

Contribution of Social Capital to Household Graduation from the Hunger Safety Net Programme in Marsabit County, Kenya

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed to determine the extent to which social capital contributes to household graduation from the Hunger Safety Net Programme in Marsabit County, Kenya. The study employed a mixed-method survey design. Data collection was done from October 2023 to December 2023 using a questionnaire, key informant interview guide, and focus group discussion schedule. A total of 334 primary respondents were selected using stratified and simple random sampling techniques. The findings reveal that 23.4 per cent of the respondents were members of a community-based social group or network. Those who belonged to a social group were few, but the benefits they received were of great value. Furthermore, the majority of respondents (88.9%) indicated that community members were not fully involved in selecting households for graduation. However, 40.5 per cent of respondents expressed trust in the few community members who participated in their graduation. Using an ordered logistic regression model, community associations/networks ($b=-0.841$, $p=.002$); community participation ($b=-2.902$, $p=.003$); community trust ($b=1.77$, $p=.010$); and community leadership ($b=-1.18$, $p=.015$) were found to have a statistically ($p<0.05$) significant effect on household graduation. The study recommends the national and county governments develop and support community-based livelihood initiatives such as savings and loan groups, skills training programs, and pastoralist cooperatives. Beneficiaries of the Hunger Safety Net Programme should leverage social capital and traditional coping mechanisms to support their livelihoods rather than relying on external support. They should also participate in community activities to enhance their networking skills to realise socio-economic development.

Keywords: Cash transfer programmes, household graduation, social capital, social protection, and social safety nets.

INTRODUCTION

Despite the implementation of social safety net programmes in Kenya's drylands, including Northern Kenya, many vulnerable populations continue to face extreme poverty and severe food insecurity. The Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2021) reports that the poverty rate in Marsabit County was 65.9 per cent in 2021. The Marsabit County Standardized Monitoring and Assessment in Relief and Transition Survey Report (2022) indicates that the Mean Reduced Coping Strategy Index for households in Marsabit County was 15.5 in 2022, indicating moderate food insecurity, with an acute malnutrition prevalence rate of 19.6 per cent. There is also limited research on the role of social capital in sustainable social protection outcomes. Therefore, this study aimed to assess how social capital contributes to household graduation from the Hunger Safety Net Programme in Marsabit County, Kenya. The study was geographically limited to Marsabit County because it is among the eight counties where the Hunger Safety Net Programme was implemented at the time of data collection and the first county to adopt the graduation approach.

Social capital comprises social relationships, rules, norms, social bonds, trust, and harmony established through social networks within groups and associations. These aspects enhance human capital development (Coleman, 1988). Putnam (1993) highlights that social capital plays key roles in civic engagement, democratic stability, and community trust. Kiboro (2018) underscores the importance of social capital in promoting cooperation, trust, motivating active engagement, and making access to resources easier among members of community associations. Wairire and Muiruri (2016) indicate that community-based associations are critical in realising social development in Kenya. Through *vyama* (social groups), local resources are easily mobilised as indigenous knowledge is safeguarded through community participation initiatives. *Vyama* has been instrumental in addressing poverty, health, and education outcomes within the communities. Muia, Masese and Rufo (2023) note that elements of social capital, such as trust, social bonding, and reciprocity, are core in underpinning actions that ensure no one is left behind, as guided by the ethic of care. With strong social capital, communities tend to work together to

resolve areas of concern and advance their socio-economic development.

Household graduation entails withdrawing social safety net support from households that have met the threshold criteria of socio-economic recovery. Households that meet the threshold of well-being, such as improved food security and asset accumulation within a set timeframe, should graduate (Samson, 2015). To achieve sustainable graduation, a comprehensive graduation approach is adopted, incorporating other support mechanisms such as training, provision of micro-credits, access to livelihood opportunities, and diversified income (Hashemi & Umaira, 2011). Successful graduation implies that a household can sustainably stay above the threshold level, even after support has been withdrawn. Graduation should not be done prematurely to avoid graduates falling below the threshold level or poverty line. Instead, some beneficiaries should continue getting support from the state and other development agencies until they achieve socio-economic improvement. Therefore, people or households graduating from a social safety net programme should not follow a linear process due to the variations and unpredictability of livelihoods (Sabates-Wheeler & Devereux, 2011).

Broadly, social protection entails social insurance like pension schemes and social assistance programmes such as direct cash or in-kind transfer programmes, which have been crucial components of development since the late 1990s (World Bank, 2001; Seekings & Nattrass, 2015). Cash transfer programmes form part of social safety nets, which can be contributory or non-contributory. An example of a social safety net is the Hunger Safety Net Programme implemented by the Kenyan government under the National Safety Net Programme. The objective of the Hunger Safety Net Programme is to reduce food insecurity in households, and the amount is disbursed bi-monthly based on drought-related indicators. The other three programmes are the Persons with Severe Disability Cash Transfer Program (PWSD-CT), the Older Persons Cash Transfer (OPCT), and the Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (CT-OVC) (Ouma, 2020). Therefore, this paper discusses the contribution of social capital to household graduation from the

Hunger Safety Net Programme in Marsabit County, Kenya.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Safety Nets and Legal Frameworks in Kenya

Basic social protection programmes, such as social safety nets (SSNs), first appeared in the 1990s and saw a significant uptick in the early 2000s. Social protection has expanded to encompass non-contributory aid like cash transfers, in-kind support, and labour-intensive public works projects aimed at supporting impoverished and vulnerable households (Fiszbein et al., 2014; Kalebe-Nyamongo & Marquette, 2014).

Social protection rights are enshrined in the Constitution of Kenya 2010, articles 19, 21, 22, and 43. The Kenya National Social Protection Policy (2011) and the Social Assistance Act (2022) also discuss the rights of Kenya citizens to social services, including social protection aimed at improving their socio-economic well-being, thus contributing to national development (Government of Kenya, 2022; Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development, 2011). Kenya is also a signatory to international agreements on social protection. They include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1981) (United Nations, 1948; Member States of the Organization of African Unity, 1981).

Social Capital and Community Participation

Daidone et al. (2015) analysed multiple factors contributing to household graduation from social safety nets in Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, and Zambia. Household characteristics and program-level factors were found to increase the likelihood of cash transfer programmes facilitating graduation from poverty. The authors further found that social safety nets strengthen informal social protection systems, such as increased social capital among beneficiaries. However, the findings did not explicitly explain whether leveraging social capital within the community increases the chances of cash transfer programme beneficiaries graduating from poverty.

Using a randomised control trial, a study by Mesfin and Cecchi (2024) reveals the relationship between cash transfer programmes and social capital in Malawi. The study analysed adolescent women who participated in

treatment and control groups. The results indicate that conditional and unconditional cash transfer programmes have an effect on social capital by enhancing social relationships and interactions within the communities. Further, cash transfer programmes have a positive intention-to-treat impact on trust and gift-giving in the short term but a negative spillover effect on gift-giving in the long term. Additional analyses show that adolescents with beginning reciprocal beliefs account for an increase in trust. The paper does not directly study the contribution of social capital to household graduation from cash transfer programmes but focuses on the effect of cash transfers on social capital by analysing concepts such as trust and gift exchange rather than graduation outcomes.

Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2015) highlight the need for community participation in the cash transfer programmes. Their findings indicate that local people should actively make decisions during the planning, implementation, and exit phases of social safety nets. The authors also contend that local communities should be co-designers of social safety nets, hence making the social assistance programmes more responsive to local needs. Similarly, according to Dorward et al. (2006), community leadership, market structures, and learning institutions significantly move households from relying on social assistance to sustainable means of earning a living. Despite the authors pointing out the role of social capital and generally community-level factors in various phases of social safety nets, little has been explored on how such social networks in the community can be leveraged to enhance sustainable household graduation from social safety nets. There is also minimal analysis of how graduation is done and the extent to which social capital is required for household graduation to be successfully done.

Conning and Kevane (2002) underscore the importance of community members leveraging local knowledge and social networks during the targeting of the most vulnerable households. Hashemi and Umaira (2011) further narrate that the graduation model implemented by the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) considers the views of community members in the validation of households to exit from the programme. This

approach results in a graduation pathway involving comprehensive packages in terms of skills development, asset building and transfer, and livelihood diversification, among others. Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2015) opine that when beneficiaries of social safety nets use their local social networks, they stand a chance of mobilising local resources, hence creating self-reliance that enhances their social and economic development. Community involvement in the design, implementation, and exit phases of social safety programmes promotes ownership and sustainability. None of the studies comprehensively analysed the effect of key social capital indicators such as social networks, trust, participation, reciprocity, and community leadership. Therefore, this paper has discussed these concepts and linked them to household graduation outcomes.

Empirical Evidence on Household Graduation

Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux (2011) emphasise the importance of building resilient livelihoods to achieve sustainable graduation from poverty. Using a theory of change, the authors reveal how households benefiting from Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction in Bangladesh, the Productive Safety Net Programme in Ethiopia, and the Vision 2020 Umurenge Program in Rwanda graduates after showing evidence of increased productive assets and income as well as improved food security. The authors further add that programming for household graduation needs to be placed in a broader context of market and community thresholds. However, they emphasised more on enhancing sustainable livelihoods as enablers of household graduation and failed to analyse how social capital as an informal social protection mechanism can be harnessed to graduate households from social safety nets.

According to Devereux (2017), households that have graduated from social safety nets in Rwanda, Ethiopia, and Burundi tend to be at a better socio-economic status than before they joined the programmes. There is also improved school attendance, health-seeking behaviour, food security, and nutrition. The author narrates that this is only noticeable in households that did not experience premature graduation motivated by political pressure. However, if graduation has to happen, it should be designed to deliver a sequenced support package to the graduates, such as training

and coaching, cash, and assets transfers. There is limited literature on the graduation criteria from the Hunger Safety Net Programme in Kenya. The major measurement indicators adopted by the programme to graduate households include the reduced prevalence of food insecurity, improved income, household expenditure patterns, and beneficiary satisfaction. Therefore, this study explored further if social capital could have an effect on household graduation measured by indicators such as community associations, community trust, community participation, community leadership, and community recommendation.

A study by Adiema et al. (2019) on household empowerment and household graduation from the Cash for Assets Programme (CFA) in Taita Taveta County reveals a strong correlation between CFA recipients' graduation, food security, and market linkage. Additionally, adopting livelihood strategies was found to contribute to household graduation. The study recommends a need for policymakers to plan for household graduation during the entry phase of the programme. However, the authors failed to show how community-level factors such as social capital within communities can increase the chances of household graduation from the Cash for Assets Programme in Taita Taveta.

According to Song and Imai (2019), multi-dimensional poverty in Kenya is mainly caused by food insecurity. Using a longitudinal survey, the Hunger Safety Net Programme was found to be successful in reducing poverty since the multi-dimensional poverty index (MPI) of the beneficiaries ranged from 0.046 to 0.048. Ndoka (2020) observed that the Hunger Safety Net Programme improved women's socio-economic well-being and promoted household resilience among the beneficiaries in Wajir County, Kenya. However, the authors failed to investigate the contribution of social capital on household graduation from the Hunger Safety Net Programme. The analysis of social capital as an informal safety net mechanism is critical in documenting the strengths that are within households and communities. Additionally, neither did the two studies show the level of socio-economic recovery among the households benefiting from the Hunger Safety Net Programme.

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted in Marsabit County, Kenya. According to the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2019), the population of Marsabit County is 352,546, comprising 188,758 males, 163,772 females, and 16 intersexes. There are 57,004 households, and the county covers a total geographical area of 70,808 Km². It is considered a dryland county since it falls within arid and semi-arid regions of Northern Kenya. It borders Ethiopia to the north, Turkana County to the west, Samburu County to the south, and Wajir and Isiolo Counties to the East. Marsabit County has four constituencies: Saku, Laisamis, North Horr, and Moyale. The study adopted a descriptive survey design since the sample size was large. The design was also suitable for collecting detailed data from the actual natural settings of the respondents by documenting their perceptions and experiences on social capital and household graduation from the Hunger Safety Net Programme. The target population was 14,723 households that had graduated from the Hunger Safety Net Programme in Marsabit County. A sample size of 334 graduated households was sampled using a stratified random sampling technique. The technique was necessary due to variations in the geographical characteristics across the four constituencies of Marsabit County, namely Laisamis, Saku, North Horr and Moyale. Thereafter, a simple random sampling technique was suitably used to sample each household from the sampling list for equal representation. Data

collection was done from October 2023 to December 2023 using a questionnaire, key informants guide, and focus group discussion schedule. Before participating in the study, written consent was sought from the respondents after providing them with a detailed description concerning the purpose of the research. Descriptive statistics were computed using measures of central tendency, frequencies, and percentages. An ordered logistic regression was used to compute the effect of social capital indicators (community social networks/groups, community trust, community participation, and community leadership) on household graduation from the Hunger Safety Net Programme. The model was suitable since the dependent variable was ordinal, meaning it had a natural order (e.g., "very unlikely" to "very likely"). The model also accommodated multiple variables, allowing control for more than one predictor.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Membership in Community Social Networks

The study sought to investigate whether the respondents had joined community associations/networks, such as social groups within their neighbourhoods and beyond. Most of the social development work today targeting communities is done in groups due to the collective nature of how people group themselves to transform their lives by providing solutions to their needs.

Table 1: Group Membership

Membership	Frequency	Per cent
No	256	76.6
Yes	78	23.4
Total	334	100

Source: Own Survey (2023)

Table 1 indicates that 76.6 per cent of the study respondents did not belong to any social group, association, or network, while 23.4 per cent belonged to one or more community groups within their neighbourhoods. Those who belonged to a community group were few, but the benefits they received from such social networks were of great value. Focus group discussion participants in Merille market, Marsabit County, agreed that social groups such as self-help groups empower people socially and economically:

"...The Hunger Safety Net Programme officers trained us on the importance of forming self-help groups while receiving cash transfers. Members of such groups benefit through table banking, where they save and borrow money and others make new friends in such associations. If it is possible, the Hunger Safety Net Programme should make it mandatory for all beneficiaries to join a social group...."

Graduates in a focus group discussion conducted in Bubisa, North Horr Constituency, explained that some households who joined a self-help group had more chances of graduating from the Hunger Safety Net Programme:

“...When in a group, a person is influenced by other members to undertake challenging tasks such as investments and spirit of hardworking is enhanced. Some of us started saving and making some investments after joining self-help group and this was used as a reason to exit us from the Hunger Safety Net Programme...”

Wairire and Muiruri (2016) indicate that *vyama* (group associations) in Kenya provide their members with informal means of social protection. In their view, members in informal groups such as *vyama* mobilise resources collectively and address their individual needs. Therefore, community groups build the capacity of their members through skill development, provision of resources, and information on socio-economic opportunities.

A local administrator from Marsabit Central further reported that most of the social groups in the study area comprised women:

“... Women are strongly becoming empowered through self-help groups. They mobilise themselves and register for saving groups. I have seen some women educating their children and meeting other household expenses using table-banking money from their social groups. This is something everyone should encourage and men should not be left behind when it comes to joining community social groups...”

According to Einolf (2011), women have broader social networks compared to men, evidenced by their participation in various community activities. Women have many caregiving duties, such as caring for children and the elderly. These, among other duties, make women come together through community groups to share experiences and gain knowledge and support on caring responsibilities. Evidence from Hashemi and Umaira (2011) shows that women who graduated from the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) programme had formed strong and supportive networks that gave them confidence and business skills that they leveraged to overcome various socio-economic challenges. They were able to sustain these networks even beyond the BRAC programme. Tripp et al. (2009) note that women in Africa join community groups and movements as a way of challenging patriarchal systems and dispelling gender stereotypes that make them inferior. Women's collective action contributes to dramatic developments, such as changes in traditional and retrogressive norms that affect their socio-economic and political progress.

Community Participation and Trust

The study also assessed whether the community members participated in selecting households to graduate from the Hunger Safety Net Programme. In addition, the level of trust was measured by investigating if the respondents trusted community members who participated in selecting households to graduate. The results are shown in Table 2. Community participation and trust are critical social aspects to consider when planning for the exit of social safety net beneficiaries.

Table 2: Community Participation and Trust

Question	Yes		No	
	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent
Do community members participate in the selection of households to graduate	37	11.1	297	88.9
If yes, do you trust community members who help HSNP officials decide which households to graduate	15	40.5	22	59.5

Source: Own Survey (2023)

Data analysed and presented in Table 2 indicate that 88.9 per cent of the respondents indicated that community members were not involved in determining which household to graduate. On the other hand (11.1%) of the respondents indicated that community members were involved during their exit from the Hunger Safety Net Programme. However, members in a focus group discussion confirmed that some community members were involved in the selection of households to graduate:

... "Well, some community members were aware of household graduation and they were involved through a baraza. The Hunger Safety Net Programme officers sampled a few people to participate in selecting households to graduate. The few were selected probably to avoid tensions that arise when many community members are involved in decision making...."

A local administrator from Bubisa, North Horr constituency, pointed out a communication gap in the involvement of community members:

... "There is a communication gap on who, when, why, and how graduation should be done. This is the reason why the majority of the community members are locked out because of lack of information which is rarely shared to them..."

The focus group discussants in the Loiyangalani sub-location, Laisamis Constituency, pointed out the challenge of not trusting community members from a different ethnicity in the selection of households to graduate:

"... This area is majorly dominated by two ethnic groups (Turkana and Samburu). These communities do not live in harmony because of persistent conflicts. Therefore, trusting each other in the selection of households to graduate is not easy. The Hunger Safety Net Programme officials usually encourage us to form self-help groups and ensure ethnicity balance. However, this does not happen because of the cultural practices that influence people to form self-help groups based on their ethnicity..."

The Hunger Safety Net Programme coordinator explained that community participation is kept open and public to community members, and it is usually initiated at the grassroots level:

... "In collaboration with chiefs and other local leaders, we mobilise community members to participate in registering vulnerable households. Other than registration, they also approve the households to graduate from the programme. These exercises of clustering and validation start at the village level..."

According to Kiboro (2018), a high prevalence of trust in a community indicates a strong bond among community members, with well-structured social networks and social groups that generate norms of reciprocity and trust among community members. The author further notes that there is a correlation between trust and ethnicity. Members of the same ethnicity tend to trust each other quickly, and this relationship has permanence. However, community members from different ethnic affiliations treat each other with suspicion, which can affect community participation in development projects.

Building trust in development programmes is of great essence. If trust is not positively cultivated, it can result in conflict among community members. Community participation as a participatory approach to social development is highly determined by trust internally and externally. For a social safety programme like the Hunger Safety Net Programme to be sustainable, community members need to be involved in the planning, implementation, and termination phases.

Community Leadership

The study assessed whether local community leaders such as chiefs were involved in household graduation. Community leaders were assumed to have wider knowledge on local issues and households that deserved to graduate from the Hunger Safety Net Programme.

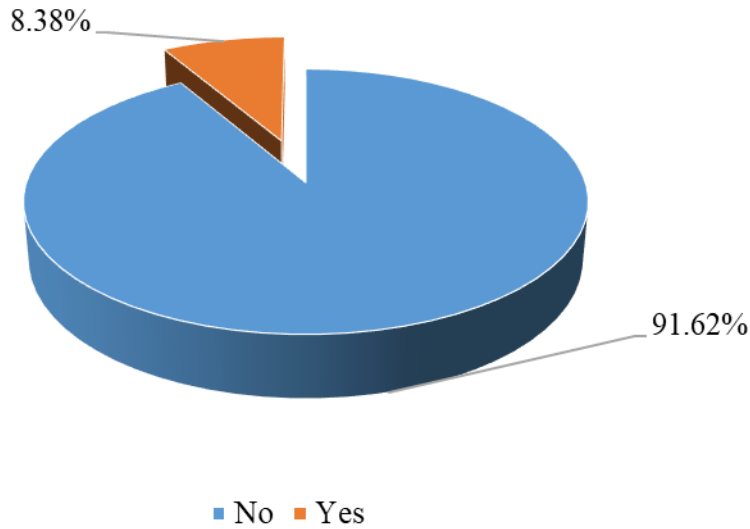


Figure 1: Influence of Community Leadership on Household Graduation

The majority of the respondents (91.6%) believed that community leaders, especially the local administrators (village elders, assistant chiefs, and chiefs), were not involved in determining their graduation. Only a small percentage (8.4%) of the respondents linked their graduation to the influence of community leaders, as shown in Figure 1 above. A male local administrator in Marsabit Central who advocates for the improvement of the socio-economic well-being of vulnerable households confirmed that his office was involved during the first phase of household graduation from the Hunger Safety Net Programme:

“...I was involved in the selection of first group of beneficiaries who graduated from the Hunger Safety Net Programme. However, in the second phase, my participation was minimal. Some households graduated pre-maturely in the second phase. This was unfair because the main justification for exit was that those

households were registered members of NHIF and this was a sponsored initiative by the Marsabit county government. Of course, some households had qualified genuinely to graduate based on their improved socio-economic status. However, majority were still in the same vulnerable state. Graduation is a good thing, but I support it when it is well-planned, justified, and beneficiaries are informed in advance...”

Community Recommendation

The study also sought to examine how likely it was for a household that had achieved some socio-economic improvement after the Hunger Safety Net Programme intervention to be recommended by other community members to graduate through a participatory approach. Community recommendation was considered a critical indicator in measuring household graduation.

Table 3: Likelihood of Community Members to Recommend for Household Graduation

	Frequency	Per cent
Neither likely or unlikely	16	4.8
Somewhat likely	81	24.3
Somewhat unlikely	9	2.7
Very likely	223	66.8
Very unlikely	5	1.5
Total	334	100.0

Source: Own Survey (2023)

The majority of the respondents, 66.8 per cent in Table 3, indicate that community members were very likely to recommend households to graduate especially those who had shown some evidence of improved well-being after receiving support from the Hunger Safety Net Programme. The assumption is that such households should exit the programme and allow other vulnerable households to benefit. A very small percentage of the respondents (1.5%) felt that community members were very unlikely to recommend for household graduation. According to Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2015), community members should participate in sampling households to graduate

from a social safety net programme. This enhances local ownership and reduces cases of households falling back into the vulnerability state, especially if they were removed erroneously.

Effect of Social Capital on Household Graduation Based on Community Recommendation

An ordered logistic regression model was computed using community association networks, participation, trust, and leadership to examine the effect of social capital on community recommendations as a measure of household graduation. The results are presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Ordered Logistic Regression Model for Social Capital and Community Recommendation

Community recommendation	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	OR	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval	Sig
Community networks	-0.841	0.268	-3.14	0.431	0.002	-1.367	-0.316	***
Community participation in the selection	-2.902	0.972	-2.99	0.055	0.003	-4.807	-0.997	***
Community trust	1.77	0.683	2.59	5.871	0.01	0.432	3.108	***
Community leadership	-1.18	0.485	-2.43	0.307	0.015	-2.13	-0.229	**
Constant	-7.93	0.86	.b		.b	-9.614	-6.245	
Constant	-6.832	0.768	.b		.b	-8.338	-5.327	
Constant	-5.964	0.726	.b		.b	-7.387	-4.541	
Constant	-4.219	0.672	.b		.b	-5.536	-2.901	

Mean dependent var	4.521	SD dependent var	0.83
Pseudo r-squared	0.047	Number of obs	334
Chi-square	28.971	Prob > chi2	0.0000
Akaike crit. (AIC)	601.004	Bayesian crit. (BIC)	631.494

Source: Own Survey (2023)

A statistically significant effect between all social capital indicators and household graduation was established, where community groups/networks $b=-0.841$, $t=-3.14$, $p=.002$; community participation $b=-2.902$, $t=-2.99$, $p=.003$; community trust $b=1.77$, $t=2.59$, $p=.010$; and community leadership $b=-1.18$, $t=-2.43$, $p=.015$.

According to Kiboro (2018), communities that have invested in social capital, particularly through community groups, are likely to achieve social development. The author further states that community groups help form social networks that are considered critical in cushioning households'

vulnerability. In the same views, Putnam (2001) narrates that social networks and reciprocity norms develop formally or informally and can have internal and external gains for community members.

The involvement of community members in selecting and graduating social safety net beneficiaries has received global attention, with literature pointing out the advantages and disadvantages. According to Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2015), community involvement promotes local ownership and helps the project officers improve the accuracy of targeting beneficiaries. However, the authors point out that the

exercise should not entirely be left to community members to avoid social tensions and elite capture.

Merttens et al. (2018) assert that strong informal support networks based on social norms and relations are critical in building households and communities' resilience and creating peace and unity at the community level. Delpy (2024) suggests that informal networks, which enhance reciprocity norms of support relationships, should support formal social protection. Tsegay (2017) reinforces the need for social safety net policies to respect the beneficiaries' traditional and informal coping mechanisms. The author further argues that modern practices should be adopted to boost the existing traditional systems rather than eroding them. Similarly, Woolcock (2002) posits that a suitable strategy for countries and communities to manage risks and shocks for sustainable economic development is to get social relations right, ultimately resulting from social capital.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions: Social capital measured in the form of community networks, participation, trust, and

leadership accounts for household graduation from the Hunger Safety Net Programme. The respondents leveraged social capital as an informal social safety mechanism within their households and communities to improve their socio-economic status, hence graduating from the Hunger Safety Net Programme.

Recommendations: To achieve sustainable graduation, the national and county governments should develop and support community-based livelihood initiatives such as savings and loan groups, skills training programs, and pastoralist cooperatives. Secondly, to enhance sustainability and ownership of the graduation process, the Hunger Safety Net Programme should involve community members in determining which households to graduate. Lastly, beneficiaries of the Hunger Safety Net Programme should leverage social capital and traditional coping mechanisms to support their livelihoods rather than over-relying on external support. They should participate in community activities to enhance their networking skills to realise socio-economic development.

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