

From Protection to Production: impacts of cash transfer programmes at community levels

Why introduce qualitative research and mixed methods in impact evaluation?

- Interpret & contextualize quantified results through *triangulation*;
- Deepen understanding - *why and how?*;
- Untangle complexities – catch averages but also variation, heterogeneity, unique cases;
- Understand CT impacts on different categories of population (women, HHs, wealth, youth, etc)
- Use of *inductive* & open approaches;
- Enables better understanding of intra-HH dynamics & decision-making, as well as attitudinal & empowerment dimensions (*emic* perceptions)
- Explain patterns/trends – indications of future pathways for HHs/local economy

Qualitative research forms part of PtoP impact evaluation covering six countries

- Completed:
 - Ghana (April, 2012); Kenya (July, 2012); Zimbabwe (October, 2012)
- Planned:
 - Lesotho (April, 2013); Malawi (October, 2013); Ethiopia (2013)
- A detailed research methodological guide has been prepared, includes:
 - Guidelines for the research process and approach
 - Sampling of social groups within communities
 - Guidelines of semi-structured questions
 - Use of focus group discussion, semi-structured interviews, case studies
 - A set of proposed participatory tools

http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/p2p/Publications/Qualitativeresearchguide.pdf

Key questions driving the qualitative research:

- **Household economy**
 - How are households' decisions and decision-making processes affected by SCT in livelihood choices, investments, savings, employment and consumption?
- **Local economy**
 - Do SCTs create multiplier effects, and how do these evolve and impact exchanges of local goods, services and labour markets through the injection of cash in the community?
- **Social networks**
 - How do SCTs effect social networks and how do social networks mediate affects of SCTs?
 - Do cash transfers strengthen risk sharing arrangements and economic collaboration underpinned by social capital (trust-based reciprocity)?
 - Do cash transfers permit greater inclusion for most vulnerable and least powerful people (in decisionmaking), further increasing their entitlement sets?
- **Operations**
 - How do SCT operational arrangements affect decisions and economic impacts at household and community levels?

3-stage sampling process

1. Select two regions
 - Reflecting differences in livelihood and vulnerability (eg, Ghana North and Central)
 - One region should coincide with longitudinal quantitative survey to deepen analysis of trends emerging from data analysis
 2. Select one district in each region
 - Representative of 'average' poverty and livelihood status of region, identified by district poverty maps, or equivalent
 3. Stratifying and sampling communities
 - Within each district, select three study sites: two 'treatment' and one 'control' (comparison) community
 - Sites selected according to degree of market integration (proxied by distance from main road), sampling one relatively remote and one integrated community
 - Community with median number of beneficiaries are selected
- Select control community with similar socio-economic profile

Informant selection

- Organized with specific goals, time frames and procedures, with groups of common interest (FGD) and key informants (KII)/resource persons
- Stratified FGDs
 - Beneficiaries and non beneficiaries disaggregated by gender; age, and general wealth rank/level of social exclusion
 - Interest groups: e.g. farmers, casual labourers, associations, local traders, ethnic minorities
- Non-beneficiaries and social groups selected randomly, from a list if available
- FGDs commonly conducted separately between men and women
- When possible, household case studies conducted
- Capture social difference and diversity within the selected communities

Key informant interviews

Table 1.1 **Suggested key informants**

Key informant	Probable location	Importance
Village chief/head	Community	✓
Village committee member	Community	✓
Leaders of minority groups	Community	✓
CBO leaders/members/religious leaders	Community	✓
Member of a specific social network	Community	✓
Local business owners (employees)	Community	✓
Local farmers/agricultural merchants	Community	✓
Market traders	Will depend	
Extension workers	Will depend	
School teachers	Will depend	
Community Health Workers	Will depend	
Bank/MFI/SACCO staff	Will depend	

Research process

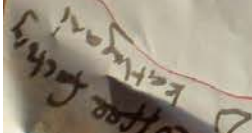
- 19 days overall
- 1 day briefing with key government and donor stakeholders
- 1 week of training for research team, including piloting, refining Research Guide, presentations e.g. SCT programme managers/UNICEF
- Fieldwork procedure:
 - District level stakeholder discussions and community access
 - District 1: Four days of parallel research in (1) Market integrated community and (2) Isolated community. 1 team of 2 researchers in each community; 1 day in comparison community, with both teams conducting separate FGDs
 - Repeat for district 2 (sometimes different research teams, same team leader)
 - Half-day final feedback session with each community
 - Evening debriefs with research team; one-day synthesis session at end of each week - combined with one-day consolidation session final week
- Debrief workshop with government and donor stakeholders

Fieldwork roadmap

DAY 1	District Whole team starts off at district level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction and interviews with relevant government officials • Introduction and interviews with programme implementing agents and committees etc. 	
	Community 1 (Sub-Team 1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introductions with community head • Group discussion with key informants + community poverty profile analysis • Plan FGDs/KIIs for the week 	Community 2 (Sub-Team 2) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introductions with community head • Group discussion with key informants + community poverty profile analysis • Plan FGDs/KIIs for the week
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct 2 FGDs each day • Conduct 2 KIIs each day • Evening debriefs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct 2 FGDs each day • Conduct 2 KIIs each day • Evening debriefs
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct 1 FGD • Conduct 2 KIIs • Community feedback session • Evening debrief 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct 1 FGD • Conduct 2 KIIs • Community feedback session • Evening debrief
	'Control' Community Whole team goes to control community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct 2 FGDs with potential beneficiaries (male and female) • Conduct 4 FGDs with senior leaders 	
DAY 6	Team consolidation and synthesis day <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Produce draft field report with sub-headings and draft analysis 	

Participatory research tools

- Social mapping and community wellbeing analysis
 - Community poverty characteristics and distribution of poverty
 - Perceptions of differences in poverty amongst population, of characteristics of most vulnerable and of targeting effectiveness
- Household income and expenditure analysis
 - Sources, size and frequency of beneficiary household income
 - Distribution of beneficiary household expenditures
 - SCT impact on income and expenditure distribution
- Institutional mapping (venn diagramming)
 - Institutional landscape in communities;
 - Impact on (formal and informal) social networks and risk sharing mechanisms;
 - Impact on social connectedness/ exclusion among beneficiaries in their communities and SCT impacts
- Livelihoods analysis
 - Range and value of different livelihoods(risky, reliable, preference), SCT impact
 - Impacts on the local economy (markets, prices and employment)









Household Economy summary findings:

- SCTs largely functioning as a safety net, with evidence of HH investments in economic activities *depending on HH situational context, enabling environment, local conditions*;
- SCTs largely meeting broad objectives - people prioritize improved consumption/wellbeing, school attendance/retention, healthcare, basic needs, repayment of outstanding debts;
- Economic investments emerging - improving production activities e.g. inputs, farm assets, hired labour, small animals;
- Used as working capital to diversify/or expand income sources: e.g. farming (enter sugar cane), small business (e.g. milk production, moto taxi), petty trade, rotating savings (grain banks);

- Shifting labour patterns – towards own farm, less as casual labour (“maricho”) which is a “last resort” measure;

“I am now using my energy on my field because I can now afford fertilizer”
(Goromonzi, Zimbabwe)

- Reductions in negative coping strategies (e.g. Kaaya-yei, eating food stocks) – progression of survival to coping to income generation;
- Indications SCT enable some “savings” - but limited “patience” as pressing needs prevail (already large portion of HH budget);
- “Intentions” to increase risks, e.g. poultry production, house building but still typically risk averse – avoid taking credit although greater creditworthiness and opportunities available;

-When women and FHH access SCT payments, in some cases making own decisions (IGAs), more often HHs decide CT use jointly;

-Little indication of transformation of patrilineal norms but indications of women's greater economic empowerment and voice/influence in HH decisions;



Local Economy summary findings:

- Limited impacts on local markets to date – but marginal indications of an increase and boost in exchanges, and increase and diversification of goods and services (e.g. food preparation, soaps, HH goods, hair salon);

“food bowls are now getting finished at the end of the day” (Dompase, Ghana)

- Typical payment-day surge in purchases in local shops/markets;
- Some indication of changing purchasing practices - more in bulk, more luxury goods (e.g. sugar, meat, maggi) and in greater proximity to villages due to increase in demand – *“the market is getting closer”*;
- No price changes detected - yet;
- In smaller communities noticeably increased business competition;

- Increased beneficiary creditworthiness – trust – with SCT, but reluctance to borrow due to fear in indebtedness:

“Mary refuses categorically to buy on credit because debts cause too much stress and worry.” (Zimbabwe)

- Beneficiaries reporting to withdraw/reduce activity in labour market when possible, prefer working own farm – and even some hiring in (e.g. Owendo, Kenya) depending on context;



Social networks & risk-sharing summary findings:

- SCTs have enabled beneficiaries to “re-enter” social networks—making contributions—re-investing in alliances and social security;
- Examples : rotating saving groups (*susu*), church contributory groups, funeral associations, welfare groups, social events;
- BENS viewed as less a “drain” on others. Re-building/broadening social capital base, trust, self-esteem, confidence, hope – “*now we are able to mingle*”—strengthens potential for agency/change;

- Extended family often not generous - but SCT could also be viewed as an asset, families more open to OVC caretaking with CT - Kenya);
- Beneficiaries perceived as more reliable, trustworthy/creditworthy with SCT payments (e.g. school payment plans in ZIM);
- Some beneficiaries beginning to be able to “help” others in need ;
- Jealousies- some tensions created (those “deserving” are excluded)



Operational impacts summary findings:

- Payment delays create negative impacts: inability to plan, risk of greater debt, asset disinvestment, reversion to coping strategies;
- Limited communication causes misunderstanding – resentment, jealousies, tension - reduces potential impact of programme complementarities/messages - weakens transformational objective;
- Communities require information on programme - notably targeting measures, transparency requires emphasis – this promotes perceived fairness, limits politicization;
- Mixed views on “ideal role” of local power structures (e.g. targeting)– fears of elite capture but leaders are involved by default;



- Local implementation structures (CLIC, BWC, CPC) require much more support, backing - to effectively support programme (e.g. IEC) and livelihood development – great potential to make a difference;
- Absence of operational grievance mechanisms fosters tensions, and risks delaying problem-solving;
- Stakeholders see beneficiary rights and entitlements as important (Kenya “beneficiary charter” good example);
- High and increasing numbers of OVC and poverty generates perceived exclusion errors and dilutes impact of the SCT, which is not always aligned with household size;

- But community members (BENs and nonBENS) expressed preference for broader coverage rather than increased amounts – reflecting values of social inclusion, equity, collective responsibility;
- “General” preference for regular, frequent, predictable payments rather than lumpy—needs are immediate (but context specific);
- Conditions and complementarities with other programmes still “soft” and weak – missed opportunity to build human capital, productive assets, strengthen livelihoods, sustain HH self-reliance (e.g. health, education, youth, gender, IGAs)

Continuing questions and issues:

- How to pick up on quantitative findings and integrate this information during qualitative work– to triangulate and verify?
- How to strengthen quantitative research by integrating qualitative findings upstream?
- How best to combine quantitative and qualitative results into a holistic set of conclusions and recommendations?
- How to best optimize IE findings for Government/stakeholder information and use?
- How to build in more capacity development for local researchers/institutions during local research?