



Oxfam GB Emergency Food Security and Livelihoods Urban Programme Evaluation Final Report

Ian Macauslan with Laura Phelps

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Oxfam

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This assessment is being carried out by Oxford Policy Management.
The project manager is Ian MacAuslan. The remaining team member is Alex Hurrell.
For further information contact ian.macauslan@opml.co.uk

The contact point for the client is Laura Phelps at lphelps@oxfam.org.uk.

Oxford Policy Management Limited
6 St Aldates Courtyard, 38 St Aldates, Oxford OX1 1BN
Tel +44 (0) 1865 207300 Fax +44 (0) 1865 207301

Email: admin@opml.co.uk
Website: www.opml.co.uk

Registered in England: 3122495 United Kingdom

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Abbreviations

ACTED	Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development
APHRC	Africa Population and Health Research Center
ARV	Anti Retro Viral
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CBT	Community Based Targeting
CFW	Cash for Work
CHW	Community Health Worker
CMR	Child Mortality Rate
CSI	Coping Strategy Index
CTP	Cash Transfer Programme
DFID	Department for International Development
ECHO	European Commission Humanitarian Office
EFSA	Emergency Food Security Assessment
EFSL	Emergency Food Security and Livelihoods
EMMA	Emergency Market Mapping and Analysis
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FSL	Food Security and Livelihoods
GAM	Global Acute Malnutrition
GB	Great Britain
GFSL	Gaza Food Security and Livelihoods Programme
GIS	Geographic Information System
GoK	Government of Kenya
HEA	Household Economy Analysis
HFIAS	Household Food Insecurity Access Scale
HHS	Household Hunger Scale
HIV and AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HTG	Haitian Gourde (HTG1 = £0.016)
HTP	Harmonised Training Package
ICT	Information Communication Technology
ID	Identity
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IFRC	International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
IGA	Income Generating Activity
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IPA	Innovations for Poverty Action
IPC	Integrated Phase Classification
KFSSG	Kenya Food Security Steering Group
KIHBS	Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey
KKV	Kazi Kwa Vijana (Public works programme in Kenya)
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KPIA	Kenya Poverty and Inequality Assessment
Ksh	Kenyan Shillings (Ksh1 = £0.0075)
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MEAL	Monitoring Evaluation Accountability and Learning
MFI	Micro Finance Institution
MGCSO	Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
MIS	Management Information System
MSDP	Mukuru Slum Development Project

NDC	Not defining characteristic
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIS	Israeli Shekel (NIS1 = £0.17)
NSA	Non State Actors
NUDSS	Nairobi Urban Demographic Surveillance System
NUSPP	Nairobi Urban Social Protection Programme
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
OGB	Oxfam Great Britain
OPCT	Older persons cash transfer
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
OPM	Oxford Policy Management
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PMT	Proxy Means Test
SAM	Severe Acute Malnutrition
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
TB	Tuberculosis
TOR	Terms of Reference
U5MR	Under five mortality rate
UNHABITAT	United Nations Human Settlement Programme
UN-OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UVP	Urban Voucher Programme
WaSH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WDI	World Development Indicators
WFP	World Food Programme

Executive summary

Introduction

The global urban population is now larger than the rural population. While rural areas in general remain worse off than urban areas, the number of people in urban poverty is growing fast, and urban dwellers are vulnerable to significant disasters. Development and humanitarian agencies are therefore increasingly exploring how they can work better in urban areas, where they have traditionally had comparatively little experience.

This report sets out findings from three assessments of Oxfam's urban emergency food security and livelihoods programmes in Nairobi (Kenya), Port-au-Prince (Haiti) and Gaza. The purpose of the assessments was to explore the following areas:

- **Appropriateness**
- **Timeliness**
- **Targeting**
- **Impact**
- **Accountability**
- **Partners' experience**

The three programmes differed substantially and responded to very different types of vulnerability:

- The Nairobi Urban Social Protection Programme (NUSPP), which included cash transfers, cash for work, skills training and business grants, and advocacy to the government for scale-up. The assessment is based on primary fieldwork.
- Oxfam's Emergency Food Security and Livelihoods (EFSL) response to the earthquake in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, which included cash for work, food and cash grants, training and in kind transfers. This assessment is based on Levron 2011.
- The Gaza Food Security and Livelihoods Programme (GFSL), which included cash for work, a voucher programme, training and support to income generation. This assessment is based on Levron 2011.

The methodology for each study was based on a review of documents and semi-structured interviews and group discussions with programme officers, other stakeholders, and participants in the programmes.

Urban vulnerability

The report argues that urban vulnerability is not very well understood but there are some clear points emerging from Oxfam's work and this review. First, urban populations now exceed rural populations globally and in many places and are growing very quickly. Within this, the slum population is growing rapidly, though there are considerable uncertainties about how many people live in slums, and how quickly they move in and out. Second, urban vulnerability is based on exposure to market, health and sanitation risks, and social and political risks. Third, while urban poverty seems lower than rural poverty in most countries, slum poverty is relatively high, and child mortality and health indicators are particularly poor. Urban food insecurity is a very real issue, but is generally not as severe as in rural areas, and although malnutrition rates tend to be higher in rural areas, high urban population density means that there are many more malnourished individuals per unit of area. Finally, urban areas change very rapidly.

This review has implications for programming. The rapid change means that clearly defined triggers for entry and exit are important. The social and political fragmentation means that targeting mechanisms cannot easily work through communities and face risks of capture. The significance of the market exposure is that responses working through cash are often the most appropriate.

Findings

The three programmes, typifying rapid onset, slow onset and conflict functioned reasonably well and have had broadly positive impacts. Specific findings and trends include:

Appropriateness and timeliness

Overall, the EFSL interventions were highly appropriate, but varied in their timeliness, and therefore their programme impact.

- **Nairobi:** The objectives of the Nairobi urban social protection programme (NUSPP) are clearly appropriate to the acute stress overlain on the chronic poverty of urban informal Kenya, and the intervention was timely. Given the extent of vulnerability in urban informal areas, it was appropriate to seek to engage with the government and others to achieve a greater scale and to aim to develop a government-led programme. There were a number of design features that could probably have been adjusted to maximise impact. For example, the targeting approach and process could have been more clearly specified and the value of some transfers could have been revised to ensure the most vulnerable households received the transfer for longer, rather than a small number of households benefitting from a large transfer.
- **Port-au-Prince:** The Port-au-Prince EFSL objectives were in general appropriate to the post-earthquake context, but the interventions appeared to be based more on pragmatism than on a comprehensive livelihood analysis. Deeper analysis to start would have helped to allocate resources more efficiently, but there was also a compulsion to respond. Some aspects of value for money – such as the choice of cash transfer provider – could have been improved.
- **Gaza:** The Gaza Food Security and Livelihoods Programme (GFSL) has evolved over time in relation to the changing context in Gaza. This includes support to a long-term, chronic humanitarian situation and an emergency response following Cast Lead, the Israeli military offensive in 2008-09. The programme operates in a complex environment with limited opportunities for diversified funding and with restrictions imposed on engagement with the local authorities. Activities could have been made more urban specific for sustainability, and the efficiency of implementation improved.

Targeting

Overall, targeting was acceptable, let down by relatively high levels of exclusion error in Nairobi and Port au Prince as well as unsystematic approaches. Targeting indicators and methodology as well as trigger indicators for entry and exit require more field based research and design.

- **Nairobi:** The NUSPP sought to target the most vulnerable households in urban informal Nairobi. The targeting process for the cash transfers used local officials and volunteers to develop indicators of vulnerability and then to identify vulnerable households. The targeting outcomes were probably reasonable in terms of exclusion and inclusion errors, which is impressive given the challenges of urban targeting. However, the reliance on these local officials with minimal effective external verification raises some significant risks for targeting effectiveness. More experimentation with different methods going forward (including a census and scorecard-type approach) would help learn lessons for a scaled programme. The process of allocating exit activities (cash for work, skills transfer and business grants) relied too much on self-targeting and word-of-mouth, and was probably therefore not as effective.
- **Port-au-Prince:** The Port-au-Prince EFSL targeting process was participatory and specific, using a household level scorecard. Oxfam staff spent considerable time on verification and this delay caused households to lose resources. Perhaps, however, given the scale of disaster, blanket targeting, or targeting using an indicator that included isolation (e.g. geographic distance from markets) or displacement (e.g. whether the household has been forced to move by disaster), might have used resources more effectively.
- **Gaza:** The GFSL used a very well structured targeting analysis methodology using community rankings to target geographically and scorecards to target households. This led to a high degree of targeting effectiveness in each of the different project interventions. Nevertheless, this could have been improved through making the scorecard indicators more specific to the urban context and possibly including indicators such as isolation, displacement and low food consumption and human capital.

Households who had recently fallen into poverty (for instance due to the blockade) were less likely to be targeted until they had lost their assets. It may be that assisting them before this would be more efficient. However, it is recognised that with funding limitations and large numbers of eligible recipients, this may not always be possible. Currently, proxy measures have combined with food consumption scores to refine targeting, and a complaints mechanism has been set up in 2012.

Impact

Overall, programme impact was effective, being primarily let down by targeting mechanisms and to some degree timeliness.

- **Nairobi:** The impact of the NUSPP has been very positive.
 - The NUSPP has had some significant achievements and with a reasonable amount of further investment could start to achieve some extremely significant outcomes. This is principally because urban social protection in Nairobi is currently at a stage that is comparatively advanced in terms of developing a system for crisis monitoring and response that is tied to a chronic poverty social protection system. Oxfam has been instrumental in helping to develop this and further investment in the next year running up to the election in 2012 might enable this to be cemented.
 - The cash transfer and livelihoods activities in Mukuru improved the food consumption of recipients, saved lives of those on anti-retrovirals, helped them reduce (though not always avoid) the use of negative coping strategies (such as prostitution, crime, and removing children from school), helped recipients pay off debt and helped some recipients start or restart businesses, some of which are generating positive returns. There are no significant negative impacts. The cash for work and business grants also have positive impacts on recipients. The impact of the skills training is difficult to assess since many courses are ongoing, but the hairdressing and tailoring courses have placed some students in apprenticeships.
 - The advocacy programme has not resulted in the government developing and leading an urban social protection system, but there are positive signs of progress. This is clearly partly due to Oxfam's advocacy, which has been reasonably effective in a challenging political environment. However, more work in the run up to the 2012 election is required to achieve a positive impact.
- **Port-au-Prince:** The EFSL activities had different positive impacts individually. Taken together, however, it is not clear that they were able to prevent the serious negative consequences of the earthquake as most recipients continued to cut essential expenditures from their budgets. This should be seen in the context of the scale of the disaster. Positive impacts included:
 - The short-term guaranteed employment programme helped households repay debt and cover basic needs.
 - Community canteens provided food to the most vulnerable and this increased the number of meals they consumed per day.
 - Cash transfer programmes increased their creditworthiness and financial inclusion. The impact was constrained by delayed implementation.
- **Gaza:** The GFSL had broadly positive impacts on recipients without significant negative impacts. Positive impacts include:
 - The cash for work programme helped participants to repay debt and cover basic household needs, and improved their creditworthiness, but did not lead to further investment.
 - The programme developed the social capital of participants through a greater feeling of self-esteem and meeting new people.

Accountability

Accountability mechanisms were put in place in each of the programmes, but there was room for improvement in each of the contexts, that can be learnt from and built upon in future interventions.

Accountability in this context reflects the extent to which the programmes were designed and implemented in consultation with participants, and whether there were adequate complaint mechanisms.

- **Nairobi:** The NUSPP was not based directly on consultations with vulnerable urban households in Kenya, but was designed using Oxfam's experience in this area – which included research and programming with these groups. The targeting process involved key stakeholders in the community, but rarely ordinary citizens. It is not particularly clear that involving more community members would have improved the programme. There was a complaints process, but this was limited and could have been improved by setting up direct links between recipients and Oxfam, such as through a phone helpline.
- **Port-au-Prince:** In the design and implementation of the Port-au-Prince EFSL programme, Oxfam were particularly effective in establishing dialogue and transparency in a difficult context. They also took a gender-sensitive approach. This positive process was helped by the extensive presence of Oxfam staff in implementation. Although there was a hotline and accountability meetings in place, respondents felt they had insufficient information to use them.
- **Gaza:** The GFSL programme has been adapted over time with input from recipients linked to project evaluations (internal and external) including focus group discussions. However, more input from recipients could improve the appropriateness of interventions to target households. Feedback is received from recipients in the Urban Voucher Project through boxes placed in each store used for redemption of vouchers; this feedback is assessed on a regular basis and has informed project modifications. This methodology has now been replicated in the Cash for Work projects.

Partnership

The evaluation identified huge differences contextually and by partner, but it was clear that in each case Oxfam could have provided clearer leadership and strategy in relation to urban programme and policy.

The report assesses whether the institutional arrangements were effective in developing the capacity of local partners, which experience shows is critical in reducing urban poverty.

- In Nairobi, Oxfam worked mainly with an effective local partner, the Mukuru Slum Development Projects (MSDP). This experience was positive for both parties. However, greater investment in developing shared systems and close mentoring would have built MSDP's capacity more comprehensively, and clearer communication would have made programme implementation more effective, particularly around targeting. The short time and limited internal resources from Oxfam constrained this.
- In Gaza and Port-au-Prince, Oxfam's relationships with partners was characterised by equity and respect. In some cases, a lack of communication caused tensions.

Conclusions and Recommendations

EFSL work in urban areas is gaining importance and will continue to grow in importance as urban populations grow and their vulnerabilities increase, particularly if food prices continue to be volatile. Oxfam has been generally effective in implementing EFSL programmes in urban areas, and these programmes seem to have a significant positive impact on a growing urban vulnerable population. Overall, Oxfam has a comparative advantage in urban EFSL programming when compared with other similar organisations, and should therefore continue to build and expand its urban EFSL work.

However, doing this effectively will require overcoming some significant internal and external constraints. These are partly due to the historical (and justified) balance of resources in favour of rural areas, but also to some attitudes that urban areas are better able to cope. The review here suggests that these attitudes are decreasingly appropriate. Oxfam should therefore devote resources to improving the share of urban programming within the organisation.

Addressing situations of chronic poverty (as is the case in all three case studies here) requires a much more comprehensive and a better resourced approach. Oxfam's 'one programme approach' is entirely relevant and as such Oxfam should design and fund urban programmes to cover the same urban geographical areas and enable an 'expand and contract model' for scale up to emergency response, followed by transition back into the development programme. This would promote urban resilience.

Oxfam's added value is in its dual mandate, which can strengthen EFSL responses with underlying development programming. EFSL programming in urban areas should aim to prevent households' welfare from further deteriorating through the use of negative coping strategies, and to help households begin the process of rebuilding. However, EFSL programming cannot be expected to address underlying vulnerabilities or chronic poverty, and this is where good governance and sustainable livelihoods programming needs to compliment EFSL work. For example, safety net cash transfers have longer term social protection objectives, but these should be supported through good governance and essential services support. As income transfers are appropriate in a majority of urban contexts for essential needs provision, Oxfam are in a strong position to apply their cash transfer experience in digital innovations and microfinance.

Several operational aspects of each case study programme could be improved, and the main body of the report makes detailed suggestions. Some generalised recommendations are presented here:

- Oxfam may wish to **develop a clearer position on urban EFSL programming** which identifies and focuses on key EFSL 'added value' for urban contexts. For example, concentrating on informal settlements (which have similar poverty indicators to rural areas), and identifying cities at high risk of urban shocks. This would complement the development of a global strategy (currently underway for urban work across OGB), some **strategic allocation of resources** for urban emergency response work, and clear emergency preparedness and response planning for rapid and slow onset emergencies.
- NGOs have an **important role to play in terms of developing and testing appropriate responses** to food insecurity and crisis, and engaging with governments and other stakeholders to help to institutionalise these responses. Oxfam's urban work in all three areas should be seen in this light. Oxfam's urban EFSL work through partners is also critical to building long-term sustainable capacity to address urban poverty.
- **Triggers** for entry and exit for urban social protection responses are vital but currently not developed. Oxfam should provide resources for work on developing these indicators and apply the political capital that they have gained in ensuring that they are relevant for urban areas globally.
- Community based **targeting** (CBT) in urban areas is rarely applied in the same way as in rural areas, because in general urban communities are less cohesive and clear cut. In practice, CBT mechanisms in urban areas normally mean targeting conducted by key community members such as health workers, rather than through the inclusive community meetings used in rural areas. This evaluation has demonstrated that urban 'CBT' has resulted in a fairly high degree of exclusion error. There is still an important question of whether CBT is appropriate in urban areas. Oxfam need to use their experience and resource further comparisons between CBT, poverty scorecards, extractor questionnaires and proxy means tests. This could be done in consortium with other interested international NGOs. If it is possible to prepare in advance, more complex targeting methods can be used, including proxy means tests and scorecards. Rapid onset responses, in areas Oxfam have not previously programmed will require simpler targeting methods.
- **Integrated programming** to ensure that WaSH and EFSL act as complimentary activities to mutually reduce the risk of malnutrition, morbidity and mortality caused by food insecurity and poor sanitation. This integration was either absent or poorly integrated in the programmes evaluated, resulting in a reduced impact from the EFSL interventions.
- As urban programming is a relatively new area with little established evidence based practice, all new programmes should be designed and funded with a **strong M&E capacity**, as well as a significant **research component**, to ensure that learning is fed back into future scale up and replication of models developed. Programmes evaluated were either poorly resourced or lacked the skills to take results forward effectively.
- **Cash transfers** are an effective first response to urban disasters to meet immediate needs in food, water, shelter, transport and healthcare. In the majority of urban contexts markets recover quickly from shocks and are very dynamic, which means that it is essential to have a good understanding of what is 'normal' in terms of costs of meeting immediate needs, market dynamics etc. This would require stronger baselines (of the three programmes evaluated only Gaza had a baseline against which to measure impact. Baselines could be developed using the urban adapted **Household Economy Approach (HEA)**, perhaps complimented by an urban adapted **Emergency Markets Mapping and Analysis (EMMA)**, or the collection of quantitative data on key impact areas, such as nutrition or food consumption. Power

analysis could be used to better understand gatekeepers. Cash transfer values can be changed easily if transfers are made electronically, and best practice would involve **indexing to inflation and having larger transfers for larger households**.

- **Innovative technology** used appropriately can be very helpful to speed the response (through digital data gathering) and make transfers (through phones or bank cards). Maximising associated benefits of technology (such as having a way to communicate public health messages with recipients, allowing them to save through micro-insurance options, or opening feedback and complaints channels) can lead to important payoffs in relation to impact and accountability.
- The effectiveness of the EFSL response in urban areas was limited in at least two of the case studies by internal staffing constraints around **objective setting, management or staff turnover**. Oxfam's ability to cement the urban advantage will continue to be constrained by staff capacity unless it is addressed.



Laura to write a caption

1 Introduction

1.1 Evaluation purpose

Development effort, particularly in the humanitarian and food security sectors, has tended to focus on rural areas. This focus is starting to appear misplaced as more people and more poor people live in urban areas than in rural areas,¹ and as the significant risks faced by urban dwellers are being better understood and given appropriate focus.² Oxfam GB (OGB) have over the last 10 years been gradually increasing their experience in urban programme, policy and advocacy in both humanitarian and development programmes. For example, the Emergency Food Security and Livelihoods (EFSL) team has led on a review of food security and livelihood indicators in urban contexts, and hosted a learning event on food security, livelihoods and nutrition in urban areas, and are now funding this evaluation of urban EFSL responses in different urban contexts.

This evaluation is designed to contribute to the development of this urban knowledge by assessing OGB's urban programmes in Gaza, Nairobi and Port-au-Prince.³ This report is based on primary fieldwork on Nairobi, and draws on an existing report on Gaza and Port-au-Prince (Levron 2011). The evaluation seeks to understand the appropriateness, effectiveness and impact of the EFSL interventions in these urban areas, focusing particularly on cash transfer programming. The aim is to facilitate programme replication and to provide informed recommendations on targeting, with a specific focus on urban contexts, rather than repeating well known rural lessons.

The specific objectives of the evaluation are to assess:

- **Appropriateness:** analysis of the EFSL interventions selected and their appropriateness for the particular urban context in which they were implemented. Overview of the log frame objectives – were they achievable? Is the programme being implemented in such a way as to give good value for money spent to achieve the desired standards and outcome? Would another type of intervention been better in retrospect? Will the programme be effective in reducing future vulnerabilities?
- **Timeliness:** was the programme implemented in the best timeframe to optimise recovery within the affected population?
- **Targeting:** What identification process was used to target beneficiaries? How effective was it in identifying both target group and target areas? How effectively did partners apply the agreed selection tools and criteria? What was the level of involvement of the community in the selection process? What were the challenges the partners faced with the selection process? What are the recommended selection criteria and process that could be applied to this programme and other urban contexts? What progress has been made in identifying targeting indicators (one of the original programme objectives)?
- **Impact:** what positive change and tangible benefits have been realised by the beneficiaries as a result of the programme? Could they have achieved the same benefits in a different way? Is there any evidence of negative impact with regard to any aspect of the program? Were the objectives set out in the log frame achieved? Were there any other unplanned benefits?
- **Accountability:** were beneficiaries consulted in the design of the program and how much input did they give? Did they receive information about the program and was there a complaints system in place, how complex/simple was this system?
- **Partners' experience:** what have been the challenges and lessons learnt in relation to implementing the programmes? What is the impact of the partnership relationship – on the partners and the beneficiaries?⁴

1.2 Programmes assessed

The evaluation examined the following programmes:

- The Nairobi Urban Social Protection Programme (NUSPP), which included cash transfers, cash for work, skills training and business grants, and advocacy to the government for scale-up. The assessment is based on primary fieldwork.

- Oxfam's EFSL response to the earthquake in Port-au-Prince, which included cash for work, cash grants, business and skills training and in kind transfers. This assessment is based on Levron 2011.
- The Gaza Food Security and Livelihoods Programme (GFSL), which included cash for work, a voucher programme, training and support to income generation. This assessment is based on Levron 2011.

The full logical frameworks for each programme are available in Annex B.

The three programmes used as case studies are very different in terms of the type of emergency and the type of response:

- A global rise in food and fuel prices in 2009 resulted in a sharp rise in local food price in Nairobi and came shortly after the post-election violence that affected much of the city. The NUSPP response was to supplement incomes of vulnerable households first through direct regular cash transfers and then through livelihood support (cash for work, training, and business grants) for a much smaller group of households, and to work with partners to improve the government's social protection system.
- The earthquake in Port-au-Prince resulted in the displacement of 1.5 million people, and the death of 220,000. Poverty levels rose significantly in an already food insecure city, and many people were homeless. The EFSL response included direct support through cash for work and soup kitchens, as well as livelihood recovery grants, business support programmes and the introduction of fuel efficient stoves.
- The programme in Gaza was developed to respond to a complex and protracted emergency and was designed to support target households to improve their access to food and reduce negative coping strategies. Locally, this is characterised as a human dignity crisis, though not a humanitarian crisis.

1.2.1 Nairobi Urban Social Protection Programme

The Nairobi Urban Social Protection Programme (NUSPP) was developed against the background of both growing chronic poverty in urban Kenya and a specific food security crisis caused by rising food prices, stagnant incomes and the after effects of post-election violence. This crisis forced already vulnerable households to cope by engaging in actions that were seriously detrimental to their current and future well-being, and that of their community. These actions included eating significantly less, skipping meals, removing children from school to forage in dumpsites, engaging in crime, and selling sex for food or cash.

The overall objective of this programme is to "improve livelihood security of the most vulnerable urban Nairobi informal settlement dwellers in response to the cumulative shocks and stress."⁵ The specific objective of the project was to "improve access to food of the most vulnerable households in selected informal settlements in Nairobi."⁶ The NUSPP consists of two components:

- A combination of cash transfers, skills training, cash for work and business grants to vulnerable households in an informal settlement in Nairobi.
- Engagement with the government and other stakeholders to improve social protection for vulnerable groups in urban areas of Kenya.

In delivering the NUSPP, Oxfam works informally with other stakeholders, including Concern Worldwide and the World Food Programme (WFP). Most advocacy was conducted jointly and lessons were shared, but in implementation in informal settlements in Nairobi, Concern operated in Korogocho, the WFP operated in Mathare, and Oxfam operated in Mukuru. This assessment focuses on Oxfam's activities alone.⁷ In Mukuru, Oxfam worked in partnership with a local community based organisation, the Mukuru Slum Development Project (MSDP).

Households were identified as vulnerable through a community targeting process run by local partners, validated by Oxfam. Local stakeholders agreed to select households that were food poor, not eating one meal a day, not receiving any other cash assistance, and meeting one or more vulnerability criteria (female-headed, malnourished children, etc.). After targeting and validation, a Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFAS) baseline was conducted to enable the tracking of progress during the project.

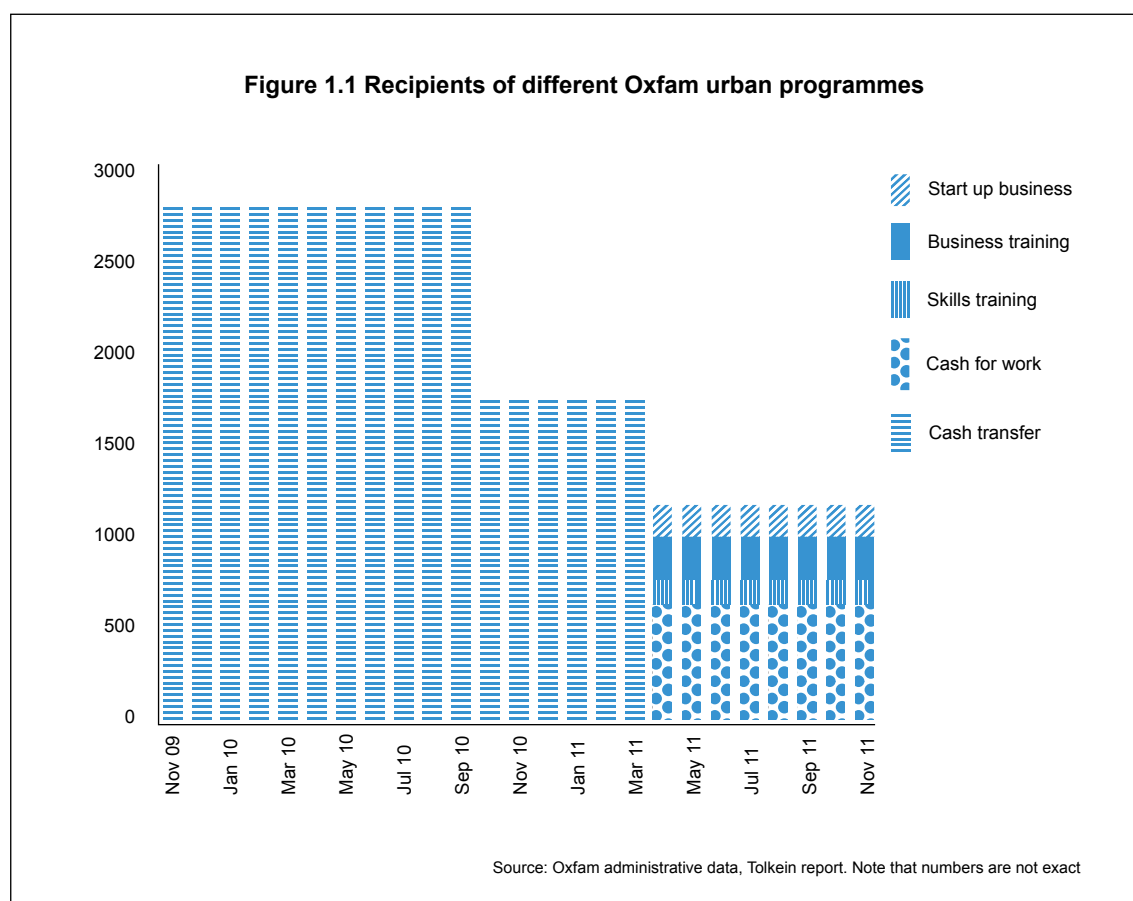
Selected households were given Ksh 1,500 per month via mobile phone technology (MPESA) for 8-10 months. Safaricom, a Kenyan telecommunications company, provided the technology and support to

make the transfers to mobile phones. The Ksh 1,500 amount was chosen to match existing government cash transfer programmes, at the request of the government. 2781 households received cash transfers from Oxfam, starting in November 2009. Households were removed from the programme when MSDP deemed that their livelihoods had improved, although this assessment of needs was fairly subjective. 1047 households were dropped in October 2010 and 1734 continued to receive transfers until March 2011. A small number continued to receive transfers until December 2011.

In addition to cash transfers, the programme offered livelihood support. Based on an assessment of preferred livelihood options by external consultants⁸ and a local partner, some households received grants for businesses, training in vocational and business skills, and participated in a cash for work programme. Of the 1734 households still receiving cash transfers in March 2011, 619 households were involved in cash for work from April to December 2011,⁹ with payment of Ksh 250 per day until June 2011, and Ksh 300 per day from July. From these 619 households,

- 138 individuals received skills transfer, mainly in driving, mechanics and hairdressing, but also in tailoring and catering.
- 240 individuals were trained in business skills
- 176 individuals were supported to start new businesses.¹⁰

This schematic evolution is displayed in Figure 1.1 and further details are given in Annex section C.1.



In addition to the implementation work in Mukuru, Oxfam staff engaged in an advocacy programme, together with Concern and other stakeholders. The principal aim was to work with the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development (MGCSD) and the Office of the Prime Minister to develop longer-term food and income security initiatives, including the establishment of a social protection programme for the urban poor across Kenya.

Finally, as part of contributing to the development of a longer-term social protection programme, Oxfam supported the development of indicators of crisis in urban areas. The objective of this would be to produce agreed indicators and thresholds that would enable stakeholders to declare different levels of crisis in urban areas and therefore trigger an appropriate response. This work was largely carried out, however, by Concern under a separate budget, with Oxfam supporting through advice rather than detailed technical engagement.

1.2.2 Oxfam EFSL activities in Port-au-Prince¹¹

In 2010, the capital of Haiti suffered a severe natural disaster – an earthquake – that had extremely serious humanitarian implications for an already vulnerable and chronically poor population. The earthquake, measuring 7.0 on the Richter scale, struck Haiti on January 12th, 2010. The epicentre was located 17 kilometres away from Haiti's capital, Port-au-Prince. Out of the 3.5 million people residing in the areas directly affected by the earthquake, it is estimated that over 220,000 people died during and immediately after the event.

Even prior to the earthquake, limited government investment in economic and social policies, poor regulation and political crisis meant that many were economically marginalised with very poor or no access to productive assets or employment. These problems were greatly exacerbated by the earthquake. One third of employees lost their jobs due to destruction or the death of the business owner. 40 per cent (in Carrefour Feuille/Port-au-Prince) to 70 per cent (in Carrefour) of urban households¹² earn less than 9500 HTG (USD 230) per month.

The lack of a pre-existing national social protection system in Haiti meant that there were no effective public policies protecting vulnerable households after the earthquake. On March 2010, the national authorities and Haiti National Government Plan for Recovery and Development identified the establishment of a social protection system as a priority for the country.

In order to assist with emergency response, Oxfam GB initiated an emergency food security and livelihoods (EFSL) programme. The overall objective of the programme was “to contribute to the economic and livelihoods recovery of vulnerable households in Port-au-Prince.”¹³ The specific objective of the EFSL programme was to improve the food security situation for 12,420 vulnerable households through the rehabilitation of livelihoods and better access to basic services. The following results were expected:

1. Improved capacity for 3,800 targeted vulnerable households to cover their basic needs in three communes (Delmas, Carrefour and Port-au-Prince) by the end of December 2010, through cash for work programmes. Households would be selected according to vulnerability criteria and to ensure a balance of men and women.
2. Improved income generation capacity of selected households in four communes (Delmas, Carrefour, Port-au-Prince, Croix des Bouquets) by the end of December 2010, through cash grants to 7,200 households and the distribution of hot cooked meals to the most vulnerable 770 of these households. Households would be selected with local partners according to community defined criteria. Grant payments would be made through vouchers or financial institutions, overseen by a cash coordination group.
3. Improved availability of basic services and goods in selected areas of four communes (Delmas, Carrefour, Port-au-Prince and Croix des Bouquets) by the end of December 2010, through targeted support to 1,420 business owners and training to 700 other households. Business owners would receive support specific to their activities, such that traders receive containers, tradesmen receive tools, and restaurants receive stoves.
4. Key financial institutions have an increased capacity to support Oxfam's programming and their client base. This result was to be achieved through a survey of financial institutions. An action plan would be developed, which would identify different kinds of support, including cash, to build the capacity of financial institutions.
5. Programme management, inter-agency coordination, monitoring, accountability system has been enhanced and cross-cutting issues are integrated in the programme plan, to be achieved through Oxfam GB's coordination role. Planned activities for this result included food security and livelihoods assessments and EMMA (Emergency Market Mapping and Analysis) assessments, the development of a complaints mechanism, and accountability meetings with stakeholders.¹⁴

1.2.3 Gaza Food Security and Livelihoods Programme¹⁵

In Gaza, urban vulnerabilities are related to a long-term, chronic political and economic crisis as well as the protracted impact of the Cast Lead military operation in the winter of 2008/09. The Israeli-imposed border closure has affected all aspects of life in Gaza; large numbers of Palestinians who used to earn their living in Israel are no longer able to travel outside of Gaza and, with few employment opportunities in Gaza, are therefore unemployed; the severe restrictions on imports and almost total ban on exports has restricted economic activities to a minimum with the attendant detrimental impact on local markets; Gaza's economy was previously dependent on Israel for imports and exports. The economic situation further declined following the Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip in June 2007 with wide spread unemployment and aid dependency becoming the norm. After the Cast Lead military Operation in December 2008 – January 2009, the urban vulnerabilities deepened and stretched the population's resilience to the limit.

A report from WFP/FAO (December 2009) indicates that during the 2nd trimester of 2009 there was an increase of food insecurity in urban areas. Around 60 per cent of the mixed refugee and non-refugee population were food insecure. Around 80 per cent of the population (equivalent to 1.1 million people) lived in poverty. The average monthly level of debt among the respondents was about 450 NIS (USD 130) per household. Around 70 per cent of this debt was generated from food expenditure followed by expenditure on other household items and health care.

Oxfam GB (OGB) had a small scale FSL programme in Gaza prior to Cast Lead which was scaled up in response to the military offensive with provision of food aid in the immediate aftermath. The Urban Voucher Programme (UVP) that was planned by WFP to start in January 2009 was postponed until October 2009 with an initial pilot being implemented using a paper voucher system with around 2,335 households. This programme has subsequently doubled in scale and is now based on an electronic swipe card system. In addition to the UVP, OGB has been implementing Cash for Work activities and small-scale income generation projects including rabbits, chickens, eggs and back-yard garden production. The over-arching objective of OGB's work in Gaza was to "alleviate the suffering of vulnerable populations in the Occupied Palestinian Territories," and specifically to "Increase household food access and income generation in vulnerable households in the Occupied Palestinian Territory."¹⁶ This objective would be measured against the goals of 100% of targeted households improving their food consumption and reducing their use of negative coping strategies through different project interventions. The following results were expected from an ECHO-funded project:

1. Very poor households in Gaza increase consumption of vitamin or protein rich food through improved household food production/improved income-generation, through support to backyard gardens and rabbit rearing. This would be achieved through the distribution of required inputs and training and extension on gardening and animal breeding.
2. Unemployed people increase their income through temporary employment opportunities through the implementation of a cash-for-work programme for skilled and unskilled labour (927 individuals) to upgrade roads, schools and sanitation facilities.

1.3 Evaluation methodology

This report draws on two entirely separate data collection exercises. The first took place in Gaza and Port-au-Prince and is summarised in Levron 2011, and the second took place in Nairobi. Both exercises followed a similar methodology, presented below.

1.3.1 Activities

The stages were as follows:

1. Collection and review of secondary data (log frames, EFSL case studies, MEAL reports, etc.). Some of the raw data included in the report had to be processed before its analysis. Moreover, some complementary reports have been used in order to get additional data, getting a more comprehensive picture of the context and/or crosscheck information. The desk review provided a theoretical understanding of the socio economic situation and eases the livelihoods analysis at the macro level. The analysis is

mainly qualitative and has been used to either explain or reinforce the quantitative data available from other sources. A full list of references is provided at the end of the report.

2. Interviews with partner and Oxfam staff: in Port-au-Prince, one focus group discussion (FGD) was organized with local authorities, community based organisations (CBOs) and partners working in Port-au-Prince, and a dozen CBOs in total were interviewed. In Nairobi, there were two rounds of interviews and meetings with Oxfam and partner (MSDP) staff, in order first to inform fieldwork questions and then validate findings after fieldwork. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted in Nairobi with other key stakeholders, including Concern Worldwide, the WFP, UN-OCHA, the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development, the Office of the Prime Minister, the World Bank, Safaricom, and local skills training organisations. In Gaza and Port-au-Prince, this included consultation with stakeholders (international NGOs and microfinance institutions), to allow a better understanding of the institutional environment (the administrative and regulatory framework within which people, micro-enterprises interact non-governmental organizations, to generate income and the quality of these institutions – their strengths and weaknesses), of international community priorities, and of existing constraints for livelihoods activities in urban setting.
3. Focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews with recipients in Nairobi, Port-au-Prince and Nairobi and (in the case of Nairobi) non-recipients. In Nairobi, participants for these interviews were selected at random from a list of recipients that was stratified to ensure a range of recipient types (those receiving cash, cash for work, skills training in different skills, and business grants) and coverage of different villages in Mukuru. Non-recipients in Nairobi were selected through snowball sampling (i.e. asking respondents to nominate someone who had not received support). In Nairobi, community health workers were used to locate respondents but were not part of the interviews or groups to avoid influencing responses. Semi-structured interviews in Nairobi were conducted by Ian MacAuslan and separately Laura Phelps (from Oxfam GB) using a local translator. Three focus groups in Nairobi were conducted by Kenyan researchers in local languages (usually Swahili/Sheng but occasionally Kikuyu or Luo. These were conducted in neutral spaces such as community halls to avoid introducing bias, in the informal settlements where participants lived to improve attendance and comfort, and in the absence of any authority figures.
4. Analysis and triangulation of findings across interviews, group discussions, and secondary material.

1.3.2 Limitations

There are three important limitations of this study. These are important because they restrict the degree to which findings should be used to extrapolate to further policy.

First, the methodology for the study was not sufficiently rigorous to make attributions of cause and effect that are significant in a statistical sense. In order confidently to capture the effect of a programme on participants, research should include a before/after and participant/non-participant comparison (i.e. a comparison of a treatment and control group). Without this, there is a risk that identified improvements in the lives of recipients are either subjective or are matched by improvements in the lives of everyone else (and therefore not due to the programme). Fieldwork in all three locations was conducted after the programmes had been running, so a before/after comparison was not possible except through retrospective questions and programme data (such as the field monitoring). The participant/non-participant comparison was only made in Nairobi through interviews with non-recipients, but it was not possible to devote resources to a robust selection of non-recipients to ensure that they were directly comparable. The difficulty in attribution is particularly the case where the evaluation reports on processes, such as advocacy.

These problems were offset (but not entirely eliminated) by the use of triangulation and through testing theories of change using (largely) qualitative data. Respondents were asked to explain the mechanisms through which the programme or Oxfam's advocacy work had affected them, which permits some attributions to be made.

Second, the fieldwork conducted for this study was not designed to be representative. In the case particularly of Gaza and Port-au-Prince, the time available for fieldwork (five working days) means that findings must to a certain extent remain impressionistic. More time was available for fieldwork in Nairobi, and two interviewers and two local researchers were involved, allowing for deeper investigation and

triangulation of results as well as some form of randomness in the sampling of respondents. Although the random sampling reduces the possibility of selection bias (i.e. respondents selected by partners or staff who want to create a certain impression), it was not possible even in Nairobi to interview anything like a representative sample of households or to cover all the areas where the programme was running. This means that these results should not be interpreted as definitive.

Third, some of the information sought from various types of respondents is sensitive and in the timeframe allotted for fieldwork it was not always possible to form the rapport with respondents that allows a confident exchange of information. For instance, in Gaza and Port-au-Prince many respondents remained reluctant to detail their income, and questions around targeting are likely to have been subject to some discretion or bias (particularly as time did not permit interviews with non-recipients). In Nairobi, there were likely in any case to have been sensitivities around income and targeting that might have better explored over a longer time period. To the extent possible, this problem was offset by attempting to develop a rapport with respondents, and by triangulating responses from different types of individuals (such as programme staff, recipients and non-recipients).

1.4 Report structure

The next section sets out theory and evidence on urban vulnerability. It argues that there are some significant theoretical differences between urban and rural populations, and that these differences are clear in empirical evidence on urban areas (with Nairobi used as an example). In particular, urban dwellers face an almost entirely monetised economy and have to purchase almost all their food, as well as having some additional expenditures (especially on rent, water and transport) that are typically lower in rural areas. This means they are highly reliant on earning incomes (or in the short-run, obtaining credit). Urban populations are therefore extremely vulnerable to changes in the prices of essential goods, labour, and credit. In addition, there are some specific sanitation, disease, disaster, and social risks associated with high density. Together, these arguments indicate that while in general urban poverty (measured by consumption expenditure) is lower and less severe than rural poverty, it is possible that this under-states the extent of deprivation for many households in urban informal settlements. The comparatively rapid growth of urban populations – and the growth of poverty and vulnerability in them, is further cause for concern and further reason to develop social protection mechanisms. This section then discusses some implications for humanitarian response in urban situations, examining specifically the conditions for entry and exit, types of responses, and issues around targeting.

The rest of the report is concerned with findings about the three programmes:

- Section 3 presents findings on the appropriateness and timeliness of the responses.
- Section 4 presents findings on targeting.
- Section 5 presents findings on impact.
- Section 6 presents findings on accountability, particularly the accountability of organisations implementing programmes to the populations they are purporting to assist.
- Section 7 presents findings on the appropriate institutional arrangements for work in urban areas. This includes a discussion of working through partners (which is likely to be relevant in all Oxfam's urban work, but also of the internal Oxfam challenges of allocating resources for work in urban areas.
- Section 8 presents conclusions. These include a summary of findings, recommendations for the three programmes, and brief recommendations for Oxfam's further urban work.

2 What is urban vulnerability?

This section sets out some differences between urban and rural areas that are relevant for emergency, food security and livelihood programming. It is useful to begin with some common preconceptions about urban areas that affect many people's and organisations' attitudes to urban programming. At one level, information on urban areas is more limited than on rural areas. In addition, common attitudes include:

- Urban dwellers are better off than rural dwellers.
 - They chose to move to the town, and could move back if life was really worse in urban areas.
 - The rates of malnutrition are much higher in rural areas, so our assistance should go there.
- There are jobs available in urban areas, so those who are short of food should work harder.
- Crime is common in urban areas and therefore injecting resources into a criminal situation seems risky.
- Dietary diversity is significantly better in urban contexts

This report argues that these ideas are largely false, but they are pervasive and restrict the appropriateness of response.

2.1 Urban populations

2.1.1 Population growth

One important starting point is that globally, urban populations are growing faster than rural populations and Figure 2.1 shows that the global urban population is now larger than the rural population. This is the case in Haiti. However, in sub-Saharan Africa (including Kenya) rural populations remain substantially higher than urban populations, but urban populations are growing faster here than in the rest of the world.

Box 2.1 Definitions of urban and slum populations

There are no globally agreed definitions for urban contexts. In some countries, settlements with a population of over 2,000 are formally recognised as 'urban'; in others, this is 20,000. Others have administrative definitions. This makes cross-country comparisons very difficult. The World Development Indicators cited below use a definition of settlements with over 1 million residents.

The following are commonly understood to be indicators of urban environments:

- > 1000 inhabitants / square mile
- Population density
- 'not dependent on agriculture'
- Transportation infrastructure
- Municipal services
- Multiple economic opportunities
- Reliance on commercial exchange
- Fragmented social networks
- Lack of documentation and regularity and political predation.

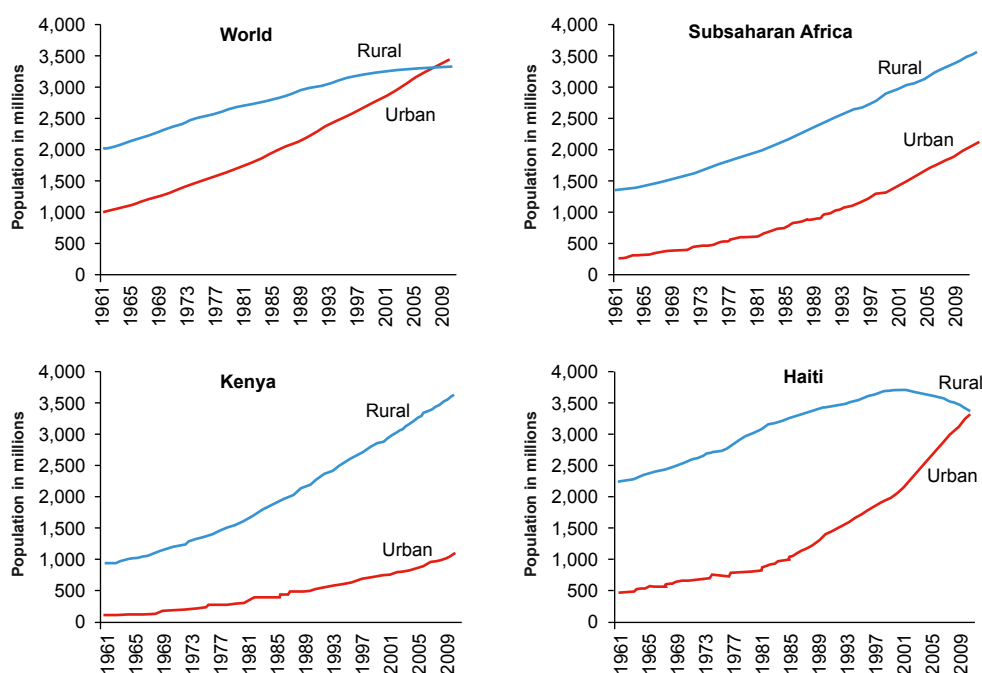
continued overleaf

UNHABITAT (2008: 33) defines urban slum dwellers as 'one or a group of individuals living under the same roof in urban areas, lacking one or more of the following five amenities:

- (1) durable housing (a permanent structure providing protection from extreme climatic conditions);
- (2) sufficient living area (no more than three people sharing a room);
- (3) access to improved water (water that is sufficient, affordable and can be obtained without extreme effort);
- (4) access to improved sanitation facilities (a private toilet, or a public one shared with a reasonable number of people); and
- (5) secure tenure (de facto or de jure secure tenure status and protection against forced eviction).

The Kenyan Census Bureau, by contrast, defines the slum population by the type of housing material, which means that its estimates of the informal population are far lower.

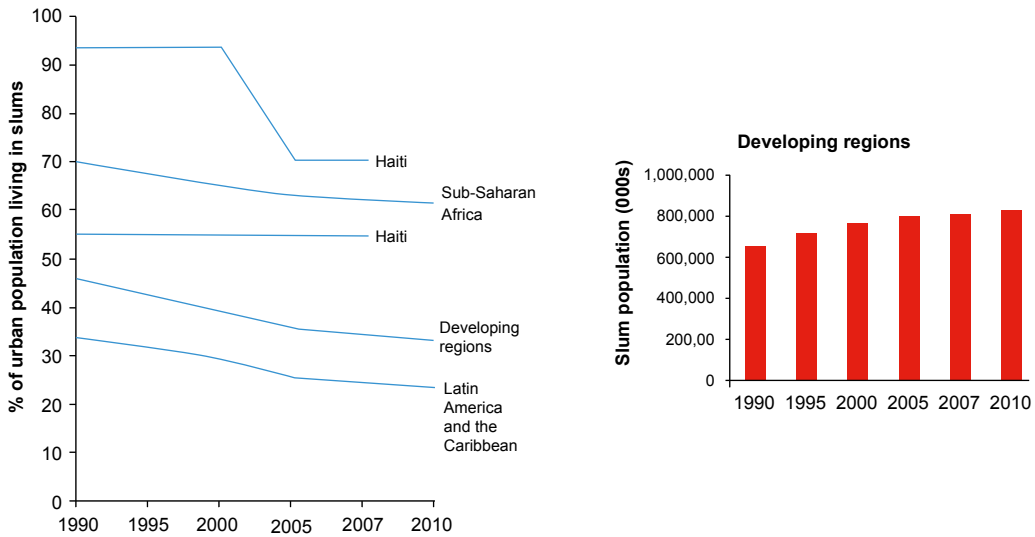
Figure 2.1 Urban and rural population growth 1961-2010, selected areas



Source: Development Indicators (WDI). Note that the definition of urban is populations living in settlements of over 1 million. This explains why Kenya's population appears to be diverging

The proportion of urban dwellers that live in slums or informal settlements¹⁷ is declining. However, because urban populations are growing, the number of slum dwellers is growing, as shown in Figure 2.2. Countries in sub-Saharan Africa have much higher proportions of urban dwellers living in slums (around 60%) than developing countries as a whole (around 35%).

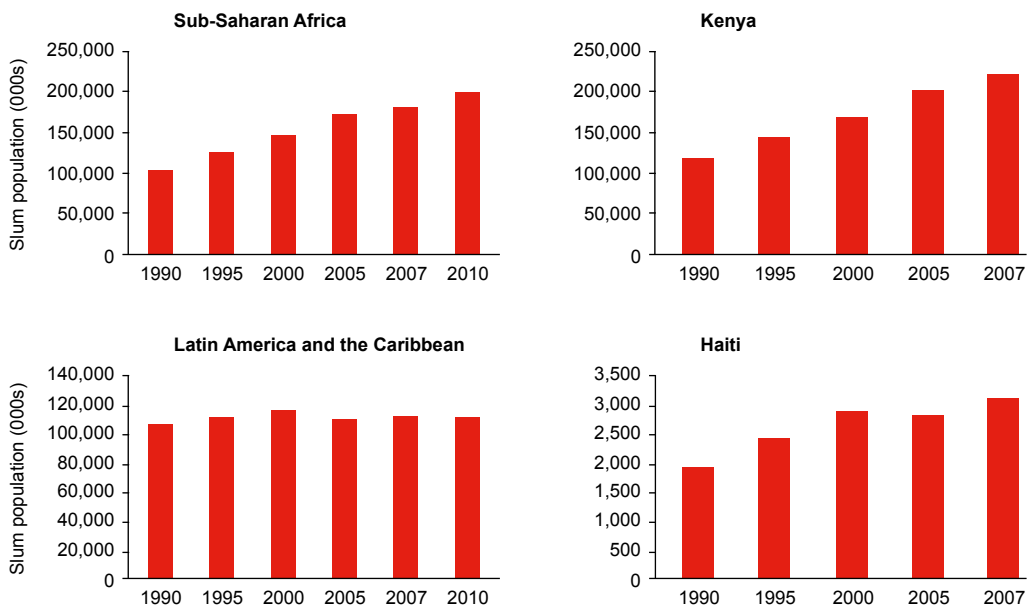
Figure 2.2 Proportion of urban populations living in slums (1990-2010)



Source: State of the World's Cities 2011

The growth of slum populations is particularly striking in sub-Saharan Africa and Kenya, while in Latin America and the Caribbean slum populations are no longer growing, as Figure 2.3 shows.

Figure 2.3 Growth of slum populations 1990-2010



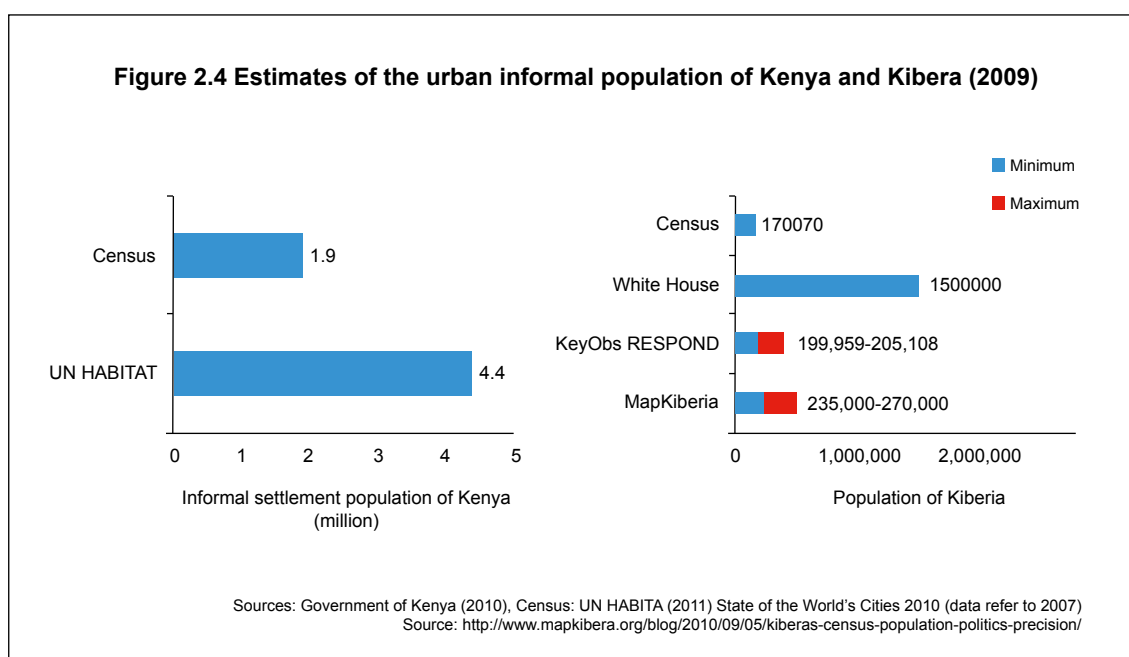
Source: State of the World's Cities 2010

2.1.2 Uncertainty about urban populations

One of the factors complicating intervention in urban areas is uncertainty over the number of people who live there (Grünwald et al 2011).¹⁸ Uncertainty over population figures, particularly in informal settlements, is driven by definitional issues, and the difficulty of conducting censuses and surveys in extremely high population densities, unplanned housing, and the comparatively high number of undocumented households, homelessness and rapid turnover of populations. The last can be very substantial. For example, in two slums in Nairobi, Korogocho and Viwandani, a continuous census conducted by the African Population and Health Research Centre (APHRC) puts both in-migration and out-migration rates at around 25% every year. These urban features contribute to estimates of urban populations that are quite often very wide-ranging. One example of these diverse estimates comes from Nairobi, where the 2009 census caused great surprise by indicating that populations in Kibera were far lower than had been anticipated.

The left hand panel of Figure 2.4 shows two different estimates for the urban informal population of Kenya. The Census data are from 2009 and informality is presented in the data on the basis of the type of housing material. The estimates are far lower than the UN HABITAT estimate for 2007, based on survey data with a looser definition as set out above.

The right hand panel of Figure 2.4 shows different estimates of the population of Kibera, a large informal settlement in Nairobi. This is a fairly clearly demarcated area, so estimates should not vary based on definitions, as for Kenya as a whole. However, there is still wide divergence as a result of the different methodologies and the difficulty of the exercise. As one commentator observed: “the truth is that we still don’t know how many people live in Kibera. It’s a different number today than yesterday.”¹⁹



2.2 Factors affecting urban vulnerability

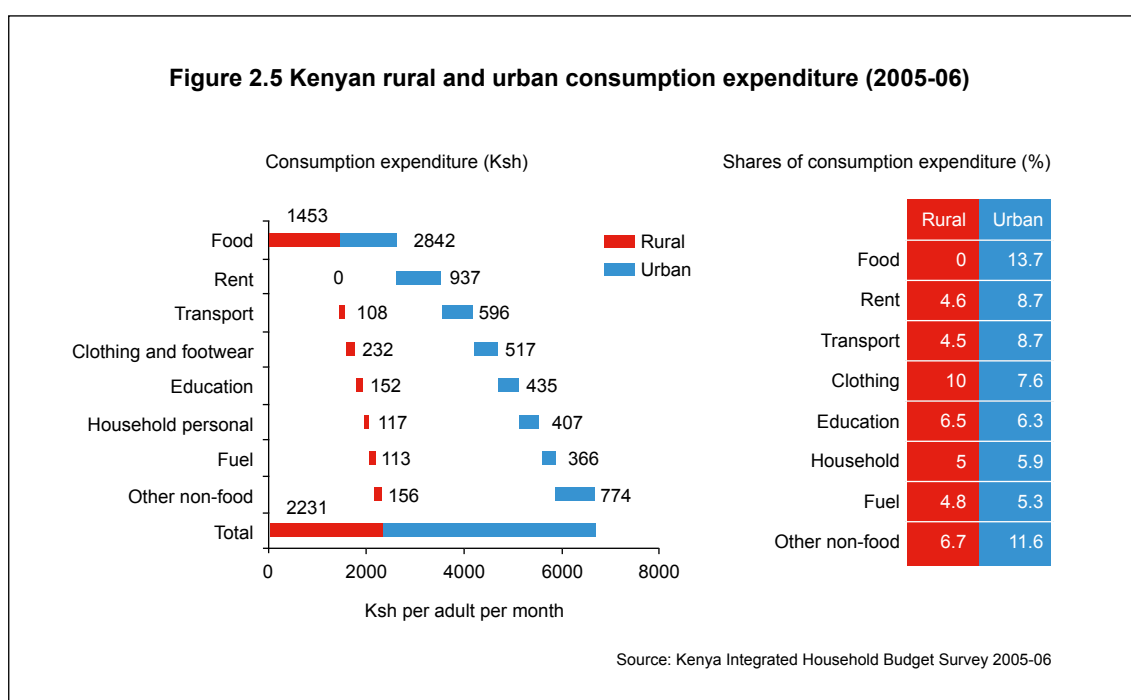
Urban vulnerability differs from rural vulnerability in various ways (Wratten 1995; Abdulla et al 2011). Four aspects are presented here:

- Reliance on commercial exchange,
- Poor sanitation and health,
- Fragmented social networks,
- Lack of documentation and regularity, and political predation.

2.2.1 Reliance on commercial exchange

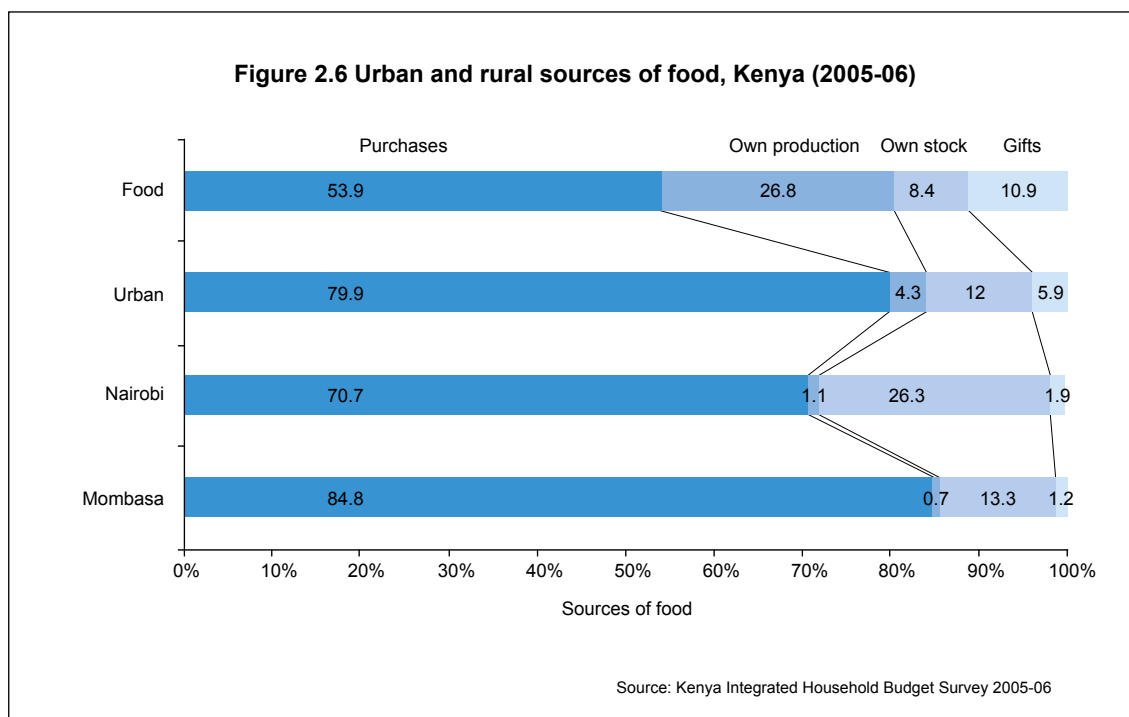
First, there is a much more significant reliance on commercial exchange for both income and survival consumption. Where most rural dwellers are able to produce at least part of what they eat, and often do not pay for water and shelter, those living in urban areas tend to have to pay for more items (including all food, shelter, water, fuel and even to use a toilet), and to pay higher prices for these goods and services. This exposes those living in urban areas to risks around prices and wages to a greater degree to those in rural areas. These risks are very difficult to mitigate or prevent and therefore many low income urban dwellers are forced to cope with them in various harmful ways.

For example, data from Kenya show that while urban expenditures are much higher than those in rural areas, urban dwellers also face expenditure on items that are not significant or that do not need to be paid for in rural areas. Figure 2.5, taken from the 2005-06 Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS), displays this for the country as a whole.



Households in informal settlements are even more disadvantaged than the urban norm. According to the Kenya Poverty and Inequality Assessment (based on survey data from informal settlements in 2006), households in informal settlements spend more than the urban average on food, which occupies 56% of total expenditure for those below the poverty line and 48% for those above. This is comparable to the proportion of food expenditure in rural areas. However, in informal settlements in Nairobi households below the poverty line spend 15% on fuel and 13% on rent. These are much higher than in rural areas (where households spend 4.8% on fuel and nothing on rent). This implies that poor households in urban informal settlements spend 84% of their total expenditure on food, energy and rent. In urban areas overall (formal and informal) this proportion is only 58.6%.

Differences between urban and rural areas are reflected sharply in the sources of food. In Kenya, as elsewhere, urban dwellers purchase a higher proportion of their food and rely less on own production and gifts. This is even more pronounced in Nairobi and Mombasa, as Figure 2.6 shows.



On the other hand, urban markets are more vibrant and varied than rural markets, and this means that there is a wider range of income generating opportunities available. This in turn implies that cash transfers can be more easily used to start small businesses, because in addition to low barriers to entry (i.e. it is cheap to start trading or buy some tools), there is excess demand for goods and services (see MacAuslan and Schofield 2011 for an example in Nairobi, or MacAuslan 2010 for a comparison of vibrant urban markets in Nairobi and less responsive and varied rural markets in Nyanza). However, particularly in informal areas, businesses are often subject to predation of various forms, from the state and other powerful actors in the slums extracting rents, or demanding protection money. Thus in many areas the constraints to income generation are as much related to uninsured risks in the micro political environment (including threats from insecurity, violence and intellectual property theft), as to a lack of capital to start businesses.

2.2.2 Poor health and sanitation

Second, there are specific health and sanitation risks associated with the high population densities and rapid unplanned growth in urban areas. Poor sanitation is an often reported feature of urban informal settlements, and appears self-evident. Oddly, however, the available quantitative indicators of sanitation suggest that in Kenya, urban informal settlements are no worse off than rural areas or even urban areas as a whole, with 20% of the population using 'improved' sanitation. Sanitation is defined as improved if the toilet is used only by members of one household (i.e. it is not shared) and if the facility used by the household separates the waste from human contact. In the Mombasa urban informal Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS), the requirement for not being shared is dropped, and the proportion of households using 'improved sanitation' rises to nearly 70%.²⁰

However, the indicator of improved sanitation does not adequately reflect the sanitary and hygiene situation in urban informal settlements, and creates a misleading impression of good conditions. 20% is of course very low. However, the situation is likely to be significantly worse than rural areas for three reasons. First, the data do not appear to capture adequately the proportion of people who use 'flying toilets'. Anecdotally, this is widely known to be the most common facility in Nairobi's urban informal settlements, but this is not reflected at all in the data, which suggests that people may be under-reporting given that they are aware of public health messaging and are embarrassed. Moreover, even if households do use

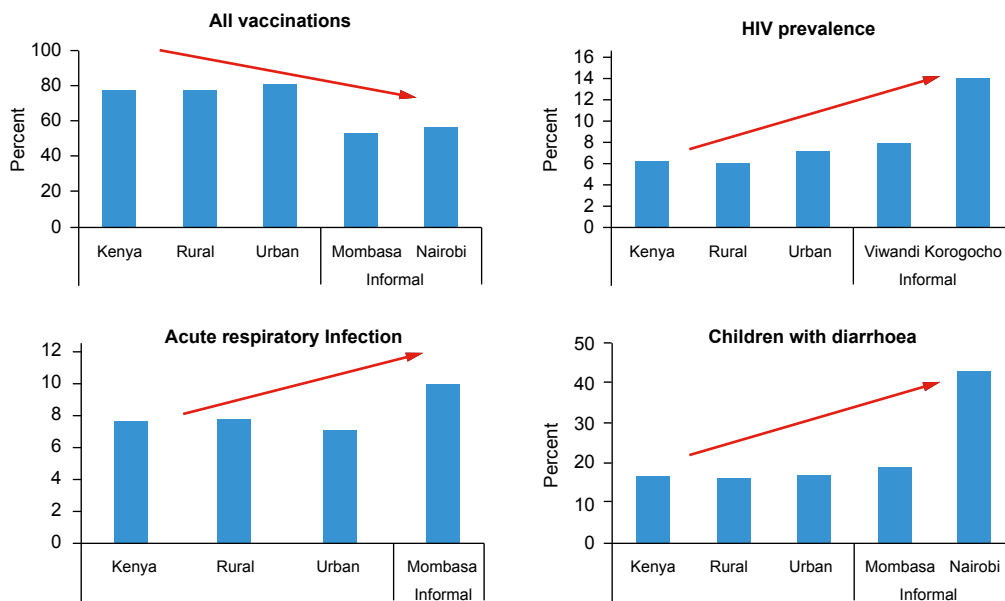
other toilets as their 'main' facility, at night (for example) they are likely to use flying toilets, as leaving home at night is dangerous. Second, using the type of facilities to denote 'improved' sanitation does not reflect the more important solid waste management practices that actually affect the probability of food and water contamination and poor hygiene. Finally, the high population density in urban informal settlements greatly increases the probability of contamination.

It is reasonable to suggest that poor sanitation relates to high rates of infant and child morbidity and mortality. This is suggested in Figure 2.7, which makes clear that children in urban informal settlements in Kenya are much less likely to have all their vaccinations, and much more likely to suffer from respiratory illnesses and diarrhoea, two of the largest causes (with malnutrition) of premature death. It also shows the high rates of HIV in urban settlements (notwithstanding the generalised reporting issues with surveys on HIV).

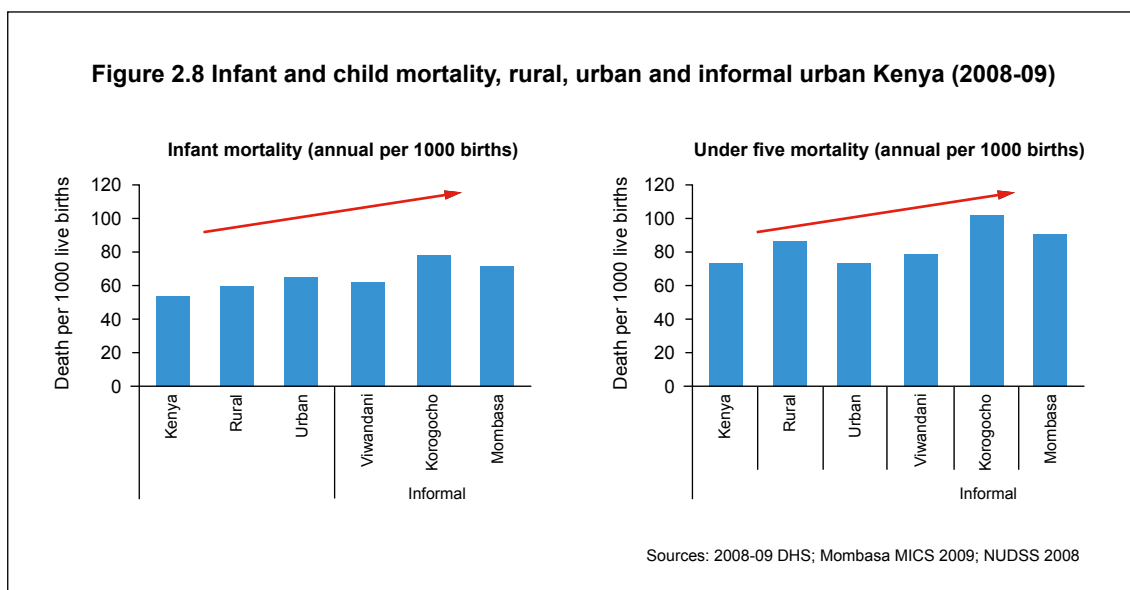
These morbidity rates are matched by much higher rates of infant and child mortality in urban areas. As Figure 2.8 shows, children in urban informal settlements are much more likely than the average to die before their first or fifth birthdays.

Morbidity and mortality are correlated with poverty, which the figures below do not control for, but they do indicate the extent of deprivation in informal settlements.

Figure 2.7 Health indicators, rural, urban and informal urban Kenya (2008-09)



Source: 2008-09; Mombasa MICS 2009; Concern Monitoring Survey 2009



2.2.3 Fragmented social structures

Third, social structures appear weaker than in many rural areas, with higher rates of single-parent households, crime, and weaker sharing networks. Urban informal settlements are often felt to have weaker social networks, higher crime and greater levels of personal insecurity. It is difficult to obtain data to substantiate these claims, but there are various anecdotal reports that support this hypothesis.

In Nairobi, a 2006 study by the World Bank indicated that 63% of households did not feel safe inside their settlements.²¹ Oxfam (2009) point out that the physical characteristics in urban informal areas (narrow alleys, unlit areas, open drainage channels) provide fertile grounds for muggers. A study using APHRC data²² found higher risks of injury related death in areas with single mobile labour migrants, and hence, the researchers argued, lower social cohesion.

The low levels of social cohesion have been noted by various studies.²³ For example, Cassar and Wydick (2010) find that the contribution to public goods of participants in Kenya is roughly half that in Armenia, the Philippines and India.²⁴ Grieg and Bohnet (2009)²⁵ conducted trust games in Kwa Reuben in Embakasi, Nairobi, where they were able to choose in secret how much of a gift to contribute to a common pot to be doubled and then shared with other participants. Participants contributed on average 29% of their endowment, which is “among the lowest contribution rates in the world,” as people (including in rural sub-Saharan Africa) typically contribute between 40% and 60% (Grieg and Bohnet 2009: 13). These results are fractionalised by ethnic identity.

Grieg and Bohnet (2009) found a significant gender aspect to these outcomes: where groups were mixed sex, women contributed less than when they were in female only groups (while men did not significantly change their contributions), largely because women expect men to contribute less (while men expect women to contribute more). These beliefs were not accurate: men are more and women less cooperative than everyone expects. Contrary to the beliefs of many organisations and to the anecdotal finding that women contribute more to public groups, all female groups did not contribute more than all male groups.

Slum dwellers are likely to have fewer connections with family members, more limited involvement in community activities, and share information less than in rural areas. In a primary research study in Mukuru kwa Njenga, Taylor and Maithya (2007: 59) concluded that “there is a weak social capital asset base...at least in terms of the social networks formed through community participation, regular contact with village and community leaders, accessing and sharing of information, and so forth.”

This does not mean that urban dwellers have no connections: Taylor and Maithya (2007) found that 75% of respondents had met between one and five friends or relatives outside their immediate household in the last month and half were members of a community organisation, association, or club. However, these

connections are not necessarily very frequent: only a 25% of households surveyed had participated in collective activity in the last year.

The low levels of social cohesion are related to the high levels of mobility (discussed below). This can lead to the structural isolation of households who have few ties to the rest of the community.²⁶ Taylor and Maithya (2007) argued that this was due to a lack of existence or awareness of community based organisations. In their focus groups, participants reported that members of the same plot do not necessarily socialise with each other because they are individualists, criminals, or because they work very long hours. This exclusion extended to connections with NGOs, from which most respondents felt excluded – or they did not know about the NGOs' existence.

Crisis may exacerbate this isolation. For example, based on a randomised experiment of trust games played in Kibera, while those not victimised by the post-election violence seem to be developing stronger social capital, people who were victimised have reduced their levels of trustworthiness.²⁷ This paper identified a vicious circle around political violence, corruption and low production of social capital. On the other hand, qualitative research conducted by Concern Worldwide and APHRC in 2011 found that price increases led to greater levels of social cohesion reported in focus groups.²⁸

The low levels of social capital, including information, connection and trust, have important implications for households' response to crisis and for the way in which households should be identified to benefit from poverty programmes.

2.2.4 Political vulnerability and marginalisation

Finally, there are some significant political risks in urban informal areas. Many people in urban areas also lack documentation (Cross and Johnston 2011). For some, this is because they are illegal immigrants, but for many, this is merely because they have not been registered. This can complicate the provision of aid. These groups are often the most vulnerable, particularly following disaster, and so should in theory be prioritised by agencies. They are also often the hardest to find, and may in some cases actively be avoiding identification by the government, which further underscores the importance of the role of humanitarian agencies in supporting them.

In addition to this, many households living in informal areas are geographically marginalised. Although most urban dwellers are closer to services and employment than many in rural areas, the high cost of transport and need to travel for work mean that any remoteness is likely to be correlated with poverty. In Port-au-Prince, households facing high vulnerability lived in the most isolated areas of Jericho, Marassa 1 & 2 and Corail Camps. These places had the highest level of poor or borderline food consumption and around 70 per cent of the population lived under the poverty line.

In Gaza, it was observed that most of the dwellers settled at the far end of the cities which had a rural background and were not accustomed to the skills required (flexibility, ability to trade and mobility) in the urban economy. These isolated households faced a number of challenges such as scarcity, high transportation costs to access urban markets and low diversity and opportunities in the labour market.

2.3 Urban poverty

Clearly, urban poverty is complex, but inadequate income is one of the simplest measures to identify and in which to intervene. Inadequate income can also be seen as a proximate cause of many other aspects of deprivation (Satterthwaite 2003).

Three poverty rates are calculated.

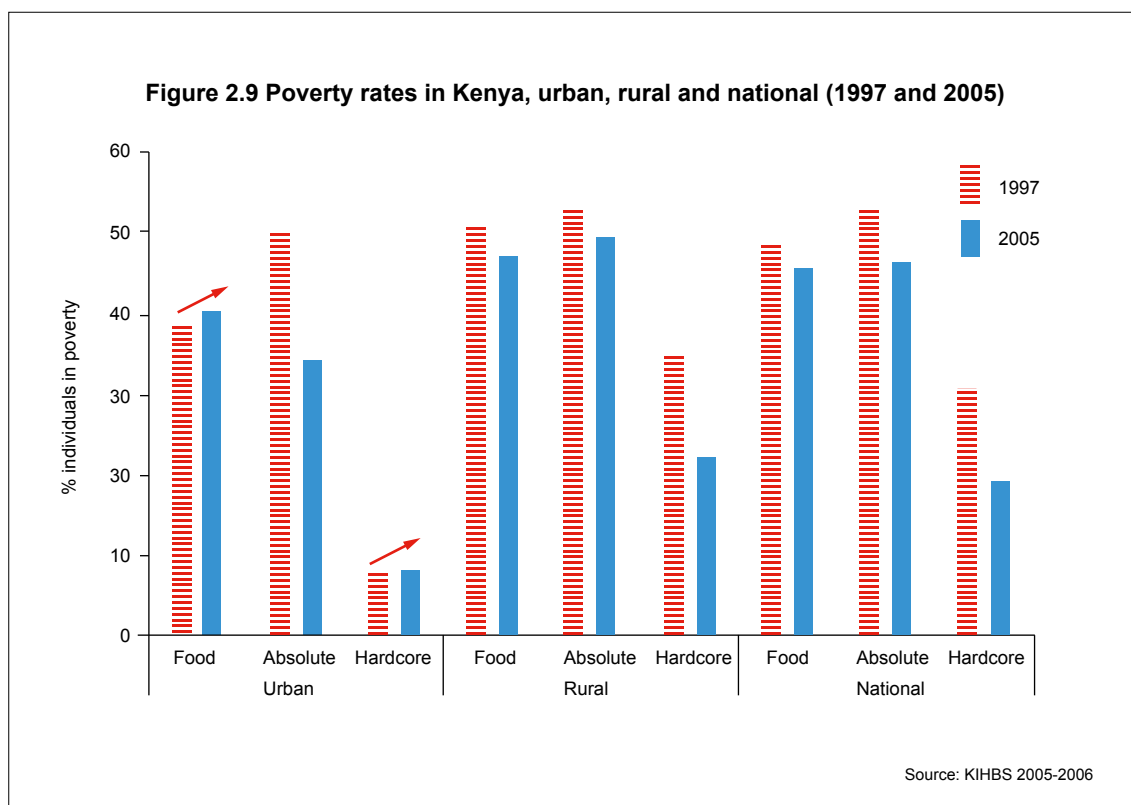
- Food poverty describes households or individuals in households whose consumption expenditure on food is below the amount estimated to provide 2,250 kcals per day per adult equivalent, with the cost of a basic food bundle calculated at local prices.
- Absolute poverty describes households or individuals in households whose consumption expenditure falls below that required to provide 2,250 kcals per day and a basic package of non-food items, such as shelter, clothing and hygiene, with the cost of a basic package of non-food items calculated from mean expenditures of households near the poverty line.

- Hardcore poverty describes households or individuals in households whose consumption expenditure overall (including both food and non-food items) falls below that required to provide 2,250 kcals per day per adult equivalent.

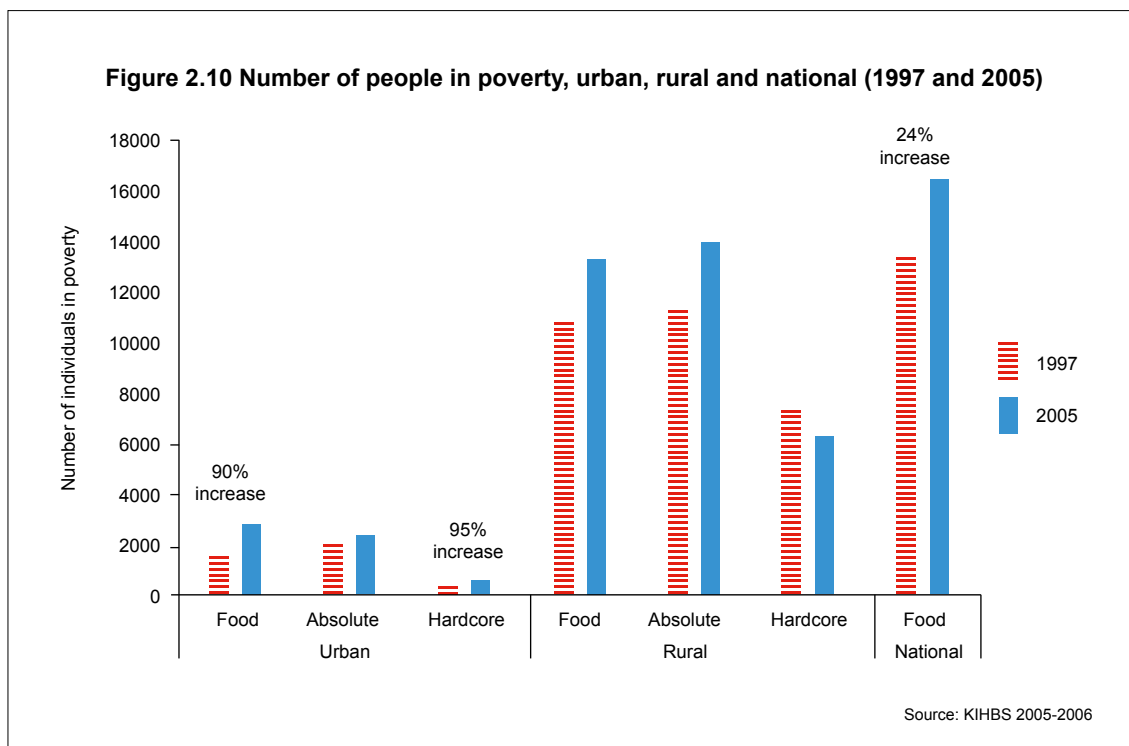
In Kenya, the national poverty line is based on an analysis of the Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS), a sample survey that is representative at rural and urban levels, and that was last conducted in 2005/2006. Poverty is calculated based on expenditure on food and non-food consumption. Food quantities were valued using median local prices. Food poverty lines were determined by the food bundles required in urban and rural areas to consume Kcal 2,250 per adult equivalent per day. This generated poverty lines of Ksh 988 in rural areas and Ksh 1,474 in urban areas. Food expenditures were adjusted for spatial and time variations.

The non-food poverty line is computed including expenditures for social participation such as shelter, clothing and hygiene, based on the average expenditure of households around the poverty line. This led to an overall poverty line in monthly adult equivalent terms of Ksh 1,562 and Ksh 2,913 in rural and urban areas. Non-food expenditures were assumed constant over space and time. The KIHBS 2005/2006 report does not provide the exact goods included in the food bundle.

In Kenya, poverty headcounts are decreasing overall, except in urban areas, where food and hardcore poverty rates increased between 1997 and 2005. This is shown in Figure 2.9.



However, although poverty rates are declining, the number of people in poverty in Kenya is increasing, due to population growth. Overall the number of people in poverty in Kenya increased by 24% between 1997 and 2005-06. However, this increase is most rapid in urban areas, where the number of people in food poverty increased by 90% and in hardcore poverty by 95% in the same period.



Data suggest that poverty is highest in households headed by widowed women, and lowest in households headed by single men (who tend to have smaller households).

Moreover, Satterthwaite (2004) argues that urban poverty is in general underestimated in official statistics. Satterthwaite (2004) argues that urban poverty lines are set too low to account for non-food essentials in urban areas. This is principally because:

- They underestimate the housing cost in urban areas,
- They allow too little for the cost of water from vendors and kiosks, and
- They underestimate the cost of meeting children's needs.

As we have shown, in urban areas there are more essential goods that need purchasing than in rural areas, including housing, water and (sometimes) sanitation, and these need to be incorporated into a poverty line. However, urban poverty lines rarely do this.²⁹ The cost of these three items in urban Kenya is shown to be substantial.

Satterthwaite (2004) further argues that urban (and rural) food poverty lines may be set too high because households are not able to eat in the cheapest way possible, due, for instance, to time poverty. This is found to be the case in Kenya (see below).

In addition, Satterthwaite (2004) argues that there is an over-reliance on consumption expenditure in the estimation of poverty in urban areas and this leads to a lack of attention to other aspects of deprivation that are more significant. These other aspects include housing, poor sanitation, poor service provision, greater vulnerability, and lack of rule of law and respect for civil and political rights.

2.4 Urban food insecurity and malnutrition

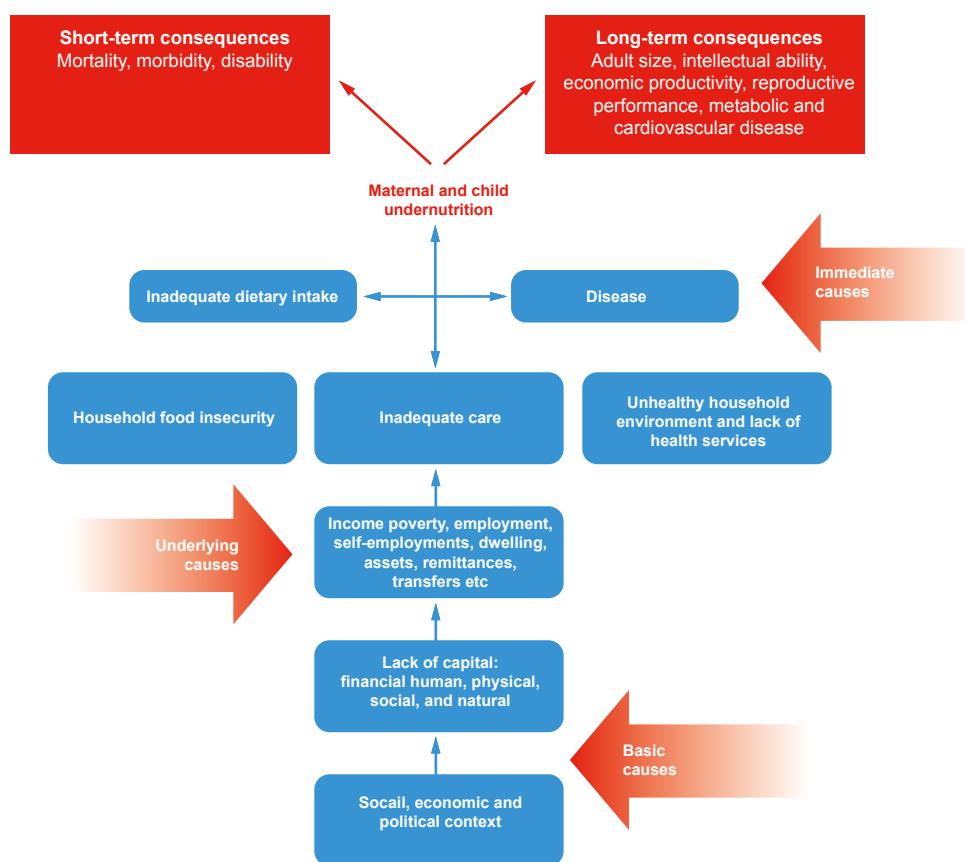
Urban vulnerability and poverty contribute to food insecurity in urban areas. Given the high reliance on purchases for food in urban areas, food insecurity is principally related to differences between the cost of a basic food bundle and households' incomes and gifts. In the short-term, the availability of credit also affects food security as many urban households are able to bridge a shortage of income by taking loans or buying food on credit.

Urban malnutrition has typically been considered less concerning than rural malnutrition, partly because food is normally physically available in urban areas. The scale of the problem of malnutrition in urban contexts is largely hidden, given that few wide-scale anthropometric surveys are undertaken in these contexts. Disparities in economic status between groups can also be obscured through anthropometric surveys with only a single estimate of Global Acute Malnutrition (GAM) for the rural and urban population. Sampling to get estimates of GAM for separate rural and urban groups can be resource intensive, and also more politically sensitive. Population density, issues of overcrowding and disease transmission, along with higher HIV and TB levels, poor sanitation and limited capacity for household level agricultural production, exacerbate the underlying causes of malnutrition. For example, food access is often more of an issue than food availability.³⁰

There is some indication³¹ that levels of acute and chronic malnutrition in ‘pockets’ of urban informal settlements are as high as in rural areas. These high rates are due to a poor public health environment, poor care practices (infants breastfed for a shorter duration, and less time spent with the mother), high levels of food and income insecurity and a poor quality diet (low micronutrient and protein intake). Whereas rural areas have higher rates of acute malnutrition (i.e. > 15%), than urban areas (i.e. 8%), the total number of children affected can be similar due to high population concentrations in urban contexts.

Table 2.1 demonstrates the causal framework of malnutrition and the interrelationship between the underlying causes of malnutrition: household food security, care practices, hygiene and sanitation. In urban contexts, poor hygiene and sanitation are often significant causes of malnutrition.

Table 2.1 Causal framework of malnutrition

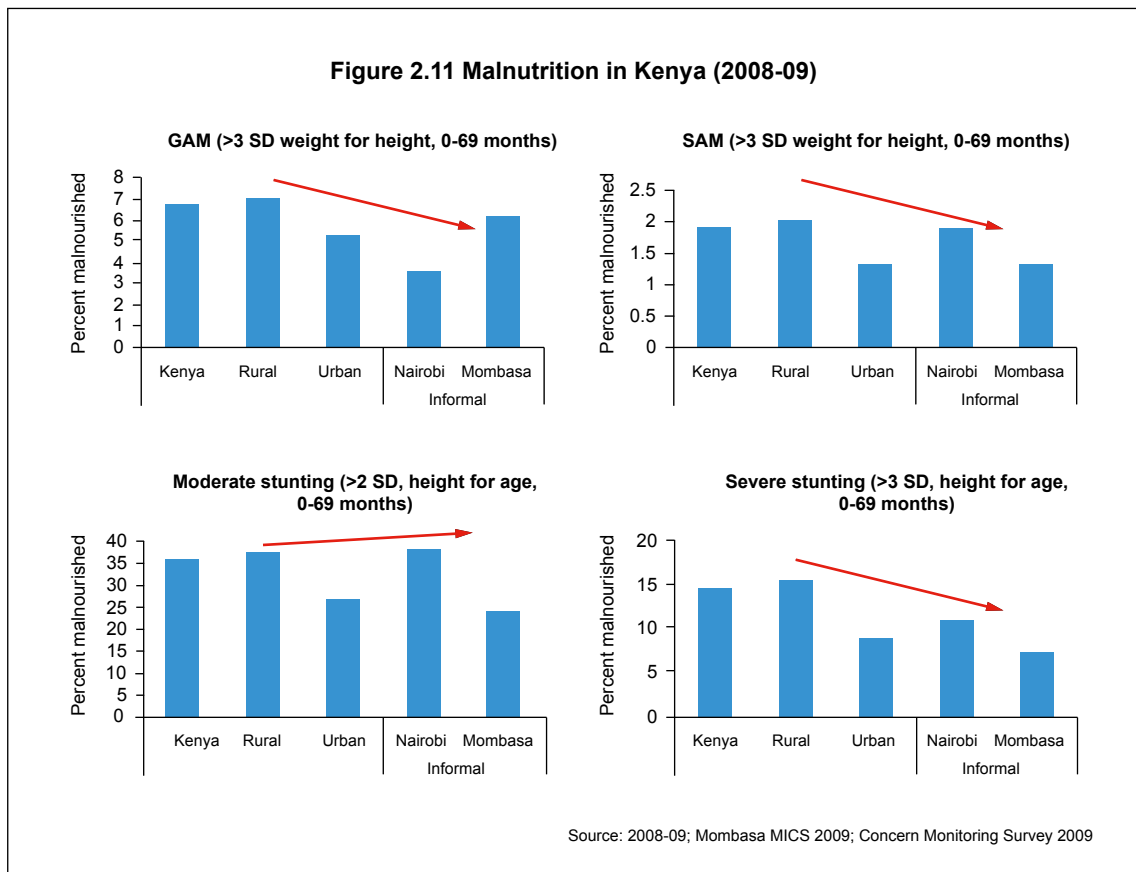


Adapted from UNICEF

Urban food security in all three cities is typified by higher household food costs, due to the need to purchase the majority or all of the household food and non-food needs, as well as insecure, often informal employment, with little or no support from social networks. A high dependency ratio of children to adults reflects the lack of extended family and is exacerbated by the need for women to be involved in income-generating activities.

The directly affected areas in Port-au-Prince had 27 per cent of the households reporting poor or borderline consumption of food as compared to 21 per cent of the households in indirectly affected households (Levron 2011). Relocation camps or refugee camps were considered as vulnerable urban settlements because of crowding and lack of appropriate space for women to develop small agriculture activity or for children to play.

In Kenya, before the crisis, various estimates suggest that 50% of urban informal dwellers felt that they did not have enough food in 2008 (before the food crisis). Despite this, it appears that rates of malnutrition are in general lower in urban areas than in rural areas. Figure 2.11 shows that Global Acute Malnutrition (GAM), Severe Acute Malnutrition (SAM) and severe stunting are higher in rural Kenya than in informal settlements. However, moderate stunting appears slightly higher in some informal settlements.



These tables raise various issues. First, rates of stunting are elevated in urban informal areas, with around 300,000 children who are stunted in urban informal settlements. As explored below, stunting has clear effects on life chances, productivity and income later in life, so this represents a significant burden on Kenya, especially given that these children are most likely to enter the labour market.

Second, the absolute numbers of malnourished children are of great concern given both the much higher population density and the comparatively low coverage and capacity of clinics to address malnutrition in urban areas (Schofield 2009). Even a caseload of 14,000 children in urban areas may be too high for the available resources to address malnutrition.

Third, the differences between rural and urban do not appear as substantial once socio-economic status is controlled for. Differentials between urban and rural malnutrition remain substantial but have narrowed in many countries as urban malnutrition has grown. Controlling for socioeconomic status, however, Fotso (2006) finds that the gaps disappear; leading him to conclude that projects aimed at reaching the MDGs should start to pay attention to the urban poor.³²

Lastly, malnutrition data is collected on children of 0-59 months as an indication of malnutrition in the population. Even with these relatively low levels amongst children, it is likely that there would be some malnutrition in the teenage mothers, pregnant and lactating women, elderly and those with chronic disease such as HIV/AIDS.

2.5 Implications for programming

The trends set out above have some significant implications for programming. At the aggregate, the growth of urban populations, and urban informal populations specifically, together with the reliance on earning income (as opposed to production) underline the importance of enabling urban dwellers to find income earning opportunities, providing adequate housing, and adequate services. Urban poverty will not be reduced sustainably without solving the employment, housing and service provision problem. NGOs, including Oxfam, have important roles to play in assisting governments to do this, through pilot projects and advocacy.

In the short to medium term, however, there is a significant problem of poverty and food insecurity in many urban areas. This problem will be reduced as the urban economy develops, but in most developing countries this will not occur during the lifetimes of current residents. Even assuming very optimistic high and steady growth rates of 8% per year, it would take 10 years for incomes of \$1 a day to reach \$2 a day. Further – it is not clear that aggregate economic growth at the national level is directly matched by rising incomes for the poorest without explicit redistribution.

Households' own attempts to cope with poverty (eating less, removing children from school and sending them to work, selling sex for food, and crime) have significant negative consequences for them and their society in the short and long term. This is very clear from a humanitarian point of view, but also from the perspective of economic growth, as these strategies will reduce the productivity of these households, now and in the future. These rationales are strengthened when urban areas are going through periods of crisis, as is clearly the case in Port-au-Prince and Nairobi.

NGOs have an important role to play in terms of developing and testing appropriate responses to food insecurity and crisis, and engaging with governments and other stakeholders to help to institutionalise these responses. Oxfam's urban work in all three areas should be seen in this light.

This section considers some implications for programming in urban areas, given the review above and other reviews of international experience. It first sets out some general guidelines for urban work, and then considers specifically triggers for entry, conditions for exit, targeting and different response types.

2.5.1 General guidelines

Reviews of international experience in urban poverty reduction (Satterthwaite 2003 ; Grünewald et al 2011³⁴) indicate several conclusions for responses to chronic poverty, slow onset emergencies, and the recovery from rapid onset emergencies in urban areas. In terms of responses to chronic poverty, the following general guidelines are appropriate:

- While incomes are the most important causes and determinants of urban poverty, urban poverty is complex and there are many aspects of deprivation for which action is needed. Building sustainable and effective local institutions is likely to be critical to reducing urban poverty in the long-run. However, local institutions can lack capacity to increase incomes directly. (Satterthwaite 2003)
- There is usually a significant sanitation and disease risk that urgently needs addressing in urban areas, particularly after humanitarian emergencies, due to high population density and poor sanitation. Food security interventions will have little impact unless the sanitation risk is also addressed. This does not mean that food security and Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WaSH) interventions should always be

integrated, but opportunities for integration should be explored (for instance around sanitation marketing through mobile phone messaging).

- Urban areas may be more prone to violence (although rural areas are often highly conflict prone). This increases the attractiveness of secrecy / confidentiality in delivering resources. However, secrecy is often in direct tension with transparency and this tension becomes more important as programmes aim to develop long-term solutions.
- Urban areas present a range of opportunities for action that may not be available in rural areas, including through a higher concentration of educated people, information and communication technologies (ICTs), monetisation, better developed markets, better service provision, and so on. In addition, there are new technologies available (such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS), remote sensing imagery, mobile technology, money transfer technology, digital data gathering, and so on) that could be more productively used in urban areas.
- Urban areas contain a greater range of groups competing for influence and power and therefore both a variety of potential structures through which agencies can work and some significant political economy implications for the selection of who to work through (Cross and Johnston 2011). Assessing options and making decisions takes time.

In emergencies, the following points are also relevant:

- Given that urban households rely almost exclusively on the market for essential items, humanitarian agencies need a working understanding of the market contexts in which they are operating. This should involve conducting basic market assessments following a disaster or during a slow onset crisis in preparation for action. Markets can return to functionality quite quickly after an emergency, and humanitarian agencies can use them.
- Urban complexity needs to be better understood by humanitarian actors who are more familiar with rural or camp-based settings (Grünewald et al 2011)
- Humanitarian agencies could build on existing opportunities to a greater extent than they currently do, but ensuring this will happen requires an investment in capacity that they currently do not possess (Grünewald et al 2011).
- For crisis response, it is sensible to have an overall strategy and vision that prepares for the worst but which also envisages clear triggers and exit strategies.

2.5.2 Triggers for entry and exit

While the case for intervening in chronic poverty situations remains, the scaling up of support to areas normally requires some form of trigger. After disasters such as earthquakes, the case for scaling up is clear, as in Port-au-Prince. After slow onset disasters such as constant price rises, as in Nairobi, or prolonged economic difficulty, as in Gaza, the case is more complex.

In rural areas, the requirements for different levels of intervention are set out in the Integrated Phase Classification (IPC). The IPC uses a range of indicators to declare different phases, which imply different levels of intervention. The phases are set out in Figure 2.12 and the indicators and cut-offs are set out in Figure 2.13.

Figure 2.12 IPC phases

Phase		General Description
1A	Generally Food Secure	Usually adequate and stable food access with moderate to low risk of sliding into Phase 3, 4, or 5
1B	Generally Food Secure	
2	Moderately/Borderline Food Insecure	Borderline adequate food access with recurrent high risk (due to probable hazard events and high vulnerability) of sliding into Phase 3,4, or 5.
3	Acute Food and Livelihood Crisis	Highly stressed and critical lack of food access with high and above usual malnutrition and accelerated depletion of livelihood assets that, if continued, will slide the population into Phase 4 or 5 and/ or likely result in chronic poverty
4	Humanitarian Emergency	Severe lack of food access with excess mortality, very high and increasing malnutrition, and irreversible livelihood asset stripping
5	Famine/Humanitarian Catastrophe	Extreme social upheaval with complete lack of food access and/or other basic needs where mass starvation, death, and displacement are evident

Source: <http://www.fsna.org/downloads/Integrated-Food-Security-Phase-Classification-User-Guide-Version-1.pdf>

However, the indicators used for these phases were specifically developed for rural areas. Although the FAO have recently argued that they are appropriate for use in urban areas, several agencies have raised concerns about the relevance of humanitarian malnutrition thresholds (15% Global Acute Malnutrition (GAM), 4% Severe Acute Malnutrition (SAM)) for urban areas. This is because in urban areas population densities are much higher, which means that a smaller percentage of malnutrition could translate into an extremely large number of people suffering from malnutrition. This therefore needs reviewing.

In the absence of an established urban system, or set of criteria, agencies typically use ad hoc arguments to justify intervention on humanitarian grounds in urban areas. For instance, in Nairobi, Oxfam, Concern and others argued using their own data, including anecdotal research, for humanitarian intervention on the basis of steady price rises. These price rises caused households to engage in significantly more damaging strategies, arguably moving to IPC phase 3. However, because there was no clear and agreed system to trigger response, they had to try to persuade funders of the urgency of response on a repeated basis, and this made it much harder to secure funding, as we argue below. Oxfam's internal funding staff noted that this case was difficult to make because of a lack of clear data.

However, creating this system in urban areas is complicated by several factors set out above:

- The difficulty of conducting regular research in a densely populated and fast-changing area,
- The complexity of livelihoods and markets meaning that there are few simple measures of well-being or livelihoods, other than food prices, that apply to everyone
- The speed of change in urban areas, and
- The difficulty of capturing incomes and expenditure directly.

Figure 2.13 IPC indicators and cut-offs

Indicator	Description	IPC cut-offs				
		1	2	3	4	5
CMR	# deaths per 1000 people per day	0.5	0.5	0.5-1	1-2	>2
U5MR		1	1	1-2	>2	
GAM	weight for height<2 z scores	3	3-10	10-15	15+	30+
Stunting	height for age<2 Z scores	20	20-40	Not defining (NDC)	NDC	NDC
Disease		NDC	NDC	epidemic outbreak; increasing	pandemic outbreak	pandemic outbreak
Food access/ availability	HEA; HHS;HFIAS	Usually adequate (2100)	Borderline adequate	Lack of entitlement, meeting needs through asset stripping	Severe gap; unable to meet needs	Extreme gap
Dietary diversity		Consistent quality and quantity	Chronic deficit	Acute deficit	Regularly 3 or fewer groups consumed	NDC
Water access/ availability	Litres per person per day; need to consider purchasing power	>15	>15	7.5-15	<7.5	<4
Displacement						
Civil security		Prevailing peace	Unstable; disruptive tension	Limited spread; low intensity	Widespread, high intensity conflict	Widespread, high intensity conflict
Coping strategies	3 types: Insurance are reversible, crisis are irreversible (threatening future livelihoods), distress	NDC	Insurance	Crisis (CSI)> reference increasing)	Distress; CSI significantly > reference	NDC
Hazards	Life-threatening, including market, socio-economic	Moderate to low probability	Recurrent, with high vulnerability	NDC	NDC	NDC
Structural	Changes that require long-term strategy	NDC	Pronounced underlying hindrances	NDC	NDC	NDC
Livelihood assets	Sustainable livelihoods framework analysis to assess rate of depletion	Sustained	Stressed unsustainable	Accelerated and critical depletion	Near complete and irreversible depletion	Effectively complete collapse

One of the principal challenges in humanitarian work and social protection is when to exit. This challenge is particularly significant in urban areas which are rapidly changing, with new vulnerabilities and opportunities constantly evolving. Just as with entry IPC indicators can also be used to determine exit criteria.

It is particularly important to have an agreed system for triggering exit, because development actors are understandably very worried about involvement in slow changing situations with no prospect of exiting or handing over to another responsible institution (which in most cases would be the government). In the case of slow onset emergencies caused by price rises, this worry is sharper, because it is not always clear that price rises will be reversed or economic conditions improve.

2.5.3 Targeting

There are a number of difficulties of targeting in urban areas that are not present in rural areas.

- Targeting takes more time in urban areas because indicators of socio-economic status are not as straightforward and take time to cross-reference and verify in a context where communities are often seen as political constituencies (Cross and Johnston 2011).
- Targeting can be a much more significant security issue in urban areas (Grünwald et al 2011).
- There are gate-keepers in urban areas (such as local administrators, elders, or community workers) that will expect to be involved at some stage of the targeting process and could destabilise the programme if they are excluded (because their position or power within the community may be undermined). It is a challenge to agencies to involve these individuals without compromising the quality of targeting.
- Urban heterogeneity and scale need to be taken into account. While in rural areas entire communities can feasibly be selected, in urban areas high populations mean that additional prioritisation is required. Households with very different levels of vulnerability may live very close to each other, so geographical targeting may be challenging.³⁵
- Urban populations are highly mobile. Population turnover in some areas of Nairobi is 25%. Targeting needs to be responsive to this.
- Communities are not as easily defined or as strong. Relying on community groups to distribute aid may lead to the exclusion of the poorest (Cross and Johnston 2011).
- There is usually a large number of agencies operating simultaneously. This often includes government stakeholders and the private sector. Coordination is vital to ensure an efficient allocation of resources and the use of all the various accumulated knowledge.
- Among the most vulnerable people in urban areas are those who are homeless, unregistered (e.g. those lacking ID cards or birth certificates), and who are poorly connected to most social networks. These are much more difficult to find than any comparable rural group, but should be a key priority on the basis of vulnerability.
- Incomes are much more important as a measure of vulnerability but are almost impossible to measure accurately as most households have part-time or casual jobs or run small enterprises, all with unstable income flows. Moreover, asking directly about incomes is prone to manipulation by respondents, especially in a legal and social environment where there are no penalties for lying.³⁶ This has led most agencies to avoid asking incomes directly.³⁷

There are two distinct questions in designing a targeting system:

1. Who do you want to target? This question involves choices between targeting approaches which have different implication for resource allocation between, for instance, poor households or individuals, households with children, older people, etc.
2. How do you identify those you want to target? This question involves choices between targeting mechanisms (self-targeting, community-based targeting, proxy means testing, etc.).

One of the key goals of any agency-led social protection or emergency relief safety net programmes should be to contribute to sustainable national capacity to provide social protection (including relief) to citizens and residents. The selection, therefore, of targeting approaches and mechanisms should not just

be a 'technical' exercise (i.e. identifying the most efficient allocation of available resources to the level of need), but should be based fundamentally on national fiscal, organisational and political capacities. It is worth noting that a targeting approach based on need alone is not necessarily the approach which has the most political mileage, especially where the neediest populations are marginalised or disenfranchised. This is not to say that aid agencies should only target groups that it is politically attractive to support; to the contrary, aid agencies should play a key role in supporting those who governments would ordinarily ignore (often including refugees, internally displaced persons and homeless people). However, it is to say that aid agencies' social protection and relief systems should be designed to be taken over by governments in the long-run.

2.5.3.1 Targeting approaches

The selection of who to target in urban areas in situations of both chronic poverty that has reached levels of acute emergency, is not easy. Typically, most agencies attempt to provide support to 'the most vulnerable', the 'poorest of the poor', the 'food insecure' or those most affected by the disaster. While they often overlap, these groups are not necessarily the same thing and it is useful to be clear about the differences.

Vulnerability describes those who both face a high probability of suffering shocks and are very likely to be severely and negatively affected by those shocks. For instance, those living in areas prone to cholera or fire outbreaks face a high probability of suffering shocks. They are likely to be severely negatively affected by those shocks unless, in the case of fire, they have insurance. In the sense that it concerns the future, vulnerability is a dynamic concept, which makes it difficult to measure directly. The rationale for targeting the vulnerable is that it may be possible to prevent a future deterioration in their well-being.

Poverty is a static concept, and describes a current level of deprivation. There is some disagreement about both what types of deprivation count as poverty and whether poverty is an absolute (i.e. below level X an individual is poor) or a relative (i.e. an individual is poor when they are X% worse off than the average). The most widely accepted approach to measuring poverty is to measure consumption expenditure, as described above. However, other poverty measures would include poor housing and sanitation, poor education, poor social networks, low food intake, and so on. Low income is in urban areas one of the most significant causes of poverty, but also one of the hardest to measure. The rationale for targeting the poorest individuals is that they are the worst off at the current moment.

Food insecurity is usually meant to refer to those who are unable to obtain enough food to lead a healthy life. This means both having enough food in the aggregate, and having nutritionally appropriate diet. In urban areas, food availability is usually less of a problem than in rural areas and – except in the case of severe emergencies – there is usually enough food available to buy. However, food insecure households in urban areas are unlikely to have enough income to buy or access this food. The attraction of targeting these households is that in not eating a sufficient quantity or quality of diet they are damaging their health, and their current and future productivity. However, asking households about their consumption directly can be difficult as individuals tend to be embarrassed by their lack of dietary diversity or overemphasise their poor intake.

Targeting those most affected by a disaster seems natural if the rationale for intervention is to restore the pre-disaster situation. However, in urban (and rural) areas, it may not be appropriate to target those most affected by disasters because this takes no account of underlying and eventual vulnerability (Cross and Johnston 2011). Those who have lost the most in a disaster may have been those who were best off to begin with (and had most to lose), such as shop owners who have lost their shops or employed people who have lost their jobs. It can also be difficult to identify the extent of loss in the short time available.

In addition to these approaches focusing on need or loss, there are a range of (usually government-led) targeting approaches based on 'categorical vulnerability'. These approaches typically aim to transfer resources to identifiable groups of households who are likely to have higher needs or greater vulnerability, but are not necessarily poorer, more food insecure or more affected by disaster than other households. These groups include the elderly, households with children, or those with disabilities. Due to their universality (i.e. everyone can recognise the additional burdens of children and age, and everyone is likely to experience these states), these approaches are usually more politically viable than approaches targeted

specifically on poverty (although they can be administered with an additional poverty criterion). Given the injunction above to build on and integrate with local capacity, it can be sensible for external agencies to try to ensure that their response tallies with targeting approaches that are politically sustainable.

2.5.3.2 Targeting mechanisms

Once the targeting approach is decided, it is still necessary to design a mechanism for identifying the target population. Since not all mechanisms are equally feasible to implement, these decisions should in practice be taken together. Targeting mechanisms are in general far harder to implement in urban areas, as noted above. There is no single most appropriate mechanism. Given the novelty of urban targeting for many agencies, it is appropriate at this stage to experiment with different mechanisms in order to investigate their relative effectiveness. This section describes some options:

- Geographic targeting, where an agency might select an entire camp or area, is perhaps more often used in humanitarian responses than time consuming socio-economic targeting (Grünwald et al 2011). Geographic targeting is clearly sensible as a way to limit a response but contains a risk that if poverty is not distributed equally, poor households living in 'non-poor' areas will be excluded. In urban areas it is much more difficult to identify livelihood zones as might be possible in rural areas. Nevertheless, given that some method of coping with the scale of urban areas is needed, Cross and Johnston (2011) recommend dividing an urban area into small quadrants to compile a map of economic activity, poverty, livelihoods and any damage (if there has been a physical disaster). This map would then be used to decide where to conduct a detailed assessment. This seems a sensible approach where resource constraints require agencies to focus on specific areas.
- Community targeting is common in rural areas as a way of identifying those households the community consider to be poor, vulnerable, food insecure or most affected by disaster. However, it is arguable that community targeting as understood in rural areas is not possible in urban areas, due to weak social networks and high population density – to the absence of clearly defined 'communities'. As we see below, some agencies call their urban targeting mechanism 'community based' where in fact it operates principally through powerful individuals.
- A common approach to targeting is to extract information directly from households to determine their eligibility 'objectively'. The questions would either attempt to assess vulnerability directly (How many meals per day do you eat? Which of these coping strategies do you use? Etc.), or through observable proxies (the floor, wall and roof material, the number of rooms and assets, the number of people in the household, etc.) that are then put into an econometric model to predict poverty. There are a range of guidelines available for different types of assessment (see Cross and Johnston 2011: 18-20 for a summary), and there is potential to make the data collection faster and more cost efficient through the use of various forms of technology (Smith et al 2011). However, there are some important disadvantages of this extractive approach. They are:
 - That households have strong incentives and some opportunity to manipulate their responses to make themselves appear poorer or more vulnerable than they are, so that they qualify for assistance. This is more difficult (though by no means impossible) when proxies are used, because these proxies should be selected to be more difficult to manipulate. The possibility of manipulation raises a particular challenge for agencies that put a high value on transparency, because the more information that is spread about a programme, the stronger the incentives and the easier it is to manipulate answers to appear eligible. One way to assess the extent of manipulation is through random unannounced verification, but in the absence of penalties for manipulation does not address the problem but only identifies its extent. A verification process also leaves the problem of what level of initial inaccuracy is acceptable. For instance, if the random verification process reveals data are incorrect in 20% of cases, is the entire targeting exercise re-run? If not 20%, then 25%? Etc.
 - That information has to be gathered on a much larger number of households than will eventually be selected for any programme. This raises the cost of targeting and can be time-consuming. However, a large database makes it easier to scale up responses should a situation deteriorate.

- That there remains a difficult problem of identifying exactly how and which indicators will be used to create an ordering of households by vulnerability (or whatever criterion is used in the targeting approach). This ordering is usually required to prioritise the most vulnerable households in a context of scarce resources. A proxy means test (PMT) is designed specifically to order households by consumption expenditure (normally), but can take time to produce, requires a detailed household expenditure survey that is beyond the budgets of most agencies, and is often not very sensitive to change. It also may not be sensitive to vulnerability.

A simpler option for developing indicators is to use a poverty scorecard. Cross and Johnston (2011) point out that poverty scorecards are used by many national governments and using them therefore contributes to a national process. This is clearly an important goal and we return to it later. Scorecards are usually easily available. However, they are not as accurate predictors of poverty as proxy means tests, and predicting poverty is not the same as predicting vulnerability or food insecurity. As with any repeated survey, they are prone to manipulation (though are also based on observables).

A coping strategies index or daily food consumption is also easier to produce, but either alone may not adequately capture the required dimension of need. Mixing different indices of vulnerability seems preferable from the point of view of relevance, but difficult choices are required on how to aggregate different indices to form a composite 'vulnerability score' that is relevant (i.e. it adequately captures vulnerability), consistent (i.e. more vulnerable households always score higher than less vulnerable households), and agreeable to local populations. Some examples of approaches are given below.

One way to derive urban indicators of vulnerability is to conduct focus groups with important members of the area, such as religious leaders, teachers, doctors, social workers or neighbourhood representatives. This is recommended by Cross and Johnston (2011) and is used by many organisations. It is useful as a way to understand what people living in a particular area consider relevant aspects of vulnerability and can generate fascinating information on the nature of poverty and vulnerability that is very helpful for programming. However, it very rarely yields a mechanism that allows organisations to clearly order households or individuals by their vulnerability. Organisations usually have to develop this mechanism separately, which returns us to the original problem.

- Given difficulties with community and extractive targeting in urban areas, self-targeting seems an attractive option. Self-targeting typically ties a benefit to some unattractive task (such as manual labour) or process (such as queuing to receive a benefit) in order to exclude those that are not entirely desperate. Self-targeting has often been used for humanitarian programming, for instance in Mogadishu and Port au Prince (Grünwald et al 2011). If the level of the benefit and the difficulty of the task or process are calculated correctly, this can be extremely effective. However, the risk with self-targeting is that very poor households are excluded, for instance because they are labour poor, or have high rates of dependency.

Case study of targeting in Haiti

In Haiti in 2011, a consortium of agencies used a combination of criteria with different points to measure vulnerability using an extractive questionnaire. This was used to select recipients for a range of programmes. The criteria and points are in Table 2.1. Note that some of the criteria are fairly generic (dependency ratio, number of children in school, etc.) while others have categories that are more specific to Haiti (type of shelter, participation in specific credit schemes). Households are given a total out of 102 points, where 102 is the least vulnerable household and 0 the most. Unlike direct measurements of poverty which can be linked with the cost of a basket of essential goods, the criteria are not associated with a particular threshold that denotes 'vulnerable' or 'non-vulnerable'. Agencies would use the list to select the most vulnerable. They could add other criteria if that suited them (such as having an individual able to participate in cash for work).

This approach is attractive because if the categories used are intuitive (and indeed were selected intuitively), and this makes sense to stakeholders (unlike some PMTs that can seem irrelevant to the poverty situation). It also captures different dimensions of vulnerability rather than seeming to reduce it to a single index directly. However, this is also the problem: in adding up points for each criterion to a total, it does reduce vulnerability to a single index. There is a question as to whether this final index accurately captures need in a given place and time.

Table 2.2 Vulnerability criteria in Haiti

Indicators	Replies	Points
1. Sources of household income	Casual job or small business	0
	Regular trade or small business / rental room in the house	6
	Employee / Money Transfer	10
2. Ratio of active / inactive household members	No active people in the household	0
	1 / (5 or > 5)	0
	1/4	2
	1/3	6
	1/2	9
	1/1	10
3. Does the household participate in a Sol or a Sabbotaye (credit mechanisms)?	No	0
	Yes	6
	Does not wish to participate but could	6
4. Are children between 5 and 16 years going to school?	No	0
	Part	5
	All	10
	Child under 5	5
	No children 0-16 years	10
5. Single mother with children?	Yes	0
	No	10
6. Has a child been treated for malnutrition in the past year?	Yes	0
	No	5
7. Has a child under 12 years old had diarrhoea in the past 15 days?	Yes	0
	No	5
	No children under 12	5
8. Type of housing	Mix of materials (sheets, plastics, etc.) or perforated sheeting	0
	Sheet or tarpaulin shelter in poor condition (holes / dirty)	4
	Shelter tarpaulin or sheet in good condition (does not leak/ clean)	8
	Concrete / shelter	10
9. What assets do the household own?	Mattress	2
	Chairs	3
	TV	6
	Clothing in good condition	3
10. In the last week, did the household not eat for a day?	Yes	0
	No	6
11. How often did the household eat meat this week?	0	0
	Once	5
	twice	7
	Three times or more	10
	TOTAL	102

2.5.4 Response types

There is a wide variety of possible responses to chronic poverty and emergencies in urban areas. This section does not attempt to set out all of them but discusses some options.

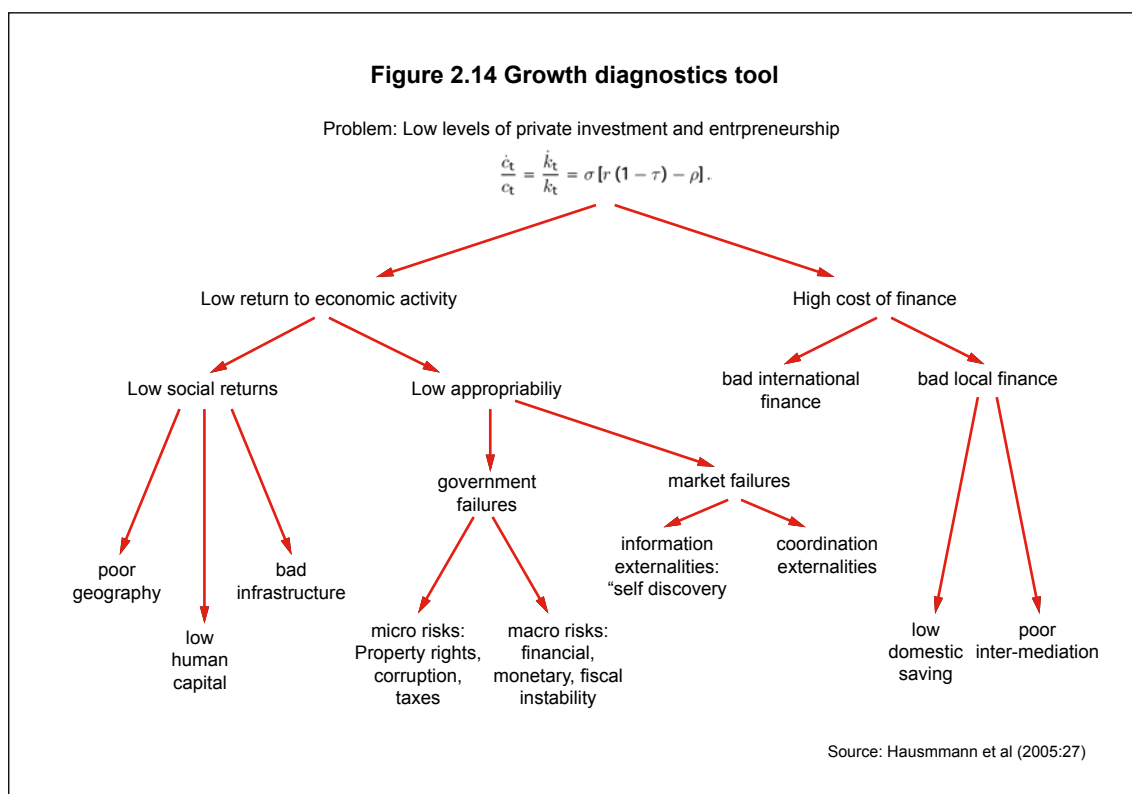
First, given that urban markets tend to recover reasonably quickly after a crisis, which means that food availability is maintained, and given that the principal cause of urban deprivation is usually low income, which reduces economic access to markets, providing cash to individuals or households tends to work well. In a review for the Cash Learning Partnership, Cross and Johnston (2011) argue that cash should be considered first as a method of relief assistance in urban areas, due to the cash based economy, markets and strong financial institutions. Grünewald et al 2011 note that cash is increasingly common as a response to food insecurity in urban emergencies, and should be considered to meet food and non-food needs in a cash based economy, where shelter, water, sanitation, food, education, transport and other immediate needs are all reliant on cash. This is sensible because households rely on the market (which usually returns to functioning within a number of days) and have to purchase a range of non-food essential items (such as water or fuel). Cash can be transferred using existing private sector organisations. Cash can be transferred in three modalities:

- Vouchers are distributed to selected households and can then be exchanged at pre-identified traders for a specified list of goods, usually at fixed prices. Traders then redeem the vouchers at agencies. These vouchers can be paper or electronic. Vouchers enable agencies to retain control over the items that recipients can purchase. This is attractive to some agencies and donors who insist on a degree of conditionality. Vouchers can also be useful in high inflation contexts if fair and stable prices can be agreed and budgeted for. However, they are limiting for recipients who normally have the best knowledge of what they need to buy to survive, and reduces the dignity associated with free choice. Agencies need to satisfy themselves that goods will be available from traders and that they abide by their agreed prices, and they must invest in developing relationships and contracts with traders, which can be reasonably time-intensive. The problem of targeting households remains.
- Cash for work transfers cash to individuals who engage in some labour. This can be useful to achieve some collective task (such as sewer cleaning) and to give people experience of working for money, and the (often surprising) sense of well-being that sometimes accompanies this. Cash for work can also help to avoid targeting problems if they are self-targeted and wages are set so that only poorer households will apply, or wish to be targeted. Challenges remain in organising suitable tasks, managing the workers, specifying a wage rate that is appropriate to the job, meeting humanitarian needs but does not disrupt the market, and finding work for the less physically able. The technical demands of cash for work are often higher in urban areas than rural areas because of the more sophisticated infrastructure (Cross and Johnston 2011). Addressing these challenges can be time-consuming (as was found in Haiti, Grünewald et al 2011), so cash for work is more usually used to recover from rather than respond to rapid onset crises, and to address slow onset crises.
- Cash transfers are given to selected households, sometimes conditional on specific behaviours such as sending children to school or attending vaccination clinics. Cash can be transferred manually or using a range of technologies (see Smith et al 2011 for more details). Cash provides the most flexibility to recipients who can usually spend the cash on meeting their immediate needs. Setting the level and duration of cash transfers for different groups requires clear objective setting, analysis and thorough targeting.

A second option is the provision of food. While transfers of food are essential where local supply has been severely disrupted, and can contribute to self-targeting (because food is much less attractive to the non-poor than cash, food-based responses can disrupt the market and do not address non-food essentials (Grünewald et al 2011). Wet feeding has been effective, but only where there are large concentrations of people and over a short time. For example, in Port-au-Prince soup kitchens were established for six months to allow vulnerable households one hot meal per day, and ensure that they were able to spend their cash grants on meeting other immediate needs. Nutritional programmes are also common in urban contexts, both in rapid and slow onset emergencies, as the sanitation and health risk in informal settlements increases the risk of malnutrition in vulnerable groups. These programmes often focus on children under five years of age and pregnant and lactating mothers.

Third, responses can attempt to improve urban food production directly. Urban agriculture has been tried on a small scale in several post-disaster contexts (including in Nairobi, Port-au-Prince and in Gaza). This could involve grow bags that allow people to produce vegetables without having any land, or small scale growth on any available land. However, given that the scale is constrained in most contexts by the small space available and the cost of water, urban agriculture seems likely to have a larger impact on dietary diversity than food security unless very high value crops can be produced and sold. This response is also likely to take time to affect either dietary diversity or food security, while the produce grows.

Fourth, responses can attempt to improve incomes in other ways. In urban areas, there is far more scope for this than in rural areas, since labour and goods markets are more dynamic than in rural areas. These could include support to existing small business owners in the form of access to grants or finance, business or vocational skills training, apprenticeships, or the provision of in-kind support such as stoves, sewing machines or other tools. These interventions can lead to sustainable improvements, but require careful market analysis in order to ensure that there is demand for these businesses and skills. It may also be sensible to articulate a clear theory of change for these interventions based on an assessment of the market failures that intervention is designed to address (such as credit constraints), and an assessment of the evidence on the effectiveness of similar interventions from similar contexts. For instance, the growth diagnostics tool in Figure 2.14 illustrates that while lack of access to finance and low human capital are certainly amongst the constraints to economic growth, the others can be as varied as infrastructure, insecurity, corruption, lack of property rights, lack of information, and so on. One significant challenge for urban programmers seeking to contribute to sustained poverty reduction in the long-run is identifying which of these constraints are binding at any moment. The assumption behind providing business grants and skills training or infrastructure is that these are the key constraints. Careful analysis is required to confirm this.



In any case, the benefits of these grants and training are in the longer-term rather than immediate. While these types of interventions at scale may be the most effective way to reduce urban poverty in the long-run, it can be challenging to scale up these programmes and retain quality. In piloting these programmes at a small scale, NGOs can learn about the most effective way to implement. However, a scaled up programme that produces a higher supply of workers nationwide would require a concomitant rise in the demand for specific skills.

3 Appropriateness and timeliness

3.1 Introduction

This section sets out answers to the following evaluation questions for the three programmes:

- **Appropriateness:** analysis of the EFSL interventions selected and their appropriateness for the particular urban context in which they were implemented. Overview of the log frame objectives – were they achievable? Is the programme being implemented in such a way as to give good value for money spent to achieve the desired standards and outcome? Would another type of intervention been better in retrospect? Will the programme be effective in reducing future vulnerabilities?
- **Timeliness:** was the programme implemented in the best timeframe to optimise recovery within the affected population?

The appropriateness of urban chronic poverty and emergency response relates to each specific urban context, in particular the features highlighted above. This context can differ quite significantly. Each crisis also differs, such that while the guidelines above apply in general, there are no blueprints that can easily be transferred intact from one context to another. This section sets out the appropriateness of each programme according to the objectives and activities set out in the log frame, and in terms of the timeliness with which the programmes were able to respond.

3.2 Nairobi Urban Social Protection Programme

This section examines first the NUSPP's objectives, and then the activities set out to achieve the activities, compared to the context in Nairobi. The objectives and activities and part of the context were presented above, but this section reiterates some of the changes that led to the degeneration from a chronic poverty to an acute situation in Nairobi and hence justified the emergency nature of the response.

3.2.1 Appropriateness of objectives

The overall objective of the NUSPP is to “improve livelihood security of the most vulnerable urban Nairobi informal settlement dwellers in response to the cumulative shocks and stress.”³⁸ The specific objective of the project was to “improve access to food of the most vulnerable households in selected informal settlements in Nairobi.”³⁹

Both objectives are clearly appropriate to the context in Nairobi, as set out above. This was agreed by a series of stakeholders interviewed in a review of urban food subsidies (Kimetrica 2011: 19) that concluded that “key decision makers in the GoK and among the non-state actors (NSA) agree both on the need for an urban-focused food security/social protection intervention and on the main design elements.”

In part, the appropriateness of the programme is particularly obvious because the rationale for a large part of the programme was set out in a joint funding proposal by Care International in Kenya, Concern Worldwide, and Oxfam GB. This proposal convincingly makes the case, based on a range of sources using recent data, that food insecurity was significant and rising in the urban slums of Kenya. In more physically obvious emergencies, such as the Haiti earthquake, there is less need for such a clear document. However, the need to obtain funding required Oxfam to make the case clear.

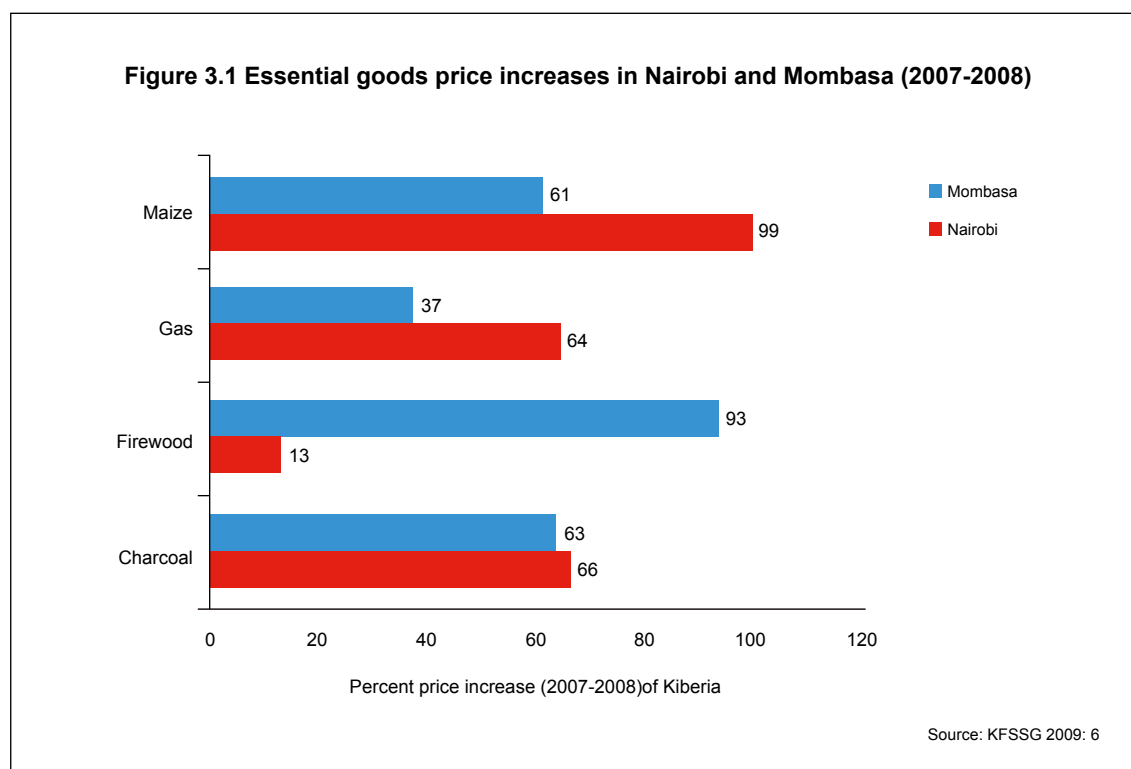
Oxfam particularly needed to make the case for a response in urban areas, as opposed to rural areas. This case needed to overcome a series of barriers to work in urban areas, many of which were set out above. One barrier was connected to knowledge about food insecurity in urban areas. The joint proposal sensibly referenced figures from the Kenyan government that had reported 4.1 million food insecure urban dwellers, out of a total 9.5 million food insecure people in Kenya.⁴⁰ As the proposal underlined (2009: 5), “even though 43% of the estimated (government statistics) food insecure people are urban dwellers, there has not been the visible interest to respond to emergency in urban areas.” While the measurement of food insecurity remains a challenge (as noted above), and the analysis above suggests that food poverty is far more widespread and deeper in rural areas, these data made it clear that food insecurity was not a purely rural phenomenon and that response was much weaker in urban areas. This was an important message to communicate.

A second barrier was related to the extent of the crisis. The nature of the crisis was clearly different in Nairobi to natural disasters, drought or conflict. As noted above, it was primarily caused by food prices, which in the context of stagnant incomes forced households into a series of negative coping strategies. Given urban dwellers reliance on the market the steady rise in prices clearly constitute a crisis. In the absence of clearer data,⁴¹ the sharp increases in food and hardcore poverty in urban areas noted above, coupled with the findings presented below, and are reason to be extremely concerned about the acute nature of the crisis in urban Kenya.

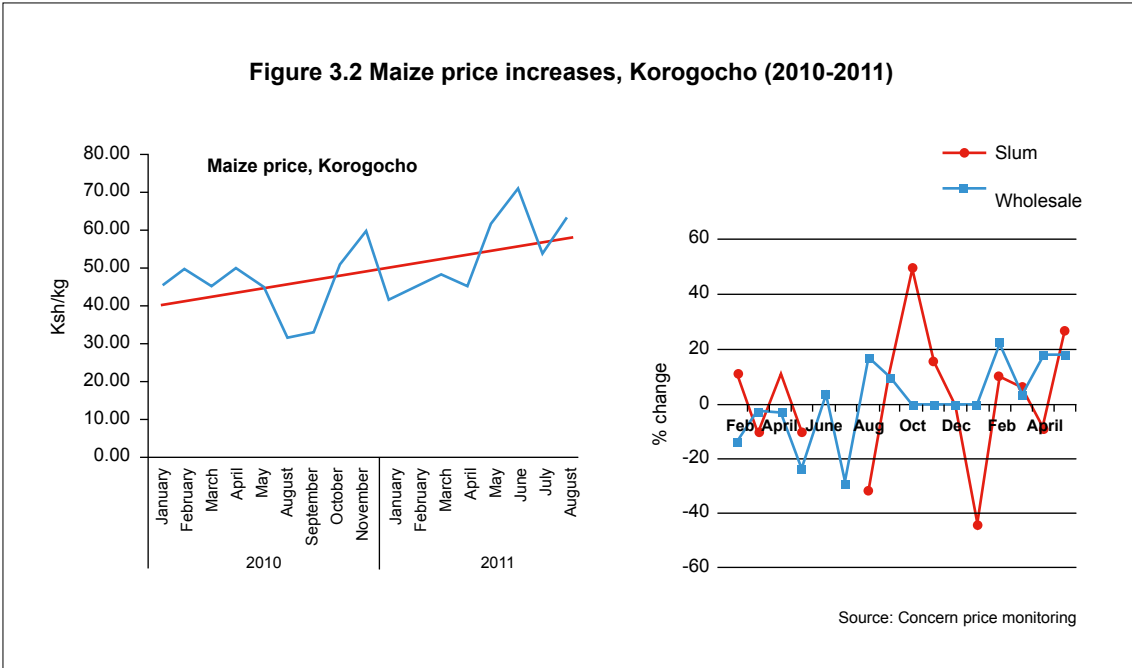
Cumulative shocks and stress leading to crisis were documented in various reports, including the initial proposal made by Oxfam and others. For instance, the Kenya Food Security Steering Group (KFSSG) (2009: 12) concluded that the:

results from the rapid urban assessment in Nairobi and Mombasa slums is indicative of a growing food security crisis. The high population densities in slums across the country would suggest that unless the slide in food insecurity is arrested, we could witness a major catastrophe in the near future. Apart from inadequate food access, basic amenities such as shelter, water, healthcare and security are precariously inadequate.

Price inflation at the local level in Nairobi has been extremely significant. The KFSSG identified maize price increases of up 99% in Nairobi and 61% in Mombasa between December 2007 and December 2008. This food price increase is reflected across various food groups. This is particularly significant because households purchase almost all the food they consume, as noted above. Fuel prices also went up substantially, as shown in Figure 3.1. As noted above, fuel occupies over 10% of spending for urban informal households, and is an essential spending item for food, so increases of the magnitudes below put households in a critical situation.



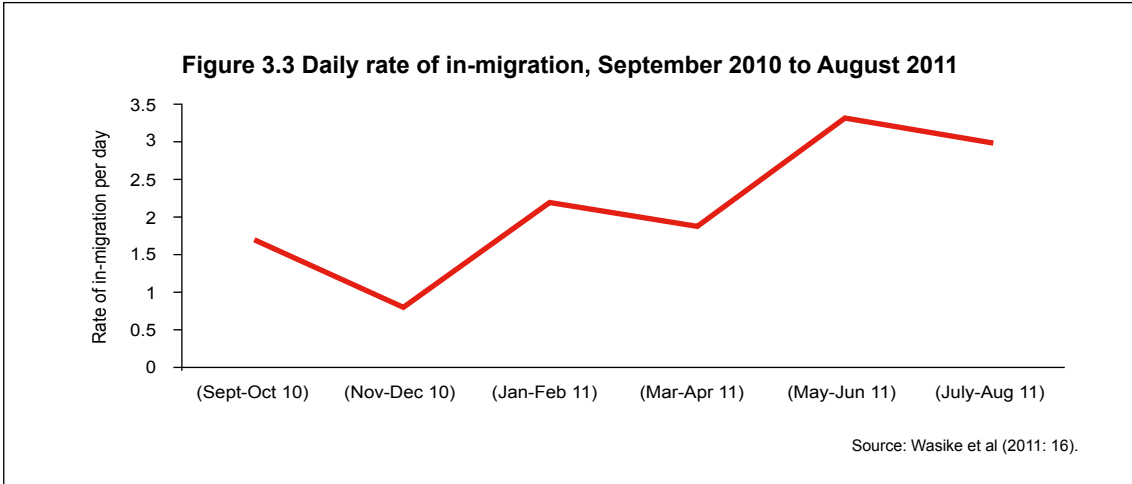
These initial price increases have continued during the recent drought in 2010 and 2011, exacerbating the situation significantly.⁴² Price increases for 1kg maize flour are shown in Figure 3.2.



The informal settlements in Nairobi have considerably more variation in the prices than are found in wholesale markets, which adds to the vulnerability of urban informal dwellers and increases the importance of regular transfers to smooth this.

At the same time, it was clear that incomes were not improving. While the pattern of incomes is far harder to assess than prices, and data are rare and less reliable. The KFSSG 2009 presents data on changes in income derived from the six most important incomes sources identified in urban informal settlements: borrowing, casual wages, firewood collection or charcoal production, formal wages, petty trade and small business. Between 2007 and 2008 income from all sources except formal wages declined by around 25% in Nairobi, and up to 50% in Mombasa.

In addition to this, it appears that dependency ratios may be rising as individuals migrate from rural areas in response to the drought. Oxfam GB commissioned a report on in-migration to informal areas of Nairobi in 2011. While this report was not able to ascertain the rate of in-migration caused by the drought, or whether the in-migration was higher than the norm, the report collected primary data to identify an increase in the daily rate of in-migration between September 2010 and August 2011, as shown in Figure 3.3.

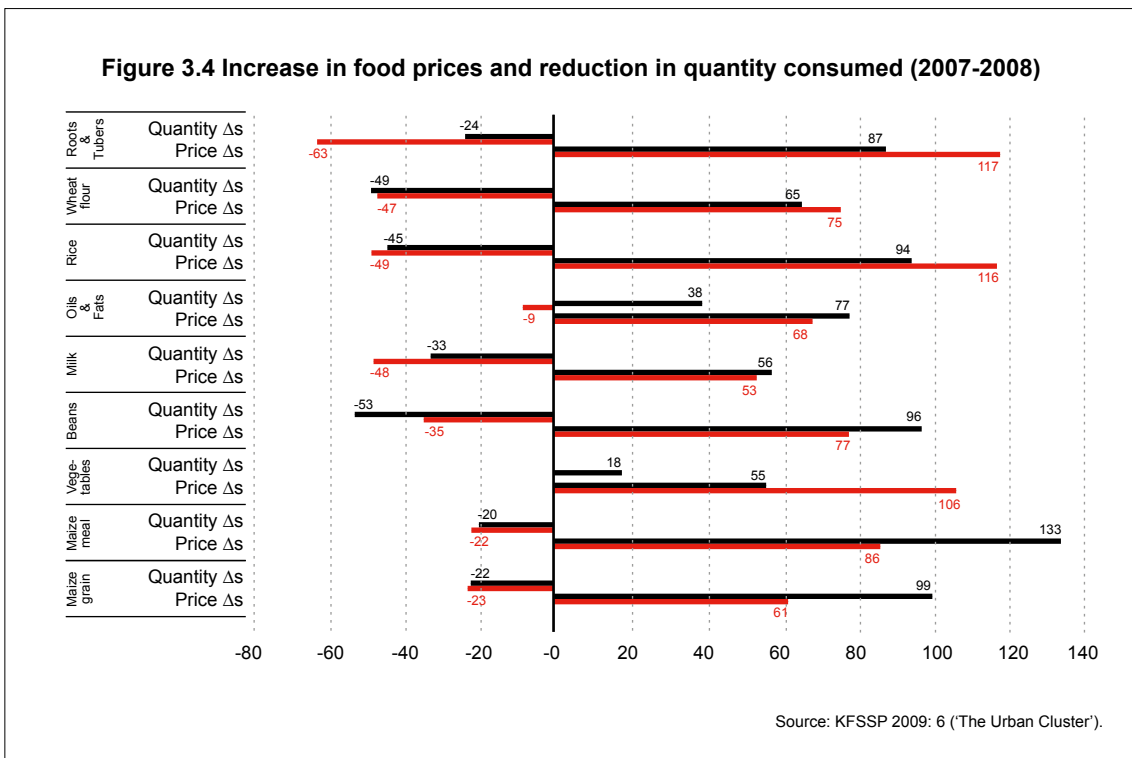


These trends were not only evident in statistical data but also in anecdotal reports from those working and living in slums (and note also that prices in slums differ significantly from wholesale prices). For instance, the head of MSDP noted that the three principal changes they had observed in the 12 months prior to November 2011 were i) inward migration caused by the drought that people living in Nairobi found hard to support, ii) lost jobs, and iii) increases of the price of food (for instance the price of unga (maize meal) increased from Ksh 24/kg in 2009 to Ksh54/kg in 2011, and the quantity of kale that could be bought for a given amount of money had gone down by three or four times).

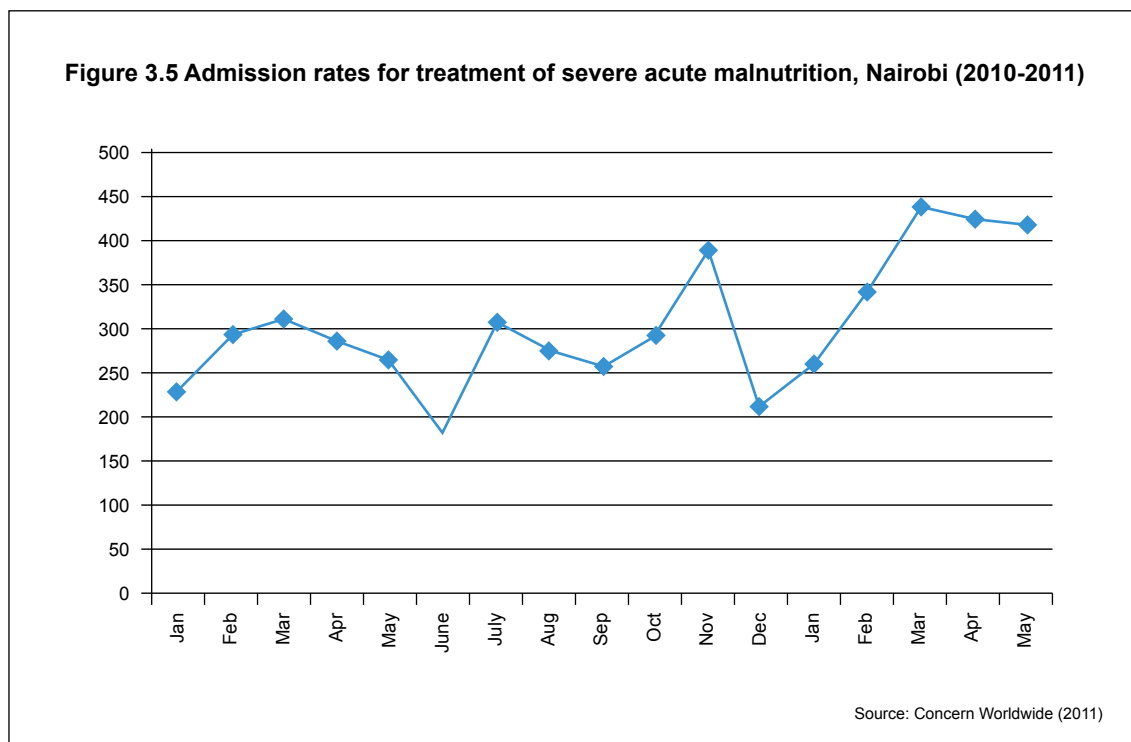
These three features – rising prices, stagnant incomes, and (possibly) rising dependency ratios – all mean that households are less able to obtain sufficient food to eat. As noted above, this justifies intervention to support livelihoods and food security. There are also specific findings about households’ responses to this crisis that underline its acute nature.

The most common response to rising food prices, unsurprisingly, is to reduce food consumption. KFSSG 2009 presents data on changes in both prices and quantities bought between December 2007 and December 2008, when prices increased substantially in part due to the violence following the election. This indicates that as the price of maize increased by 99% in Nairobi and 61% in Mombasa, households reduced purchases by 22% and 23%, as indicated in Figure 3.4. Households also substantially reduced the quantities of beans, milk, rice, wheat and roots/tubers purchased. Households increased the quantities purchased of vegetables and oils/fats, despite quite significant price increases in these goods. Households also changed food consumption patterns such that they consumed less preferred foods, reduced dietary diversity and changed the allocation of food within the household. In urban areas, there are usually options for different food consumption patterns, which often include reducing the quantity and quality of foods.

Overall, these changes to food consumption would have significantly negative impacts on individuals affected. This is particularly the case where households are already undernourished, at risk of under-nutrition, or where individuals are reliant on anti-retrovirals (ARVs). Taking ARV’s without adequate food increases the side effects of the drugs, such as vomiting, diarrhoea and headaches. This leads to a negative cycle reduced food intake, weakness, reduced ARV intake and ultimately individuals become bed bound. Poor nutrition also means that children were unable to concentrate in school, affecting their education attainment and possible access to the labour market in the future (Hossain et al 2011).



Although these data are indicative only, it appears that in the second part of 2011, nutritional indicators were worsening. Figure 3.5 indicates this for Nairobi.



A second household response to the crisis was to diversify livelihoods, and some of these new livelihoods implied serious risks for the households undertaking them. This was made clear in the Oxfam, Concern and Care's joint funding proposal for an urban response in 2008. Hossain et al (2011: 28) also documented some of the changes to livelihood strategies in Mukuru as a response to the crisis. While there were some positive changes, the report noted that "livelihood diversification was increasingly meaning illegal, environmentally damaging or antisocial activity, as the opportunities for more productive economic activity were exhausted." These harmful activities included sex work, crime, and removing children from school. The notion of 'cumulative shocks and stresses' is apparent here (Hossain et al 2011: 31):

the research process yielded confirmation, including in the form of personal testimonies, that the protracted food crisis, with its associated pressures to provide and lapses in local social mores, had driven this change. In Lango Baya, there were some concerns that desperation and the casualisation of sex work were contributing to rising HIV/AIDS infection rates. The 2009 research indicated rising crime rates in Mukuru; by 2010, concerns had risen to the extent that additional police had been recruited to try to maintain law and order.

These reports and findings clearly indicate that overall, the objectives of supporting livelihoods in urban Kenya were appropriate because the situation had changed from chronic poverty to acute.

3.2.2 Effectiveness of activities

The NUSPP consists of two components:

- A combination of cash transfers, skills training, cash for work and business grants to vulnerable households in an informal settlement in Nairobi.
- Engagement with the government and other stakeholders to improve social protection for vulnerable groups in urban areas of Kenya.

Were these activities appropriate to achieve the objective, did they offer good value for money, and would other activities have been better in retrospect?

3.2.2.1 Appropriateness

The two activities chosen were appropriate to addressing the overall objective, for two reasons. First, as the review above indicated cash transfers combined with other livelihood investments is likely to be effective in urban areas to improve incomes, and improving incomes is one of the most direct ways to address urban vulnerability and poverty. Second, Oxfam did not have the capacity to address all acute urban poverty in Kenya, so engagement with the government and other stakeholders was critical. This broad-based engagement is particularly critical in the run up to an election in Kenya, and given the current coalition arrangements in government.

The need to engage with other stakeholders reinforced the appropriateness of cash, skills, cash for work and business grants, since all these activities are relevant to the government. In particular, a strategic and process review of the pilot urban social protection project found that strong consensus from a range of stakeholders on targeting the poorest with regular unconditional cash transfers that could be scaled up in crisis (Kimetrica 2009).

3.2.2.2 Value for money

This evaluation did not conduct a full value for money assessment of the programme. This section nevertheless makes seven observations.

First, the balance between livelihood and social protection activities on the one hand, and advocacy on the other, was likely to generate good value for money because there was a reasonable calculation that the government might take the programme further forward. This remains a possibility, as we will see. There were probably some design alterations that might have optimised this balance, as we explore below.

Second, the implementation through partners was a sensible (if necessary) use of resources. The Mukuru Slum Development Project (MSDP) had an excellent knowledge of Mukuru, and was able to implement the programme reasonably effectively. In addition, however, the investment in this local institution seems likely to contribute to long-term poverty reduction (as set out above). It is likely, however, that this contribution could have been improved by allocating more resources and time during the start up phase to investment in this relationship (see section 7.2 on partnership for more details).

Third, the decision to transfer cash through M-PESA was also a generator of good value for money. This is also found in other reviews (MacAuslan and Schofield 2011; Kimetrica 2011). Mobile transfers were effective in terms of the satisfaction of recipients, and were associated with low administrative costs. Specifically, Oxfam were able to obtain free simcards when purchasing mobile phones, and the administrative costs seem to be lower than the manual equivalent (with Safaricom costs per transfer of about Ksh55 per Ksh1,500, or about 3.64%). This was also an effective use of the available technology in urban areas (see guidelines above). Oxfam staff estimated a saving of 70% in delivery costs through M-PESA.

However, there were some missed opportunities for even better value for money. Safaricom (the owners of the M-PESA system) provide a bulk tariff for more than 15,000 recipients and would have been able to negotiate on the transaction fee in this case. The joint Concern, WFP and Oxfam transfers did not total 15,000 households. However, given that other NGOs were using the M-PESA system, it might have been possible to negotiate jointly and improve the value for money, and it should be possible to arrange this in future.

Next, the M-PESA system allowed Oxfam not only to send money but also to communicate with the recipient. For bulk rates, this communication is very cheap. For instance, a bulk text message to 6,000 individuals would cost Ksh1,000. Oxfam could have used this channel to send, for example, public health messages, which have been shown to be effective in improving outcomes. This connection could also have been used to allow recipients to provide feedback to Oxfam on the programme, or to alert Oxfam to significant changes in their areas.

Finally, the M-PESA system allows the variation of the amount of the transfer with some ease. In order to match the government transfers, this was not done (see below).

Fourth, one area where Oxfam probably did not deliver value for money was in the investment in the management information system (MIS). Due to the speed with which the programme was rolled out, and to some difficulties with the delivery of the consultant hired to design the database, no comprehensive MIS was designed or implemented until the project had almost finished (and after the research for this evaluation took place). This led to a number of problems with case management, and almost certainly a large amount of additional work for programme managers who had to check records manually. The development of an MIS should be linked to the government's plans to develop a single registry.

Fifth, it is also likely that the Kenya urban programme has not been fully effective or efficient in procuring evaluations and studies that meet quality standards. Two examples are relevant here. First, the study on in-migration would have been extremely useful as part of the case for urban interventions in response to drought and was an excellent idea. However, the final output did not correlate drought and migration rates, because the terms of reference did not specify this precisely. Second, two evaluations related to the urban programme (this one, and an evaluation by a Kenyan consultancy) have taken place within three months of each other, and were followed up by a visit from Oxfam's internal strategy team.

Sixth, while the advocacy was a crucial component of the programme, the urban programme did not have access to an advocacy specialist. Some of the reasons for this will be assessed in section 7.3. While the existing urban team appear to have been effective in the advocacy, it is likely that this placed demands on their time that were perhaps not the most effective use of resources. This is particularly the case given that the coalition arrangements required the team to work with a wide range of government interlocutors, as well as others. On balance, the team probably quite naturally engaged with the most enthusiastic government counterparts, and these were largely in ministries controlled by the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). If the ODM lose the election in late 2012, Oxfam will need to engage again with the winners. A broader based engagement (including from now on) would reduce the risk of an ineffective outcome.⁴³

Finally, the last three observations raise some concerns with the procurement and management of external support and internal resources by the Kenya urban team. Although the evaluation did not examine this specifically, it is possible that these concerns extend to the capacity of the Kenya urban team to obtain funding for their activities. Funding problems negatively affected the programme's effectiveness (see below and Kimetrica 2011). Given the particular difficulties (informational, attitudinal, and so on) of obtaining urban funding in general, and particularly during an extremely serious rural drought, it is possible that greater support to the urban team to obtain funding might have improved the value for money that the programme delivered.

3.2.2.3 Adjustments to design

At a more detailed level, there are some aspects of the programme design that might have been altered slightly. The effectiveness of implementation and the impact of these activities will be examined elsewhere. This section focuses on design issues. It must be noted that these comments (and others) should be taken in the context of a need to start the programme rapidly after funding was agreed. This was partly due to delays in securing funding and (sensible) attempts to work closely with the government. This compelled programme managers to make decisions and start work more quickly than might have been agreed. Had they had longer, it is possible that some of these issues would have been addressed.

First, the selection of Mukuru was not based on poverty in the most efficient way. The selection was based on district level targeting using data from the 1999 census. Using the dataset (which seems likely to be very out of date), Nairobi had a lower poverty incidence (44%) than Coast (58%) and Nyanza (65%), though the latter estimates include rural areas.⁴⁴ Within Nairobi, three districts with the largest number of poor people were selected. However, two of the three districts were the largest (Embakasi and Kasarani) and had the lowest poverty headcounts. The other (Makadara) was the smallest, with the highest poverty headcount. Table 3.1 shows these estimates.

Table 3.1 Constituency level poverty estimates

Constituency Province/ Name	Estimated Population from 1999 census	Estimated Number of Poor Individuals	Poverty Incidence Percent of Individuals below Poverty Line	Constituency National Poverty Rank (1=richest, 210=poorest)	Constituency Contribution to National Poverty (%)	Constituency Contribution to Provincial Poverty (%)
Nairobi Province	1,991,724	874,058	44		6.1	100
1 Makadara	184, 541	109,001	59	128	0.8	12.5
2 Kamukunji	183, 468	84,050	46	70	0.6	9.6
3 Starehe	205, 225	90, 430	44	59	0.6	10.3
4 Langata	271, 111	108, 617	40	36	0.8	12.4
5 Dagoretti	229, 612	104, 934	46	69	0.7	12.0
6 Westlands	188,107	58,826	31	15	0.4	6.7
7 Kasarani	320,739	151,592	47	77	1.1	17.3
8 Embakasi	408,981	166, 608	41	39	1.2	19.1

Source: Oxfam note on targeting process

According to the note on the targeting process, “it is on the basis of the above poverty estimates that Mukuru (Makadara and Embakasi constituencies), Kibera (Langata constituency), Mathare and Korogocho (Kasarani constituency) were selected for piloting of the programme.” It is not obvious from this methodology that the pilot has targeted resources on the poorest urban Kenyans, and it might have been more appropriate to focus resources elsewhere in urban Kenya on this basis. The application to urban Kenya of stricter geographical targeting on the basis of poverty prevalence or poverty severity may have been useful.

Second, in order to maximise the impact of the engagement with the government, it might have been useful to vary the nature of the interventions and rigorously evaluate the impact of different programmes. For instance, it might have been effective to test (with Concern Worldwide) different types of targeting mechanisms (see next section). Given that this was a slow onset crisis, it might have been possible, in an easier funding environment, to do this. The lessons learnt could have been significant. Stakeholders interviewed by Kimetrica demonstrated consensus about the usefulness of experimentation in urban areas on payment and graduation methods.

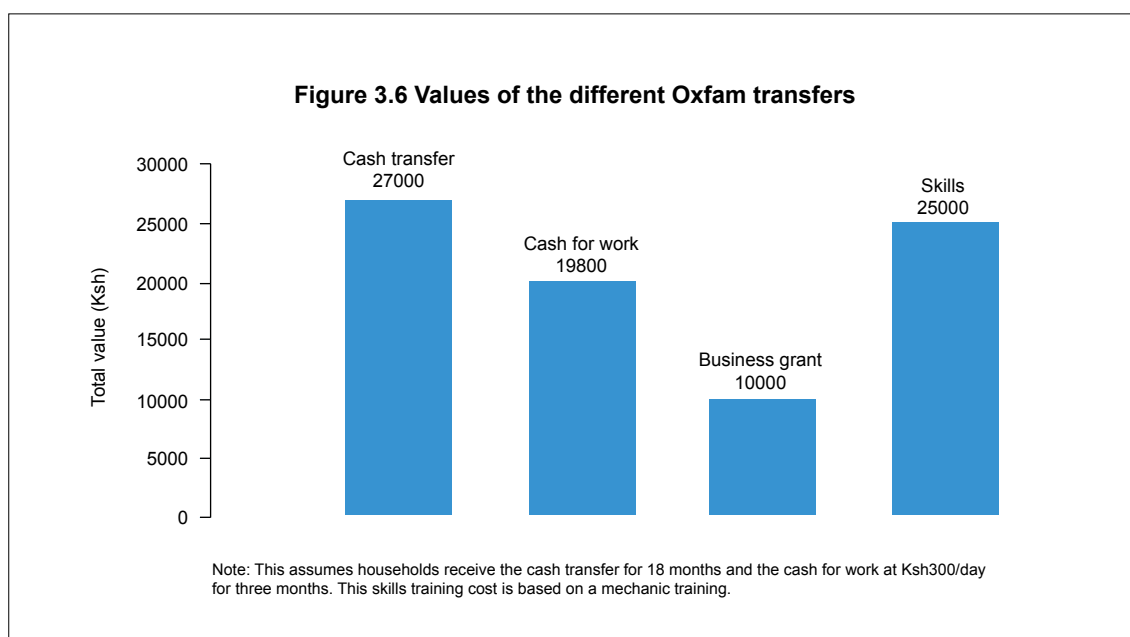
Third, Oxfam did not specify clear triggers for entry or exit. Essentially, the programme’s start and end was driven by funding rather than analysis of changes in vulnerability, the end of the crisis, or a change in the political value of the programme. It is quite likely that such analysis would have indicated a reduction in vulnerability amongst recipients, and some cementing of the political acceptability of this programme. It is also clearly the case that the funding environment meant that exit based on such a technical analysis was not feasible. However, exit triggers could have been more logically justified. If programme exit was based on vulnerability indicators, such as the IPC, then the NUSPP would be entering a new phase rather than exiting Mukuru. Therefore, the identification of objective conditions for entry and exit is a vital component of crisis response, particularly for the government, and it would have been easier to argue this case had Oxfam applied these conditions to their own programme.

Fourth, there are some slight concerns with the setting of the value of the different types of support. First, the values of the cash transfers were set at Ksh1,500 per household per month in consultation with the government who wished these values to match their own programmes. In order to retain the support and interest of the government, this was almost certainly the correct choice. It also remains the correct decision to continue to align the payment value with government programmes, particularly the cash transfer for orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) and older persons (see also Kimetrica 2011).

However, it may be sensible to advocate for changes to that value in Kenya. Moreover, for urban programmes elsewhere, a fixed transfer per household that is insensitive to inflation is unlikely to be the most effective use of resources. Varying the transfer by the size of the household is sensible both because larger households have greater expenditures and because in urban informal Nairobi, larger households are more likely to be poor (World Bank 2009; MacAuslan and Schofield 2011). Revising the transfer on the basis of inflation at least every year is important in the context of such rapidly rising prices if the cash aims to provide protection for vulnerable households affected by inflation. The electronic payment technologies make the delivery of different amounts possible at comparatively low cost. The greater challenge is in having adequate budget predictions (Kimetrica 2011) and dissuading manipulation of household size by recipients.

Next, the size of the business grants, the cash for work wage, and the value of the trainings given to those households who were able to exit from the programme were arguably too high, and lowering these values could have allowed resources to be spread across a greater number of recipients. Figure 3.6 indicates the value of different transfers.

The wages for the cash for work were arguably too high at Ksh 250-300/day. This wage is higher than the Ksh250/day wage given in the government Kazi Kwa Vijana (KKV) public work programme and higher than the minimum wage for unskilled jobs. It is not clear why the cash transfer value was tied to government programmes but not the cash for work. Moreover, as well as having budget implications, the high wage reduces the extent to which the cash for work is attractive to only the most vulnerable households. As noted in the guidelines above, in a crisis, self-targeting can be one of the most efficient ways to allocate resources because richer households do not want to participate in difficult or degrading work. Moreover, if cash for work wages are set correctly, richer households are unlikely to give up existing paid work (so the cash for work does not distort private labour markets). The cash for work programme undoubtedly had positive impacts on those who participated (see section 5.2), and probably improved the sanitation in schools, clinics and around ditches that were cleaned. However, the targeting was imperfect (see section 4.2), and this could have been improved with a lower wage, which would also have allowed a greater number of CFW recipients, and discouraged some recipients from giving up other regularly but poorly paid work.



The value of the skills training seems high when presented in Figure 3.6. This report was written before most participants had completed skills training (only the driving training was completed), but given the investment in the training (and the opportunity costs to attend) a significant impact would be required to justify this approach.

The provision of business grants and skills training addressed constraints to economic growth around access to finance and low human capital. It is not clear that these are the key constraints to economic growth in urban informal Kenya (see section 5.2.1 for more details). In terms of the growth diagnostic framework above, it may be that insecurity and poor intellectual property rights may be more critical. More work is required to investigate this, and any strategy designed to address growth should be based on a thorough analysis of this context.

Moreover, if access to finance was a key constraint, the design of the programme may not have been optimal to address it. Small businesses typically require access to flexible finance rather than a one off grant at a time specified by Oxfam. It may have been more appropriate to offer part of the grant as a loan that businesses could take out when required, using the cash transfer as collateral and linked to training around good financial management practices.

The final concern about the design relates to the possibility of scaling up the exit strategies. To the extent that this programme was designed as a pilot for wider government action, it is important that it can be implemented at scale. There seems some consensus that these kinds of exit strategies at scale are important (Kimetrica 2011). Currently, however, there are two concerns about this that should perhaps receive more attention. First, can training quality be maintained at a larger scale? Second, would there be demand for these skills and small businesses on a large scale? As Kimetrica note (2011: 71):

At scale, there is a risk that particular value chains or business opportunities will be swamped. Part of the long-term strategy for a scaled up programme will entail regular value chain analysis of potential small business activities and opportunities.

It is important that the participants in skills training and business grants are followed up over the next six months and one year to ascertain whether the skills and businesses are generating sustainable financial returns. Concern Worldwide are running a similar programme, and lessons from their evaluation would also be useful. Finally, Innovations for Poverty Action (IPA) are running a randomised controlled trial of the impact of vocational training in Kenya, with results due in 2012 or 2013. These results would be useful for the Kenya programme.

3.2.3 Timeliness of intervention

At one level, the NUSPP was clearly very timely. Oxfam (and others) intervened after a chronic poverty situation worsened into an acute food price crisis. At the same time, they capitalised on openness from parts of the government towards urban social protection (first expressed in the plans for an Urban Food Subsidy).

However, there are two types of consideration that nuance this picture. First, it remains extremely difficult in slow onset urban emergencies to say when chronic poverty turns to crisis, and back. This underlies the uncertainty about entry and exit triggers above. It also significantly complicates the assessment of timeliness. The programme had a positive impact and stopped some negative and spiralling processes (see section 5.2). However, it is not clear whether intervening one month earlier or one month later would have affected this significantly. Moreover, given that prices and nutritional indicators appeared to be worsening in some areas in late 2011 (except for recipients of the cash and other support), the programme has stopped at a time when the crisis has not fully receded. The impact of the rising food prices and drought in Kenya and the region is likely to still be felt on consumption, displacement, and employment in urban areas. Much more work is required in this area. Part of this is being conducted by Concern Worldwide in Kenya.

Oxfam staff are clearly aware of these problems. They are also aware that the design of the programme – initially 1.5 and then two years for a humanitarian response and exit – was insufficient fully to address the crisis given the extent of chronic poverty and persistently high food prices. Greater clarity around the risks to the programme success (such as persistently high food prices) might have been useful. In addition, the advocacy agenda was also unlikely to be completed within the short timeframe, given the difficulty of engaging with the government.

Second, there were a range of bottlenecks that slowed implementation. These have been investigated more thoroughly in Kimetrica (2011), on which this list is based. For Oxfam, activities that caused potential delays included:

- Time taken to raise funds, write proposals, receive funding, sign contracts, and make transfers
- Resistance, fatigue and unrealistic expectations from local authorities and elders
- The time taken to contact all potential recipients and to explain their rights and responsibilities
- The time taken to train social workers
- The time taken to undertake questionnaire targeting
- Time taken to verify registration
- The need to provide support to MSDP
- The time taken to identify viable exit strategies, particularly for those with low levels of entrepreneurship.

3.3 EFSL in Port-au-Prince⁴⁵

3.3.1 Appropriateness of objectives and activities

The overall objective of the programme was “to contribute to the economic and livelihoods recovery of vulnerable households in Port-au-Prince.”⁴⁶ The specific objective of the EFSL programme was to improve the food security situation for 12,420 vulnerable households through the rehabilitation of livelihoods and better access to basic services. On a cursory assessment of the need in Port-au-Prince after the earthquake this appears an entirely appropriate objective.

However, Levron (2011) argues that the EFSL interventions were largely guided by pragmatism rather than a comprehensive assessment of livelihoods and livelihood zones. He notes some significant changes in the delivery of the programme and that “programs have been constantly readjusted and adapted to the urban context (social fabric, presence of relevant stakeholders, etc.) as well as on the basis of the MEAL outcomes.” Oxfam staff observe that targeting was extremely challenging given a vast potential target population and unclear possibilities for inter-sectoral collaboration (for instance with WaSH programmes). Moreover, Levron (2011: 7) notes a contrast between “vague qualitative log frame objectives (e.g. ‘to contribute to the economic and livelihoods recovery’) and precise quantitative objectives.” It is not entirely clear whether this contrast is deemed inappropriate. However, on a review of the log frame it appears as though the qualitative overall objectives then link sensibly to a more quantitative ‘specific objective’ and several results, which are largely quantitatively specified. This seems appropriate, and contrasts favourably with Gaza’s vaguer log frame.

Levron makes no further comment on the appropriateness of the activities. However, on a brief review of the log frame, it seems that the activities outlined under the programme clearly catered to the urban population. They included activities such as support to SMEs, MFIs (although support to MFIs was never implemented) and petty traders, service providers, etc. and institutional integration of the programme (coordination with local authorities). Activities concerned inter-agencies coordination, e.g. Oxfam GB led the Early Recovery/Livelihoods Working Group. However, the full list of activities (Levron 2011 Annex 2) indicates a very large range of activities. This also included a large diversity of implementation modalities and beneficiary selection criteria. This may be appropriate to the diverse urban setting. However, the impact of the programme may have been enhanced by a tighter geographic and programmatic focus.

3.3.2 Effectiveness of activities

3.3.2.1 Appropriateness

Levron (2011) notes that the livelihoods zones and constraints/potentialities of certain areas within the metropolis were not deeply analysed (probably due to time constraints). A deeper analysis of these zones may have allowed a more effective allocation of resources, in particular through a more sensible investment in businesses that had effective markets. The limited analysis caused some activities to

be implemented in inappropriate places, and others to be missed. Partly, this was motivated by an assessment of the likelihood of long-term opportunities rather than the extent of the destruction of the earthquake.

Box 3.1 Specialise activities in central and peripheral markets

In Corail Camp (located on the outskirts of the Metropolitan Area), Marie Carmelle Delva – a beautician with 10 years experience – was supported by Oxfam GB with a Cash Grant amounting to 400 USD, so as to propose a wider range of services in her beauty salon (she restarted her business with her own resources and family support). However, she is facing now a harsh concurrence, as 30 beauty salons in this camp already exist. This example demonstrates that some specialized urban business can be sustainable and profitable under certain conditions (good opportunity costs and comparative advantage).

Corail, which is a camp that aims at resettling people living in the largest IDPs camp (Golf), will probably be developed as a secondary city and being part of the Metropolitan area. Nevertheless, this place remains not integrated and particularly isolated and can hardly absorb such a concentration of specialized services.

Whereas some existing basic services (restaurants, small shops) are profitable (respondents asserted they sale on average an amount of 75 USD of goods per day), revenues of beauty salons in this isolated area remain very unstable.

The setting-up of thirty or so beauty salons within an accessible neighbourhood of the metropolitan area could have generated great positive externalities (people from others 'quartiers' would have come to this neighbourhood to get this specialized service), but in Corail the remoteness of the camp cannot enable this advantage.

Source: Levron 2011

3.3.2.2 Value for money

Levron also found that the project implementation was made difficult as the recipients were scattered across different locations. The ambitious project approach was to tackle urban vulnerability with different activities within a large number of neighbourhoods. The projects' cost efficiency was affected by the presence of many direct and indirect costs such as time, transport, administrative costs, management, etc.

The implementation process was hampered by technical choices, more specifically for in-kind distribution which also proved to be very poorly cost-efficient. Most of the recipients who received vouchers (later to be redeemed in certain shops for tools replacement) had complaints regarding the unavailability or bad quality of the tools and the attitude of the shop owners. The approach was also very poorly adapted to the diverse characteristics and needs of the urban context. Implementation of vouchers programmes as well as any in-kind support is complicated, takes long and involves identification and setting up of contracts with shopkeeper, design of toolkits, etc., apart from the problems of many suppliers failing to respect contracts with Oxfam.

Cash transfer methods used in Port-au-Prince optimized the transaction costs, and provided flexibility for the use of the transfer amount. There were different possible options such as NGOs, Banks, Caisse populaire, MFIs, Mobile Money Services where each had comparative advantages such as cost per transfer and access/coverage within the metropolitan area.

Oxfam GB opted for cash transfer through bank system (Unitransfer), despite the availability of other service providers with comparative advantage.⁴⁷ This was following an assessment by the finance team.⁴⁸ The largest MFI in Haiti (Fonkoze) proposed cost per transfer to be half as expensive (1 USD against 2 USD of Unitransfer), more flexibility and short waiting time for recipients. However, it was time and resources intensive to address both emergency and benchmarking of all the MFIs in a troubled urban/institutional context.

Levron (2011) found that FGDs in Port-au-Prince with CBOs and Partners revealed that “in the neighbourhood, population want quality more than quantity. There was not enough resources allocated to our community and many persons remain poor with unsustainable livelihoods.” Disaster response with limited resources in densely populated urban areas is always likely to face a difficult trade-off between having a high quality impact on a small geographical area and operating over a large area but potentially having limited impact. In Port-au-Prince, the Oxfam EFSL team initially argued for a tighter geographical focus but these arguments were overturned on the basis of the humanitarian mandate and need to respond in many areas. In either case, selecting 10,000 households to receive support out of the 2.5 million inhabitants of Port-au-Prince was likely to be a significant challenge.

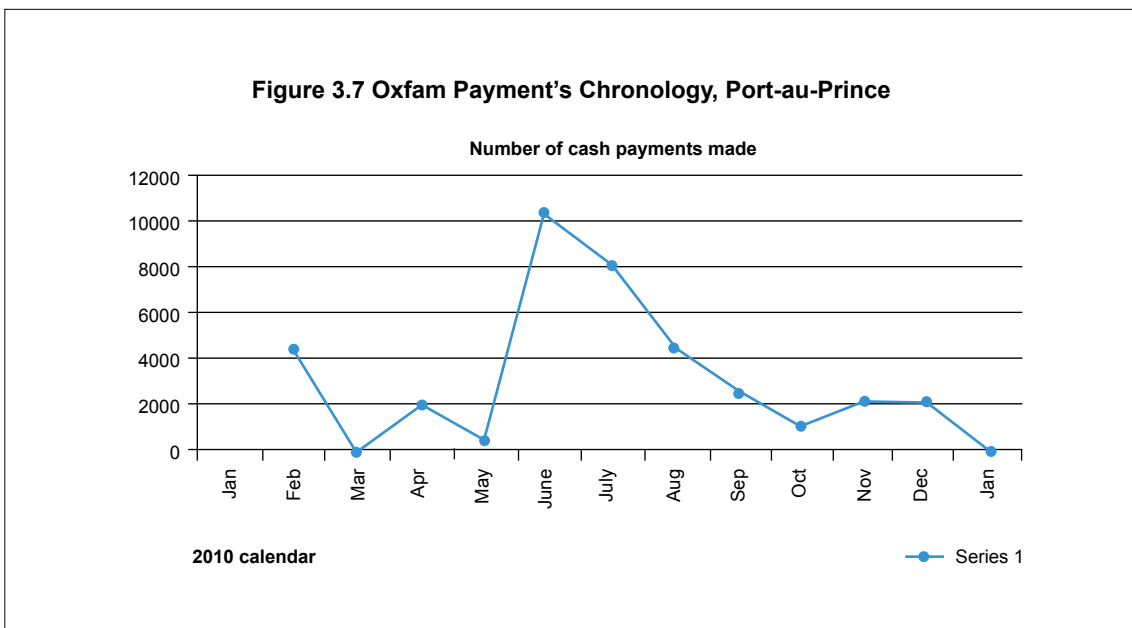
3.3.2.3 Adjustments to design

Levron (2011) argues that the intervention is remarkable in term of flexibility and adaptability. Approaches have been constantly adjusted to the urban context (social fabric, stakeholders, etc.) as well as to the lessons learnt. As a result, the impact of the implemented EFSL programme during Phase 2 (July-Dec. 10) was more significant than Phase 1. The use of cash transfer programming demonstrated its relevance, even if resources were too scattered to upgrade urban livelihoods in a sustainable way.

3.3.3 Timeliness

In Port-au-Prince, the programme was gradually implemented: Canteens and CFW activities (in Port-au-Prince) and then Cash Based Interventions and support to small ‘boutiques and professionals’ (in four additional communes of Delmas, Carrefour, Croix des Bouquets and Corail). There were also the instances of many interviewed petty traders and SME owners restarting with their own resources two months after the earthquake. As a result, in May 2010, when the EFSL programme took off (see chart below), around 85 per cent of the people living in the affected areas had already contracted debts (in a large majority for food and to a lower extent for business) and/or sold assets (around one third of the households).⁴⁹ It may have been more appropriate to consider the role of debt more fundamentally in the design of programmes. The EFSL team in Port-au-Prince was aware of this, but were unable successfully to make the case to obtain resources from donors and higher management. More research and advocacy on the (significant) role of debt would be useful for better understanding and designing humanitarian response.

Levron found that according to the interviewed recipients, the timeliness of the cash transfer is closely related to one of the main expenditures of the household i.e. the payment of the school fees. This could



really hamper the household budget. In Port-au-Prince, school fees debt reached an amount 4 times the Oxfam average grant. Hence, cash assistance was considered as an allowance for children going back to school in both Port-au-Prince and Gaza.

Levron makes no other comments on the timeliness of the programme.

3.4 Gaza Food Security and Livelihoods Programme

3.4.1 Appropriateness of objectives and activities

Levron (2011) notes that the Gaza Food Security and Livelihoods Programme is guided by measurable quantitative indicators such as increasing food access and income which run in contrast to the qualitative indicators of Port-au-Prince. The 'objectively verifiable indicators' and the log frame objectives aimed at increasing access to food and income generation by vulnerable households by the end of the project. As short term safety nets, these objectives are likely to be achievable. The project did not intend to be sustainable due to the limitations imposed by donors such as ECHO. The quantitative objectives only focussed on the percentage coverage of the programme, such as 100 per cent of the recipients have increased cash income. However, they failed to specify the expected impacts of the programme (such as increasing wages by 30 per cent).

The activities implemented in Gaza included projects with a dual role of improving food security and providing small scale income generation with a focus on small-scale animal breeding appropriate for the urban context and urban agriculture including rooftop and backyard gardens. Levron (2011) argues that these project activities were appropriate for recipients particularly from a rural background.

However, Levron's research also seems to indicate that some activities were appropriate for an urban context, particularly the Cash for Work activities which included sewing workshops for both men and women and community maintenance activities which focused specifically on men. He notes that

during a focus Group Discussion, a former seamstress and one of the beneficiaries living in the central area of Gaza City asserted that proximity of her household to a specialized clothes market which sells handmade clothes is a good prospect. This allows her to make and trade her own production. However, the presence of imported clothes in the markets acts as a barrier to this kind of entrepreneurship.

Levron also notes that the huge diversity of profiles within the urban population cannot be addressed through a single approach/activity and therefore some NGOs were obliged to adapt their training sessions according to the background of the recipients.

3.4.2 Effectiveness of activities

3.4.2.1 Value for Money

Levron argues that in Gaza as in Port-au-Prince there was insufficient analysis of the context, and this led to some inefficient allocation of resources. For instance:

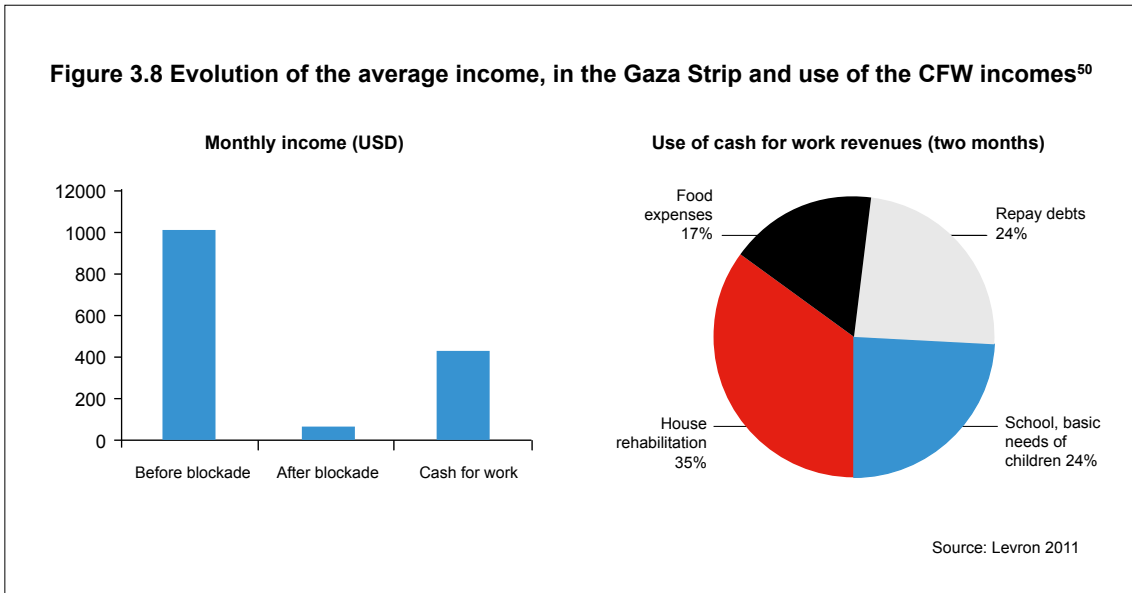
- Low sustainability of certain urban farming activities (Roof Top Garden and Backyard Garden) which require high water consumption, although this is now being addressed through pilots of utilising grey water systems and aquaponics are being piloted by FAO for the Gaza context. Though animal rearing activities such as rabbits and chicken rearing were success stories in Gaza, it could also generate pollution in densely populated areas (unpleasant smells, diseases, epidemic risks).
- Low cost efficiency and lack of profitability of the produced assets on local markets, especially for city centre dwellers. Vegetables are already easily accessible on the local markets and a month of production only amounted to around 30 USD (while Roof Top Garden requires investing 1350 USD to equip each recipient).

Moreover, the recipients were often very scattered and this made it difficult and costly to contact them.

3.4.2.2 Adjustments to the design

Levron found that a large majority of recipients failed to sustain the activities in certain central urban areas of Gaza. Only 26 per cent of the Roof Top Gardens were operational. In general, the Gazan project neither intended to nor reduced future vulnerabilities. This suggests that some adjustments to the design are required if longer term, more sustainable impacts are required.

In particular, it may be that in order to achieve longer-term sustainable impacts, the grant size may need revising. Levron argues that in general, cash transfer (through CFW or grants) provides a safety net and allows recipients to cover basic needs (school fees/expenditures, debt repayment, food items). However, it cannot enable a household to restart an activity in a sustainable way. Similarly, the FGD held in the suburban area of Gaza City shows that all selected participants use their income in a similar way (see Figure 3.8). This has been an ongoing challenge for the OGB team in Gaza in relation to, specifically, ECHO funding which has been the main funding avenue for OGB projects. Whilst ECHO had, in the past, given more scope for supporting small-scale income generation activities, there was clear guidance from them that this was not to be viewed as longer-term development funding. Indeed in the last year, ECHO has returned to their core mandate of life-saving activities only with the support for even small-scale income generation activities being stopped.



3.4.2.3 Timeliness

Levron (2011) makes no specific comments on timeliness in Gaza. The timing of the Gaza intervention was related to the 2007 blockade, following which there were extreme restrictions on the import and export of goods and movement of people. This was followed by Operation Cast Lead launched by the Israeli forces in the winter of 2008/09 resulting in large-scale destruction, violence and death. The OGB programme scaled up to provides emergency relief in the immediate aftermath of Operation Cast Lead and thereafter maintained the scale of the programme in delivery of its food security and livelihood programme. A 3-year Economic Regeneration Programme has also been developed starting in April 2010 to support value chain development in 3 sectors.

4 Targeting

4.1 Introduction

This section analyses the targeting process and outcomes for each programme. Specifically, it seeks to address the following questions:

- What identification process was used to target beneficiaries? How effective was it in identifying both target group and target areas? How effectively did partners apply the agreed selection tools and criteria? What was the level of involvement of the community in the selection process? What were the challenges the partners faced with the selection process? What are the recommended selection criteria and process that could be applied to this programme and other urban contexts? What progress has been made in identifying targeting indicators (one of the original programme objectives)?

The choice of targeting approach and mechanism is one of the most significant challenges to chronic poverty and humanitarian work in urban areas. Selecting the most appropriate method (or identification process) requires flexibility and inventiveness, and even the best method is likely to leave many people excluded and resentful.

This report does not contain results from a full quantitative assessment of the targeting process in any city in terms of the effectiveness with which it selected the poorest, most vulnerable, most food insecure or most affected. Rather, it presents findings based on qualitative research on the process and perceived effectiveness of targeting. These results should not, therefore, be interpreted as definitive or final. Given the uncertainty over what is the best urban targeting process, a larger quantitative analysis of urban targeting may be a worthwhile exercise. However, this sort of funding is probably beyond the reasonable scope of Oxfam or other NGOs.

4.2 Nairobi urban social protection programme

4.2.1 Targeting approach

The NUSPP aimed to target the most vulnerable households in urban informal Nairobi. Focusing on vulnerability seems sensible given the continued existence of shocks and stresses. In practice, this meant supporting households that were both vulnerable to future shocks and that had been affected by previous shocks. Again, this was entirely reasonable given the cumulative shocks identified above. This was agreed in other reviews (Kimetrica 2011).

However, while the targeting approach was overall clearly sensible, it leaves two important questions. First, how should the most appropriate target group in urban areas be defined given that there are other government social protection schemes running? For example, how should an urban social protection programme be targeted in areas where government cash transfer programmes (targeted at poor households with children, older people, and people with disability) are already running? Second, should there be a different targeting approach in chronic poverty and crisis times?

Given the objective to support the government in developing urban social protection for vulnerable household in urban areas of Kenya more broadly, answering these questions is important, and they have not currently been addressed. This evaluation does not suggest that this should have already been done by Oxfam staff. The first did not arise, since the OVC programme was not running in Mukuru. However, some observations may be useful here.

Selecting the right targeting approach combines financial, feasibility and vulnerability considerations. In chronic poverty times, the rationale for social protection in urban areas beyond the current target groups must be either that households are unable to earn sufficient incomes to live minimally healthy lives or that many households would significantly deteriorate without support. A reasonable target for the first group would be the hardcore poor (but defined to include urban non-food essentials such was water, fuel and shelter) that are not already receiving cash transfers. Working out this number would require further analysis. However, the cost of providing Ksh 1,500 monthly to all (including those receiving other transfers)

hardcore urban poor households (estimated at 196,998 households based on the KIHBS 2005-06 poverty figures and the 2009 census) would cost around USD43 million per year, or 0.31% of government expenditure. Although further fiscal analysis would be required to assess whether this is sustainable, it does not appear on first glance to be prohibitively large.

The second group is much harder to identify. This is because there are currently no effective data on households likely to fall into future poverty. However, the group is likely to be larger and more expensive. If all 926,113 urban food poor households were targeted for a monthly Ksh 1,500 transfer, the annual cost would be USD201.7 million per year, or 1.44% of total government expenditure.

In addressing chronic poverty in the long-run, aligning targeting with the government's existing categorically targeting cash transfer programmes is critical. These programmes are a cash transfer for orphans and vulnerable children (OVC), an older persons cash transfer (OPCT), and a cash transfer for people with disabilities. All are targeting using a proxy means test (PMT). While these programmes are currently not operating at scale in much of urban Kenya (including Mukuru), there is an important question of who amongst the urban vulnerable would not be covered by these three transfers. Answering this question is important in terms of advocacy: should Oxfam be arguing that the government scale up only these programmes, or that an additional programme with a different targeting methodology is required?

Initial investigations suggest that proportion of urban informal households not eligible for government transfers irrespective of their poverty status is small but very poor. Data for this calculation are not easily available for urban Kenya and further investigation using survey data is required to confirm this. Concern Worldwide implemented a census targeting approach in Korogocho (another informal settlement in Nairobi), producing a database of (almost) all households in the area. This should give an excellent approximation for this one area of Kenya. Analysis of this database shows that only five per cent of households contain no children, older people, or people with disabilities and therefore would not qualify for the government programmes on this basis. Of this five per cent, some are extremely poor and would certainly be included in programmes focused on the poorest and most vulnerable households. As Table 4.1 shows, 22% of them were selected for Concern's programme (which targeted on the basis of vulnerability).

Table 4.1 Households without children, older people or people with disabilities in Korogocho

	Not Selected	Selected	Total
Total	7222	4001	11223
No children, old-age or disabled	507	145	652
%	7%	3%	5%

Source: Concern Worldwide census. Cited with permission from Concern Worldwide.

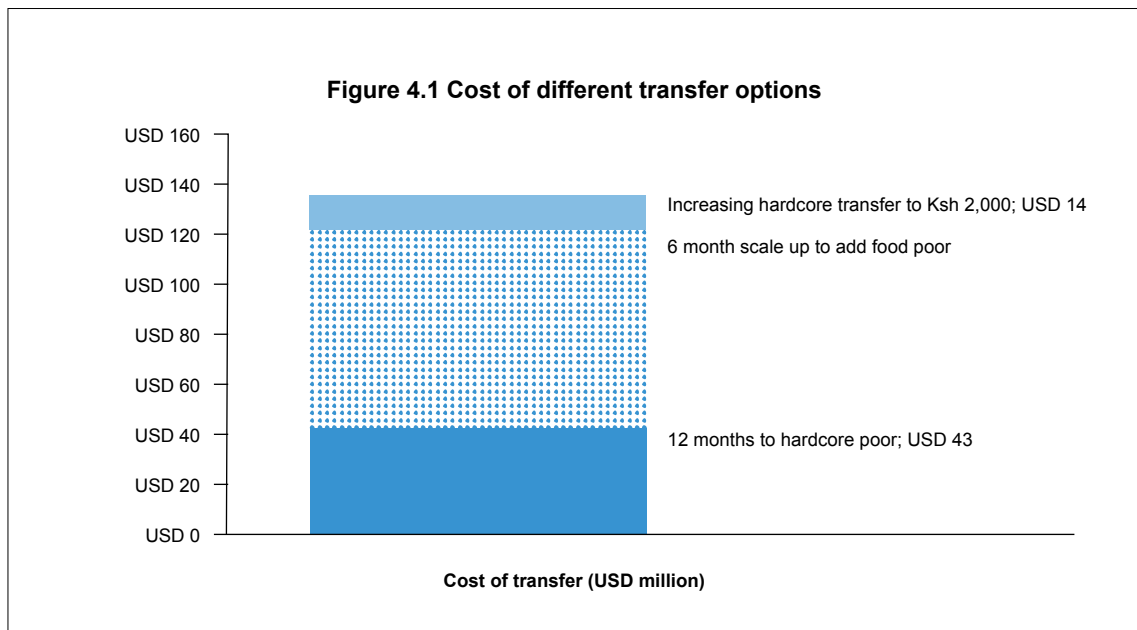
Given this, is it more appropriate to advocate that:

1. The government scale up their existing categorical cash transfer programmes and raise the poverty threshold to cover the urban hardcore poor, and that NGOs run a separate programme aiming to target the other five per cent and those without identity cards?
2. The government introduce a new urban cash transfer programme to cover all urban vulnerable, targeted on vulnerability?

Further thought needs to be given to this difficult question. However, it may be that given that the government is already implementing three cash transfer programmes, and given that categorical targeting has some political mileage in Kenya, the most appropriate advocacy strategy in the short-term is to continue to raise awareness of urban informal vulnerabilities so that these areas are prioritised for scaled up existing programmes. The political acceptability of these programmes in Kenya may be enhanced by introducing a soft conditionality (i.e. not one attached to a financial penalty) on school attendance for children. Targeting the group excluded from these categories is challenging since they have no obvious identifying characteristics, and Oxfam could devote resources to designing a targeting system that captures that group. Advocating that

the government transfers cash to these groups would require them to design and implement a cash transfer that is separate to their existing systems and this would need to be integrated with the MIS, payment systems and other administrative systems of the three transfers currently running.

In crisis times (assuming these could be identified), it seems reasonable in any case that a larger target group should be selected. This would therefore add to the 'normal' set of transfers to poor households with children, older people and disabilities, and the hardcore poor. Much more research needs to be done to decide what this target approach should be, based on need and fiscal sustainability. A crisis transfer of Ksh 1,500 for 6 months to all the food poor not already covered would add USD 79 million. Increasing the value of the transfer to the hardcore poor to Ksh 2000 would add a further USD 14 million. This is shown in Figure 4.1.



4.2.2 Targeting mechanism

The targeting mechanism is the process designed to identify the target group. The targeting process had two main stages: geographical targeting and then selection of households. The next section looks at targeting for graduation.

4.2.2.1 Geographical targeting

The geographical targeting was set out above in section 3.2.2.3. Some geographical targeting was clearly necessary due to absolute resource constraints. However, as this section indicated, there were a number of difficulties with the targeting process. Specifically, the areas selected, while certainly poor, were probably not the poorest urban areas in Kenya. It was certainly appropriate to work in slums, which as the analysis above set out area clearly much worse off than the average urban area. This approach should be repeated. However, a targeting process based on poverty would have improved the efficiency with which resources were spent.

This does not necessarily mean that it would have been better to select areas based purely on poverty rates. There are three reasons for this. First, in urban areas in particular, the selection of places to transfer resources is a political decision. In view of the important objective of engaging with the government, it was appropriate to begin the pilot in Nairobi, which had some political support behind it, even if other areas had higher poverty incidences. The next iteration of the programme in Mombasa illustrates the importance of aligning with government, as this programme could be very influential in a larger scale-up. Second, it was also reasonable to work through existing partners with some capacity, as was the case in Mukuru, and where others were not working. Third, accurate data may not have been available to do this, given that the last poverty figures were from 2005-06 and the last census data (at the time) were from 1999.

Nonetheless, in other programmes it may be sensible to base geographical targeting on the incidence and depth of poverty, as much as possible (i.e. within Nairobi or even Mukuru). New advances in technology are making this easier. For instance, Concern Worldwide has produced geographic information system (GIS) data on vulnerability over time that graphically indicates the areas of high vulnerability (based on food security). Focusing resources in these areas may be sensible. These types of exercises could be conducted outside a crisis period.

In part, this was the case in Mukuru, as at the local level targeting focused on areas that were identified by local stakeholders as particularly badly off. For instance, focus groups of key stakeholders informed MSDP that houses near the river were worse off because they would flood during the rain.

4.2.2.2 Household targeting

This section looks first at the process followed in selecting households, and then considers whether it was effective.

Process

The targeting mechanism was designed to use local community knowledge and external objectivity. The intended steps were:

1. Community entry to sensitise key stakeholders and produce information about Mukuru, including zones where the poorest live.
2. Development of targeting criteria with community representatives, which are then verified at a wider community meeting.
3. Establishment of committees to oversee the recipient identification process.
4. Identification of the target households by the community, who “discusses and debates on a household’s entry to this programme.”⁵¹
5. Household visits by partner staff to obtain further information about selected households and exclude any perceived not to be appropriate.
6. Verification and registration. At this point teams review the forms collected for each household to eliminate duplications and cross-verify selections.
7. A further 10% household random verification by Oxfam and focus groups to triangulate targeting effectiveness. In practice, the political nature of the targeting exercise and its importance as a model for scale-up meant that 40% of selected households were checked.⁵²
8. Development of final list of recipients.

The stakeholder groups decided to collect information on marital status; number of children, education status, and place of residence; employment status; and duration lived in Mukuru (with preference given to those who have lived there for more than one year, and IDPs).

Targeting then centred on three types of recipients:⁵³

1. People in chronically food insecure situations due to unemployment and special population groups in the target areas.
2. Social sector recipients, living positively, single-headed and with many children. These households were assessed by looking at their rental status, the employment status of parents, the number of children, the means of preparing fuel and the frequency of sleeping without food to clarify that needs were greater than means.
3. People affected by short-term emergencies, accidents, ill-health high-risk coping strategies, or an inability to access social services. The targeting focused principally on man-made events.

This process was approximately followed, run by MSDP, although there were some important deviations. First, it would be wrong to call this ‘community-based targeting’. The ‘community’ in step four – the

crucial step of identifying recipient households – was in practice community health workers (CHWs), not community members invited to a public meeting. MSDP reported that once the targeting criteria had been decided, they called CHWs and asked them to identify households in these categories in their areas. Thus although Kimetrica (2011: 7) notes that “CBT can be effective – as Oxfam/Concern proved,” this is not community targeting as usually understood in a rural setting.

The role of the CHWs in this process caused some problems for targeting effectiveness. This was either because CHWs did not know everyone in their area (which is natural given the speed of change and density of the population) or because (in the view of some non-recipients), they favoured their friends and relatives. The incentives for CHWs to work hard to uncover every vulnerable household in their area were minimal, since they were not paid for their work in the targeting process.

Second, the criteria for selection were applied subjectively, largely by community health workers and MSDP staff. This was problematic particularly since there was no effective verification by community members (except to a degree in Oxfam’s focus groups, after the targeting lists were finalised). The principal difficulty with this subjective interpretation is that it is not clear how to distinguish between two households who both fulfil some of the criteria. A choice would have needed to be made because MSDP felt that they had a quota of 3,000 households,⁵⁴ and more than 3000 were initially registered as eligible, since the CHWs had no quota and there were other avenues to apply (see below). Having an objective scorecard, as in the Haiti example given above, would at least create a basis for any distinction. Without this, there is considerable scope for abuse of the process by individuals that have a personal stake in the selection (because they are related to, friends or acquaintances with, or indebted to a potential recipient).

Given that it is very difficult to exclude local stakeholders from a targeting process but various reports suggest that they can have a negative effect on targeting if allowed too much subjectivity (see also MacAuslan and Schofield 2011 for a more detailed examination of this issue in Korogocho), it would be sensible to curtail their scope for control by making the process more objective.

It would also be sensible to think further about the incentives of local officials to deliver effective targeting. Currently, the main reason to work hard at identifying the neediest households (given that they will be hard to find) is an ethical one: that community health workers want to assist the neediest. For many individuals, this may be enough. However, it is worth considering further what other mechanisms could be used to improve the performance who do not have such strong motivations, or who have many other demands on their time (as many CHWs do). One possibility would be to consider a performance related bonus: an additional payment based on the score in a random verification process (which would then have to carefully managed).

Third, at some point in the process of identifying households, it was possible for households to apply directly to MSDP by coming to their offices. Many households reported being informed by CHWs, friends, relatives, MSDP staff, or local village officials. MSDP staff were clear that they used churches and schools to spread information. It was clear that there was significant spread of information through word of mouth. In a densely populated urban setting, this is unsurprising. Given the general weakness in social networks, however, it is also unsurprising that many households had not heard about this at all. The possibility of applying directly to MSDP undermined the integrity of the targeting process, because these households were subject to comparatively little scrutiny (especially if they were not visited at home).

Fourth, MSDP was not able to visit all the households identified, as step five suggests that they should. They did, however, check some households and found that several had faked their status. These households were removed. However, for the unchecked households, the targeting process relied on the validity of the information they provided. As noted in section 2.5.3, this is extremely risky, particularly when the information asked for (which included income, employment, and frequency of hunger) is so easy to fake so hard to check without visiting households.

Overall, given the difficulty of community involvement and the incentives for local stakeholders, it may be worth trying a census-based approach based on objective vulnerability criteria to ensure that all households were visited and selected on the basis of vulnerability. This approach was used by Concern Worldwide in Korogocho in July-September 2011 and is currently being evaluated. Local stakeholders could be involved in identifying those they think have missed out, and in encouraging others to apply.

Fifth, the Oxfam verification practices were unlikely to be effective. First, the random Oxfam survey of around 40% of selected households indicated some fairly significant inclusion errors, but the response to this was to remove these households rather than respond to the likelihood that this inclusion error applied to all households. This was largely because the verification process was run at a stage in implementation when it would have been very awkward from a budget and practical point of view to rerun targeting. It would be sensible in future to build in a phase for verification. It may be the case that the number of households who failed the various verification phases is quite significant, but there is no single database that allows this number to be identified. This underlines further the importance of investing in a management information system at the start of the project that could align with the government registry.

Second, the non-recipients in the focus groups used to triangulate the selection process were selected together with the CHWs. This was problematic because the main cause for complaint was likely to have been the CHWs, but respondents selected by CHWs are less likely to complain. Respondents could be selected instead through snowball sampling or random house visits.

Aside from these deviations from the process, which are likely to have reduced the effectiveness of targeting, there was a widely agreed problem with the design of the targeting and payment process: that selected households had to include a member with a national identity card, and had to live in a house. Homeless families are in practice virtually impossible to involve in programmes of this type, and much more work needs to be done to include them in social programming. Households without identity cards cannot use the M-PESA system, due to legal regulations that apply to financial institutions, including Safaricom. Oxfam attempted to negotiate with Safaricom to address this, but it proved impossible. Provision was made for recipients without ID cards, such as child-headed households, to nominate alternative recipients, and around 480 did so.⁵⁵

It was estimated that around 300 households did not have identity cards and were unable to nominate others.⁵⁶ Partner staff felt that these households were largely headed by drunkards, but they presumably also included some child-headed households. They were given some time to acquire identity cards, but were unable to do so. There were some plans to assist them with rehabilitation, but this did not take place for lack of funding.

It remains likely, however, that these households without identity cards (and particularly child headed households that were ineligible for identity cards), and the homeless were amongst the most vulnerable in the area. It seems that a cash transfer is not the most appropriate way to support them, given the constraints to targeting and transferring cash. Other options for supporting them include institutional care and more extensive social work, but both may be beyond the capacity of the government to deliver with quality at present. If Oxfam is serious about supporting the most vulnerable individuals in urban informal areas, it needs to consider options for these types of individuals who are likely to be missed by cash transfer schemes.

Outcomes

Overall, research conducted for this report indicates that this targeting design and process was reasonable effective given the constraints. However, it does not seem fully appropriate to serve unchanged as a model for replication.

In order to assess targeting effectiveness fully, a quantitative survey would be required. It is recommended that this is undertaken with different targeting mechanisms in order to inform the design of a scaled up targeting system.

On the basis of the limited fieldwork for this study, broadly speaking, the targeting process identified many vulnerable households, but excluded many more and included some that were probably not as vulnerable as others not on the programme. This generated some resentment, particularly among non-recipients, but this was felt less by community health workers (perhaps because they do not know non-recipients very well).

A large amount of exclusion error was driven by the small number of transfers made, meaning that many vulnerable people simply could not be reached. This is known as under coverage. Oxfam staff are aware of this. Had it been known at the outset that more funding would be obtained (through the Tolkien Trust); it

might have been more efficient to try to reach more households for a shorter period. However, in the event the expected government funding did not materialise and the Tolkien money (initially intended for those who could not be selected by the cash transfer programme) was used to pay for additional cash transfers.

The process of recipient identification by community health workers (CHWs) led to a large amount of exclusion, and possibly inclusion. Several non-recipient respondents argued that they had been wrongly excluded because they were never contacted. Several recipient respondents appeared from their answers to be less vulnerable than some non-recipients interviewed. Although fieldwork was by no means intended to assess targeting outcomes, these subjective judgements and responses do indicate that there were significant errors not caused by undercoverage but by poor implementation.

The CHWs themselves note that there were some needy people that were not in the programme. Some of these were excluded because they lacked identity cards. In these cases, this was arguably a problem with the design.

4.2.2.3 Targeting for graduation

The process and outcomes of selection for exit programmes appeared rather less effective. Partly, this relates to the absence of clearly identifiable indicators to determine the appropriate end to the programme overall. However, there also seemed to be considerable confusion about when households should leave the programme and under what conditions, with the application of somewhat arbitrary conditions in a number of cases. For example, field work identified households who had higher dependency ratios and lower rates of income when they were exited from the programme, compared with when they entered the programme, as a result of suffering shocks.

Exit from the cash transfer

While Oxfam did not issue MSDP with any guidelines for when cash transfer recipients should leave the programme, MSDP staff and community health workers collaborated to decide when specific households should leave the programme. Early exit was based on a judgement that these households were now able to cope adequately without the cash transfer. In some cases, this judgement may have been correct, and several households in these categories confirmed this. In other cases, however, households were less convinced that they were able to cope and this early exit seemed inappropriate given the resources lost. In any case, it is strange that MSDP took it upon themselves to deliberately remove households, and clearer communication from Oxfam would have helped to rationalise the important process of exit.

In addition to this, 1047 households were dropped in October 2010 on the basis of an assessment by external consultants. The present report was unable to assess whether this was effective or not, but it again appears to have been a somewhat arbitrary or miscommunicated process.

It is clear, however, that some mechanism for removing recipients from cash transfers is required, particularly if the programme is to be scaled and institutionalised. In short-term humanitarian programmes, this is rarely a necessity, since households exit when the funding ends. In categorical programmes, exit occurs when the child becomes an adult, or on the death of the pensioner. However, with poverty programmes, there is an important need to identify exit criteria for individual households that can be applied simply and feasibly. This has not been done in Kenya, and Oxfam should contribute to this debate by piloting and evaluating some different possibilities. It seems likely that the most sensible at scale is a combination of a subjective assessment by local community health workers triggering a reassessment of poverty in an objective way, perhaps using a similar scorecard to that initially used.

Graduation from the cash transfer

Of the 1734 households still receiving cash transfers in March 2011, 619 households graduated to cash for work from April to December 2011,⁵⁷ with payment of Ksh 250 per day until June 2011, and Ksh 300 per day from July. From these 619 households,

- 138 individuals received skills transfer, mainly in driving, mechanics and hairdressing, but also in tailoring and catering.
- 240 individuals were trained in business skills

- 176 individuals were supported to start new businesses.⁵⁸

The comparatively high values of these graduation strategies have been noted elsewhere. In particular, the high value of the cash for work made it very attractive to households which made self-targeting problematic.

Selection for these exit strategies was made largely on the basis of a report by external consultants that interviewed a random sample of households in order to assess livelihood options for exit.⁵⁹ This report was influential in determining the exit options available.

There is some confusion as to whether this report also contributed directly to selecting households for these strategies. Some interviewees felt this was the case. If this was true, it would have been inappropriate, since the report was based on a random sample. Others felt that participation in all exit strategies was voluntary: that the cash for work was self-targeted, and then people on the cash for work were given the option of skills training or a business grant, and those physically unable to do cash for work were allowed to pass straight to skills or business. If this was the case, there were some problems with the flow of information, since many households felt that they had been excluded from these other options.

In practice, MSDP and Oxfam allowed some extremely vulnerable households that were unable to join cash for work or other options to remain on the cash transfer. This seems highly appropriate.

It seems, however, as though some partner staff may have registered households for exit options based on the random survey. Other households may have been able to join cash for work voluntarily, but those who did were probably those closest to CHWs and MSDP staff, or with effective social networks. Several households interviewed who did not join cash for work were extremely resentful of this process, which is odd if it really were self-targeting. The explanation is more likely not that they were turned away, but that they were never informed.

Even had it been fully implemented, a self-selecting process does not seem very efficient for graduation from this sort of programme, because if households really understood the options available to them, the options would be very over-subscribed (given the large amount of resources transferred). When scaled up, this would be extremely expensive.

This does not necessarily imply that self-targeting exit is the worst option. In the case of Oxfam's work in Mukuru, self-targeting may have been appropriate if the values of the exit strategies had been reduced and if information about them was communicated far more effectively (for instance through bulk text message when the transfer was sent). However, as noted elsewhere in this report, the options for graduation need to be reconsidered on the macroeconomic scale, and some analysis done in terms of the economic returns of different options.

4.3 EFSL in Port-au-Prince⁶⁰

Overall the targeting mechanism in Port-au-Prince was tailored to local context and was participatory in approach. Levron (2011) argues that Oxfam's approach in Port-au-Prince was too participatory and precise and that blanket targeting in affected areas might have been more effective given the disaster context. On the other hand, some precision would be required to identify affected areas precisely.

The targeting mechanism in Port-au-Prince laid down a lot of emphasis on household level, using a set of criteria. Both the programmes in Port-au-Prince and Gaza shared the questionnaires and criteria for the selection of recipients, the scoring methodology⁶¹ daily wages and number of working days for CFW activities.

In the metropolitan area of Port-au-Prince, the selection process was adapted to the local context. Specific criteria were applied to each area of intervention for each of the 8 target groups.⁶² However, the complexity brought some confusion in the application of selection criteria (especially within the areas where almost all the households could have been considered as vulnerable).

The participatory⁶³ and tailored targeting mechanism led Oxfam GB staff to spend considerable time on the verification of recipients. It was felt that the emergency nature of the situation and overall vulnerability of the target areas could have justified a more straightforward approach. Consequently, this time-consuming

selection process led to massive sale of assets and high level of household debt that could not be offset by Oxfam GB's grant. On average, losses amounted to six to eight months of incomes of the households. This seems a reasonable indication that targeting could have been simplified and accelerated. One possibility for crisis targeting explored elsewhere in this report is to use public works programmes to self-target only the most vulnerable households by setting the wage below private sector alternatives.

The targeting mechanism aimed at preventing a massive pull-factor towards the IDP camps, and there were insufficient financial resources to complement all the WaSH programmes in the IDP camps.⁶⁴ As a result, the EFSL interventions focused on the 'quartiers' at the outset of the programme. The effectiveness of this approach has not yet been assessed. However, several indicators, as well as the current approach developed by UN Habitat and many INGOs, highlight the relevance of an integrated approach, including both camps and their surrounding residential areas. There remains, however, the challenge of identifying the priority camps.

Although not mentioned in the targeting section, Levron (2011: 15) notes under impact that there was probably some corruption involved in the targeting process, with people selected to participate who were supporters of Oxfam's community based organisations. The extent of this is not clear from Levron (2011), and the report does not discuss how this occurred when Oxfam worked closely with partners and community based organisations to limit any single organisation's control and also set up an independent accountability committee.

4.4 Gaza Food Security and Livelihoods Programme⁶⁵

In Gaza, by contrast, Levron (2011) argues that the FSL team used a very well structured and comprehensive analysis methodology which focused on meso and micro level vulnerability criteria as well as selection after observation of the household conditions.

At the meso level, the vulnerabilities in urban areas were described through community rankings. 'Community ranking' summarised livelihoods zones which considered agricultural activities as less resilient than industrial and services activities. In addition, various other criteria of vulnerability such as impact of war and internal conflict, number of NGOs providing similar activities, security, access to market and women participation gave a comprehensive picture of the situation. Oxfam's choice of locations has been further supported by the December 2009 vulnerability report analysis carried out by FAO and WFP.⁶⁶ The report indicates that Rafah, Gaza and Khan Younis, the governorates had higher levels of prevalence of food insecurity (between 62%-64%).

Levron argues that the standardized approach for targeting in Gaza and multiplication of crosschecks meant that most selected households met the targeting criteria.⁶⁷ In all, 57 per cent of the recipients belong to the 'most vulnerable group' (with a score under 15) and 35 per cent had a score between 15 and 20). Only 6 per cent of the recipients were excluded from the vulnerable list. Around 90 per cent of the recipients had a low level of income and lacked capacity to restart an activity. These numbers certainly seem to indicate effective targeting, but a full analysis would involve some comparison with the distribution of poverty.

However, despite this, Levron (2011) suggests that the identification criteria are poorly adapted to the urban context. For example, many common criteria of vulnerability, relating to family size, single parent households, poor living conditions, etc. often do not apply to the Gazan urban context, which is more modern and institutionalized. In addition, only 5% of the targeted recipients in Gaza were female-headed families⁶⁸ while one-third of them lived in middle/good living conditions. According to an Oxfam research, 'The type and quality of housing is no longer an indicator of a household's poverty'. Other criteria such as 'family size' are now broadly considered as too restrictive and exclude many poor households.

In Gaza, chronic and new poverty⁶⁹ are not disaggregated among the target group. The latter are often excluded from aid and are reached after a long process of sale of assets and marginalization. Also, lack of humanitarian assistance from official institutions, makes them more exposed to food insecurity and vulnerability than the households headed by women (classified as hardship cases). Households who are selling their assets are underrepresented in the recipient lists. They are broadly recognized as particularly vulnerable (98 per cent of the recipients in Gaza have no assets or very basic assets inside their house).

4.5 Conclusions from Port-au-Prince and Gaza

Levron (2011) raises some important concerns about the use of proxy indicators and the difficulty of analysing and identifying households in urban settings. First, he argues that at a micro level, the use of Proxy Means Test Formula (PMTF) and scorings does not provide a comprehensive picture of urban vulnerability as it does not reflect poor social capital (isolation, inability to cope with poverty, access to basic services, regularity of the sources of income, access to loans, and drop in social status). The criticism of PMTs for incompleteness is common, and can often lead to their rejection by local stakeholders. However, it is important to note that the PMT is supposed to be used only to predict consumption expenditure poverty – not to provide a complete picture of the destitution of a household.

Second, Levron (2011) also finds that 'The Household vulnerability methodology' comprises two key components: 'Household demography and 'Economic status of the household'. This methodology aims at reflecting needs for assistance, using scores between 9 and 72. Nevertheless, the concepts of 'Household' and 'family' (plus 'extended family') are more complicated to define in urban setting and teams in charge of recipient identification need extensive training to handle this tool properly. For example, it was reported that teams had problems in classifying and reading ranking scores because they did not have the parameters to judge vulnerability.

Finally, Levron (2011) draws some conclusions about relevant targeting indicators from the review of Gaza and Port-au-Prince. These conclusions seem reasonable, but many apply more to disaster relief than slow onset emergencies. Additional targeting indicators could include:

- Isolation, remoteness and low access to transport infrastructure. In the Gaza Strip and Port-au-Prince, households which face high vulnerability criteria live in the most isolated area: e.g. Jéricho, Marassa 1 & 2, and Corail camps, which have the higher level of poor/borderline food consumption while 70 percent lived under the poverty line near these camps. These households face a number of challenges, such as scarcity and high cost of transportation to get access to urban markets, low diversity/opportunity of the labour market. Moreover, it has been observed in Gaza that many dwellers settled at the edge of the cities have a rural background and unadapted skills to urban economy (flexibility, ability to trade, mobility).
- Directly affected areas have higher prevalence of poor food consumption; e.g.: in Port-au-Prince, 27 percent of households in the directly affected areas had poor or borderline food consumption, in comparison to the 21 percent in the non-directly affected areas. Relocation camp/refugee camps can be considered as vulnerable urban settlements due to crowding and lack of appropriate space for women to develop small agriculture or for children to play.
- Internal Displacements: The displaced persons are more likely to remain vulnerable during a longer period as they are usually relying on their host families, particularly when they are disconnected from their livelihood zone. Loss of asset is more likely to strike the host families (e.g. In Port-au-Prince) living in non-affected areas. In Port-au-Prince, 90% of the host families are in debt (average debt load per household is 255 USD) while 64% of IDPs are unemployed in Bas Artibonite).
- Low human capital remains relevant in urban setting as households that report having a chronically ill/handicapped member, low skills/level of education; pregnant and lactating women are more likely to be food insecure (EFSA survey, in Port-au-Prince). Participatory selection of vulnerability criteria, undertaken in Croix-des-Bouquets with CBOs demonstrates the relevance of these criteria. Moreover, households that have school age children have the additional burden of school fees.
- New poverty and low social capital are often interlinked. These phenomena strike previously self-reliant families who are progressively falling into poverty due to the absence of job opportunities and their difficulty/reluctance to use some of the coping mechanism of the 'chronic poor' (informal petty trading, asking support to CBOs). This is clear from all three case studies in this report. In Gaza, women reported that their husbands often refused (although less from 2011 as needs grow) to work with local employers because they feel humiliated to work for them as they do not offer a contract and take advantage of employees through low wages and unpaid overtime. They do not dare to ask for help and are afraid of losing their dignity, as in Gaza some recipient lists are publicised on the streets. This is an important reminder of the importance of confidentiality in cash transfer – made possible by the new technologies available.

5 Impact

5.1 Introduction

This section examines impact, answering in particular:

- Impact: what positive change and tangible benefits have been realised by the beneficiaries as a result of the programme? Could they have achieved the same benefits in a different way? Is there any evidence of negative impact with regard to any aspect of the program? Were the objectives set out in the log frame achieved? Were there any other unplanned benefits?

The impacts of the three programmes are quite complex, given the diversity of objectives and activities. The methodological limitations mean that it has not been possible to compare precisely the differences in impacts between, for instance, cash transfers and canteens, or business grants and skill development, or to attribute impact quantitatively. As noted in the introduction, the speed of change in slums makes it difficult to assess exactly which changes are due to which programmes. However, using triangulated qualitative methods this section discusses the positive and negative impacts of different activities and suggests which are likely to lead to sustainable change on the basis of urban livelihoods.

5.2 Nairobi urban social protection programme

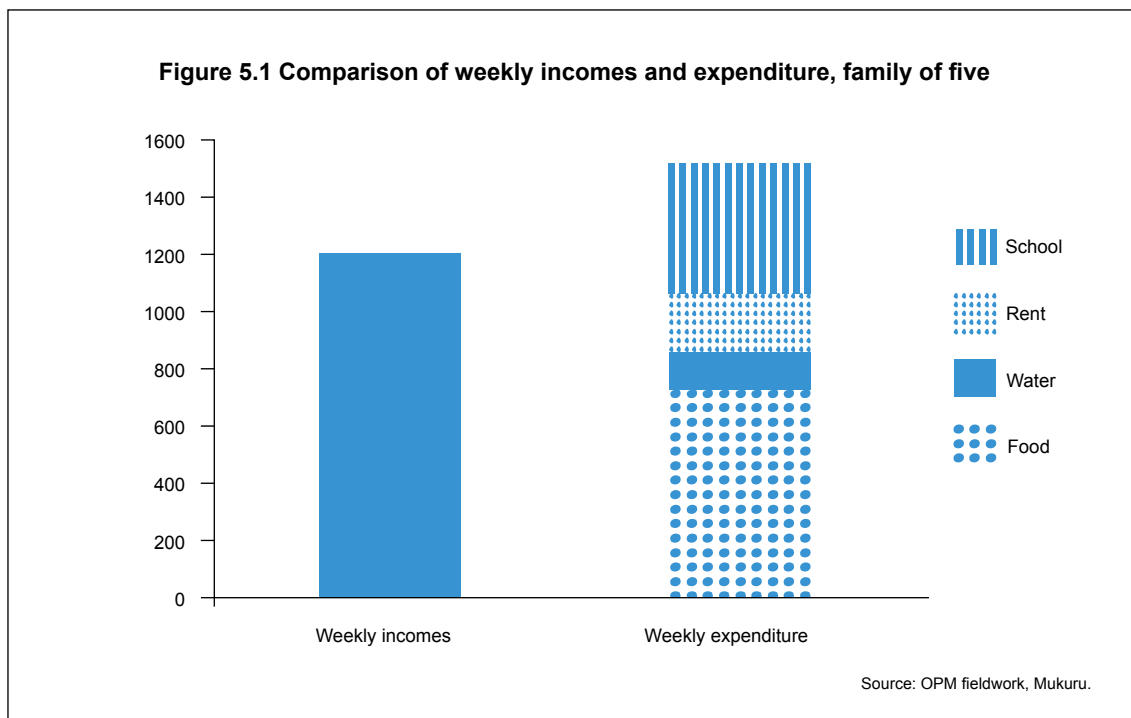
The two components of the NUSPP are taken separately. The next sub-section considers the impact of the cash transfer and exit strategies in Mukuru, and subsection 5.2.2 considers the impact on the wider social protection agenda. Overall, the impact of the NUSPP has been very positive. Staff in the Oxfam Nairobi urban social protection team and MSDP should feel proud of this programme, which could serve as the basis for an effective model elsewhere.

5.2.1 Social protection in Mukuru

The key areas of impact examined here are on food security and dietary diversity, humanitarian outcomes (saving lives), income generation, debt, schooling, and community impacts.

The impact of the programme varied significantly with the household composition and level of poverty. Figure 5.1 presents a comparison of the main incomes and basic expenditure for a family of five in Mukuru that was typical of those interviewed. Both adults would look for work every day of the week, but would probably find work two or three days per week each at a daily wage of around Ksh 200-300. The expenditures presented here are around the minimum to afford shelter, provide a minimally health meal, and keep three children in basic schooling. Even without any extravagance and with hard work, this family had weekly expenditures that were approximately Ksh 300 lower than the incomes that two adults were able to earn from casual labour.

Without the transfer, this difference would be covered by debt, which would be paid off in the event that either adult found more work. If they were unable to find work, eventually the debt would have to be paid by reducing their food intake, taking a child out of school, or engaging in a risky coping strategy.



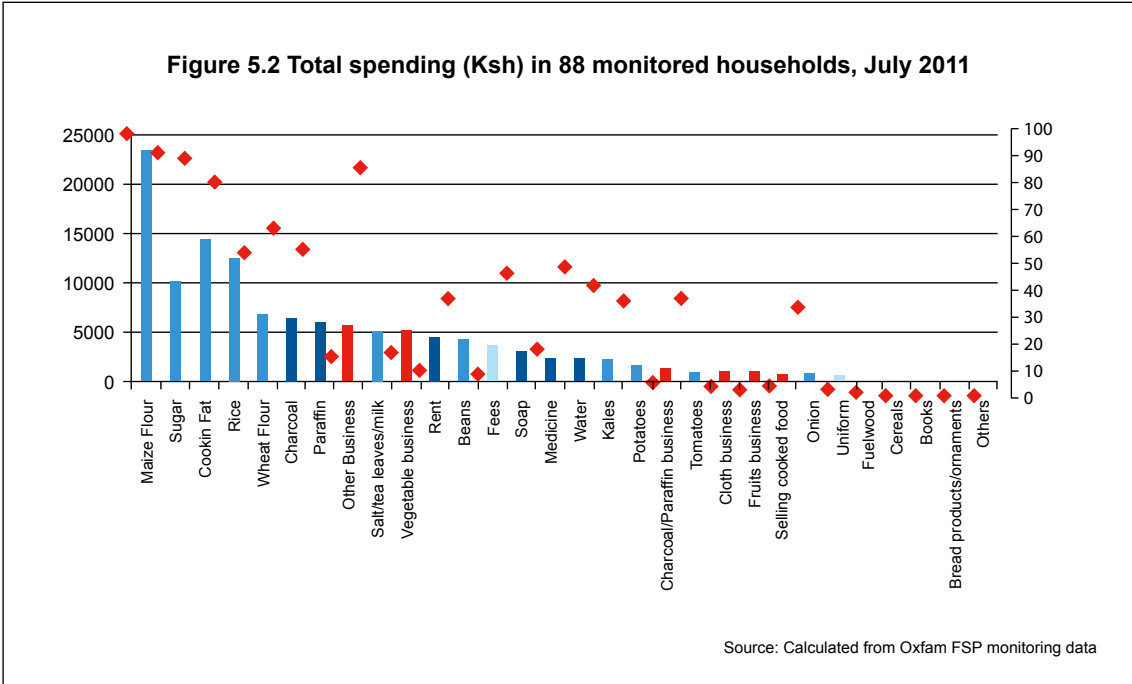
What does this mean for the Ksh 1,500 /month value? For this family of five, the transfer approximately covered the debt, preventing the household from sliding further into poverty, but hardly contributing to their ability to invest in further profitability. For larger households of a similar structure (who are often more vulnerable), the transfer would not cover basic spending. For smaller households (often better off), it would enable them to invest. This indicates how the fixed transfer size per household, rather than per person or per dependent, is regressive.

Food security

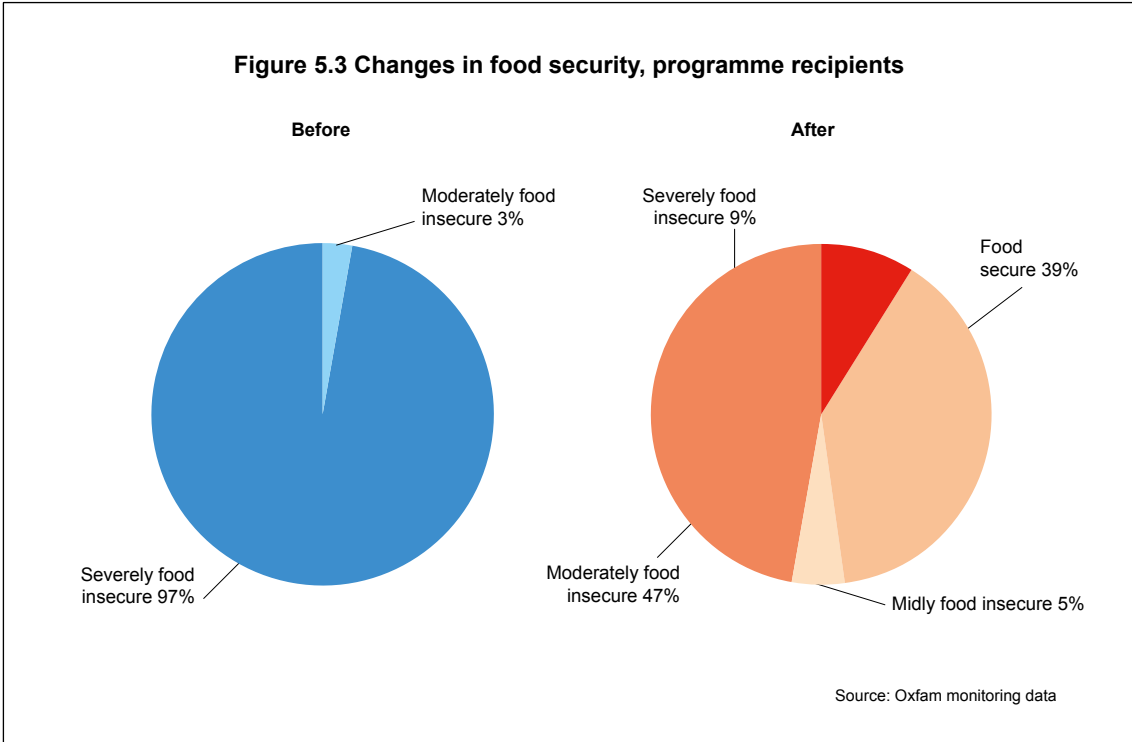
The principal impact of the cash transfer appeared to be on food security. Spending of the cash transfer in July 2011 is given in Figure 5.2, drawn from Oxfam’s regular monitoring data. The columns represent the total amount spent by all respondents on different items. Food items are coloured blue, other essential commodities dark blue, services light blue, and business investment red. The transfer is spent mainly on food items, principally maize flour, sugar, cooking fat, rice, wheat flour, and fuel (charcoal and paraffin).

The diamond markers represent the percentage of respondents spending on each item. Most respondents used the cash transfer for maize flour, sugar, cooking fat, salt and rice.

This approximate spending pattern was reflected in interviews with recipients from different areas of Mukuru.



The impact of this expenditure was felt on food security. Oxfam monitoring and evaluation data indicated that the percentage of recipient households reporting that they were severely food insecure fell from 97% to 9% by the end of the project (Figure 5.3). A severely food insecure household has graduated to cutting back on meal size or number of meals often, and/or experiences any of the three most severe conditions (running out of food, going to bed hungry, or going a whole day and night without eating), even as infrequently as rarely. In other words, any household that experiences one of these three conditions even once in the last four weeks (30 days) is considered severely food insecure.



The positive impact on food security was partly driven, according to respondents, by the regularity of the transfer. This enabled households to take food on credit where they lacked incomes, because shopkeepers would be more certain that they would repay in the short-term. These findings are reflected in other similar reports (MacAuslan and Schofield 2011).

It is difficult to assess the impact on food security over time. As prices rise, the real transfer value is eroded by the percentage price increase, which suggests that the value of the transfer may have reduced by nearly half from 2010 to 2011. As these price rises continue, the impact on food security would decline. This underlines the argument for having a regular revision of the value of the transfer based on local price inflation. The frequency of this revision should probably be annual for a long-term programme – any longer and the value could seriously erode, and any shorter risks causing confusion and having high budgetary costs.

The transfer also had small positive impacts on dietary diversity, but these were much smaller than the impacts on food security. The principal spending items were clearly in food groups that were already the basis of the meal (carbohydrates, sugars, salt, fat, and some vegetables). This is clear in Figure 5.2, which does not indicate any spending on meat or fish. However, some households interviewed also reported consuming more of food groups that they rarely ate before, such as meat or fish.

Overall, one would expect the impact on the nutritional status of children to be slightly positive, but not spectacular. This limitation is for three reasons. First, diets are still limited in their calorific intake. On the basis of approximate calculations from fieldwork, it appeared that most cash transfer recipient households still consumed a diet that gave household members a calorific intake quite significantly below Kcal 2,250 or even Kcal 1,800. This diet consisted of a doughnut and tea in the morning, ugali (maize) and vegetables or rice and beans at lunch, and ugali and vegetables in the evening. Although many households at the end of the programme are still not consuming three meals per day, and where they are the priority is given to the children and working men. These items would vary during the week within the same food groups. This was undoubtedly an improvement on previous transfers in terms of intake, but is still below healthy calorific norms. Second, moreover, the dietary diversity still appears to be below healthy norms. Third, the other factors contributing to poor nutrition – particularly hygiene, sanitation and care – remain extremely poor. Many respondents were clear that although they were able to feed their children slightly more, because they were usually at work, they were unable to stop children from crawling on the ground and contracting diseases. Although data are not available to test this, it is likely that the disease prevalence rates remain high.

It is possible that the impact of the cash transfer could have been enhanced by sending nutritional and health messages along with M-PESA cash. The benefits of messaging have been found elsewhere, and as noted above, would be comparatively cheap. In order to maximise nutritional impact, cash programming could also be linked to WaSH interventions to reduce the underlying nutritional vulnerabilities by tackling the sanitation environment and hygiene practices. Specifically, this could include ensuring that vulnerable households identified in the process of selection for the cash transfer also participate in sanitation interventions such as the provision of portable toilets and chlorinated water (and associated activities around improving their use).

Humanitarian impacts

However, improved food security seemed to have a much bigger impact for individuals on anti-retrovirals (ARVs). These individuals were an explicit target group. Taking ARVs to suppress the onset of AIDS is only possible with a reasonable and, crucially, consistent diet. Before the cash transfer, many HIV positive individuals were unable to consume sufficiently regularly to make their ARVs effective, so they had stopped taking them, with disastrous health consequences. Several respondents reported that the more regular consumption permitted by the cash transfer had allowed them to take their ARVs and saved their lives. This represented a significant humanitarian impact. In addition to this, many of these individuals would then engage in a productive activity, so this had an economic impact as well.

A second area of potential humanitarian impact was around preventing harmful coping strategies. As shown above, many people in informal settlements had started to turn towards increased crime or transactional sex to obtain food. Transactional sex carries significant risks of HIV infection. Several respondents reported that they had resorted to transactional sex before the transfer, knowing the risks of infection. In some cases (though not all), respondents said that they had stopped this once the transfer

started because it became easier to obtain food. In other cases, respondents reported resorting to this less, but still occasionally, which does not have the same humanitarian impact.

It is likely that there was a similar impact on crime, but fieldwork did not reveal households to whom this applied.

These two impacts underlie the suggestion to scale up response during periods of acute crisis as is currently experienced in urban Kenya, both in terms of the number of households and the amount of cash transferred.

Debt

The cash transfer also reduced the extent to which many households engaged in other harmful activities, such as the accumulation of debt and the removal of children from school. Unlike transactional sex, where the risk is much greater in just one instance so a small reduction in frequency is not a significant impact, small changes in debt and schooling could have large impacts.

As the stylised family of five above suggests, for many households the cash transfer was sufficient to eliminate the need to take on rolling debt. However, the majority of households in the programme contained more than five people, and many of these households also had high dependency ratios. For some households (usually smaller ones), they were able to pay off previously accumulated debt and turn this into savings. This was a significant impact. Debt is bad for three reasons in Mukuru. While debt in Mukuru rarely comes with interest rates and is normally fairly easy to acquire, it is accompanied by a sense of stress and some social stigma that curtailed decision-making and access to finance and is therefore debilitating. Moreover, where goods are bought on credit, the prices are usually slightly higher. Finally, at some point, shopkeepers and landlords will no longer accept credit, which generates a significant risk of a catastrophic decline.

Schooling

The cumulative shocks and acute crisis had caused increasing numbers of poor households to remove children from school, either because they could not afford the direct costs of fees, uniform, stationery etc. or because they needed children to work for money. Removing children from school has clearly documented negative effects on school performance, increasing the likelihood of dropping out totally and therefore permanently damaging the productivity and life chances of that child and their family in future. Most respondents with children reported spending the regular cash transfer (or cash freed up because of the transfer) on school materials, and children of households receiving cash tended to be in school. On the basis of the qualitative fieldwork, Figure 5.2 clearly understates expenditures on education, perhaps because the questionnaire was taken when school fees were not due or because households did not report expenditure not directly funded using the cash from the cash transfer.

In addition to this, several respondents indicated that their children's school performance had improved. This was partly as a result of greater attendance and inputs, but also because their hunger had reduced and they were better able to concentrate. One respondent noted that her son had moved around 20 places up his class. This is an important positive impact for that child and his future life chances.

Of course, it is important to be realistic about the extent of possibilities for improving school attendance and outcomes through cash transfers. Many respondents clearly articulated the shortage of government school supply in informal settlements, meaning that their children were unable to attend government schools because they were full. This compelled them to send children to private schools that were more expensive but not necessarily of higher quality. Addressing supply-side issues in education in informal settlements are clearly also very important in the long-run.

Community relations

The cash transfer also had impacts on community and household relations. There were three positive aspects to this, and two negative ones. The first positive impact was on informal sharing. Sometimes in Mukuru households are able to borrow informally from their neighbours, sometimes in cash and sometimes by providing cooked or raw food for adults or more often children. Respondents rarely saw this as a gift, but as a loan in the sense that there was a clear expectation of reciprocity. Households who had accumulated significant debt and had low incomes were unable to contribute to this system. As well as

negatively affecting self-esteem, this further reduced their resilience to shocks, because they had fewer claims on other households than those who regularly helped others.

Second, several households reported the easing of relations within the household because of the greater availability of food and the reduction in stress. This is extremely important. Research elsewhere has shown that stress is very common in very low income settings, and that the impact of stress on the quality of decision-making can be clearly negative. From household interviews, it seems likely that many recipients were depressed before the programme began, and this depression was preventing them from working. In addition, the quality of close relationships is clearly an important constituent part of the quality of life, and MSDP highlighted that a number of female recipients had reported a drop in domestic violence as a result of greater economic security.

On the other hand, there were two negative impacts on relations. First, non-recipients reported some resentment at not being selected. Overall, however, this seemed very limited and unlikely to damage their relations with selected households over the long-term. Second, there were some instances of potential tension generated within households as transfers would usually be made to women who would hide this from their husbands. As noted in other reports (e.g. MacAuslan and Schofield 2011), however, this is unlikely to be indicative of new tension, but to reflect older problems and this financial security for the women enabled them to make independent economic decisions which had a temporary empowering effect. In contrast to some fears about urban areas, there was no increase in crime.

Economic impacts

Two common worries about unconditional cash transfers is that i) they will create dependency, in the sense that recipients will stop engaging in livelihood activities because they are receiving money, and ii) they will create inflation. Neither of these concerns received any support from fieldwork.

On the first issue, the indication was that far from creating dependency, regular cash transfers removed some key barriers to economic activity, and so increased productivity. These barriers included stress, ill health, debt and poor access to finance. Thus the indication from qualitative research is that a larger study would show greater rates of economic participation as a result of receiving the cash. This should be tested empirically.

On the second issue, the transfers made in Mukuru, as was the case with transfers evaluated in other areas, were too small as a proportion of the economy to have any inflationary impact. Inflation is a worry where the transfers made are a very high proportion of the total circulation of money, or where the supply of goods is inelastic to demand (as in remote villages). Neither condition applies in Mukuru. Moreover, it seems probable that neither condition would apply to a scaled up programme, though this should be more carefully investigated through economic modelling.

The cash transfer and package of exit programmes was intended to improve livelihoods. As suggested above, the cash transfer had the potential to do this for smaller households in particular, and appears to have allowed some recipients to invest in new businesses. What of the other programmes?

The cash for work programme was greatly appreciated by all participants. This was undoubtedly partly due to the competitive wage (Ksh 250 and then Ksh 300) and regularity of work which probably gave people a higher income than almost any other realistic opportunity at that time. However, many respondents also spoke warmly of the great value in experiencing paid work. According to many, this was for the first time. It was less obvious that the cash for work was producing useful assets, though cleaning of the drains and roads is likely to have positive impacts.

The Nairobi experience indicates that cash for work, with a lower wage, seems likely to be an effective crisis response mechanism for urban households that are not labour constrained. These households are in general more difficult to target in any case, so this would be appropriate. Although it takes some management, there are several types of (useful) cleaning tasks that can be organised quickly and so could be introduced quite fast after a crisis. The challenge in Kenya will be aligning this with the government public works programme (Kazi Kwa Vijana) and setting a wage (probably below minimum wage, perhaps for less than a full day of work) that ensures that only the most vulnerable will apply.

Business grants of Ksh 10,000 and associated training were given to 176 households from April 2011. Fieldwork indicated that most of these businesses were still running, and were generating returns. Almost

all respondents were confident, moreover, that their businesses would continue generating profits in the future. It is clear that the impact of this programme has, at least in the short-term, been extremely positive both in terms of the economic returns and the sense of self-worth that accompanies this.

However, there are four concerns with this model, particularly at scale. First, the sustainability of these businesses should be tracked over time to check how many businesses survive in profit once other forms of support have ended. It should be possible to require the business to text monthly or weekly expenditure and revenue statements to Oxfam. Second, it is not clear that all recipients of this grant have grasped the fundamentals of businesses, including record keeping and a calculation of returns to investment. Third, as has been noted elsewhere (see e.g. Kimetrica 2011), there is presumably some saturation in the market beyond which further small businesses will not be possible. At scale, therefore, it would not be appropriate to assume that all cash transfer recipients could be given a business grant to graduate.

Fourth, the provision of business grants aims to address the problem of access to finance. This is certainly a constraint, as most individuals in urban informal settlements struggle to obtain the collateral needed for an individual loan, and the low levels of trust restrict the use of group-based microfinance. However, access to finance may not be the key constraint to starting new businesses. As noted above, there are many other potential constraints to new businesses, and particularly in Nairobi (and other informal urban areas), insecurity and poor intellectual property rights may be more significant (see a forthcoming report by Crawford and MacAuslan on Concern's business grant programme in Nairobi). For example, one indication that returns to business will be low is that many of the recipients of the grants in Mukuru started similar businesses, leading to competition that drives down the profits of any single business.

If access to finance is identified as the key constraint, it may be more appropriate as noted above to provide flexible finance through a mixture of grants and loans, offered at the time when businesses need finance, rather than a fixed grant amount at a pre-specified time.

The skills training is ongoing for most recipients, and so it is too early to assess the impact in terms of the probability of getting a job that repays the investment. Some observations are nonetheless relevant. First, the quality of skills training seems to be very high in all cases (tailoring, mechanics, hairdressing, driving and catering) and the trainers seem to be very invested in the programme. Oxfam and MDSP have therefore been extremely effective in procuring and managing good trainers. Second, for several of the courses but particularly mechanics and to some extent tailoring and catering, the time required to attend the courses is extremely significant and individuals would need to be in households with some other source of income in order to sustain them, and another source of childcare if they had young children. Third, the cost of some courses is extremely high, implying that the expected wage should also be extremely high if this is a worthwhile investment. Finally, there are some worries about whether this programme can be scaled up whilst retaining the quality of training and ensuring that there are enough jobs available to justify it. Linked to this is again the concern that low human capital may not be the key constraint to economic growth in Nairobi.

Currently, it appears that the skills training in areas that have easiest access to local jobs are likely to be most effective on a small scale. In Mukuru, these appear to be hairdressing and tailoring, though perhaps also catering. In these vocations, there are comparatively many opportunities for remunerated work in which training gives the individual a comparative advantage. Those who have qualified in driving have to date tended to find it difficult to obtain jobs as drivers, despite some efforts by trainers to find them jobs. However, skill investment may have long-term payoffs, so this issue should be revisited.

It is worth noting, moreover, that the impact of this training is not necessarily to increase the number of jobs available in the economy, but to change who gets them and (possibly) to make each job more productive.

Overall, the exit strategies from the Mukuru cash transfer programme seem well implemented (aside from the targeting) and effective, to date. This should be a point of some pride for the Oxfam and MDSP teams. However, this does not mean that the issue of exit strategies from cash transfer programme at scale is solved. First, more needs to be understood about the long-term returns to investments in skills and business. Second, more needs to be understood about how to maintain quality. Third, more needs to be understood about what markets can sustain in terms of newly skilled labour and new businesses. It would

be a mistake to interpret the conclusions presented here as evidence that this social assistance and crisis response agenda necessarily holds the key to long-term solutions to urban poverty and employment. It may be that these form a part of the solution. However, it is clear that the long-term solutions must involve other investments in the economy and labour market.

In terms of the current response, moreover, the effectiveness of the Mukuru programme and the existence of widespread urban need given the continued rise in food prices suggest that the Mukuru programme could be replicated, with some proposed design modifications, elsewhere in urban Kenya.

5.2.2 Advancing the wider social protection agenda

The second objective of the NUSPP was to advance the urban social protection agenda in Kenya. The hoped for impact of this is that the government would adopt an urban social protection programme. This has not yet happened, but this should not be interpreted as a failure of Oxfam's activities. Rather, this reflects that fact that the political process around social protection in Kenya is extremely complicated. Moreover, there are encouraging signs that the government is moving towards this adoption.

The Oxfam team have undertaken a series of steps to engage with the government through various forums. In particular:

- Oxfam (together with Concern) are widely credited for continuing to push the urban vulnerability forum when other stakeholders (including nominal coordinators UNOCHA and UNHABITAT) were unable to continue it. This forum would probably have been dropped entirely without this effort.
- Oxfam technical staff appear to have a very good working relationship with key interlocutors from the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development and the Office of the Prime Minister, and these interlocutors (and the institutions more generally) appear to be convinced of the validity of the sort of approach piloted in Mukuru. This is in large part due to Oxfam and Concern's joint work to expose these individuals to these programmes, including through site visits, research presentations, and videos. Oxfam and Concern were for a time the only organisations doing this (now the World Bank are playing a larger role) and should take great credit for the undoubtedly favourable position of both institutions towards urban social protection, and for the detailed technical knowledge of the key stakeholders in these institutions.
- Oxfam invested in engaging with the government over co-funding and collaborating on the Mukuru programme, including setting the transfer value at Ksh 1,500 to match the government's programmes. Even though the government were unable to commit funding, this was a very worthwhile attempt, since the payoff of government involvement would be very significant.
- Oxfam (and Concern) have been working closely with the government to develop a further pilot cash transfer programme in Mombasa that would be funded through the government, evaluated and which could provide clearer evidence of the benefits and design parameters of the programme. This has involved repeated interaction with government stakeholders to discuss budgets and other arrangements. The funds have been secured from the Government of Japan and are awaiting disbursement by the Treasury. This process has ended disappointingly for Oxfam and Concern in the sense that the government appear to have decided that Oxfam and Concern are ineligible to implement a programme they have been so instrumental in lobbying for a designing. However, this disappointment is also a reflection of success. At this stage, however, further work is needed to ensure that the government take this forward.
- Oxfam have been contributing to the development of appropriate emergency indicators for use in the urban context. This was planned to be undertaken by OGB and the WFP at global level. However, this has not been taken forward by OGB or the WFP in Kenya because Concern Worldwide Kenya have obtained funding to develop indicators of vulnerability in Nairobi, but this is still in an initial stage, producing to date only a baseline with APHRC. An urban forum in Nairobi is convened by UNHABITAT and UNOCHA, where OGB Kenya have raised the issue of indicators of urban vulnerability, but there is also no clear output from this currently. Oxfam are continuing to engage with Concern to develop these indicators. It is possible that more resources should be devoted to this.
- In addition to all of this, Oxfam urban staff have been engaged in a range of activities at various forums and conferences to advance urban social protection in Kenya.

The impact of these activities is difficult to measure with any greater precision because the government arrangements are very complex. Without going into great detail here, this is principally because the Kenyan government consists of a coalition between two political parties that were hitherto in opposition to each other and that have a challenging working relationship. In practice, it appears that neither political party is very content to allow the other to be seen to take credit for a government initiative. This may partly explain the reversal of the announcement by the Prime Minister to start an urban food subsidy programme in 2009. It may also explain the delays in the release of funds for the Mombasa programme. It may also mean that it is likely that the government does not launch any new initiatives of this sort before the 2012 election, probably to take place in December.

This political division has another implication for Oxfam's advocacy work. While this has been very effective to date, there is a risk that it has focused overmuch on interlocutors associated with the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM, the party of the Prime Minister). There is a risk that if the ODM lose the election, the advocacy case will be set back for the better part of a political cycle. It seems very important then to broaden the advocacy approach in the next year and engage with other political parties as well.

In addition, it would be useful to continue to engage with the government to provide technical advice and support even if Mombasa does not go forward. This should imply that Oxfam continue to seek funding for a run and evaluate other cash transfer and livelihood programmes in urban areas. The data from these evaluations could then usefully be used to continue the advocacy case to the government.

Clearly, these two planks of an advocacy strategy (widening the target group and continuing to produce evidence) require the commitment of some advocacy resources by Oxfam Kenya. It is recommended that at least 50% of a professional advocacy person be committed to urban social protection in the run up to the 2012 election.

5.3 EFSL in Port-au-Prince

Levron (2011) considers the benefit by programme.

5.3.1 Employment programmes

One of the major impacts of the short-term guarantee employment programmes was to give the targeted population the ability to repay debt and cover basic needs. Between 30 to 70 per cent of the recipients used their wages to buy productive assets⁷⁰ and start an income generating activity (IGA).

In Phase 1, the Government rate for daily wages was 4.5 USD which later increased to 5 USD. 18 per cent of the recipients started or re-started IGA. Majorly, the daily was used to cover basic household needs (about 78 per cent of the funds) but it was also used to invest in goods and equipment (13 per cent) and to repay debts (9 per cent). The number of working days was 11.

In Phase II, the Government rate was 5 USD and the number of working days increased to 20 days. The number of recipients who reported to have started or re-started IGA was 42 per cent in Delmas, 31 per cent in Port-au-Prince and 72 per cent in Carrefour. The daily wages were used to cover basic needs and school fees.

The daily wage was set by the government for cash for work and was higher than the minimum wage by approximately 20 per cent. The recipients confirmed the positive impact of higher daily wages and conditions of work and daily working hours.

5.3.2 Canteens

Community 'canteens' where hot food was provided to the most vulnerable is a good strategy to be replicated quickly in a disaster. This provided recipients with immediate relief and prevented immediate asset sales. The canteen component of the programme increased the average number of meals per day from 1.6 (after the earthquake) to 2.1 during the program. The average number of meals before the earthquake was 2.6. Levron (2011: 13) reports that this component was "much appreciated by the beneficiaries," but a majority of respondents felt that the length of the canteens was short (they lasted for six months). Again, this was related to the trade-off between the length of the programme and the

geographical spread. This system also boosted local livelihoods and supported markets. However, the recipients felt the need for a parallel activity to restart livelihoods (such as IGAs) as an income source prior to the end of the canteen activity. Even after a lot of planning, there were a lot of unexpected delays in the IGA activity.

This system can be quickly set up in coordination with a local partner until there is sufficient time to organize Cash For Work programmes and dedicate resources to benchmark MFIs and Mobile Banking system in order to survey the feasibility of a CTP.

5.3.3 Cash transfer programme

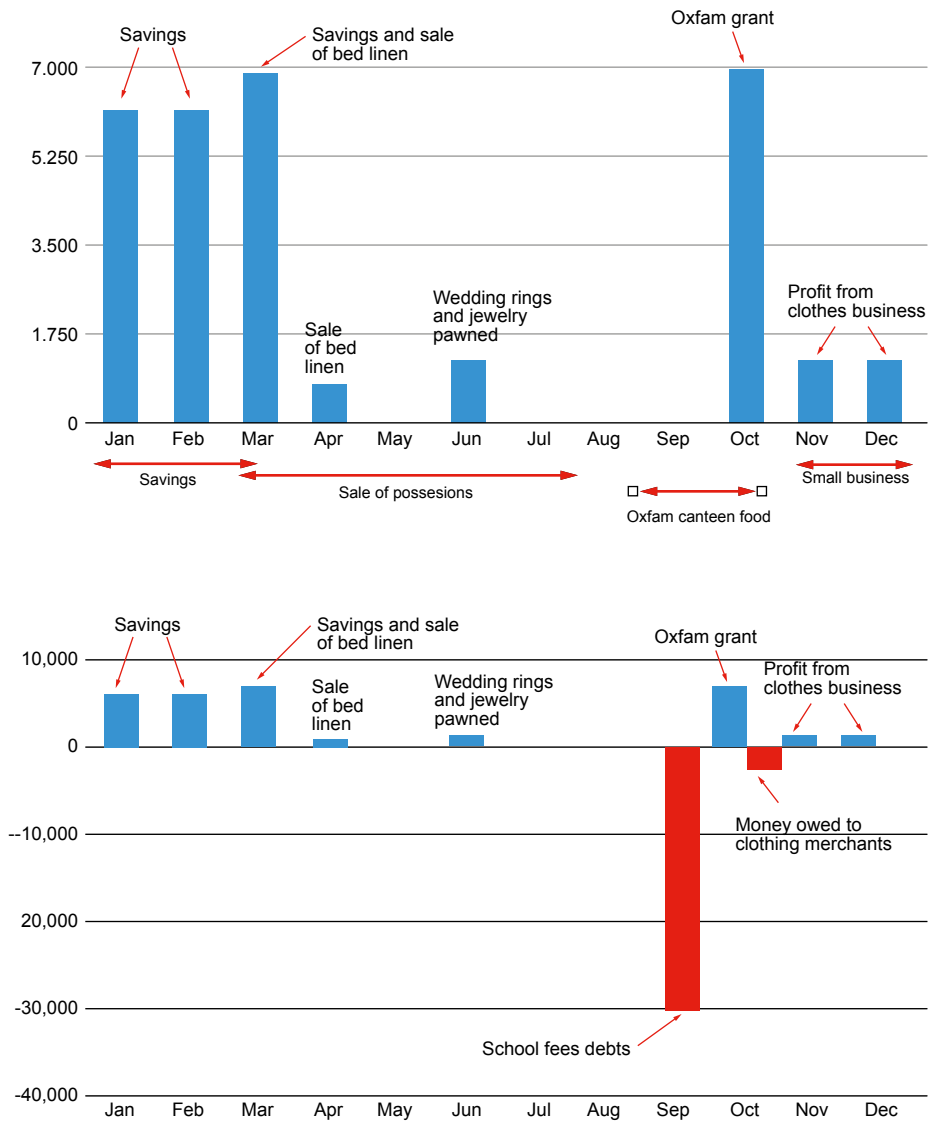
Levron (2011) notes that cash transfer programmes are relevant in the largest part of the cities. However, during a rapid onset, such as in Port-au-Prince, this approach is not compatible with the context (disruption of the markets, weak capacities of the MFIs, etc.).

Recipients reported that the cash transfer programme improved their creditworthiness with micro-finance institutions and increased their financial inclusion.

However, Levron (2011) also argues that the issues of lack of collateral and support or orientation from an organisation were still prevalent. In Port-au-Prince, around three-fourths of the debts were contracted to the insurer with prohibitive interest rates. The interest rates were as high as 15-20 per cent per month against 3.9 per cent average with MFIs. According to the ACTED's survey, access to MFIs is correlated with the stability of the sources of income and therefore to the activities. Hence, traders are more likely to get a steady source of income than professionals.

Levron also suggested that the late delivery of some grants caused households to lose assets and caused debt to remain. This is illustrated below:

Figure 5.4 Impacts of late grant (Port-au-Prince)



Source: Levron 2011 Annex 3

5.3.4 General impacts

Taken together, it does not appear that the Port-au-Prince programme has been able to prevent serious negative consequences of the earthquake. The Port-au-Prince case load demonstrates market disruptions at the lower parts of the chain (at the level of middlemen, mainly retailers and small street traders) which lead to a decrease in the supply of basic goods and services and also loss of income opportunities for the most vulnerable. Most of the middlemen-traders have not recovered their livelihoods. They are now exclusively retailers while they were able to sell in bulk in pre-earthquake situation (recapitalization was not considered as sufficient).⁷¹

Moreover, the recipients in Port-au-Prince were still believed to be cutting health, education, transport and ceremony expenditures from their budgets. In December 2010, average monthly income of a household

reduced from USD 315 to USD 75 – even with Oxfam's support. Findings from January 2011⁷² indicated the following conclusions:

- Oxfam GB assistance had not been responsive to the most affected needs: time delays and insufficient grant sizes have deeply hampered effectiveness of the support. It resulted in the sale of assets and debts (mainly for education).
- Recipient livelihoods and dietary scores⁷³ were not sustained after the cash transfer and canteen programmes.
- Recipients are consuming only 80 per cent of their daily needs.

Most of the respondents met during this field survey stated that they had to contract a loan to continue their activity, despite Oxfam's grants, often because of the absence of any social protection. A recent survey⁷⁴ also points out that 28 per cent of the small businesses have to recapitalize with the help of loans from MFIs, relatives, and usurers.

In addition, there were several unintended general impacts of the programme in Port-au-Prince identified in Levron (2011).

5.3.4.1 Positive impacts

Some were positive:

First, many recipients reported in the interviews that there was a decrease in crime and social tensions during the implementation of the project. Second, a Federation of CBOs and Partners was created in Port-au-Prince. This federation brought together 54 CBOs working with Oxfam, local authorities (ASECs) and 3 partners and aimed to represent the civil society of the neighbourhood of Carrefour Feuilles and manage relations between Oxfam and conflict resolution between CBOs. This federation (COMPHARE) is now building up an urban strategic planning along with UN-Habitat and one agency (Architectes de l'urgence) in order to prepare the reconstruction. Third, the same CBOs who were working with Oxfam GB also became eligible to others agencies. Fourth, self-help groups also developed in Port-au-Prince (Commune of Delmas) which brought together all the recipients.

5.3.4.2 Negative Impacts

Levron identified three types of negative impact. First, he argues that negative impacts are mostly the results of the development of the informal economy. As a coping mechanism, the proliferation of petty trades and informal business within the cities drastically hampers budgets and capacities of the local authorities to regulate the urban economy. In Croix-des-Bouquets, many permanent structures of business have been built without any authorization further to ESFL support. The registration of micro-enterprise during a crisis remains a huge challenge. It was felt that partnership with CECACHE (an MFI) in Port-au-Prince should have made compulsory the registration/support to registration of the SMEs that received USD 2,000 in grants or loans (such as grocery stores). Since unemployment is so high and so many people rely on the informal sector, a new SME development programme in Haiti has made registration obligatory and all grocery store owners were invited to apply.

Second, there was also some negative social impacts caused by the targeting process, which was also affected by corruption. In the cash for work programme, more people wanted to participate than what could have been accommodated. This caused a lot of ineligible people to be included and complaints regarding the same. This may have been because, as in Nairobi, the value was set too high. In addition, many CBOs who were often characterized by a "personalized" leadership, were not representative of their neighbourhoods and took the project for serving their own personal interests. Levron's field visits in Carrefour Feuilles/ Port-au-Prince and the monitoring report⁷⁵ indicated that most of recipients were supporters of either one of the 54 partner CBOs. This partly reflects a vibrant civil society in Port-au-Prince.

Third, though there was inflationary pressure in Port-au-Prince, it cannot be directly correlated with the injection of cash into the local economy despite the coverage of the humanitarian agencies. The local economy remained very weak as the destructions caused by the earthquake were around 120 per cent of the GDP.

5.4 Gaza Food Security and Livelihoods Programme

Despite the wide variety of programmes in the GFSL, Levron's review focuses largely on the cash for work programme and mentions community centres.

In Gaza, the programme had similar impact on the ability to repay debt (in shops) and cover basic household needs as in Port-au-Prince. They also used their daily wages to buy goods and equipment (mostly repair) and in healthcare. The wage rate for non-skilled workers has been fairly stable at USD 17 since 2010, set by ECHO. The number of working days increased from 40 to 50 but none of the recipients reported starting or re-starting IGA and given the minimal level of support this was not anticipated as a direct outcome from the CFW activity.

Gaza also had daily wages higher than the minimum wage or the government rate (approximately 20 per cent higher). Recipients also noted higher daily wages and better conditions of work and daily working hours.

Levron argued that in terms of social capital,⁷⁶ the programme achieved many other positive impacts. Through the community centres, the social capital of the recipients improved as it allowed isolated factions of population to gain self-esteem and develop social networks useful for searching job opportunities and for making new acquaintances. A former recipient living in Ad-Daraj neighbourhood reported, "I met new persons during this CFW, we worked together during two months and now when I hear about new job opportunities I give a call to the persons I know, we help each other."

The selection of recipients who were supporters of the partner CBOs was also observed in Gaza. This led the MA'AN Development Center to strengthen the selection of the CBOs. Beside registration, many other conditions for example, evidence of existing experience in project management, accountability, area of specialization were added in order to ensure a more effective recipient selection process. Only 18 per cent of the CBOs were working in partnership with MA'AN Development Center.

In Gaza, limited coverage (only 1% of the total Gaza population) of the Urban Voucher Programme and the relative large proportion of the vouchers (40% of household food expenditure) were not significant to generate any direct inflationary pressure on the main food commodities.⁷⁷

6 Accountability

6.1 Introduction

This section addresses these questions:

- **Accountability:** were beneficiaries consulted in the design of the program and how much input did they give? Did they receive information about the program and was there a complaints system in place, how complex/simple was this system?

As noted in the theoretical section, the urban context presents various opportunities for the development of good feedback systems to recipients, through the opportunities afforded by technology and population densities. On the other hand, the same density can make it difficult to set up a working consultation system, since there are so many people to consult, and with potentially very varying views.

6.2 Nairobi urban social protection programme

The overall design of the NUSPP was based on Oxfam's and others' experiences in Kenya and elsewhere. However, in the development of the initial proposal for crisis response, the views of people living in urban informal settlements were taken into account in as much as their experiences of crisis were presented as a case for funding. There was no detailed participation in the overall design of the programme itself (i.e. the decision to do cash transfers and exit strategies), which was developed in consultation with organisational stakeholders and the government. However, these design decisions appear to be vindicated by the overwhelming support for this type of programme found among recipients.

There was greater involvement of members of the community in the development of targeting criteria, as set out above. Key stakeholders in the community were instrumental in developing the criteria for selection, and Oxfam and MSDP then attempted to implement these criteria. As noted above, this was not the same as a community-based targeting (CBT) approach, because those consulted and those in charge of the final selection were representatives rather than 'ordinary' community members. However, implementing a CBT approach in an urban informal area seems extremely difficult, so this slightly removed approach was probably appropriate.

There was a complaints mechanism for the programme, but this was not in practice very formal or elaborate. During the targeting process, the opportunity to complain was not formalised, and was available in practice only through the community health workers (CHWs) and partner staff who had been involved in the targeting. This meant that most people were very unlikely to complain. In general, there is a sense in many Kenyan cash transfer programmes that it is inappropriate to complain because recipients are just very lucky to receive something. In this case, this sense was accentuated by the subjectivity involved in selection.

For recipients, it was possible to complain about operational issues through the CHWs, who would then raise the with the partners or direct the complainant towards Safaricom, if this was an issue with payment. It did not appear from fieldwork that this system was entirely effective. CHWs did not always visit households regularly or deal with their complaints. It was therefore possible during fieldwork to identify more than one household that had lost several of their monthly payments but been unable to complain effectively, or receive back payments.

A more developed complaints mechanism would be appropriate for this programme, particularly as the objective is to function as a pilot for a larger programme. It is clearly important to have this mechanism available at relatively low cost. One option would be to devote some resources to establishing a free phone number that could be used by people wishing to report corruption in the targeting process or which people could call and leave messages if they felt they had been unfairly missed out. For recipients, it seems sensible to solicit their feedback and complaints through the simcard they use for MPESA – for instance asking them to rate different aspects of the service in a simple text scorecard. They could also phone a dedicated number for more detailed complaints.

6.3 EFSL in Port-au-Prince

According to Levron's account, Oxfam have been particularly successful in developing a model of dialogue and transparency in what was previously a difficult environment. In Port-au-Prince, participation of the stakeholders was gradually extended all along the programme implementation. This was demand-driven as CBOs and Local Authorities (in Croix-des-Bouquets) were involved in the identification of the skills required within the community.⁷⁸ The people living in the community played a major role in the selection of recipients in order to have transparency in the process.

There is a general agreement about the relevance and effectiveness of the EFSL programme and its participatory approach. A Focus Group Discussion with CBOs in Port-au-Prince revealed that Oxfam GB is set up as a model for dialogue and respect of the local governance in areas where CBOs can be considered as 'neighbourhoods dictatorship'.⁷⁹ Therefore, unlike others agencies, Oxfam GB managed to properly tackle this issue and hence dissolve the authoritarian leaderships (after much acceptance of nepotism practices as well). This is reflected in a study on partnership and accountability.

Gender issues have been well considered during the implementation process especially in the activity/support proposed. For example, support to petty traders and canteens owners targets mainly women whereas support to "professionals" focuses on men. According to the ACTED's survey, 85 percent of small retailers are woman while 96 per cent of the 'professionals' are men. This appears to have improved over time.

The daily presence of EFSL staff (e.g. Community mobilizers, Project officers, Deputy Team Leader and Team leader in Port-au-Prince, 18 persons in total) on the field was appreciated by the recipients. Their presence was considered as a source of support and reliance by the respondents. There were regular accountability meetings, and respondents able to lodge a complaint through a hotline. During the 'accountability meetings', organized by Oxfam GB, the recipients reported that they were treated with respect.

However, Levron (2011) identifies two principal shortcomings. First, the recipients complained about lack of enough information on the activities even though there was a proper feedback system in place. Second, some respondents felt that the treatment of women with respect to labour conditions and by some of the implementing partners (CRAD in Haiti) was 'unacceptable'.

6.4 Gaza Food Security and Livelihoods Programme

The GFSL programme has been adapted over time with input from recipients linked to project evaluations (internal and external) including focus group discussions.

The mid-term review of the Urban Voucher Programme which included recipient input through questionnaires and focus group discussions informed the future design of the project including, e.g. types of commodities, location of stores etc. Assessment of the feedback provided by recipients on a regular basis through the complaints / recommendations boxes that are situated in each of the participating UVP stores, also contributed to project modifications.

Internal and external evaluations of the ECHO-funded income generation activities and the CCUK-funded income generation project has also helped to improve and adapt project interventions with, for example, the inclusion of CFW activities during the early start-up stages of income generation projects to provide guaranteed income whilst waiting for the income to come into the business.

For CFW projects, timings of activities, especially for women, have been modified to take into consideration other household activities that women have to undertake.

Notwithstanding these positive examples, more input from recipients could improve the appropriateness of interventions to target households.

The 'complaint box' mechanism to encourage feedback from recipients in relation to project design was introduced during the UVP pilot stage and due to its success it has been used as an ongoing project accountability mechanism and has been replicated in other project activities including CFW. The challenge for OGB in Gaza is to be able to respond positively to the requests for additional or longer term support which is limited by the availability of funding resources.

7 Institutional arrangements

7.1 Introduction

This section looks at the arrangements for the delivery programmes, particularly the partnerships with other organisations and Oxfam's internal staffing and funding arrangements. The section will consider specific issues from the three programmes as they arise, but will not analyse them separately other than to give a brief account of the different institutional arrangements in each.

7.1.1 Nairobi

The NUSPP was implemented in coordination with a wide range of stakeholders.

The NUSPP was implemented through Oxfam's urban team in partnership with Mukuru Slum Development Projects (MSDP), a local NGO operating in Mukuru. More on this partnership is set out below. Oxfam and MSDP worked with local administrations for part of the targeting process.

Oxfam sub-contracted a private company, Safaricom, to deliver the cash to recipients via mobile phones.

Oxfam worked jointly with Concern Worldwide and Care to develop initial funding proposals for the pilot project. Subsequently Oxfam continued to work with Concern on various aspects, and drafted but did not a memorandum of understanding for joint work.

Sida funded the initial proposal to 10% of what was asked, but only had funding available from a humanitarian fund for a small amount, so bridging funding was obtained from the Tolkien Trust. The intention was to continue until government funding came through, but this never occurred. Oxfam have found it difficult to obtain sufficient funding for this programme, even compared to other organisations such as Concern (who are more easily able to access American funding).

Oxfam liaised with UNOCHA and UNHABITAT on advocacy work, particularly through the urban forum that these organisations led.

Oxfam also worked closely with the World Bank and the Government of Kenya on technical and advocacy aspects of the programme.

7.1.2 Port-au-Prince

In Port-au-Prince, NGO partners (Friendship and others) collaborated with Oxfam GB. Oxfam GB was directly involved in the selection of community based organisations (CBOs) in Haiti. The CBOs were set up in the metropolitan area of Port-au-Prince to capture funding by the agencies and provide resources.

The relationship between the recipients, authorities and social structures (CBOs and Partners) EFSL programme differed according to the area of intervention, especially in segmented big cities and also according to the forms of leadership such as religion, political party, etc. The programme implementation was thus decentralised and was specific to a given geographical location leading to different approaches across areas.

Few of the partners were able effectively to support the population straight after the earthquake and a majority of them had weak capacities to support the implementation of the livelihoods project. The key informant, Ms. Irmine Sylvian, Head of CECACHE (a finance institution in Port-au-Prince), who trained the CBOs working with Oxfam GB, reported that none of them could design and/or manage a project without any technical support. This highlights the need to develop the technical capacity of the partners along with other capacities relevant for the implementation of the programme.

With regard to the relationship with the local authorities, municipalities in Port-au-Prince demanded close association during the entire project cycle. However, there some problems were experienced in Carrefour. In Carrefour, the list provided by the Municipality was full of 'ghost' recipients. Consequently, Oxfam GB had to spend 3 months in creating new lists of the recipients by undertaking door to door recipient listing. This was done for 80% of the 5000 people earlier included in the list.

7.1.3 Gaza

In Gaza, there was collaboration between NGO partners (MA'AN development center) and Oxfam GB. MA'AN Development Center was actively involved in writing proposals and strategic planning and Oxfam GB provided support with logistics and staff training of NGO partners. MA'AN Development Center was directly involved in the selection of CBOs and Local Committees.

Assistance was provided by the existing and efficient local organisations/NGOs such as Rafah, Ad-Daraj Woman Centers, MA'AN Local Community Youth Services. These organisations helped in carrying out the FSL activities within their premises which led to further increase in impact and sustainability.

7.2 Partnership

This section sets out answers to the following questions:

- **Partners' experience:** what have been the challenges and lessons learnt in relation to implementing the programmes? What is the impact of the partnership relationship – on the partners and the beneficiaries?

This is particularly important given the general guidelines above that urban poverty is most likely to be reduced through building the capacity of local institutions.

In Nairobi, the partnership between MSDP and Oxfam appeared to work well, and both speak favourably of the experience. Oxfam appeared to invest quite considerably in the relationship with MSDP, who in turn seemed a competent, committed and hard-working organisation. MSDP felt that their relationship with the community had in general been improved through their association with the cash transfer programme.

The challenges in this relationship were principally around communication, and there were several aspects of the communication that could have been improved, particularly around expectations of the targeting process and the management information system (MIS). On the targeting process, it seemed that there were divergent interpretations of what was required on targeting, particularly around exit and graduation. Greater investment in communicating this, especially during MSDP staff changes, would have been useful. On the MIS issue, the absence of an initial database and agreed format for reporting led to a large amount of duplication and uncertainty about the process of implementation. It is possible that more time available for Oxfam staff to visit partner offices at the start of the process might have improved this – although in part it was the result of under-performance of the expected database development.

It is felt in Oxfam that working through partners is essential to an urban Kenyan context, where Oxfam can often work directly in rural Kenya. However, staff noted that urban partners can experience a higher turnover of staff – which reflects the MSDP experience where staff changed position rapidly. This can make it difficult to invest in them, but given that the Oxfam urban overheads are relatively low, there is capacity in the office to invest in partners.

The partnership with Safaricom also worked well and both would like to repeat this. However, there could have been better use of funds through joint negotiation with other NGOs, and more effective use of the other services available, such as texting. In addition, the M-PESA system was not found to be 100% reliable, and the contracting process was reasonably long. This underlines the importance of preparing in advance – something that is possible in a slow onset urban crisis.

In both Gaza and Port-au-Prince, Levron argues that the relationship between partners and Oxfam is characterised by equity and respect. This relationship was put under some strain by the turnover of Oxfam staff, but endured. Some partners in Gaza and Port-au-Prince regretted that responsibilities were not always clearly defined, and that this led to confusion. The heads of CBOs in Gaza felt that there was an absence of support for project implementation which generated tensions between the partners and CBOs although it was recognised that there is no direct relationship between OGB and the CBOs. This challenge is somewhat offset by the provision of small scale funding incorporated into proposals to support overhead costs of the CBOs in undertaking tasks associated with the recipient selection process. With regard to the relationship with the local municipalities, OGB in Gaza has limitations in its ability to engage with the local authorities due to its need to comply with UK and EU Anti-Terror Legislation⁸⁰ and experience some problems with the municipality in Carrefour in Port-au-Prince, as noted above.

Levron (2011) points out some key requirements of cash transfer programmes: preparedness and contingency planning; mapping and analysis of actors and institutions operating with potentials, strengths and weaknesses; a draft of potential scenarios in case of rapid onset emergency (so that less time is spent in identifying and testing partners during high pressure situations). These are often too much to deliver in tight situations.

The effectiveness of these projects such as Cash for Work (CFW) is clearly linked to the capacity of the partners and social structures. This can be thought to provide support in various ways:

- Since these organisations have good databases and a sound knowledge of the hardship within the urban community, their involvement in the programme can help refine selection of recipients. Some of these centres have also developed information networks with local committees and local mediators (school teacher, imam, clinics, etc.) which give them warning signals about the people at risk. They have also developed appropriated outreach approaches used to identify certain categories of the population. These types of preparations are feasible in slow onset disasters or where Oxfam is already working.
- Propose 'complementary services' to Oxfam's recipients such as crèche, kindergarten, vocation training, legal counselling, etc.
- Set up a referral system for specific public service needs such as legal advice
- Build up continuous relations with recipients and therefore avoid social isolation. During Focus Group Discussions, many respondents stated that they kept visiting the centres regularly.
- Enhance social networks and employability of the recipients, especially for women who usually 'do not feel secure about their ability to fulfil their families' livelihood requirements by increasing cooperation with other women and choosing to keep the limited resources they know about for themselves'.⁸¹

7.3 Oxfam capacity

One of the underlying issues explaining some of the variation or missed opportunities in the design and implementation of these programmes relates to Oxfam's internal capacity. While there appears to be significant commitment to urban programming at the level of conversation (for instance because in Kenya this would pay off enormously for the region), this is not yet appearing in budgets, staffing arrangements, but will hopefully be a core component to the impending Kenya Urban Strategy.

For instance, the criticisms raised in Levron (2011) about the lack of context analysis prior to implementation are probably due both to the difficulty of working in a crisis environment but also internal staff capacity. For Gaza, the Oxfam GB's staff turnover and changes in approach did not ensure stability and singularity in the approach, such as with selection of recipients (Levron 2011).

In Nairobi, rapid staff turnover in the Oxfam urban team has not been an issue. However, it does appear that the current approach to managing resources does not lead to the most efficient use of resources for the delivery of the urban social protection programme. There are various examples of this:

- The lack of a specialised advocacy support person for a programme that is fundamentally about changing the attitudes and practice of the government. Even 50% of a highly qualified advocacy staff member would enable a clearer strategic analysis of the opportunities and risks around engaging with the government. There also appear to be significant opportunities to work with regional advocacy staff and plans, since response to food crisis in urban areas could easily fall within regional priorities for a number of campaigns, including GROW. In the next year, ensuring adequate support in place would be critical.
- The multiplication of roles of technical urban staff. The design and delivery of social protection projects is complex and adequate time should be given to this. Currently, the staff member responsible for technical delivery is also responsible for advocacy, funding, and a range of smaller responsibilities on other programmes. This is unlikely to maximise effectiveness.
- The urban programme suffers from a lack of long-term funding that would allow more rational planning and programming. This is a universally acknowledged problem, but there are currently no clear steps in place to address it. One option would be devote part of dedicated funding person's time to securing urban

funding, allowing others in the team to focus on technical and advocacy aspects. Another possibility is raising the proportion of this programme that can be funded internally, in line with Oxfam's priorities to focus on urban work.

- There are some inefficiencies, mentioned above, in the procurement of external research and evaluation support. A greater investment in establishing TOR and locating appropriate researchers might lead to a more efficient use of resources. Given that a large proportion of the advocacy work next year might involve policy research and presenting to the government, this is important.

In general, there are probably benefits available in ensuring that annual performance targets include some clear agreement on the types of inputs and outputs that are required, including clear annual objectives and outputs for each staff member. This should help to ensure that staff do not get distracted from core work.

In addition, urban activities at the national level could usefully be linked to an overall Oxfam International and OGB urban strategy and vision. This exercise is ongoing.

8 Conclusions

8.1 Overview

This report has set out some theoretical considerations about chronic poverty and humanitarian work in urban areas and presented three case studies of Oxfam's EFSL urban work in Nairobi, Port-au-Prince and Gaza. The case studies have indicated that Oxfam has in many cases been extremely effective in delivering programmes in urban areas, and should continue to explore and expand its comparative advantage in this area. At the same time, in order to maximise this possibility, Oxfam may need to make both some adjustments to the design and implementation of these programmes and to its own internal staffing approach.

8.2 Implications for the three programmes

This section contains some suggestions for moving forward with each programme.

8.2.1 Nairobi

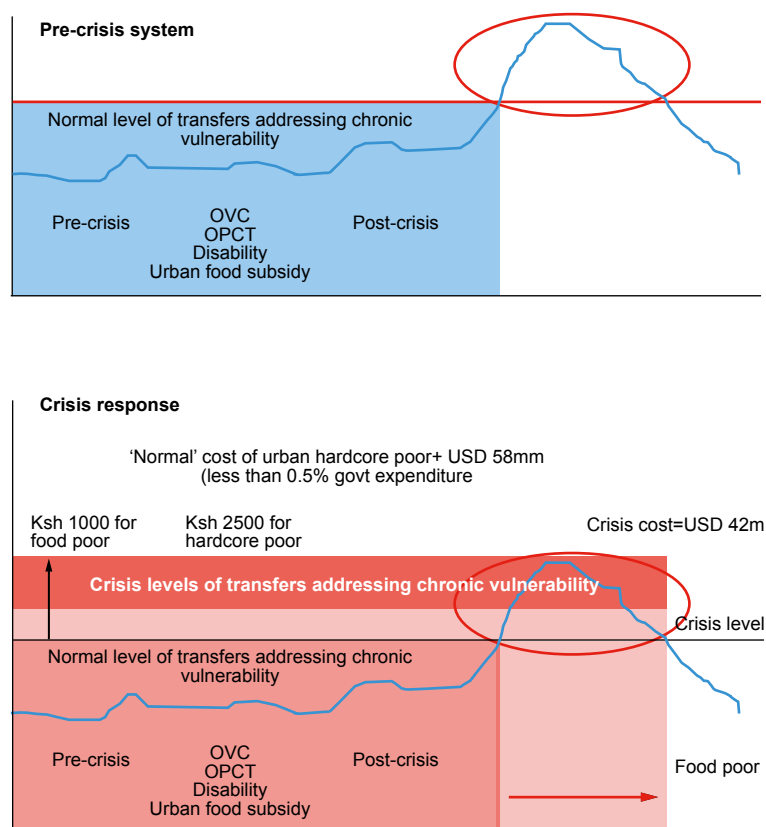
The Oxfam urban social protection programme in Nairobi has had some significant achievements and with a reasonable amount of further investment could start to achieve some extremely significant outcomes. This is principally because urban social protection in Nairobi is currently at a stage that is comparatively advanced in terms of developing a system for crisis monitoring and response that is tied to a chronic poverty social protection system. Oxfam has been instrumental in helping to develop this and further investment in the next year running up to the election in 2012 might enable this to be cemented.

This section will not repeat the earlier discussions and conclusions, but will set out some ideas for moving forward. The overall system would be managed by the government and include:

- A regular system of urban cash transfers, based on household size and annually adjusted for inflation, that includes the existing government transfers and adds (probably) transfers for the hardcore poor not covered by these transfers. These transfers would be made through M-PESA and could be linked to a number of nutrition and public health messages and a feedback and complaints system that uses the phone. Hardcore poor households would be targeted using a mechanism that probably uses a house-to-house proxy means test or poverty scorecard as a base, and then contains a mechanism where additional households can apply to be registered. This database would match the government programmes' single registry. Local community health workers and social workers can recommend households to exit from the programme, and their performance incentives would be aligned to reward the accuracy of targeting in their area.
- A system of crisis monitoring that is agreed by all stakeholders and is a trigger for changed programme response that is analogous to the Integrated Phase Classification in rural areas. Concern Worldwide are developing this system including the use of GIS indicators to locate the crisis in specific urban areas.
- A crisis response system that involves scaling up the chronic poverty M-PESA cash transfer system to transfer more money (possibly) and to a larger number of households such as the food poor for a short time. This could also involve a cash for work programme with low wages for households with additional labour capacity. If the crisis was localised the response could also be located. This system is most appropriate for slow onset crisis, but with adequate development of GIS, it could also both be targeted geographically and used for rapid onset crises.

Using the old transfer levels rather than a per household transfer, this is set out in Figure 8.1

Figure 8.1 A model for crisis response in Nairobi



In order to achieve this, there are some steps that Oxfam could take in the short to medium-term:

- Sign a memorandum of understanding with Concern Worldwide to partner on all aspects of the urban social protection work. This would include sharing advocacy resources, lessons learned, working together on programme implementation, participating in and leading the Urban Vulnerability Forum, and supporting Concern's work on the development of crisis indicators.
- Engage broadly with the government and civil society in the run up to the next election, working across the political spectrum to raise awareness on the level of urban vulnerability and the success of cash transfers as a response. Specifically, the aim should be to obtain a commitment to cash transfers in urban areas, and to assist the government in developing targeting and delivery systems. A decision on whether to advocate scaling up existing cash transfer programmes or introducing a new programme in urban areas should be taken soon, in conjunction with Concern Worldwide and other stakeholders such as the World Bank. It is recommended that Oxfam Kenya commit at least 50% of a professional advocacy person to urban social protection in the run up to the next election.
- This individual should attempt also to link with regional and global advocacy staff around the larger campaigns, such as GROW.

- The urban social protection programme could make significant steps forward if funding is more predictable in the next two years. This could be helped by having a dedicated funding person, or by committing a greater share of the internal budget.
- Develop clear terms of reference, agreed annual objectives and outputs, and lines of management for urban social protection staff in Oxfam. The achievement of the objectives set out above requires dedicated and focused staff time, and existing staff must be managed and supported to achieve this.
- Be clear internally and externally (for instance with the government) that urban social protection is vital in Kenya to prevent serious deterioration of livelihoods and further loss of life in the context of rising food prices, but is not a solution to long-term growth problems. Addressing these problems requires a comprehensive urban and economic development strategy, possibly based on a growth diagnostic analysis. It also requires interventions on the supply side around schools. Cash transfers, improved access to finance and human capital development are likely to form part of this strategy, but it should not be assumed that they are sufficient to overcome the constraints to growth.
 - Follow ups on the existing recipients of business grants and participants in skills training would add significantly to this exercise and should certainly be conducted.
- Continue to implement a cash transfer programme for both humanitarian and advocacy purposes. The usefulness of this programme would be optimised by experimenting with different targeting methodologies. Specifically, the programme should:
 - Define clear entry and exit triggers linked to Concern's ongoing work on crisis indicators, and not be based solely on funding availability.
 - Have tighter geographical targeting based on poverty or vulnerability.
 - Test different household targeting methods, including a method that relies less on community health workers and is more objective and scalable. This could include categorical or scorecard targeting.
 - Have clear criteria for households leaving the programme.
 - Develop a robust case management system for regular entry to and exit from the programme. This system is currently absent in government programmes and will need to be developed as quickly as possible to be scaled up.
 - Consider the use of inflation indexed and per person (not per household) transfers. This should only be undertaken in close cooperation with the government and World Bank as part of a broader advocacy strategy.
 - Continue to operate through MPESA but explore the possibility of bulk negotiation.
 - Use the phone connection to send public health text messages, alert recipients to services and other changes, and to garner feedback on the programme. For the latter, a dedicated hotline could be useful.
 - Link with WaSH interventions to maximise nutritional impacts.
 - Be robustly evaluated, with the evaluation questions focusing on the issues that are most important in the political debate, as identified by an advocacy strategy. These are likely to be around links to long-term economic growth.
 - Continue to operate through partners but invest more in building their capacity, particularly around the use of an MIS.
 - Invest early in the development of an MIS that is clear and that could inform or link to the government's single registry.
 - Consider the use of cash for work as a crisis response, but lower the wage to avoid competing with private enterprise and attracting better off households.

8.2.2 Port-au-Prince and Gaza

Despite huge differences between both contexts, the analysis of these programmes shed light on the main challenges that the practitioners have to tackle.

First of all, it appears that one of the greatest challenges is to understand the plurality of the urban settings within a metropolitan area as well as the diversity of the 'population of concern' profiles. This issue is particularly difficult during a rapid onset, when it comes to addressing the needs of thousands of households.

The coexistence of multiple economic and social models makes project development more complex. Whereas some neighbourhoods are dominated by strong – even authoritarian – leadership (e.g. Carrefour Feuilles in Port-au-Prince), some are ruled by individualism and a weak social fabric. The latter phenomenon affects both individuals, specifically people who are financially and socially excluded, as well as communities broken down by individualism, social conflicts, etc.

At the same time, the urban economy potentially enables positive externalities and prospects to develop some specific local products and services.

Cash transfer is the most relevant approach in urban settings: needs are more specific and cash is more adapted to the means of exchange (bartering, monetization of social exchange and other trade-related services that were formerly part of household economies).

Nevertheless, urban household budgets are –even more- fungible and when grants or wages are distributed late (due to the length of implementation), they were mainly used for other purposes than (re) starting an activity (e.g. most of the recipients in Croix-des-Bouquets used grants as a subvention for schooling).

By contrast, urban agriculture must be considered as a 'niche market' and not as a pillar of livelihoods. Obviously, this kind of projects is relevant under certain specific conditions (rural oriented livelihoods zone, disruption of the food supply chain, and IDPs/migrant with rural background).

Consequently, one cannot define 'best solutions' or 'one-size-fits-all' formulas, to address the most-at-risk populations and project designs must include a wide array of activities. Any intervention must, as much as possible, match with these specificities, and therefore, the use of dedicated tools is the cornerstone to conduct an urban analysis (EMMA, Urban Vulnerability Mapping, Profiling Exercises, Urban market Surveys).

The second challenge is to determine how the Food Security and Livelihood activities can work alongside conventional social protection programmes.

Indeed, EFSL and FSL activities increasingly act more as safety net programmes progressing into 'Social Protection Programmes' Nevertheless, providing cash or in-kind payments alone do not address the fundamental reason why people are vulnerable and does not allow the recovery of sustainable livelihoods (the allocated cash grants remain too weak or not constant enough to support recipients toward a sustainable recovery). Moreover, one cannot sum up 'the economic and livelihoods recovery or the increase of food access and income (see log frame) as an end in itself. Livelihoods intervention are broader than rising incomes and includes attention to the five 'livelihood capitals'.

For example, petty trading, micro-entrepreneurship are more a coping strategy than a vocation. Many of the recipients do not have skills or a sense of entrepreneurship, and they need to be oriented toward tailored projects (through SME training and close monitoring) or toward daily labour/employment.

In Port-au-Prince, as in other situations of chronic urban poverty, a long-term development strategy is required to address chronic poverty. This could also form the basis of a more effective disaster response. In the absence of this long-term activity, however, it is very difficult for EFSL programming to address underlying vulnerabilities, particularly given that funding is limited and constrained by humanitarian funding conditions.

One can consider all these social protection programmes as relevant 'pilot' initiatives, although there is definitely room for improvement in coordination and integration with Government and other INGO initiatives.

8.3 Implications for Oxfam's EFSL urban programming

There are a number of general recommendations for the EFSL programming that appear from the reviews above (and have not yet been mentioned clearly). These include the following:

- Continue to consider cash transfers as a first response to urban disasters, unless markets are very clearly not at all functional. Cash for work may also be appropriate if there are simple tasks to complete and wages can be set low enough to deter wealthy applicants while still supporting minimum consumption.
- Use technology where appropriate and possible to speed the response (through digital data gathering) and make transfers (through phones or bank cards). Try to maximise associated benefits of technology (such as having a way to communicate with recipients or allowing them to save).
- Make early decisions about targeting based on a joint (inter-agency) assessment of need. Geographic targeting based on poverty is likely to be important.
- For complex operations, a detailed context analysis is important. In many cases, however, speed is required (particularly where there is significant debt), and this means moving quickly through simple targeting exercises to resource transfers.
- The indicators used to identify crisis (the IPC) were specifically developed for rural areas, although FAO believe that they are appropriate for use in urban areas. However, several agencies have raised concerns about the relevance of humanitarian malnutrition thresholds (15% Global Acute Malnutrition (GAM), 4% Severe Acute Malnutrition (SAM)). This is because in urban areas population densities are much higher, which means that a smaller percentage of malnutrition could translate into an extremely large number of people suffering from malnutrition, and this therefore needs reviewing. Triggers for entry and exit in urban crisis situations need reviewing, and Oxfam should continue to support this work.
- Be realistic about what EFSL programming can achieve on its own. EFSL programming in urban areas should aim to prevent further deterioration through the use of negative coping strategies and to begin the process of rebuilding. However, it cannot be expected to address underlying vulnerabilities or chronic poverty. There is naturally a trade-off with limited resources between broad coverage and deep impact, and EFSL programming seems more appropriately focused on broad coverage. Addressing situations of chronic poverty (as is the case in all three case studies here) requires a much more comprehensive and well-resourced approach.
- Given these limitations, ensure that advocacy for a longer-term regular system is linked to the EFSL work. EFSL programming can provide a good opportunity to engage in a political debate, and this opportunity should not be lost, since urban vulnerability is probably in general under-appreciated currently, and because governments have good incentives to engage in urban work.
- Work through partners in urban areas and engage with them in a way that is explicitly designed to build their capacity. This should include working together on data management and systems.

Overall, the indication from the three reviews is that there are significant advances to be made in this area and that Oxfam specifically has a significant comparative advantage in the area of urban EFSL programming. Cementing this advantage could mean that Oxfam have considerable influence over the development of urban EFSL programming. This would be an exciting development given that as of 2009 urban areas include over half the world's population.

However, in practice, cementing this advantage will mean having to work to overcome some internal and external barriers to funding and resource allocation. Some brief final recommendations are appropriate here:

- The effectiveness of the EFSL response in urban areas was limited in at least two of the case studies by internal staffing constraints around objective setting, management or turnover. Oxfam's ability to cement the urban advantage will continue to be constrained by this unless addressed.
- The EFSL team should have a point person on urban programming who can develop and share resources (including best practice), funding opportunities and continue to lead field based research to influence policy and programme design.

- EFSL teams within country and regional programmes need to make their own case for the importance of urban programming, with support centrally. In most contexts, the case for urban programming (or preparation for programming) should be fairly straightforward, but given the challenges that this reorientation will require, these people should be supported from Oxford.
- Oxfam may also wish to develop a clearer position on urban EFSL programming in general. This would include the development of a global strategy (currently underway for urban work in general), some clear and consistent allocation of resources for urban emergency response work, and clear emergency response planning for rapid and slow onset emergencies.
- Oxfam may wish to position its urban EFSL programming more centrally in terms of the advocacy and campaigns conducted around emergencies, crisis and livelihoods. For instance, the GROW campaign (focusing on the global food system) links with slow onset crises resulting from food price increases. As urban areas are particularly affected by these increases, they would be appropriate for case studies and advocacy work, and this should be coordinated with EFSL programming work.
- Oxfam needs to engage with donors to overcome the challenges posed by data requirements for crisis response in urban areas (particularly to slow onset crisis). Regular and sustained engagement with key donors in the area (including DFID and ECHO) should be designed to alert donors to the importance of urban slow and rapid onset emergency response, and to the lessons learned so far.
- There are good reasons to advocate for a more even split of EFSL resources between rural and urban areas, given the importance of and possibilities for investing in preparedness in urban areas.

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Annex A Terms of reference

EFSL Urban Programme Evaluation, December 2010

Background:

In 2008, for the first time in history, the world's urban population outnumbered its rural population. This population growth mainly takes place in urban areas of developing countries. By 2030, 3.9 billion people are expected to be living in the urban areas of developing countries. The Oxfam EFSL team, like the rest of OGB has concentrated on developing rural -based skills and tools over the last 20 years. Now, there is a need to understand the differences between rural and urban EFSL programming, and to establish adapted assessment methodologies and programme responses.

The EFSL team have led on the following:

1. WFP and Oxfam recently commissioned a piece of work to ' Review the appropriateness of food security and livelihood analysis indicators, tools and methods for programming in urban contexts'. This review identified the limited knowledge and application in the area of assessments, and raised many more questions than answers.
2. Urban Learning Event which focused on food security, livelihoods and nutrition for programme response, in Oxford 4-5th Oct. This meeting created an opportunity to; Share experience and learning from assessment and response in urban FS/ LL / Nut contexts; outline gaps in knowledge and experience in urban FS/ LL / Nut contexts; and agree a way forward and possible interagency collaboration

An evaluation has been completed to evaluate urban EFSL programmes in Gaza and Port-au-Prince, and we want to complete this work by evaluating the urban EFSL work in Nairobi. The four case studies, which showcase these EFSL programs, will accompany the terms of reference as background material, and country programs will provide more in depth material at a later date.

Objective of the evaluation

The key objective is to evaluate the appropriateness, effectiveness and impact of the EFSL interventions in Nairobi with a particular focus on the use of cash transfer programming. This is in order to facilitate learning program replication and provide informed recommendations regarding targeting. As much as possible the objectives should apply to the urban context, and what is different or unique about this environment, rather than restating common lessons learned for rural contexts.

- **Appropriateness:** analysis of the EFSL interventions selected and their appropriateness for the particular urban context in which they were implemented. Overview of the log frame objectives - were they achievable? Is the program being implemented in such a way as to give good value for money spent to achieve the desired standards and outcome? Would another type of intervention been better in retrospect? Will the program be effective in reducing future vulnerabilities?
- **Targeting:** What identification process was used to target beneficiaries? How effective was it in identifying both target group and target areas? How effectively did partners apply the agreed selection tools and criteria? What was the level of involvement of the community in the selection process? What were the challenges the partners faced with the selection process? What are the recommended selection criteria and process that could be applied to this program and other urban contexts? What progress has been made in identifying targeting indicators (one of the original programme objectives).
- **Timeliness:** this program implemented in the best timeframe to optimise recovery within the affected population
- **Partners experience:** what have been the challenges and lessons learnt in relation to implementing program? What is the impact of the partnership relationship - on the partners and the beneficiaries?
- **Impact:** what positive change and tangible benefits have been realised by the beneficiaries as a result of the programme? Could they have achieved the same benefits in a different way? Is there any evidence

of negative impact with regard to any aspect of the program? Were the objectives set out in the log frame achieved? Were there any other unplanned benefits?

- **Accountability:** were beneficiaries consulted in the design of the program and how much input did they give?: Did they receive information about the program and was there a complaints system in place, how complex/simple was this system?

Evaluation Methodology

The evaluator will decide on the concrete evaluation methodology, incorporating the following:

- desk review of log frames, EFSL case studies, country program evaluations and any MEL data
- focus group discussions and interviews with beneficiaries (focus group reporting should mention how many people are in the group, state key quotations, and give a rough estimates of how many people agreed with the view expressed (not in %)
- interviews with partner and Oxfam staff
- translation support will be provided where possible from Oxfam staff to enable the interviews and focus groups. This information will be written up by the translator.
- meeting with community representatives, partner organisations and Oxfam staff members to discuss and cross check the findings
- photos to be taken (with permission) to include in a final report
- presentation of the study findings to partners and Oxfam in the field and at headquarters.

Annex B Programme logical frameworks

B.1 Nairobi⁸²

Objectives	Outcomes	Activities	Impact
<p>Improve access to food of the most vulnerable households in selected informal settlements in Nairobi</p> <p>Develop longer-term food and income security initiatives</p>	<p>Development of a cash transfer system</p> <p>Establishment of social protection programme for the urban poor</p> <p>Identification of appropriate emergency indicators for use in the urban context</p>	<p>Cash transfer of USD12.5/ month for 5000 households for 6-8 months through MPESA in Mukuru, Korogocho (Concern) and Mathare (WFP) (response)</p> <p>Skill building, cash for work, income-generation, esp micro-finance, micro-businesses, labour market opportunities (recovery)</p> <p>Micro-finance linkages, ministerial cooperation (Inter Ministry Task Force, MGCS D to ensure social protection continued for those not able to access), business development, private sector relationships (e.g. Equity Bank) (exit).</p>	<p>3400 households no longer receiving CTs</p> <p>1000 expected to move soon towards livelihoods</p> <p>83% moved onto SP element</p> <p>50% households started, improved or revived small businesses</p> <p>Reduced reliance on negative coping strategies; school enrolment increased</p> <p>Government announced Saidia Jamii pilot with OGB and Concern in Nov 2009</p> <p>GoK signed in Feb 2010 agreement to implement but rejected SIDA funding (see Kimetrica 2011: 13)</p>

B.2 Haiti⁸³

Intervention Logic	Measurable Indicators	Means or Sources of Verification	Risks and Assumptions
GOAL: To contribute to the economic and livelihoods recovery of vulnerable households in Port au Prince.			
<p>SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE: To improve the food security situation for 12,420 vulnerable households through rehabilitation of livelihoods and better access to basic services</p>	<p>Percentage of people whom report having increased access to and availability of basic needs goods.</p> <p>75% of 8,620 beneficiaries supported in their income generating activities have functioning small enterprises after 6 months</p>	<p>Post activity monitoring reports</p> <p>External evaluation report</p> <p>Internal Ex-post evaluation guides and methodology</p> <p>Monitoring reviews</p> <p>Most significant change (MSC) stories</p> <p>Case studies</p>	<p>Risks:</p> <p>Change in government policies forces changes in programme activities.</p> <p>Incoherence and lack of cooperation between international aid agencies.</p> <p>More natural disasters hamper access to beneficiaries and result in beneficiary movement outside of working areas.</p> <p>Local corruption reduces efficacy of interventions through extortion.</p> <p>Security levels deteriorate sufficiently to negatively affect programming at all levels.</p> <p>High staff turnover.</p> <p>Assumptions:</p> <p>Absence of more major natural disasters.</p> <p>Targeted communities understand and accept programme activities and are willing to participate.</p> <p>No obstruction from external market players</p> <p>Government, local authorities and partners are supportive of programme.</p> <p>No major changes on policies or laws that could hamper programme activities</p>

B.2 Haiti *continued*

Intervention Logic	Measurable Indicators	Means or Sources of Verification	Risks and Assumptions
<p>RESULT 1: Improved capacity for 3,800 targeted vulnerable HH to cover their basic needs in three communes (Delmas, Carrefour and Port-au-Prince) by the end of December 2010</p>	<p>3,800 targeted vulnerable HH access income through CFW by the end of December</p> <p>Local CBOs and stakeholders take a leading role in the implementation of CFW activities</p> <p>Undertaken CFW activities are decided through community consultation to benefit the community interest</p>	<p>Beneficiaries databases</p> <p>Attendance reports</p> <p>Oxfam and Partners activity reports</p> <p>Voucher / cash receipt</p> <p>Monitoring/ lessons learnt reports</p> <p>Post activity monitoring reports</p> <p>Monitoring reviews reports</p> <p>Internal ex-post evaluation report</p> <p>MoUs signed with partners</p>	<p>Risks:</p> <p>Change in government policies forces changes in programme activities.</p> <p>Incoherence and lack of cooperation between international aid agencies.</p> <p>More natural disasters hamper access to beneficiaries and result in beneficiary movement outside of working areas.</p> <p>Local corruption reduces efficacy of interventions through extortion.</p> <p>Security levels deteriorate sufficiently to negatively affect programming at all levels.</p> <p>Assumptions:</p> <p>Targeted communities understand and accept programme activities and are willing to participate</p> <p>Government, local authorities and partners are supportive of programme</p>
<p>RESULT 2: Improved income generation capacity of selected households in four communes (Delmas, Carrefour, Port-au-Prince, Croix des Bouquets) by the end of December</p>	<p>7,200 targeted benefiting households received a cash grant by end of December through local partners in 4 communes (Delmas, Port-au-Prince, Carrefour and Croix des Bouquets)</p> <p>75 % of the 7,200 grant beneficiaries have started or re-started an economic activities</p> <p>The 770 most vulnerable HH among the 7,200 grant beneficiaries receive hot cooked meals for a period of 2 months in 3 communes (Carrefour, PAP, Delmas) till the end of December</p>	<p>Beneficiaries databases</p> <p>Bank / Finance reports</p> <p>Oxfam and Partners activity reports</p> <p>Monitoring / lessons learnt reports</p> <p>Cash receipt at bank by beneficiaries</p> <p>Voucher receipt by partners and beneficiaries</p> <p>MoUs with partners</p> <p>Post distribution monitoring reports</p> <p>Internal ex-post evaluation report</p> <p>Plates receipt by beneficiaries</p>	<p>As above</p> <p>And no obstruction from external market players.</p>
<p>RESULT 3: Improved availability of basic services and goods in selected areas of 4 communes (Delmas, Carrefour, Port-au-Prince and Croix des Bouquets) by the end of December</p>	<p>Targeted support is provided to 1,420 essential local businesses (grocery stores, street restaurant cooks and tradesmen) in 4 communes (Delmas, Carrefour, Port-au-Prince and Croix des Bouquets) by the end of December</p> <p>Community members in targeted areas report increased availability of basic goods and services</p> <p>Need based training provided to the remaining 700 members of supported businesses in 4 communes (Carrefour, PAP, Delmas, and Croix-des-Bouquets) by the end of December</p>	<p>Benefiting business database and initial evaluation</p> <p>Oxfam and partners activity report format</p> <p>Support receipts (cash / vouchers / goods)</p> <p>Bank / Finance reports</p> <p>MoUs (partners and business holders)</p> <p>Monitoring / lessons learnt reports</p> <p>Post distribution monitoring reports</p> <p>Ex pots evaluation reports</p> <p>Inhabitants reports on availability of basic goods and services</p> <p>Training manuals, and training tools</p> <p>Training reports</p> <p>Pre-post training evaluations</p> <p>Case studies</p>	<p>As result 2</p>

B.2 Haiti *continued*

Intervention Logic	Measurable Indicators	Means or Sources of Verification	Risks and Assumptions
<p>RESULT 4: Key financial institutions have an increased capacity to support Oxfam's programming and their client base</p>	<p>Brief survey of the financial institutions is completed identifying the constraints they are facing and solutions proposed</p> <p>3 additional offices are in-place in Oxfam areas and beneficiaries of results 1 to 3 have easier access to their accounts</p> <p>There is an increase in loans and repayments by the financial institutions</p>	<p>Map of financial institutions in targeted areas</p> <p>Oxfam and MFIs activity reports</p> <p>Ex post evaluation reports</p>	<p>As result 2</p>
<p>RESULT 5: Programme management, inter-agency coordination, monitoring, accountability system has been enhanced and cross-cutting issues are integrated in the programme plan</p>	<p>Oxfam has up-to-date information on the evolving food security/livelihood situation</p> <p>75% of targeted communities are aware of Oxfam's activities and understand how to make complaints</p> <p>Oxfam ensures coordination with local stakeholders, authorities and NGOs, and in particular contributes actively to the Cash consortium between international NGOs and CALP members to improve coordination and sharing of experiences</p> <p>Oxfam develops regular training for partners and its staff</p>	<p>Oxfam activity reports Post activity monitoring reports</p> <p>Ex-post evaluation reports</p> <p>Manuals and training tools</p> <p>Training reports</p>	<p>As result 2</p> <p>High staff turn-over</p>

B.2 Haiti *continued*

Intervention Logic	Measurable Indicators
ACTIVITIES RESULT 1:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Selection of beneficiaries according to vulnerability criteria, establishing a balance of men and women working Establishment of team and working zones Coordination with local authorities and local stakeholders CFW in camps and communities Monitoring and establishment of a feedback mechanism
ACTIVITIES RESULT 2:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Selection of local partners Beneficiary selection based on community defined criteria Creation of a cash consortium or a strong cash coordination group Payment of grants to establish small enterprises through vouchers or cash via financial institutions Community canteens for very vulnerable households identified by partners and other local institutions Monitoring
ACTIVITIES RESULT 3:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Targeting of key market/traders for interventions Payment of grant / loan Provision of containers to traders who have lost shops and where feasible Provision of tools to tradesmen Provision of stoves to restauratrices Provision of training where needed Monitoring
ACTIVITIES RESULT 4:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Key financial institutions are identified Discussion with management on how to improve support to clients and Oxfam's beneficiaries. Development of an action plan Identification in types of support to be provided Provisions of cash and/or material to improve the capacity of the financial institutions Follow up support and training where needed.
ACTIVITIES RESULT 5:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Food security and livelihoods assessments are implemented under Oxfam supervision and advice Update of EMMA assessments are carried out and recommendations for action are followed through Other assessments according to needs defined by the EFSL and wider team A process is put into place to assure complaints and protection issues involving EFSL activities are properly communicated System to monitor EFSL activities and provided feedback on the development of activities Training of staff Carrying out accountability meetings with stakeholders Sharing of activity reports to relevant authorities and stakeholders Activity participation and contribution to cash coordination working group

B.3 Gaza⁸⁴

Title of the Action Enhancing marginalized people's income and food security in the Occupied Palestinian Territory.			
Principal Objective Alleviate the suffering of vulnerable population in the Occupied Palestinian Territories			
Intervention Logic	Objectively Verifiable Indicators	Sources of Verification	Risks and Assumptions
SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE: Increase household food access and income generation in vulnerable households in the Occupied Palestinian Territory	100% of targeted beneficiary households improve food consumption by the end of the project. 100% beneficiaries reduce their use of negative coping strategies by the end of the project period.	Baseline survey records, poll, progress reports of implementing partners and OGB, final evaluation, mid-term review	Economic and political situation do not further deteriorate resulting in reduced availability to essential items such as food.
Result 1: Small scale farmers have diversified their products and consumptions	180 dunums of thyme are established and functioning within the project period 100% of beneficiaries increase cash income as a result of product sales by the end of the project period. 100% of beneficiaries improve consumption levels as a result of crop production and product sales by the end of the project period.	Baseline data, monitoring visits, (by both partner and OGB) progress reports and registers prepared by partners and OGB, interviews with project beneficiaries, mid-term review	Closure policies in the Jordan Valley do not further restrict access Access to area C not further limited Security situation in OPT does not constrain OGB and local partner action Timely receipt of funding (in time for planting season) and implementation of project. Materials & tools are available Oxfam is able to accurately identify the most vulnerable Sustained collaboration between targeted communities, local representatives, partners and Oxfam. The required items and enough banknotes are available locally in Gaza. Documentation of meetings and advocacy initiatives. Draft alternative plan and related documents.
Result 2: Rain fed agriculture farmers have reduced production costs and increased their yields through the improvement of their farming system	2.1 2,640 dunums of rain fed cropping areas are established and functioning within the project period 2.2 100% of beneficiaries increase cash income as a result of product sales by the end of the project period. 2.3 100% of beneficiaries improve consumption levels as a result of crop production and product sales by the end of the project period.	Baseline data, monitoring visits, (by both partner and OGB) progress reports and registers prepared by partners and OGB, interviews with project beneficiaries, mid-term review	
Result 3: Very poor households in Tubas Governorate and Jordan Valley have increased and diversified their household food production and consumption.	3.1 100% of beneficiaries for beekeeping activities are able to consume honey 4 months after distribution of beehives. 3.2 100% of beneficiaries of beekeeping activities are able to exchange or sell surplus in local markets.	Monitoring visits, progress reports and registers prepared by partners and OGB, interviews with project beneficiaries, mid-term review	

B.3 Gaza *continued*

Intervention Logic	Objectively Verifiable Indicators	Sources of Verification	Risks and Assumptions
<p>Result 4: Very poor households in Gaza increase consumption of vitamin or protein rich food through improved household food production/improved income-generation</p>	<p>4.1 100% of Backyard garden beneficiaries increase vegetable consumption by the end of the project</p> <p>4.2 100% of rabbit breeding beneficiaries increase consumption of protein by the end of the project</p> <p>4.3 50% of beneficiaries are able to exchange or sell surplus of products in local markets by the end of the project.</p>	<p>Baseline data, monitoring visits, (by both partner and OGB) progress reports and registers prepared by partners and OGB, interviews with project beneficiaries, mid-term review</p>	
<p>Result 5: Unemployed people increase their income through temporary employment opportunities</p>	<p>678 beneficiaries receive their salary on time as per agreed wages (skilled 75NIS, unskilled 60NIS) for a maximum period of 50 days.</p> <p>47 Km of agricultural roads rehabilitated by the end of the project</p> <p>25 schools developed by the end of the project</p> <p>249 additional beneficiaries worked in public services receive their salary on time as per agreed wages (skilled 75NIS, unskilled 60NIS) for a maximum period of 25 days</p>	<p>Bank statement Progress reports Progress monitoring reports</p>	<p>Prices of basic items do not increase significantly during the timeframe of the project due to the access restrictions and the closure in Gaza.</p> <p>The required items and enough banknotes are available locally in Gaza</p>
<p>Activites</p>	<p>Common activity to all results: Inception workshops, beneficiary selection, baseline survey, monitoring & evaluation.</p> <p>Result 1: Small-scale farming Procurement & distribution of agricultural inputs Training and extension services (small scale production) Selection of cooperatives from the targeted areas and implementation of dry land farming activities.</p> <p>Result 2: Rain fed agriculture Procurement & distribution of agricultural inputs. Selection of cooperatives from the targeted areas and implementation of dry land farming activities.</p> <p>Result 3: Beehives Procurement & distribution of beehives and inputs. Training and extension on bees husbandry.</p> <p>Result 4: Backyard Garden and Animal breeding support (Rabbit Rearing) Procurement & distribution of the required inputs. Training and extension on gardening and animal breeding</p> <p>Result 5: CFW Identification of agricultural roads to be rehabilitated Rehabilitation of 47 Km of agricultural road Identification of school to be developed Development of 25 school gardens and sanitation facilities Selection and temporary employment of skilled and unskilled labour</p>		<p>Pre-conditions: Travel permits for Project staff available Closures and curfews do not increase Movement restrictions do not prevent ESDC, Ma'an and Oxfam GB staff from visiting project sites. Security at acceptable level and allows Oxfam, ESDC and Ma'an to operate in the OPT Local inputs and banknotes are available ESDC and OGB are able to access Area C</p>

Annex C Additional tables

C.1 Nairobi urban social protection programme

Table C.1 Cash transfer recipients by village, Mukuru

Village	Began transfer	Dropped in October 2010	Remaining
Changombe	155	47	108
Commercial	62	20	42
Fuata		44	-44
Fuata Nyayo	378	95	283
Kavelela	34	17	17
Kayaba	383	167	216
Kenya Wine	8	3	5
Kingstone	22	7	15
Kisii Village	166	45	121
Kwa Njenga	167	85	82
Lunga		13	-13
Lunga - Paradise	30	17	13
lunga jamaica	3	1	2
Lunga Lunga	824	280	544
Lunga-centre	4	4	0
Lunga-Mskiti	1		1
Lunga-riverside	3		3
Machaley	1		1
Mariguini	155	46	109
Masai	1	1	0
Milimani	1	1	0
Njenga		1	1
Reuben	312	138	174
Shimo la tewa	34	7	27
Sirai	1	1	0
Tetra pak	21	2	19
(blank)	15	5	10
Total	2781	1047	1734

Table C.2 Skills transfer recipients by village, Mukuru

Village/Skill transfer type	Catering	Driving	Hairdressing	Mechanics	Tailoring	Total
Changombe			3			3
Commercial				2		2
Fuata Nyayo	1	9	4	8	4	26
Kavelela		1				1
Kayaba		11	6	6	3	26
Kisii		3		2		5
Kwa Njenga		7	8	2	2	19
Lunga		2	4	1		7
Lunga lunga	4	3	5	6	2	20
Mariguini	1	4	1	1	1	8
Njenga				1		1
Reuben	2	2	3	8	2	17
Shimo la Tewa			1	1		2
Sinai				1		1
Total	8	42	35	39	14	138

Source: Calculated from Oxfam recipient lists

Endnotes

- 1 IFRC 2010: 12; Cohen and Garrett 2009
- 2 See for instance the 2010 World Disasters Report, which focused on urban risk (IFRC 2010).
- 3 A fourth case study, planned for Zimbabwe, was cancelled so that the consultant could spend time supporting Oxfam's Nairobi urban social protection programme. Many thanks are due to Oxfam Zimbabwe's team, including particularly Kudzai Nhongo, for making the arrangements for this cancelled trip.
- 4 EFSL Urban Programme Evaluation Terms of Reference. Full TOR are available in Annex A.
- 5 Oxfam and Concern Worldwide, 2011, Food Security Crisis Intervention, Recovery and Development in Nairobi Urban Settlements: Final implementation report. February 2011.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 For a review of Concern's programme in Korogocho, see MacAuslan and Schofield 2011.
- 8 Okul and Wagalla 2010.
- 9 Oxfam GB (2011), Tolkien report, page 6.
- 10 Oxfam GB (2011), Tolkien report, page 7-8.
- 11 This section and the next is based on Levron 2011.
- 12 The average household size in Haiti is 5.
- 13 Haiti Logical Framework, from Levron 2011 annex 6.
- 14 EMMA assists frontline humanitarian staff in sudden onset emergencies to understand, accommodate and make use of market systems. Further details and a toolkit for using EMMA is available at <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/downloads/emergency-market-analysis-toolkit.pdf>
- 15 This section is based on Levron 2011.
- 16 Gaza logical framework, found in Levron 2011 Annex 5.
- 17 These terms are used interchangeably in this report.
- 18 We return to the implications of urban areas for programming in section 2.5.
- 19 <http://www.mapkibera.org/blog/2010/09/05/kiberas-census-population-politics-precision/>, accessed December 2011.
- 20 KNBS 2010.
- 21 World Bank 2006, cited in Oxfam (2009), 'Urban Poverty and Vulnerability in Kenya'.
- 22 Ziraba, A. et al (2011), 'Fatal injuries in the slums of Nairobi and their risk factors: results from a matched control case study', *Journal of Urban Health*: 88(2)
- 23 WSUP report 2007 and Taylor and Maithya 2007 cited in Oxfam (2009) 'Urban Poverty and Vulnerability in Kenya'.
- 24 Cassar and Wydick cited in Becchetti et al (2011), 'Violence and social capital: evidence of a microeconomic vicious circle', Society for the Study of Economic Inequality, Working paper 2011-197.
- 25 Grieg, F. and Bohnet, I., (2009), 'Exploring gendered behaviour in the field with experiments: Why public goods are provided by women in a Nairobi slum', *Journal of Economic Behaviour and Organisation* (70:1-2): 1-9.
- 26 Oxfam 2009
- 27 Becchetti et al (2011), 'Violence and social capital: evidence of a microeconomic vicious circle', Society for the Study of Economic Inequality, Working paper 2011-197.
- 28 Presentation by Elizabeth Kimani, Concern Worldwide workshop on Urban Emergency Indicator development, 14th November 2011.
- 29 The data presented below on costs and estimated numbers of different cash transfers in Kenya use a range of poverty lines as a result of this.
- 30 HTP module 12: Management of Moderate Acute Malnutrition, available at http://www.unscn.org/en/gnc_htp/modul.php?modID=17
- 31 Personal communication with Lynnda Kiess (WFP/HKI) indicates that urban surveys in informal settlements in East Asia showed high rates of chronic and acute malnutrition in the urban informal settlements.
- 32 Fotso, C. (2006), 'Urban rural differentials in child malnutrition. Trends and socio-economic correlates in sub-Saharan Africa,' APHRC working paper.
- 33 This is based on a detailed academic review of seven case studies of attempts to reduce urban poverty.
- 34 This is based on a rapid but broad consultation that aimed to compile existing knowledge on humanitarian action in cities, including literature reviews and broad stakeholder consultation.
- 35 Although not always: see Concern's GIS mapping of vulnerability over time in Nairobi.
- 36 The solution to this problem in most high-income countries is to threaten to fine or imprison those who lie about their benefit status, to publicise this threat, and to enforce it through law courts. This is not currently on the agenda in most low- and middle-income countries, partly because the legal process is slow, because fines and imprisonment are not appropriate punishment (since they would have potentially catastrophic consequences for the individual and their household), and because verifying incomes is genuinely hard. These problems are all exacerbated in humanitarian contexts.
- 37 See for instance in Haiti where a group of organisations decided not to use income directly but a combination of proxies instead ('Meeting on vulnerability criteria for targeting vulnerable urban dwellers in Port au Prince, 15th July 2011').
- 38 Oxfam and Concern Worldwide, 2011, Food Security Crisis Intervention, Recovery and Development in Nairobi Urban Settlements: Final implementation report. February 2011.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Care, Concern, and Oxfam, (2009: 3).
- 41 The government has been withholding an up to date assessment of food security in urban areas.
- 42 Note that it is not clear exactly what drove the price rises. Rises in international prices probably played a part, but local drivers such as poor harvests and high transport prices were also relevant. See HLPE (2011) and IFPRI, Concern and Welthungerhilfe (2011) for more details.

- 43 It may be that the recent decision by the International Criminal Court to prosecute two of the ODM leader's presidential rivals (Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto) increases ODM's chances in the election, but insurance would nevertheless be prudent.
- 44 Oxfam, n.d., 'Targeting process for the pilot cash transfer programme.'
- 45 This section is based on Levron 2011.
- 46 Haiti Logical Framework, from Levron 2011 annex 6.
- 47 Oxfam GB used Caisse Populaire, Capital Bank, Sogebank and Unibank in February, March and April and switched to Unitransfer in May.
- 48 The finance team were not interviewed in the study conducted by Levron.
- 49 Oxfam GB, Household Survey, June 2010
- 50 Since the blockade, the beneficiaries have received food assistance in order to mitigate the decrease in salaries.
- 51 Oxfam, n.d. 'Note on targeting.'
- 52 Comment from the Kenya Urban Social Protection team.
- 53 This information is taken from a note by Mukuru Slums Development Projects, n.d., 'The Targeting process of beneficiaries for emergency food security crisis intervention in Mukuru slums Nairobi,' and confirmed in an interview with MSDP staff.
- 54 Whether Oxfam actually gave them this quota is unclear.
- 55 Estimates from Oxfam staff.
- 56 Interview with MSDP staff.
- 57 Tolkien report, page 6.
- 58 Tolkien report, page 7-8.
- 59 Okul and Wagalla 2010.
- 60 This section is based on Levron 2011.
- 61 Guide Keys For Scoring Beneficiaries Questionnaires and 'Community Ranking'
- 62 The target groups included: petty traders, head of household, 'petit professionals', professional canteens-owners, non-professional canteens-owners, disabled persons, small shops and CBOs.
- 63 In Port-au-Prince and Carrefour Feuille, 54 CBOs, three Partners and representatives of local authorities have proposed 8524 recipients for identification and selection.
- 64 A huge informal slum sprang up further to the settlement of the Corail camp in Croix-des-Bouquets.
- 65 This section is based on Levron 2011.
- 66 Occupied Palestinian territory Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis Report, December 2009
- 67 Report on Monitoring exercise of Beneficiaries selection (DFID/ ECHO projects 2009/2010)
- 68 Female-headed families are characterised by household where women are completely responsible for the house and the children with very little support from others. A number of women asserted that their household's economic and social situation became better after their husbands' death, especially those whose husbands or sons died as martyrs or were injured by the Israelis. It appears that the female-headed households (refugee women in particular) are less exposed to extreme poverty and vulnerability during the current economic crisis since they are socially recognized as persons entitled to humanitarian assistance by formal and informal institutions.
- 69 In Gaza, able-bodied husbands and sons who previously worked in Israel or locally and have been unemployed for a long period of time were described by the respondents as 'careless and socially isolated'. This group represents middle class households that have been severely affected by the increased restrictions and economic restraints. Most of these households had one person working in Israel prior to the blockade earning on average 1000 USD per month.
- 70 A World Bank study which analysed Brazilian national household survey data, found that receipt of cash transfer (up to 100 USD per month per family within the frame of a government program: Bolsa Familia) led to an increase in urban entrepreneurship (owning a business as an employer or self-employed worker) and increased the diversity of household income sources. The study concludes that Bolsa Familia has helped stimulate entrepreneurship by relaxing the constraints of lack of start-up capital and insurance (and thus risk aversion) for very poor households.
- 71 Oxfam GB Cash Programming Lessons Learned (2010)
- 72 Ibid
- 73 The canteen program in Haiti did not manage to support families to reach their average meals level from before the earthquake. The number of households having three meals per day dropped from 44 per cent during the canteens programme to 25 per cent after the programme.
- 74 'Situation économique et endettement des ménages Haitiens', ACTED, Feb. 2011, 103p.
- 75 Oxfam GB, Rapport MR deuxième phase EFSL, p4
- 76 A recent report from DFID (Cash Transfer, evidence paper, Policy Division, April 2011) showed that CTP have proved to potentially contribute directly or indirectly to a much wider range of development outcomes, including health, nutrition, education, gender equality, women's empowerment, economic inclusion and growth.
- 77 Pantaleo Creti, The Voucher Programmes in Gaza Strip, Mid-term Review, March 2011
- 78 Meetings prioritized brick-layers, carpenters and craftsmen working with iron, seamstress, mechanics and shoemakers.
- 79 In Gaza, 75 per cent of the targeted recipients had high level of knowledge about Oxfam activity while 6 per cent had no idea about these livelihoods activities.
- 80 Oxfam and its partners must assure itself that any activities it carries out in Gaza or elsewhere do not provide direct or indirect financial benefit to Hamas, or otherwise contravene the provisions of European Council Regulation EC/2580/2001(as amended) and/or the Terrorism (United Nations Measures) Orders 2006 and 2009, or otherwise contravene the provisions of any of these or subsequent legislative measures.
- 81 Oxfam GB, Impact of the closure on poor women in Gaza Strip, 2008, P.5
- 82 This table is based on a review of documents, conducted in the absence of an official logical framework.
- 83 This is taken from Levron 2011 annex 6.
- 84 This logframe is for one project out of several that are referred to in the report under the GFSL programme. Moreover, results 1-3 are specific to the West Bank and therefore not relevant here. The logframe is nevertheless included for information only.

