana lived in harmony more than they did after the introduction of HSNP?

Yes ()

No ()

9. If yes, do you think the Cash transfer through the HSNP caused more disharmony among the Turkana communities

(i) Yes ()

(ii) No ()

10. If no, what specific role did the Cash Transfer through HSNP played in increasing cohesion and peace building? (show in the order of importance with 5 to the highest factor and 1 to the lowest factor)

- Created dependable and predictable income which sometimes can be shared with their kins as cash is easy to distribute ()
- A fair number of people are receiving cash and this reduced potential tension that arises between the beneficiaries and those that are not benefiting ()
- The other services that accompany the cash transfer programmes such as the rights awareness worked to increasing collaboration among the community ()
- The beneficiary identification for CBT involved the community and this created trust particularly for those identified to be beneficiaries ()²
- In the face of reduced food aid, the cash transfer has given people a relief ()
- Improving traditional reciprocal assistance among the community members ()

11. Before the HSNP, were crimes committed by the communities in Turkana against each other common?

(i) Yes ()

(ii) No ()

12. How were these resolved (rank 2 for the approach that is commonly used and 1 for the less common approach)

(i) Through legal action ()

(ii) Through traditional community dispute resolution methods ()

² This should be asked if the respondents are from CBT sub-locations

13. Turkana community is predominantly pastoralist, what is the role of cash/money?
(score them in the order in which they are perceived with 4 for the most common use and 1 for the least)

- (i) To buy and/or sell as a medium of exchange ()
- (ii) Replacing the dowry instead of livestock ()
- (iii) Used as a fine to pay for crimes committed ()
- (iv) To access services such as health and local admin levies/fees ()
- (v) Others (specify) () _____

14. Which of the following contribute to disharmony among the Turkana community? (Show 5 to the cause that is considered as the most responsible one to the one with little or no role in creating disharmony):

- (i) high unemployment rate ()
- (ii) emergence of urban centres ()
- (iii) the increase in the circulation of money due to HSNP ()
- (iv) drought and other calamities that cause loss of property ()
- (v) conflict with neighbouring communities ()

Section 4: Awareness of CT and perception of beneficiaries on the 3 HSNP targeting methodologies and their impact on social cohesion

1. Are you aware through which targeting method you have been selected for the cash transfer?

Yes _____

No _____

2. If yes identify one of the following:

- a) Social Pension _____
- b) Community Based Targeting _____
- c) Dependency ratio _____

3. Are you aware of other beneficiaries identified through the other targeting methods

Yes ()

No ()

4. If you do not know, what criteria do you think was used to select you and others as beneficiaries (choose all those that relate to you)

- a) Because you have no children ()

- b) because of lack of assets such as animals ()
- c) because of poor health ()
- d) Because of general poverty ()
- f) Because of old age ()
- g) Because of disability ()
5. Are you aware of the process of identification and registration of beneficiaries?
Yes () No ()
6. In your view are you generally satisfied that the people selected to benefit from the HSNP are fairly chosen
Yes _ ()
No ()
7. If **social pension** is regarded as the **fairest** selection method, identify the closest reason why it is so: (Please rank them in the order of importance, with 5 to the main reason and 1 to the lowest)
- a) It targets the most vulnerable population groups ()
- b) The groups that are selected are a distinct group whose vulnerability can easily be ascertained ()
- c) It reaches relatively larger numbers of poor people ()
- d) The selection criteria is simple, open and transparent ()
- e) Others (indicate) _____
8. If **Community Based Targeting** is regarded as the **fairest**, identify the closest reason why it is so:
- It targets the most vulnerable population groups ()
 - The groups that are selected are a distinct group whose vulnerability can easily be ascertained ()
 - It reaches relatively larger number of poor people ()
 - The selection criteria is simple, open and transparent ()
 - Other reasons (indicate) _____
9. If **Dependency Ration** is regarded as the **fairest**, identify the closest reason why it is so:
- It targets the most vulnerable population groups ()
 - The groups that are selected are a distinct group whose vulnerability can easily be ascertained ()
 - It reaches relatively larger number of poor people ()
 - The selection criteria is simple, open and transparent ()
 - Other reasons (indicate) _____
10. Which of the targeting methods is generally seen as promoting social cohesion, and consequently preferred by the community?
- a) Social Pension _____

b) Community based targeting _____

c) Dependency ratio _____

Section 5: Relationship between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries

1. Are you aware of any resentment (hostility) by non-beneficiaries towards the beneficiaries?

Yes ()

No ()

2. If yes, what are the causes of such resentment (hostility) (Put 4 to the cause that you think is the main contributor to the hostility and 1 to the lowest cause)

- Assumption that the particular beneficiary(ies) do not meet the criteria for receiving the cash transfer and are not eligible ()
- The particular targeting method used in identifying the beneficiaries has unduly given advantage to the beneficiaries who should otherwise not have been included ()
- The targeted beneficiaries have relationships with someone among the authorities who make decisions ()
- Other causes of resentment if non of the above (specify) _____

3. Have you ever attended a community *baraza* where identified beneficiaries have been confirmed/validated?

Yes ()

No ()

4. If yes, which of the following is true in describing your assessment of the process of validation and confirmation? (T or F)

- Sufficient information was provided about the beneficiary to the people gathered
- Participants of the meeting were given enough opportunity to express their views
- The meeting was dominated by a few speakers who appeared to favour the selected beneficiary
- The leaders of the meeting were not allowing participants to comment
- The meeting ended peacefully and the beneficiaries were endorsed unanimously
- The meeting ended with disagreement
- Others not mentioned above (specify)

5. Do you regard the beneficiary identification and registration process fair and transparent?

Yes () No ()

6. As a beneficiary have you felt that your neighbours have appreciated that you are a legitimate beneficiary

Yes () No ()

7. Did you experience any disadvantage because of being a beneficiary of the cash transfer programme? (for instance being excluded from other local and external support programmes)
 Yes () No ()
 Please explain your answer _____
8. As a result of being a beneficiary of the HSNP, did you experience negative relationship with other non-targeted community members
 Yes () No ()
 Describe the situation:

9. In what way do beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries interact (score the highest way they relate as 6 and the lowest as 1)
- Social activities ()
 - Community meetings (*Barazas*) ()
 - Visiting during sickness ()
 - Funerals ()
 - Help with material assistance such as food and cash ()
 - Others (describe)

10. As a beneficiary do you assist non-beneficiaries
 Yes () No ()
11. If yes, what kind of support do you give: 5 to the highest item and 1 to the lowest
- a) Food ()
 - b) Clothing ()
 - c) Health care ()
 - d) Funeral ()
 - e) Others (describe) () _____
12. What are the traditional reciprocal assistance approaches in the community: Indicate 4 to the reciprocal approach which is commonly known and 1 to the less familiar one
- Exchanging goods and services such as livestock ()
 - Donation of food in difficult times ()
 - Financial and material assistance in sickness and death ()
 - Emotional support during bereavement ()
13. Has the Cash Transfer programme strengthened the traditional reciprocal assistance among the community members
 Yes () No ()
14. If yes, what has changed:

- Those who are benefiting have more money and have been able to contribute to the good of the community ()
- The local traders business is flourishing hence creating more employment opportunities ()
- There is more disposable income among the local business people who are helping the community with donations ()
- The beneficiaries feel sense of obligation to help those that are not benefiting ()

15. What are the reciprocal assistance non-beneficiaries have been able to give to the beneficiaries

- a. Assisting in herding cattle
- b. House hold chores
- c. Contributing labour during shelter construction
- d. Accompanying when they go to pick their transfers
- e. Looking after family members when beneficiaries travel to collect payment
- f. Any other form of support (describe)

Annex 2

SEMI STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE

(For Non-Beneficiaries)

This questionnaire guide is developed to collect primary data from non-beneficiaries and is structured in three sections. Section 1 provides demographic information about the non-beneficiary respondents, Section 2 assesses the level of awareness by the non-beneficiaries on CT and Section 3 discusses the perception and attitude of non-beneficiaries towards the beneficiaries and the CT.

Name: _____	Sub-location: _____
Village: _____	Targeting methodology: _____

Section 1: Demographic information

1. Sex Male () Female ()
2. Age of the respondent _____
3. Are you the household head?
Yes () No ()
4. Marital status
Married with one spouse ()
Married with more than one spouse ()
Widow ()
Widower ()
Single/never married ()
Separated or divorced ()
5. Number of members in the family
1 - 5 ()
6 - 10 ()
11- 15 ()
More than 15 ()
6. Level of education of the head of the household
Never been to school ()

- Primary complete education ()
- Primary drop out ()
- Secondary complete education ()
- Secondary drop out ()
- College education ()
- University ()
- Others _____

7. Occupation of the household head

- Employed (civil servant or private sector) ()
- Casual (such as cattle herder, construction site worker) ()
- Runs own business ()
- Unemployed ()
- Fisher folks ()
- Farmer ()
- Pastoralist ()
- Agro/pastoralist ()
- Pensioner (formal) ()
- Others _____

8. What is the monthly income of the household?

- 1 –1,000 sh ()
- 1000 – 2000 sh ()
- 2001 - 3000 sh ()
- 3001- 4000 sh ()
- 4001- 5000 sh ()
- 5001 – 6000 sh ()
- 6001- 7000 sh ()
- 7001- 8000 sh ()

- 8001 -9000 sh ()
- 9001 - 10,000 sh ()
- Over 10,000 sh ()

Section 2: Level of Awareness of CT by non-beneficiaries

1) Are you aware of the cash transfer programme that is being implemented in your area?

Yes _____

No _____

2) If yes, name the targeting methodologies that are used to identify beneficiaries?

d) _____

e) _____

f) _____

3) If you do not know, what criteria do you think was used to select the beneficiaries (choose all those that you are aware of)

a) Because they have no children ()

b) because of lack of assets such as animals ()

c) because of poor health ()

d) Because of general poverty ()

f) Because of old age ()

g) Because of disability ()

h) because they were favoured by someone in authority ()

4) Are you aware of the process of identification and registration of beneficiaries?

Yes () No ()

5) If yes, which ones describe the methodologies you are aware of (indicate all those that you are aware of):

- On the basis of old age _____
- On the basis of vulnerability verified by the community _____
- On the basis of the number of dependents _____

Section 3: Perception of non-beneficiaries towards CT and beneficiaries

1) Do you regard the beneficiary identification and registration process fair and transparent?

Yes () No ()

- 2) In your view are you generally satisfied that the people selected to benefit from the HSNP are fairly chosen
 Yes ()
 No ()
- 3) Are you aware of any resentment (hostility) by non-beneficiaries towards the beneficiaries?
 Yes () No ()
- 4) If yes, what are the causes of such resentment (hostility) (Put 4 to the cause that you think is the main contributor to the hostility and 1 to the lowest cause)
- Assumption that the particular beneficiary(ies) do not meet the criteria for receiving the cash transfer and are not eligible ()
 - The particular targeting method used in identifying the beneficiaries has unduly given advantage to the beneficiaries who should otherwise not have been included ()
 - The targeted beneficiaries have relationships with someone among the authorities who make decisions ()
 - Other causes of resentment if non of the above (specify) _____
- 5) Have you ever attended a community *baraza* where identified beneficiaries have been confirmed/validated?
 Yes () No ()
- 6) If yes, which of the following is true in describing your assessment of the process of validation and confirmation? (T or F)
- Sufficient information was provided about the beneficiary to the people gathered
 - Participants of the meeting were given enough opportunity to express their views
 - The meeting was dominated by a few speakers who appeared to favour the selected beneficiary
 - The leaders of the meeting were not allowing participants to comment
 - The meeting ended peacefully and the beneficiaries were endorsed unanimously
 - The meeting ended with disagreement
 - Others not mentioned above (specify)
- 7) In what way do beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries relate (score the highest way they relate as 7 and the lowest as 1)
- Social activities ()
 - Community meetings (*Barazas*) ()
 - Visiting during sickness ()
 - Funerals ()

- Help with material assistance such as food and cash ()
 - Assistance during drought and floods ()
 - Others (describe)
-

8) In what way does the benefit of the cash transfer reach those who are not directly targeted? (Give 5 to the most important way by which non-beneficiaries are benefiting to 1 to the benefit that is least recognised)

- Through direct assistance from those benefiting ()
- Freeing up other forms of aid to reach those that are not benefiting ()
- Improved the market so prices are better for everyone ()
- Local business people are doing well and as a result helping those that cannot pay ()
- More commodities are available in the market that were not previously available because many can afford to buy them ()

9) As a non-beneficiary have you ever received any assistance from the beneficiaries

Yes () No ()

10) If yes, what kind of assistance have you received? 5 to the highest item and 1 to the lowest

- f) Food ()
- g) Clothing ()
- h) Health care ()
- i) Funeral ()
- j) Others (describe) () _____

11) What are the reciprocal assistance non-beneficiaries have been able to give to the beneficiaries:

- a. Assisting in herding cattle
- b. House hold chores
- c. Contributing labour during shelter construction
- d. Accompanying when they go to pick their transfers
- e. Looking after family members when beneficiaries travel to collect payment
- f. Any other form of support (describe)

12) What are the traditional reciprocal assistance approaches in the community: Indicate 4 to the reciprocal approach which is commonly known and 1 to the less familiar one

- Exchanging goods and services ()
- Donation of food in difficult times ()
- Financial and material assistance in sickness and death ()
- Emotional support during bereavement ()

13) Has the Cash Transfer programme improved the traditional reciprocal assistance among the community members

Yes () No ()

14) If yes, what has changed:

- Those who are benefiting have more money and have been able to contribute to the good of the community ()
- Local business is flourishing hence creating more employment opportunities ()
- There is more disposable income among the local business people who are helping the community with donations ()
- The beneficiaries feel sense of obligation to help those that are not benefiting ()

15) Even if you are not a beneficiary, do you recognise the cash transfer programme beneficial to you and the wider community?

Yes () No ()

16) If cash Transfer through HSNP has brought disharmony, who is it mainly involving:

(indicate the most common as 4 and the least common as 1)

- Beneficiary vs recipient ()
- Beneficiary vs community ()
- Beneficiary vs authorities ()
- Beneficiaries vs non-beneficiaries ()

Annex 3

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS

The set of questions in this annex are administered with the twenty key informants that were purposively selected to enrich the data collected from the primary respondents of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. These twenty respondents were identified from Equity Bank in Lodwar, The Africa Platform for Social Protection, the Rights Committee members of HSNP, Payment Agents, and Area Assistant Chiefs, HelpAge International, Oxfam and the HSNP Secretariat, the Ministry of North Eastern Kenya and the Ministry of Social Welfare and the Catholic Diocese of Lodwar. The questions were structured to assess the level of involvement by the respondent, their perceptions towards the changes in the lives of beneficiaries, their assessment towards of the approaches used in the CT and their views of state citizen relationship.

- 1) What is your involvement in the cash transfer program in this area?
- 2) How much was the transfer amount? How many benefited and how long was it implemented?
3. Was the amount enough to meet basic needs?
4. Was the transfer reaching the beneficiaries regularly?
5. In your views was the cash delivered in the most appropriate way taking into consideration safety, convenience, and accessibility of the points for collection (if collected from a central place?)
6. Does the cash transfer programme contribute to poverty alleviation, what evidence is there to justify this?
7. Indicate in the order of significance the areas the CT contributed to the recipients:
(7 to the highest and 1 to the lowest benefit)
 - Increased ability to meet basic needs ()
 - Improving livelihood capacity of beneficiaries ()
 - Increased ability of beneficiaries to involve in formal and informal social protection (support groups) such as marry go rounds ()
 - Increased ability to save ()
 - Improved intra household relationship particularly for pension recipient older people who are no longer seen as a burden ()
 - Increased participation in decision making ()
 - Fulfilment of deep longing for some socio-economic relief ()
- 8) Has the cash transfer programme promoted stability and positive relationship between communities and local authorities
Yes () No ()

Give example for either of the answers:

9. Does the HSNP in any way contribute to peace building and harmony in the community: Explain the situations which you think have led to this.

- What were the challenges experienced?
- What lessons have been learnt for future implementation?
- Would you recommend its scale-up to a larger national programme
- What would you recommend needs improvement

10. What are the specific attributes, in your view that make CT the better option compared to other forms of support such as IGA grants, Food Aid, Agricultural inputs, feeding programmes, OVC Education support and other forms that you have known in your area?

11. Do you think cash transfer programmes should invest in targeting beneficiaries as opposed to making the cash available to everyone? Why?

12. Do you feel households receiving the transfer are exhibiting changes for instance in their economic, social, health and other status?

13. Does the transfer enable them to buy goods and services they wouldn't normally have been able to buy?

14. Are people aware of the policy surrounding the program?

15. Do you think beneficiary households were trained on how money can be used to make a difference in their lives?

16. How do you rate the programme's contribution to improving state citizen relationship (give examples of how the relationship has changed: participation in governance, ID card acquisition, development activities such as water, road, etc)

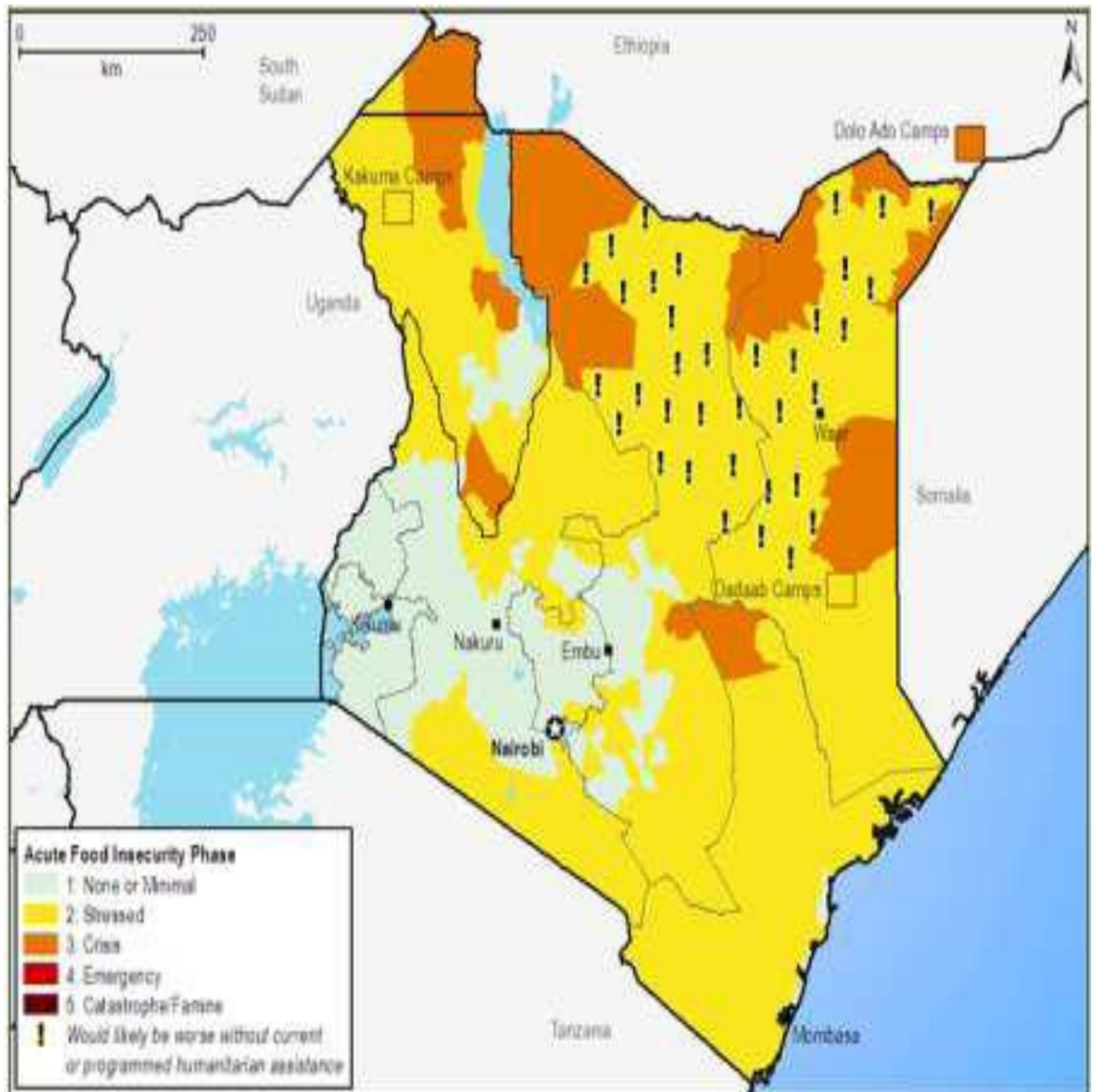
17. Should the programme be scaled up to other areas?

18. Being a pilot programmes, what were some of the challenges facing the programme?

19. Was targeting done in a transparent manner?

20. What do you think should be done to improve the program?

Annex 4: Map of Turkana



Source: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs