

BUILDING LIVELIHOODS: AN EXAMINATION OF BENEFICIARY RESILIENCE DURING COVID-19

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Note: The names of all beneficiaries have been changed to protect their privacy.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND

This study examines how the FSD Kenya and CARE Building Livelihoods programme in Marsabit County, Northern Kenya has and has not contributed to beneficiary resilience and how specific institutions and assets are contributing to and undermining resilience. The study was conducted in two phases during Covid-19 in 2020, which created an economic shock that put extra stress on resilience and thus provided a stark opportunity for critical examination of programme impact. A qualitative study was conducted with a sample of 18 programme beneficiaries, who are part of a larger sample that has been studied since the start of the programme.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Covid-19 posed some unique challenges for programme beneficiaries, which undermined both traditional and new coping mechanisms. For example, restrictions on movements and temporary closure of livestock markets limited ability to seek help from relatives, access goods for retail business from other locations, and sell livestock for immediate needs or business. Programme savings groups were able to continue making contributions to savings and providing loans to group members, but meetings were limited to smaller groups of five people while adhering to social distancing. Market linkage activities, such as Equity loan activities were suspended for a period.

Beneficiaries used a combination of new and more traditional coping mechanisms to meet their household needs during Covid-19. New mechanisms include the government's Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) bi-monthly cash transfer, individual savings, savings group loans, individual loans, Equity loans, money from business, consumption of business goods, and taking goods on credit. More traditional mechanisms include money from family, food or money from neighbours, selling or consuming livestock, and borrowing livestock. Some beneficiaries were able to access relief food and other forms of aid during Covid-19, but they were often excluded because they are a beneficiary of the HSNP/programme.

Overall, beneficiaries were able to cope with the Covid-19 shock better than shocks in previous years because of the Building Livelihoods programme. While beneficiaries already had existing more traditional coping mechanisms, the programme augmented four main types of capital, which contributed to increased resilience of beneficiaries: human capital, financial capital, physical capital, and social capital. The degree to which the Building Livelihoods programme contributed to beneficiary resilience depends on the starting point of the beneficiary, including the degree of prior exposure to groups, savings, loans, and business.

Beneficiaries also differ with respect to the type of businessperson they are, with some beneficiaries running their businesses with a more community-centred approach and others with a more individualist approach. While there were some shifts towards more community-centred business practices during Covid-19, more significant shifts were seen towards more individualist practices, particularly in relation to the provision of goods on credit, as beneficiaries focused on maintaining their businesses. Additional data would need to be gathered over time to determine whether and how different categories of businessperson impact beneficiary resilience.

At a community-level, beneficiaries feel that deep-rooted values of mutual aid persist through diverse, and sometimes evolved, expressions, and that the programme has had a positive impact on the

broader community through increased financial assistance, labour opportunities, and food availability, as well as knowledge and practice dissemination, inclusion of non-beneficiaries in beneficiary activities, and increased contributions for children's education.

There are no indications that the Building Livelihoods programme undermines resilience in any way, but rather augments existing resilience of both programme beneficiaries and the broader community.

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND

PROGRAMME BACKGROUND

The Building Livelihoods programme is a modified financial graduation project that emphasises market-based programme components to increase cost-effectiveness and potential for scale. The aim of the programme is to help those living in extreme poverty build sustainable livelihoods through business to enable them to live above the 'survival threshold', whereby households can meet basic food needs without external assistance (Fitzgibbon & Cabot Venton, 2014).

The programme builds on the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) bi-monthly cash transfer provided through the Government of Kenya's National Drought Management Authority (NDMA), which aims to improve consumption stability and predictability. HSNP recipients are put into savings groups of up to 30 people in which they contribute every month to group savings, as well as learn how to take and repay loans from the group. The accumulated group savings are shared out amongst all contributing members at the end of a cycle (approximately a year) and a new cycle starts. The savings groups are facilitated by community-based facilitators (CBFs), who are more educated members of the community and who train participants on life skills (e.g. self-esteem, assertiveness, decision making) and basic financial and business skills (e.g. profit calculation, financial goal setting, savings, budgeting). The programme also includes facilitation of loans from Equity Bank and linkages to various market actors to increase access to information, enable group buying, and augment business opportunities.

PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

Between 2016 and 2020, FSD Kenya and CARE's Building Livelihoods programme in Marsabit County, Northern Kenya achieved considerable success with many beneficiaries starting new businesses, increasing savings and assets, and becoming marketable clients of financial institutions. However, the Covid-19 pandemic has threatened to undermine these gains, stalling market activity, and throwing households back into their previous reliance on traditional pastoralist practices, government safety nets, and NGO food relief initiatives.

The people of Northern Kenya are no stranger to shocks, which include increasingly severe cycles of droughts and floods, and have evolved sophisticated social and economic systems to cope with these. However, the Covid-19 context has created an economic shock that puts extra stress on resilience, providing a stark opportunity to critically examine how the Building Livelihoods programme has and has not contributed to resilience and how specific institutions and assets are contributing to or undermining resilience, such as savings groups, traditional pastoralist institutions, the HSNP cash transfer, market linkages such as Equity loans, and changing gender norms.

This study therefore explored the following questions:

- How has COVID-19 affected programme beneficiaries and programme components?
- What are the drivers of resilience and how is the programme contributing to or undermining resilience?
- How are pre-existing institutions contributing to or undermining resilience, and how are they interacting with new institutions?
- What is happening at a community level with respect to social cohesion, mutual assistance and redistribution, and food security?

In addition, earlier research identified three categories of businessperson whose business practices sit on a continuum from community-centred to more individualist. This study therefore also explored how businessperson personalities have evolved over time and whether there are differences with respect to resilience.

METHODOLOGY

A two-phase qualitative study was conducted with a sample of 18 programme beneficiaries. These beneficiaries are part of a larger sample that has been studied since the start of the programme. The 18 beneficiaries were selected to provide a mix across programme locations, savings groups, gender, and businessperson category. An overview of the sample is provided in Appendix A.

Phase 1 interviews were conducted in July 2020 by a local community research assistant under the remote guidance of the lead researcher. A structured survey was used including several open-ended questions to allow beneficiaries to provide detailed responses. Interviews were also recorded and transcribed for verification of responses and more in-depth and nuanced analysis.

Phase 2 interviews were conducted in November 2020 by the lead researcher, using the local community research assistant as a translator. A semi-structured interview guide was used for the interviews, which were recorded and transcribed and translated for in-depth analysis.

The data in this report is based primarily on these Phase 1 and Phase 2 interviews, but also leverages data gathered on each beneficiary through an ongoing study that commenced shortly after the start of the programme in 2016. The ongoing study includes an initial background visit in May 2016 followed by five rounds of interviews, which were aligned with the timing of various programme components. Interviews were conducted in November 2016 after the savings groups had been formed and improved, in May 2017 following life skills training, in March 2018 following financial and business training, in February 2019 following the introduction of Equity Bank loans, and in November 2019 following some implementation of additional market linkages.

CHAPTER 2: FINDINGS

THE IMPACT OF COVID-19

Impact on More Traditional Coping Mechanisms

While the people of Northern Kenya are no stranger to shocks, Covid-19 has posed some unique challenges for programme beneficiaries, which undermine more traditional coping mechanisms. For example, in times of need, people often seek help from relatives in the form of handouts or livestock loans. However, movement restrictions imposed due to Covid-19 stopped many beneficiaries from traveling to see relatives. As Silapini explains:

“If there was not this disease there are many places that I could have been going, even to get help from some relatives. I will get something from them when I go to seek help. We are now told that we no longer can visit people, people should stay at their own homes.”

In some cases, movement restrictions and fear of contracting the virus translated into beneficiaries not even seeking help from their nearest neighbours. As Sabdio explains:

“I cannot get goods on credit from neighbours; we are not visiting one another because we have been advised by the health officers not to do that.”

Another more traditional coping mechanism is the sale of livestock to provide for basic needs. However, the temporary closing of livestock markets in response to the pandemic left beneficiaries with limited options to sell livestock. In some cases, beneficiaries were able to sell livestock to other locals, but often at much lower prices.

In addition to market closures, closures of businesses across the country resulted in loss of jobs or temporary loss of income for many people. This included loss of local jobs such as work in small town hotels and cooking in schools, as well loss of assistance in the form of money transfers from relatives working afar. Christopher explains:

“There is nothing since this disease came. When you have friends who are traveling from big towns, they can send you vegetables, a neighbour could have helped as well but no one travels anymore. Even those who are in big towns could have sent things but even those who are there are having problems themselves. Like the guys from here working in Nairobi, they used to get allowances and there is no such thing anymore. Some who used to look after cars at the parking here in town no longer have jobs as well. The economy is bad for everyone.”

Overall, Covid-19 posed challenges to beneficiaries that were unique compared to typical more localised shocks such as drought and floods, which placed limitations on more traditional coping mechanisms. As Jennifer aptly describes:

“Sometimes drought is better because there are no restrictions; you go to another place to ask for help. Drought cannot affect the transportation or bring about the lockdown.”

Impact on Key Programme Components

Business

At the core of the Building Livelihoods programme is the provision of training and resources to enable beneficiaries to develop businesses and improve their livelihoods. The closure of the livestock markets and halted exports of meat to key destinations such as the Middle East not only disrupted livestock businesses, but also disoriented smaller economies like retail trade. While the livestock markets were closed, small retailers were burdened with requests for goods on credit as customers were unable to sell livestock for money to pay.

In addition to requests for credit, small retailers struggled with limited transportation of goods to rural areas and surging prices. Where they typically would travel to other locations to buy goods at better prices, small retailers were unable to do so because of movement restrictions. Often, they would not even travel to their nearest small town to purchase goods but would send a boda (motorcycle) to collect goods on their behalf, thus further increasing the total cost of goods.

Restrictions on transportation, curfews, and fear of contracting the virus also impacted sales of goods made from natural resources, such as brooms and teeth cleaning sticks, which are often sold along the roadside to passing travellers.

Even businesses that don't depend on movement of livestock, goods, or people struggled amid the Covid-19 pandemic. For example, one beneficiary who owns rental houses lost his income when the schools were closed, and teachers and other temporary renters returned to their original homes.

The following quotes illustrate the challenges in the beneficiaries' own words.

Figure 1: Beneficiary quotes illustrating the challenges of Covid-19 on business



Savings Groups

Building Livelihoods programme beneficiaries participate in savings groups of up to 30 people in which they contribute every month to group savings. The savings are loaned to group members and repaid with interest. The accumulated group savings are shared out amongst all contributing group members

at the end of each cycle. The savings groups are also used as a medium for training by the programme CBFs.

The savings groups persisted during Covid-19 but were adapted to meetings of small groups of five people with social distancing and wearing of masks. Beneficiaries reported that monthly savings contributions and loans to group members continued despite the economic hardships created by the pandemic. Even when the small groups could not meet, beneficiaries found ways to make their monthly contributions, thus demonstrating their importance. As Mayni explains:

“You will find a day [to make contributions] even though they don’t want gatherings, I will give mine to the treasurer as everyone else does. When we don’t meet, I will find time in the evening to take it to her and she will note down those who pay.”

During small group meetings, programme CBFs provided training on Covid-19 awareness and prevention, including proper handwashing techniques. They also encouraged beneficiaries to persevere with savings and business despite the challenges. As Nanyaloshoro explains:

“They tell us if we travel, we shouldn’t go without masks to the towns or other places. They tell us not to meet strangers whom we don’t know. They have taught us all that, about gatherings. They said now that there is corona, they discourage people from coming to the village. Even in business, they tell us to work so that it won’t fail during the pandemic. They have told us to take care of the group.”

Another beneficiary named Talaso also explains:

“We have been told [by CBF] to stay home and sell at home while observing hygiene. We have been told not to be idle. We have been told to wash hands when we sell things and things like that. We have been told to make savings and the group’s contributions and things like that.”

Thus, while some adaptations were required due to Covid-19, the savings groups and their associated functions were able to persist.

Market Linkages

An important component of the Building Livelihoods programme is the development of market linkages to provide additional resources and opportunities for programme beneficiaries.

A key linkage is with Equity Bank for the provision of loans to beneficiaries. Equity loan activities were suspended during the initial Covid-19 threat. Because loan disbursements and payments are made through physical as opposed to digital means, it was not possible to continue with these activities during times of heightened restrictions. Beneficiaries were therefore unable to take new loans during this time and payments for existing loans were put on hold, which provided some relief for beneficiaries. For example, as Haniya explains:

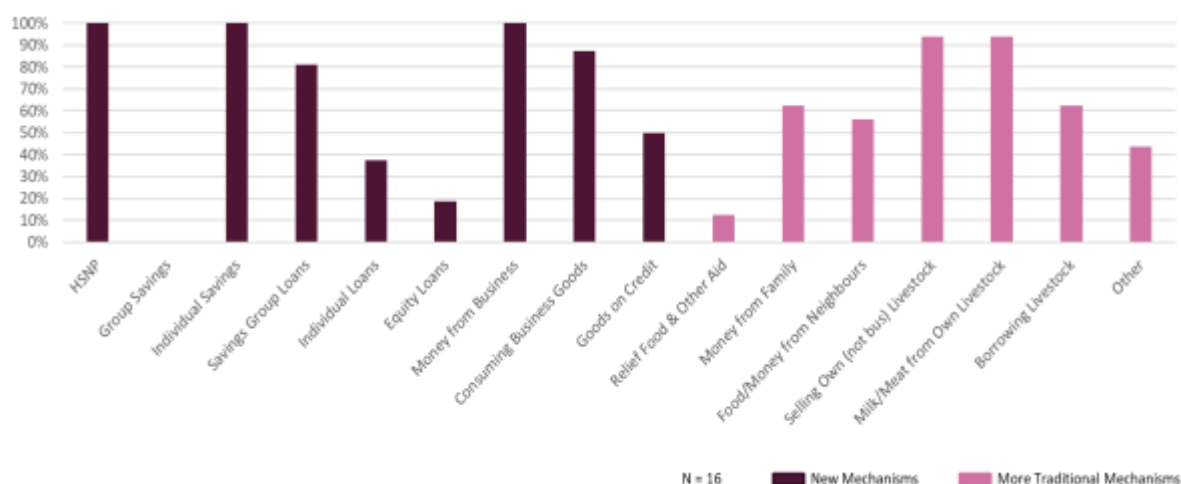
“I have a small one [loan] which I am paying... just a small amount is left. It has helped me [during Covid-19] and I am using it at the market now. They told us to stay and pay after corona. It has helped because I am making savings to pay them back.”

The Building Livelihoods programme was working on other market linkages prior to the pandemic, which include linkages for bulk buying of livestock, access to other financial resources, and linkages with wholesalers. While some of these activities progressed, there were inevitable delays due to travel and meeting restrictions and limitations of virtual working. However, many of these activities were reignited by Phase 2 of the study.

BENEFICIARY COPING MECHANISMS

Beneficiaries have used a combination of new and more traditional coping mechanisms to meet their household needs during the Covid-19 shock. The following figure illustrates the degree to which various coping mechanisms were used.

Figure 2: Use of new and more traditional coping mechanisms during Covid-19



New Coping Mechanisms

HSNP

The Hunger Safety Net Programme bi-monthly cash transfer (HSNP) was reported by the majority of study beneficiaries (56%) as being the most important and relied on coping mechanism during Covid-19. The HSNP enabled beneficiaries to continue to afford typical necessities such as food, as well as newly emphasised necessities such as soap for handwashing and face masks. It also enabled the bulk buying of goods as prices began to escalate and movement restrictions were put in place, as well as maintenance of business and savings group contributions. As Galmalo explains:

“We have made [savings group] contributions with them [HSNP] and sell many things using them. We get soap to wash clothes, we buy masks and clothes. We hire vehicles and motorcycles to buy food that we sell in the house. We use the CARE money [HSNP] to pay motorcycles to get things from the town, we don’t go to the town; we avoid larger gatherings. That is what we do.”

Another beneficiary named Mayani also explains:

“It [HSNP] helps because I can buy food with them and come and sell at home. You won’t worry where you will get help from to get food for the children. Now because you have the CARE money [HSNP], you will just go to buy from a wholesaler and come back home.”

Many beneficiaries also spoke of how the HSNP enables them to take goods on credit in times of need because they are more trusted by others to repay. As Galmalo explains:

“It [goods on credit] will be given to someone who receives this money [HSNP] because he can afford to pay, unlike when you don’t have it. The money from CARE [HSNP] is the most important thing.”

Group Savings

Group savings did not directly help beneficiaries during the period of the study because it was not time to share out the accumulated savings. However, the group savings did assist beneficiaries through the loan mechanism, which is discussed separately in this section. It is anticipated that the share out of the group savings, when it occurs, will provide an additional mechanism for beneficiaries to cope and rebuild in the wake of Covid-19.

Individual Savings

All study beneficiaries had individual cash savings prior to Covid-19, which helped them cope during the pandemic. As Mayani explains:

“Like the savings, we have now been enlightened... It has helped me [during Covid-19]. It is still there... I am saving because it is important, sometimes my stock can go down and I will be able to restock with that so that the business will not go down. It is good because you can’t go broke. If you save in fives and in tens, they will add up to something more. I might want to buy some things and when the money [HSNP] is not enough then I can use the savings. It is good because it might help sometimes. If I am not able to go to town, I can send a motorbike and get the things delivered while I am at home.”

Silapini also explains:

“Since there was an outbreak of this disease [Covid-19], everything stood still as there was no going to town, but we don’t just stay idle, the little we have that we have saved, that is what we depend on to provide for the children here.”

While some beneficiaries used up their savings during the study period, all continued to save money for future needs such as potential medical expenses, school fees, business maintenance, livestock drugs, house materials, and other assets. While programme beneficiaries continue to save via livestock, cash has become the most important form of saving for many. This is because it is readily available (livestock can be far away), and it is not impacted by drought, disease, wild animals, and raiders in the same way as livestock. As Talaso explains:

“Just money [is most important to save]. The money can’t be affected by drought and diseases; they will just be where you keep them for future use. You will keep it and you will be able to use it in the future. You will be able to use the livestock that you bought in future, but they can die while you keep them as a security; living things can die... I have been trained now; we are now enlightened. The livestock can be raided, they can die as a result of drought, but money can’t be affected if you save and it can even benefit your children in future.”

Savings Group Loans

Loans provided through savings groups were used by the majority of study beneficiaries to cope during the pandemic. The loans were used in various ways including for the purchase of food items, livestock, business goods, and clothes for the children, as well as house repairs and payment of medical bills. As Silapini explains:

“It [savings group] helps me because I can take a loan and use it for food. When I don’t have any money, I can be able to get it from the group and pay them back when I get money, with some interest. It is helping all of us as a group... When the pandemic came, it has managed to close the markets and towns and we don’t go places now, so we now depend on the group. We used the money from the group because they should be used to help the members. There is nowhere else that we seek help from.”

Mayani also explains:

“To get them [group loans] and come to do business has helped [during Covid-19]. I get the loan from the group savings and get food for the children. I will later do business and later pay them back.”

Continued savings group loans helped many programme beneficiaries cope during the pandemic, but some beneficiaries had to wait for loans because of increased demand. Michelle explains:

“They [savings group loans] are given, it is just the pandemic that has reduced it, many people want loans.”

Individual Loans

Some beneficiaries were able to take loans from people outside the savings group, such as relatives or neighbours. However, others were not able or willing to do so and therefore did not use this as a coping mechanism during Covid-19. For example, Michelle finds that monetary loans are not as readily accessible outside the group. She explains:

“No one gives you cash that easily [on credit]. The money isn’t easily gotten... you can just get the money from the group, no one can readily give it to you.”

Mayani, on the other hand, does not want to take a loan from anyone outside the group because she does not think there will be the same understanding about loans and repayment terms as among group members. She explains:

“It is not good if you get [a loan] from someone [outside the group], you will be required to return it as soon as possible.”

Thus, this coping mechanism was used by only a minority of study beneficiaries.

Equity Loans

Only a small percentage of the beneficiaries interviewed had taken Equity loans, and just three of them spoke about how the loans benefitted them specifically during Covid-19. As previously described, the suspension of loan activities, including loan payments, provided a reprieve for beneficiaries like Haniya, giving her more time to use the loan in productive ways. When Equity loan activities resumed, some beneficiaries took larger loans to expand their businesses as business activity

began to increase. For example, Christopher took a loan of 500,000 Kenyan Shillings to purchase a new plot with existing rental houses. As he explains:

“It [the project] benefits you because you can acquire the loan and help yourself or invest in other things like business... The loan that I took, I bought a plot. I bought the plot with houses already on it.”

While Equity Loans have benefitted some beneficiaries during Covid-19, they are unlikely to be a coping mechanism for others. Some beneficiaries remain hesitant to take an Equity Bank loan because they are afraid of what will happen if they are not able to make the payments.

Talaso, for example, has witness the benefits of Equity loans. She explains:

“I have seen Equity loans, but we are afraid to take it because we aren’t able to repay it back. We have seen in the town. They were able to grow and got stable in business.”

She also explains:

“I don’t want [an Equity loan]... I don’t have security for it, I might fail to pay it... the business is not good most of the time and it might fail you. The business can turn to be a mess, while you are selling the repayment period might elapse before you get anything. We are afraid to take it because of that. Some people have managed to get it, but many are afraid to take it.”

Money from Business

All study beneficiaries persisted with business amid Covid-19, albeit with some stops and starts in some cases due to specific circumstances (e.g. child birth). The money earned through business activities helped beneficiaries cope during Covid-19. Beneficiaries managed business challenges related to the pandemic in several ways, which are outlined in the following table.

Table 1: Beneficiary management of business challenges during Covid-19

Management of Business Challenges	Illustrative Beneficiary Quote
Reduce number or volume of business goods	“I am still doing business; I still have the sugar and the rice and cooking oil; I am no longer buying a whole carton just a half of that... I used to sell a whole carton of cooking oil as compared to now.” (Nanyaloshoro)
Change type of business goods	“When I saw that the business is not going on well, I decided to start selling miraa (khat). I used to sell clothes and everywhere has been locked even Nairobi. We can’t buy clothes during corona, so we do other things now.” (Haniya)
Add new types of business goods to address new needs	“I sell soap now. I have added more stock in sugar, I have gone up from the stock I used to sell.” (Sabdio)
Buy livestock while they are cheaper and wait for markets/prices to go back to normal	“I decided to boost business by buying some two goats... Then I will take them back [later]. The market is not good, and I am waiting also for them to increase in size so that I can earn some profit on them.” (Silapini)
Use savings to maintain business	“It [Covid-19] forces one to use savings money to buy basic needs or to boost business.” (Christopher)
Sell livestock to maintain business	“Once I realise that business is going down, I sell one of my goats and add... I can’t let it go down... The small business that I have, I can’t let it go down, it is my heart. Once I see that it’s going down, I just sell one of my goats and top up, I continue going ahead because I depend on it.” (Kongomo)

Use HSNP to maintain business	“When I get the money from CARE [HSNP] I use it to top up the business because we are using some food stuffs [from the business] at home.” (Nanyaloshoro)
Borrow money from savings group or others to maintain business	“I have taken [a savings group loan] a few weeks ago. I have done business with it, so that I will earn profit and repay it, I took two thousand shillings.” (Nanyaloshoro)
Do labour jobs (where available) to maintain business	“[To restart business] I have done the work of cutting these bushes along the road and got the money from the group. I later on went to town to buy the small stuffs that I am selling now here in the village for the children to get food.” (Talaso)
Use money from family members to maintain business	“My daughter’s husband has a job; she also gave me ten thousand and I used it in business.” (Jennifer)

Consuming Business Goods

Beneficiaries involved in retail trade of food items were able to consume items stored in their homes to help them cope during the pandemic. However, beneficiaries distinguish the goods as business items and therefore ensure they pay for the goods at some point, including the profit they would have earned if goods were sold to someone else. As Nanyaloshoro explains:

“I get them [goods on credit] from my shop. I can’t get from someone else when I got them here... I don’t want to owe someone else; I will just use my own.”

Silapini also explains:

“It [business goods] helps me a lot because when I need them, I can use them at home, and I repay when I get money.”

While most small retail beneficiaries in the study consumed their own business goods as a coping mechanism, some refused to do this as they did not want to impact their business. For example, Sabdio explains:

“Business goods are only for selling, I don’t use them because I will be letting myself down if I use them.”

Goods on Credit

As previously described, HSNP beneficiaries can access goods on credit in times of need because they are trusted to repay. However, only half of the beneficiaries interviewed used goods on credit as a coping mechanism during Covid-19. As the previous quote from Nanyaloshoro demonstrates, some beneficiaries do not want to take goods on credit from others because they have their own goods in their retail businesses and because they do not want to owe others, which can create conflict. Another beneficiary named Marayon further explains:

“I don’t [get goods on credit]. I don’t take it because I am doing business and I keep the profit. I owe no one. Because of my business, I don’t owe anyone debt... I just don’t want to owe anyone; it is better I manage the small amount I have and replace it when I get money. There is a problem with debts because the person you owe will be asking for it. They might take your goat if you don’t have money to pay. It is bad. Even if it is a donkey, the person will take it if you owe them a lot and sell it to someone else. It will lead to fights and you may get a beating in your own house. I won’t have that now. I will just use the one

hundred profit that I get for a quarter rice and beans until I am better off. If there is not much, they can stay hungry till the next day.”

While most study beneficiaries were able to access goods on credit if wanted or needed, some beneficiaries said it was harder during Covid-19 because of limited supplies coming to rural areas and restrictions on movement. Sabdio explains:

“They [shops] are no longer giving us goods on credit because they say they are not able to get supplies because of the lockdown. The wholesalers are closed. Since the pandemic has started, we are now living in fear and we are not able to travel to Marsabit or Merille. We are afraid to go to town as well without a mask because you will be arrested. They were arresting individuals in the town recently because of that and one can’t leisurely walk to town as well.”

More Traditional Coping Mechanisms

Relief Food & Other Aid

Relief food and other forms of aid (e.g. livestock distribution) are typical coping mechanisms for people in Northern Kenya during shocks. However, the majority of the beneficiaries interviewed said they were excluded from these forms of aid because they are HSNP/programme beneficiaries. For example, as Nanyaloshoro explains:

“When they came to give out some goats, they left us because they say we get the money from the computer [HSNP]. Even the food that was brought didn’t get to us; the food was brought on several occasions and we missed out. They say at the village that people that get the CARE money [HSNP] have a salary, so they don’t get [other aid]. There are many forms of interventions that came to this village, when you say you also want to benefit, they tell you that you got the CARE money [HSNP]. So, you can’t say you don’t have because you know it is true and you can’t deny it. They don’t give to people that have CARE money [HSNP].”

Mayani also explains:

“People have now been hired to clear bushes alongside the roads, they have employed people and they don’t want to include us in that list because we get money from CARE [HSNP]. If there are jobs that come, let's say you come to get a list of individuals, then the elders will intervene and say don’t include those that get the money from CARE [HSNP].”

However, some beneficiaries have been able to find some labour work during Covid-19 or access Covid-19 relief funds. In other cases, they have benefitted from those who have been given food relief or other forms of aid. As Marayon explains:

“If people get any kind of assistance, the people that earn the five thousand [HSNP] don’t get it. Let’s say when they give relief food, we are excluded. We don’t get because we are in the group, even relief food because of corona, from the county, the people that get five thousand [HSNP] are excluded. I can manage because I get some share from my neighbour if I don’t benefit from that.”

Money from Family

Where family members still have jobs and incomes, some beneficiaries received money from them to cope during Covid-19. For example, as previously illustrated, Jennifer received money from her daughter's husband to help with her business. She explains: "My daughter's husband has a job; she also gave me ten thousand and I used it in business."

Naireta also has a family member who was still able to send money from afar during Covid-19. She explains: "There is a younger brother who is at Nairobi, he sends me money at times, five hundred, but mostly I work and am not depending on anyone."

The majority of beneficiaries interviewed were still able to receive some form of monetary support from family members to help them cope during the pandemic.

Food/Money from Neighbours

Study beneficiaries had different experiences with respect to receiving help from neighbours during Covid-19. As previously described, movement restrictions and fear of contracting the virus translated into some beneficiaries not seeking help from even their nearest neighbours. Others, as previously described, were able to accommodate household needs with their own business goods or livestock. In some cases, neighbours themselves were also struggling and therefore unable to help. As Sabdio explains:

"Nowadays life has been difficult, we are just equally struggling. I don't help now because life is hard. Neighbours aren't helping each other now; you can hardly get tea leaves if you borrow."

However, others were still able to get help from neighbours if needed, like Marayon, who as previously described, receives a share of her neighbour's relief food because she does not get it as an HSNP/programme beneficiary.

Selling or Consuming Own Livestock

Even when the main livestock markets were temporarily closed, beneficiaries found ways to sell livestock if needed to meet household needs during Covid-19, albeit at lower prices. One beneficiary, for example, explains how he would sneak into town and find someone to buy his livestock when needed. He explains:

"Even though the situation is like that I just do it [trade goats] and pray and stay away from the town and main road. When I get the goats from the bush I come to the [local] market and sell them at a specific corner of the wall at the market and leave afterwards."

When the livestock market re-opened with Covid-19 prevention measures in place, beneficiaries were able to resume livestock sales at the main formal markets, which improved their ability to cope during the pandemic.

Beneficiaries were also able to cope through the traditional consumption of livestock milk and meat. As Marayon explains:

"My livestock helps [during Covid-19] because I get milk from them, if I don't have this money [HSNP] and I want meat, I just take one and slaughter it. I can even decide to sell if I want to."

Borrowing Livestock

As previously described, one of the challenges posed by Covid-19 was restrictions on movement that limited beneficiaries from travelling further afield to seek help from relatives in the form of borrowed livestock. However, some beneficiaries still found ways to get to further away relatives, and others were able to borrow livestock from those closer to home. However, a number of beneficiaries talked about how they are not always able to borrow livestock from others; sometimes they will be denied. As Mayani explains: “You will go and borrow livestock at times and at times they tell you next time.” Marayon similarly explains: “I can go borrow livestock and never get it... It doesn’t help because I may get or fail to get.”

Other Coping Mechanisms

Other coping mechanisms include orphan funds and labour jobs, as well as gathering and selling natural resources such as firewood and water and burning charcoal. As previously described, some programme beneficiaries were excluded from labour jobs because they benefit from the HSNP/programme, and in some cases, labour jobs dried up due to the pandemic. As Hurisha explains:

“When I get construction work that can pay well, I do it and stop business for some time and continue later on. It [construction work] is no longer there.”

However, others were able to find labour jobs to help them cope during Covid-19. As previously described, Talaso was able to restart her business during the pandemic through a labour job where she cut bushes along the roadside. Also, when the market re-opened, Loltepes was able to earn income washing the latrines.

Interactions Between Coping Mechanisms

As demonstrated, beneficiaries used a combination of new and more traditional mechanisms to cope during Covid-19. In essence, new mechanisms augmented existing mechanisms to provide additional means to cope. In some cases, beneficiaries leverage more traditional mechanisms to enable new mechanisms. For example, as previously described, beneficiaries borrow and sell livestock to boost their businesses. As Mayani explains: “I will go and borrow livestock from my brother in Laisamis for business, I will go with my child and ask for some help.” Nasanten similarly explains: “If I get some funds, let’s say the goats, I will be able to restart business, maybe after borrowing from other people.” In another example, Loltepes explains: “Once I realise that business is not growing up, I sell the livestock so as to boost it.”

In other cases, new mechanisms have enabled or boosted more traditional mechanisms. For example, a number of beneficiaries spoke of being able to buy livestock for the first time or increase their family herds because of the HSNP or business. For example, Nanyaloshoro explains: “I have twenty goats. I bought a few and they reproduced. They give birth if you buy them. I have bought with both [HSNP and money from business].”

DRIVERS OF RESILIENCE

All programme beneficiaries interviewed felt they were able to cope with the Covid-19 shock better than shocks in previous years because of the Building Livelihoods programme. While beneficiaries already had existing more traditional coping mechanisms, the programme augmented four main types

of capital, which contributed to increased resilience of beneficiaries: human capital, financial capital, physical capital, and social capital¹.

Figure 3: Types of capital developed through the Building Livelihoods programme that increased beneficiary resilience



Human Capital

Human capital includes health, nutrition, education, knowledge and skills, capacity to work, and capacity to adapt².

In addition to more recent learning about Covid-19 awareness and prevention, beneficiaries received training from CBFs throughout the Building Livelihoods programme on savings groups, life skills, and business and financial skills. They also learned new things from other savings group members and from exposure through business. Through development of new knowledge and skills, the programme has contributed to beneficiary resilience as beneficiaries apply the learning to adopt and adapt new practices.

The following table provides examples of knowledge and skills development among beneficiaries through the programme, which has increased capacity to work and adapt.

Table 2: Knowledge and skills development among beneficiaries through the Building Livelihoods programme

Knowledge & Skills Development	Illustrative Beneficiary Quote
Savings groups	“We have learnt a lot of new things from her [CBF], she advised us on how to spend the money from CARE [HSNP], the importance of saving money through group contributions or as an individual. She has really helped us, now we are familiar with new things unlike before.” (Talaso)
Savings group loans	“[The new thing I tried] is taking a loan. I never knew it before, but now I just go to the group and take the loan. Now I have opened my eyes.” (Loltepes)
Equity loans	“He [CBF] tells us about the savings and now the loan from Equity. He told us about them that they will come to give us loans for those interested in that. They came and gave us some chance to apply for the loan and do business and later repay them... Before the loans, we were taught about

¹ Serrat O. (2017) The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach. In: Knowledge Solutions. Springer, Singapore.

² *ibid.*

	how we were to take it and pay it back. As we were being taught, I came to decide that I will take fifteen thousand.” (Haniya)
Access to other financial resources	“They taught us about loans, all banks were there, Cooperative, Equity and this guy from Social Service. Social Service and another one called Women Enterprise, all those people. We went to see which have lower interest, if it is Equity or the others. And the people from Trade.” (Marayon)
Individual savings (home)	“I am saving because of the knowledge that we have got; I didn’t use to have it before. I used to be idle. I am carrying them [savings] with me. I have a bag, so I keep them in the bag.” (Kongomo)
Bank savings	“It is good because you save your money in it [bank account], we didn’t know about it before, they just taught us recently.” (Loltepes)
Numeracy	“It is all good, the loans, the trainings in the group. We now know the numerical numbers that we didn’t know before.” (Hawatho)
Business basics	“I learnt how to buy and sell in business, how to present myself in business, how to communicate in business language... I feel good because before I didn’t know anything, I didn’t know how to sell things, how to make money, I can’t even weigh a kilo of sugar. So, the teacher [CBF] taught me all of that and now that I know all of that, I am happy, and I feel good.” (Hawatho)
Business selection/ differentiation	“They [CBF] told us that if you see someone is having a certain business, don’t rush and do the same thing all of you. Each and every one should do a different business.” (Sabdio)
Business diversification	“They [CBF] have really impacted our business. They are the one who gave us the idea of alternating the two businesses depending on when to do it, to study the market very well, and also to know the time to have one business or the other... I learned that business by comparing the two selling items, maybe the business of doing the sugar stuff is going better than the goat business. The profits I am getting from the goat business, despite it being huge at times, it might disappoint when the amount you get is smaller than expected. That’s why we alternate them depending on the market.” (Kongomo)
Business continuity	“We were told about business, that when doing any business, when you fail in business, don’t lose hope... get up and help yourself, pull up your socks and get back to redo it.” (Marayon)
Budgeting	“He [CBF] taught us budget and financing. He has taught us about planning and how you will be able to do it without anyone’s help.” (Christopher)
Management of credit (to other community members)	“They [CBF] have taught us a lot of things, how to take care of the business because people might make your business to fail... our people can make you fail, not everyone is given [goods on credit], just us [group members] who can repay.” (Silapini)
Future visioning/planning	“We were told to think on what to do in the coming years. Where we will be in business by then. I thought of my plans in the future and the benefits of the children going to school and help me in the future.” (Marayon)
Learning from other group members	“The old members of the groups share with us on how to make profits in the group and also they tell us what to do so as to generate a little more cash. They tell us how important is saving and how to save too.” (Nasanten)
Learning from exposure through business	“Before I was just idling, I don’t go to places. Now because of this project that Jesus brought to me, at least I know many places, I can go to all those places... It has helped me because they are places that I never knew before, and also knowing people that you never knew before, you go and see different places where people work. Somebody who doesn’t go to different places is just like a mad person. All this helps in capacity building, going to different places.” (Silapini)

For many beneficiaries, their new knowledge, skills, and practices, and associated financial and physical capital (discussed in subsequent sections) led to a sense of agency, self-reliance, and self-esteem, which is illustrated by the following quotes.

Figure 4: Beneficiary quotes illustrating increased agency, self-reliance and self-esteem



The sense agency, self-reliance, and self-esteem that are enhanced through the Building Livelihoods programme are important as they build psychological resilience, which helps beneficiaries persevere in times of shock. The CBFs have played an important role in not only building the psychological resilience of beneficiaries, but also helping to maintain it during shocks like Covid-19. As Marayon explains in her most recent interview, "They said if you fail don't give up, when it fails at first, give it a try again." Kongomo similarly explains, "He [CBF] encourages us to continue with what we are doing."

Through the development of knowledge and skills, and capacity to work and adapt, as well as financial capital (discussed in the following section), programme beneficiaries are also able to develop the human capital of their children through formal education, which will help increase resilience in the future. For example, Michelle explains:

"You just [work hard] so that your children won't get problems. We are making savings for the future... Before we were not doing business, we were poor and used to borrow a lot. We are no longer borrowing; we work and take the children to school because they will be a resource in the future."

In another example, Nanyaloshoro explains:

"When there was no project of CARE there was no one that was teaching us. We have got so many trainings now and we have been able to take the children to school and afford the basic needs. They have taught us, and we have thought of taking the kids to school so that they will be trainers in future. It is a smart move to take kids to school. That child will be able to train you in future. So, it is a good thing."

Health and nutrition are also important factors in resilience because where beneficiaries primarily live hand-to-mouth, decreased health can result in an inability to earn income and depletion of savings and livestock. Beneficiaries reported that their health and nutrition have improved in varied ways because of the Building Livelihoods programme.

Table 3: Health and nutrition improvement among beneficiaries through the Building Livelihoods programme

Health & Nutrition Improvement	Illustrative Beneficiary Quote
Ability to pay for medical expenses (through HSNP, business income, savings group loans)	<p>“When we weren’t in CARE before, so many people died because of diseases. They don’t have money for food and money to go to hospital, they only depended on livestock and some didn’t have many as compared to others, so they died because of poverty. Now there is no such a problem anymore... This intervention came and many can go to hospital and can afford food, many have got clothing, shoes, mattresses.” (Galmalo)</p> <p>“This savings group is how we help each other, the money that we have can be given to someone with a sick person as a loan and you repay later when you have sorted your own problems.” (Talaso)</p> <p>“When one feels sick, you can go to the shop that is contracted to pay us the money and you get medicine because they know you are waiting for the money from CARE [HSNP]. You can get from a chemist as well and leave the [HSNP] card there as a security. You leave it and pay when you go to get the money.” (Hawatho)</p>
Improved diet and assets	<p>“The group savings has helped us a lot because when we make contributions, we use it to do business as a group... What is the first problem, food, I can get clothes, mattress, I used to sleep on cow’s hide, and it hurts my back. I use a kettle for my tea, I can now afford a thermos, it won’t get cold. I am able to afford vegetables and meat, and I am able to eat the food that I couldn’t afford to eat.” (Galmalo)</p>
Improved hygiene	<p>“We can nowadays do cleanliness, the clothes. We nowadays cook with vegetables as well, boiling milk before we take it, some milk can go bad and it can’t go bad if it is boiled. We nowadays clean utensils, not as compared to before when we could cook with a dirty pot from yesterday’s meal. We have learned about hygiene.” (Hawatho)</p>
Ability to stop/reduce hard labour jobs that impact health	<p>“The group has done so many things for me. It has changed things because a poor lady that used to stay at home doing nothing is now better off. They used to go and get palm leaves from very far and that one made them age faster. They sometimes bleed from the mouth because of the hard work. Since we got this money [HSNP] many of them are better even though they are not doing business, they have managed to buy some five goats and look after them. Some don’t use the money and use it to pay school fees.” (Hawatho)</p>

Financial Capital

Financial capital includes savings, credit and debt (formal, informal), remittances, pensions, and wages³.

Beneficiary resilience increased through the application of new learnings, which has boosted financial capital through business, savings groups, and Equity Bank loans. Additional sources of financial capital

³ Serrat O. (2017) The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach. In: Knowledge Solutions. Springer, Singapore.

also include the HSNP and larger livestock herds (a form of savings), which have been enabled through the HSNP, business income, and loans.

While the HSNP is not a component of the Building Livelihoods programme, the programme builds upon it with savings groups, training, and market linkages. However, as previously described it is an important coping mechanism for programme beneficiaries and provides financial capital that contributes to their resilience. It also enables beneficiaries to access goods on credit because they are trusted to pay. As Sabdio explains:

“It’s now that I am able to manage the challenges because we usually get money [HSNP] just like a salary, like the other person who is learned is getting a salary. So, for now if I need something, I can even take it on credit, and I will get it because I know that there is something that I will get [HSNP].”

Through the Building Livelihoods programme, beneficiaries learned how to productively use the HSNP to invest in business to improve their livelihoods, as well as use the HSNP and business income for monetary savings and to increase their livestock herds. As Christopher explains:

“I have learnt from the teachings that when you earn something small you will use it for something worthwhile, even the five thousand [HSNP] that you have got. You will find something to do with the money as you have been told from the trainings.”

Another beneficiary, Talaso, explains:

“We were poor before and now we are different since the project came. The project has helped us. It has helped me because I was poor, I used to sell firewood and water. I no longer do that since I got the CARE money [HSNP]. I have managed to get livestock. I have livestock these days. I have my own business and the CARE [HSNP] money.”

She also explains:

“I am also making personal savings; the school kids have used all that recently. They have helped me [during Covid-19]... There is none left. I still make some contributions for myself; I have been taught to make savings. I am saving because I am poor and a widow without much livestock and some children to feed... It will make me grow and my children will be able to go to school and can’t be chased from school. If they want books, I can buy them and uniforms as well... I keep my savings in my house. We use a container that we can’t be able to open because you might be tempted to open the box.”

As previously described, business income and goods, individual savings, and livestock herds were important coping mechanisms for beneficiaries during Covid-19, as were savings group loans and, in some cases, Equity Bank loans. All these sources of financial capital were enabled to varying degrees through the Building Livelihoods programme.

In addition, as previously described, group savings did not directly act as a coping mechanism during Covid-19, aside from via the loan mechanism, because it was not time for share out. However, group savings is also an additional source of financial capital for programme beneficiaries who earn profit (interest) from their savings through loans to group members. As Galmalo explains:

“They [CBF] have taught us to make savings at the end of every month until you have enough, and you can lend out and get them back with an interest. They will fetch interest in fifties, hundred, and that has enlightened us so much. We have seen the good thing that comes with loans, when we give them out and they get repaid at the end of the month, they have come with interest and it has added up to the whole amount and we can see the profit to the group.”

Physical Capital

Physical capital includes infrastructure (e.g. vehicles, secure shelter and buildings) and tools and technology (e.g. tools and equipment for production)⁴.

Through increased financial capital enabled by the Building Livelihoods programme, some beneficiaries have been able to increase their physical capital, which includes plots of land, concrete houses, and equipment for business. The following beneficiary quotes provide examples of increased physical capital through the programme.

Figure 5: Beneficiary quotes illustrating increased physical capital through the Building Livelihoods programme



“It [the programme] benefits me because you can acquire the loan and help yourself or invest in other things like business... The loan that I took, I bought a plot. I bought the plot with [rental] houses already on it.” (Christopher)

“I have my things at the market, the chairs, cooking pots. I used to borrow from people, but I managed to buy my own.” (Haniya)

“They have trained us, and we are able to take loans and know how to repay it. I will show you what I have done... I used to live in a nylon thatched house, it used to let in rainwater, I have now built a house like this [cement], it is just the ceiling that is left [to complete]. (Jennifer)

Social Capital

Social capital includes networks and connections, relations of trust and mutual understanding and support, formal and informal groups, shared values and behaviours, common rules and sanctions, collective representation, mechanisms for participation in decision making, and leadership⁵.

Beyond the savings and loaning mechanisms that are part of the savings groups, programme beneficiaries increased social capital through participation in the groups. Group members support and

⁴ Serrat O. (2017) The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach. In: Knowledge Solutions. Springer, Singapore.

⁵ *ibid.*

help each other in various ways, such as sharing information and ideas, helping each other learn, providing emotional support, and helping with essential needs.

The following quotes provide examples of social capital in the beneficiaries' own words.

Figure 6: Beneficiary quotes illustrating social capital developed through the Building Livelihoods savings groups



Thus, as demonstrated, programme savings groups provide additional social capital that contributes to beneficiary resilience.

There are also examples of social capital developed outside the savings groups through participation in the programme. For example, in the case of Kongomo, who is a poor widow with no children. Kongomo describes that prior to the Building Livelihoods programme "We were despised because we owned nothing." She used to have to beg for food from others and had few sources of assistance. However, through the programme she had access to new sources of capital, started and grew a business, and bought her own livestock. She is now respected by relatives and others in the community who are more willing to provide her with assistance. As Kongomo explains:

"I couldn't get help before [the programme], I was just at home and borrowing from people. Now I earned respect from the people, they want to associate with me now, not as before when no one wanted me. I am grateful to them [CARE], I am now helped, and I have all that I wanted. The people who didn't want to associate with me are with me now."

The Building Livelihoods programme has also contributed to shifting gender norms through the development of female empowerment, particularly as over 80% of programme beneficiaries are women. Through gaining new knowledge and skills, engaging in business, and having access to new resources, women have been able to reduce or eliminate dependency on husbands, own their own livestock, and increase decision making and financial management in the household. Several female beneficiaries described the impact this has had on household resilience, which is illustrated by the following quotes.

Figure 7: Beneficiary quotes illustrating increased female empowerment and the impact on household resilience



DIFFERENCES ACROSS BENEFICIARIES

Different Starting Points

The degree to which the Building Livelihoods programme augmented beneficiary resilience depends on the starting point of the beneficiary. For example, some beneficiaries had no prior exposure to groups, savings, loans, or business. For these beneficiaries, the programme impact was more significant in terms of increasing various forms of capital that translated into enhanced resilience.

Kongomo is an example of a beneficiary with no previous exposure and whose various forms of capital were significantly increased through the programme. This is illustrated by Kongomo's various quotes throughout this report. She sums up the impact of the programme for her as follows: "I have learnt a lot, I have many things today, which a person who is rich owns. I have clothes and livestock; it is only kids that I don't have." She also explains: "It was just before [the programme] that there were problems, but for now I don't have any problem. I have my own business."

Other beneficiaries had varying levels of existing exposure to groups, savings, loans, and business. For example, prior to the Building Livelihoods programme, Jennifer was part of a group that ran a business together, but she had not received training or been exposed to group savings and loaning or bank loans. The Building Livelihoods programme augmented her various forms of capital and as a result, her resilience, but not to the same degree as Kongomo. Jennifer explains:

"I have learnt a lot, in other group I didn't learn much, but in this group, I have gained knowledge on how to run businesses, on how to save, taking loans from the group and repaying and the group contributions... how to spend the money I get from group, how to do businesses and make profits, spend some money to support the family and use the other to invest in business, it's been different we don't spend like how our people used to."

In other cases, beneficiaries had already participated in programmes with some similarities to the Building Livelihoods programme. Therefore, while the Building Livelihoods programme still enhanced various forms of capital and thus resilience, it was more of a boost for these beneficiaries as opposed to a significant shift. For example, Talaso explains: “I was in Mama Rungu as well and another one called BOMA, and CARE as well. I learnt from BOMA.” However, as Talaso’s various quotes throughout this report demonstrate, the Building Livelihoods programme did help boost her existing human, financial, physical, and social capital.

Different Businessperson Types

An earlier report published by FSD Kenya titled “Becoming Businesspeople: A study of the Building Livelihoods programme in Northern Kenya” depicted three types of businesspeople emerging from the programme. The three types are collectivists, hybrids, and individualists. The different types of businesspeople were found to run their businesses in diverse ways. Collectivists prioritise helping others over business continuity, profit, and savings. Individualists are the opposite and run their businesses in a way that prioritises continuity, profit, and savings⁶, and hybrids try to balance helping others through their business, while trying to maintain it and generate profit and savings.

During Covid-19, beneficiaries interviewed demonstrated an overall shift towards more individualist business practices, resulting in more hybrid and individualist businesspeople. The shift was primarily witnessed through changing practices with respect to provision of goods on credit. Beneficiaries who previously provided goods on credit to anyone in need began imposing various restrictions and, in some cases, eliminating credit completely. For example, prior to Covid-19, Loltepes provided goods on credit to needy community members even if it caused problems for her business because she had sympathy for them. However, when interviewed during Covid-19, she explained:

“I don’t give [goods] on credit because it [business] will collapse. Many of them don’t repay back but a few do. Many people used to take [goods on credit] but they don’t repay, and it results into fights, so that is why we don’t allow that. Fights erupt; there is no day debts will help a business.”

In some cases, beneficiaries began restricting the provision of goods on credit to other savings group members because they were trusted to repay, in part due to the trust built up through the group, but also because they all receive the HSNP. As Silapini explains:

“Now when there is the pandemic, I don’t give out [goods on credit], maybe something smaller... I only give [goods on credit] to the people that I know will pay me back. If someone will not repay me back, there is no way I am going to give them. We give to the members of the group only, the ones that I know will pay me back.”

Thus, with less money circulating in the village economy because of Covid-19, more beneficiaries implemented more individualist-centred business practices in an effort to maintain their businesses.

However, albeit more limited, some shifts were also witnessed in the opposite direction, towards more community-centred business practices. For example, prior to Covid-19, Kongomo did not give handouts of business goods or provide goods on credit to needy community members. While she continued to deny requests for goods on credit during Covid-19, she did start sharing some business

⁶ This does not mean individualist businesspeople do not help others, but they do not do so in a way that negatively impacts their business. For example, while they will not give handouts of business goods, they may share some personal goods they have for their own family.

goods with those in need. With respect to provision of goods on credit, she explains: “I don’t give items on credit because it will affect the business and the people don’t repay in time and I can’t be able to continue.” However, with respect to handouts of business goods, she explains: “We are helping each other by sharing [business goods]; if there is enough, someone that comes to you will at least get.”

From the data available, it is difficult to determine whether the different categories of businessperson are associated with varying degrees of resilience as there are several other factors involved. For example, different types of businesses were impacted by the pandemic in different ways, and some beneficiaries were impacted by specific circumstances such as childbirth, medical emergencies, and circumcision ceremonies. Additional data would need to be gathered over time to determine whether and how different categories of businessperson impact beneficiary resilience.

COMMUNITY-LEVEL RESILIENCE

While this study did not gather data at a community level, it did seek to understand the impact of the Building Livelihoods programme on the broader community from the perspective of the beneficiaries interviewed. Depending on their personal experiences at a given time, some beneficiaries have perceived reduced help in the community, which has been attributed to increased focus on individual businesses. However, the majority feel that deep-rooted values of mutual aid persist through diverse, and sometimes evolved, expressions, and that the programme has had a positive impact on the broader community in various ways. These are outlined in the following table, including illustrative quotes.

Table 4: Building livelihoods programme impact on the broader community

Community-Level Impact	Illustrative Beneficiary Quote
Increased financial assistance through handouts, contributions, loans	<p>“The [group] savings can be used to help someone who is in dire need. They can come and borrow. We give to those in dire need [even if not in the group].” (Talaso)</p> <p>“He [non-beneficiary] will get from us, we make contributions for them and they will get something for food.” (Naireta)</p> <p>“When they [non-beneficiaries] have an urgent problem, they come to us. They don’t come to me as a person but rather the whole group, they will call the five individuals from the other village and they come and explain why they need the money. We then inform them that they need to repay with an interest.” (Ramaten)</p> <p>“When we hear that the money [HSNP] is being given out, we go to get them. I am able to help others with credit if I have enough and they will pay with an interest. So, I have helped them like that.” (Silapini)</p>
Increased labour opportunities	<p>“If they [poor people] don’t have anything and I don’t have money, I tell them to work. They can fence the plot and I give them food.” (Haniya)</p> <p>“People are helping out each other. Like me, I have someone who cleans my compound, I pay 200 ksh, and those who fetch firewood, I pay money or give out food items at the shop.” (Christopher)</p> <p>“The people that don’t get this money [HSNP], they come to you and broker the goat deals on your behalf and take along the goats together as a herd and later they get a share of the profit.” (Haniya)</p>

<p>Increased food availability</p>	<p>“It is now that it is there [more food] because people help each other; before people used not to help each other, you are just on your own... The businesses and the money [HSNP] that are given to people is the one that has helped people. The people who used to be poor and used to do nothing are able to get goods on credit. They [beneficiaries] will wait for the money to be given to get food. Some are doing business with them and the poor can get credit from them.” (Kongomo)</p> <p>“Now that we do what towns do, we no longer buy from town, we sell livestock and come to buy from here [the village]. You just sell livestock and come to buy things in the village. We used to go and stay in town until evening.” (Mayani; describing increased food availability at the village level)</p> <p>“They [people not in the project] come and borrow food when they don’t have, then you will give them because it is God that gave you this project as well and not a personal effort... I will just give them food at home [not business goods], there is no way you will leave them hungry.” (Nanyaloshoro)</p> <p>“[Community members are helped] because as they come to borrow something like tea leaves, we give them because they are our neighbours and they also understand that whenever we get those money [HSNP], they know that they will not have any problem. They come and borrow from us whatever they don’t have... I give just mine, the one I am using [not business goods].” (Sabdio)</p>
<p>Knowledge dissemination & adoption of beneficiary practices</p>	<p>“We have seen people forming groups like this one of ours.” (Loltepes)</p> <p>“Most people are joining savings groups because they have seen members in savings group getting loans to help improve their lives. If you take a project loan you will accomplish a lot and being in a group makes a lot of difference.” (Christopher)</p> <p>“So many people have now learnt that it is good to save.” (Ramaten)</p> <p>“I have seen that it has helped [the community] because the poor have got to do business as well.” (Hawatho)</p> <p>“Maybe if I am selling, somebody says, oooh! You are also selling? After going to his work, he also comes with it as exactly how I am selling.” (Silipani)</p>
<p>Inclusion of non-beneficiaries into beneficiary activities</p>	<p>“The non-beneficiaries are just at home and still in poverty, but we have been told to include some of them that can do business and we know that they can work hard. They come as well to be included in the group of CARE. They can take loans. We have progressed. They want to become like us as well. The Equity people also say that we can refer to them people that can be able to pay a loan.” (Jennifer)</p> <p>“The group that we formed, the merry-go-round, we started when we were just three and now we are eight, they wanted to join and we allowed them. They have seen what we are doing, and they joined us.” (Nanyaloshoro)</p>
<p>Increased community contributions for education</p>	<p>“The government of Kenya has taught me. During the colonial period, we used to just know about the livestock, we gave each other camels, cattle and goats for free. Now people are making contributions for college going students, university, new married couples, high school kids are the ones that we make contributions for.” (Galmalo)</p>

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The Building Livelihoods programme has contributed to beneficiary resilience by enabling traditional coping mechanisms, developing new coping mechanisms, and increasing beneficiaries' human, financial, physical, and social capital. The data gathered through beneficiary interviews does not indicate that the programme has undermined beneficiary resilience in any way. One of the main challenges beneficiaries expressed is related to expectations from others for assistance because of their increased financial capital, and the impact this can have on their business and relationships. However, beneficiaries have learned to manage this in various ways, including providing handouts of personal goods only, being more discerning around provision of goods on credit and applying various rules, and applying formal loan terms to personal loans given to others. They are also assisting needy community members in alternative ways, such as teaching them what they have learned, including them in their activities, and providing them with labour jobs for food or money. Thus, the programme has not only contributed to beneficiary resilience, but has also had a positive impact on the broader community.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: OVERVIEW OF STUDY SAMPLE

Location	Name*	Gender	Age Category (Estimated)	Married	Children	Disability	Prior Group	Pre-Prog Business Experience	Income Generating Activities (IGAs) at Last Interview**	Businessperson Category Pre-C19 > At C-19
Group 1	Hurisha	Male	Old/Elder	Yes (2 wives)	9+ (one died)	No	No	Advanced	LT, RT	Hybrid > Hybrid
	Michelle	Female	Young	Widow	7	No	Yes	Some	BE(O), L, LT, PC, RT	Collectivist > Hybrid
	Naireta	Female	Young	Divorced	6	No	Yes	Some	BE(O), L	Hybrid > Hybrid
	Nasanten	Female	Middle-Aged	Separated	4 (one died)	No	No	None	(paused)	Individualist > N/A
Group 2	Sabdio	Female	Young	Widow	8	No	No	None	LT, RT	Individualist > Individualist
	Kongomo	Female	Old/Elder	Widow	0	Visually impaired	No	None	RT	Individualist > Hybrid (slight)
Group 3	Galmalo	Male	Old/Elder	Yes (2 wives)	12	Blind	No	None	(paused)	Individualist > N/A
	Silapini	Female	Middle-Aged	Widow	6	No	Yes	None	LT, RT	Hybrid > Individualist
	Ramaten	Female	Middle-Aged	Widow	7	No	No	None	LT, RT	Individualist > Individualist
Group 4	Jennifer	Female	Middle-Aged	Yes	7	No	Yes	Some	CF, S	Hybrid > (insufficient data)
	Marayon	Female	Young	Yes	7 (one died)	No	No	None	RT	Individualist > Individualist
Group 5	Mayani	Female	Young	Widow	7	No	Yes	Some	RT	Individualist > Individualist
	Talaso	Female	Young	Widow	4	No	Yes	Some	L, RT	Collectivist > Individualist
Group 6	Christopher	Male	Middle-Aged	Yes	5	Asthma	No	Some	R, S	Collectivist > Collectivist
	Haniya	Female	Young	Separated	3	No	Yes	Some	CF, S	Individualist > Individualist
	Loltepes	Female	Young	Widow	7	No	Yes	Some	CF, L, LT, NR	Collectivist > Hybrid (slight)
Group 7	Hawatho	Female	Young	Yes	6	No	Yes	Some	NR, RT	Individualist > Individualist
	Nanyaloshoro	Female	Young	Yes	5	No	Yes	Some	BE(G), NR, RT	Collectivist > Individualist

* All names have been changed to protect participant privacy

** IGAs: BE(G) = Beads (group/conservancy), BE(O) = Beads (own), CF = Cooked Food, L = Labour Jobs, LT = Livestock Trade, PC = Phone Charging, RT = Retail Trade @ home, NR = Natural Resource Sales (e.g. brooms, teeth sticks, charcoal), R = Rental House/Room, S = Shop