



Conditional cash transfers in Nigeria – an exploratory study

By

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ABSTRACT

Citizens, in any polity, collectively function not only as political agents, but also represent a shared fountain of information and a channel for policy feedback. This research study investigated citizens' perceptions of a specific policy programme in Nigeria (conditional cash transfer, CCTs), and the ways the politics of social protection are informed and shaped by the intersection of the realities of citizens' lived experiences and the actions and interactions between elites, public and institutional actors. The crucial question of how the Nigerian CCTs operated and what the participants (beneficiaries) perceived as its main advantages and weaknesses, and the nuanced construction of public attitudes towards conditional cash transfer programmes (social protection) are addressed. Employing a qualitative methodology, encompassing in-depth interviews (with key informants), semi-structured interviews with respondents and focus group discussions with selected groups within certain communities, the study reflected the religious and demographic divide of Nigeria to capture the lived experiences of beneficiaries and their perspectives of the CCT programmes. The distinctive attributes of Nigeria's informal social welfare arrangements are described, and the study affirms the salience of politics and contextual variations in the implementation of CCTs. Findings also reveal the importance of contextual dynamics, the necessity of understanding the politics, the political settlements of a country and how it is useful in explaining the national experiences of social policy development. The study is only the second of such on Nigerian social protection, thus contributing to academic discourse on social policy dynamics and redistributive programmes in development contexts by empirically connecting the nexus between political contexts, actors, institutions and the citizens to public attitudes and trust in government. The findings enrich our understanding of social protection in Nigeria and may act as a guide to future policy actions as well as future research into Nigerian social protection.

AUTHORSHIP DECLARATION

I, **Gbenga Akinlolu Shadare**, declare that this thesis titled: **Conditional cash transfers in Nigeria – an exploratory study**, has not been presented anywhere for the award of any degree. All the sources used have been properly acknowledged.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACN	Action Congress of Nigeria
AfDB	African Development Bank
APC	All Party Congress
APC	Arewa People's Congress
APGA	All Progressive Grand Alliance
ANPP	All Nigeria Peoples Party
AU	African Union
BFP	Bolsa Familia Programme
BLRW	Better Life for Rural Women
BISP	Benazir Income Support Programme
BSM	Bantuan Siswa Mishia
CALP	Cash Learning Partnership
CBHIS	Community-based Health Insurance Scheme
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
CGDP	Children Cash Grant Development Programme
CGS	Conditional Grant Schemes
CPC	Congress for Progressive Change
CSG	Child Support Grant
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CSWYE	Community Services for Women and Youth Employment
CTP	Cash Transfer Programme
COPE	'In Care of the People'
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ECOSOC	UN Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
DFID	Department for International Development

DFFRI	Directorate for Rural Roads and Rural Infrastructure
ETF	Education Tax Fund
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FBO	Faith-based organisation
FEAP	Family Economic Advancement Programme
FG	Federal Government (of Nigeria)
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FMF	Federal Ministry of Finance, Nigeria
FMG	Federal Military Government
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HUP	Household Uplifting Programme
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPC-IG	International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth
LAO	Limited Access Orders
LEAP	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty
LMIC	Low-and Middle-Income Countries
MASSOB	Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra
MCH	Maternal and Child Health
MDA	Ministries, Agencies and Departments
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
NAPEP	National Poverty Eradication Programme
NBS	Nigerian Bureau of Statistics
NCTO	National Cash Transfer Office
NDE	National Directorate of Employment
NEEDS	National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy

NEU	Nigeria Economic Update (World Bank)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NGV 2020	Nigerian Vision 2020
NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
NISER	Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research
NPC	National Planning Commission
NSIA	Nigeria Sovereign Investment Authority
NSIP	Nigerian Social Investment Programme
NSIO	National Security Implementation Office
NSA	Non-State Actor
NSP	Non-State Provider
NSPI	National Social Protection Initiative
NSPP	National Social Protection Policy
NSPS	National Social Protection Strategy
NSR	National Social Register
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OLM	Oodua Liberation Movement
OPC	Oodua People's Congress
O-YES	Osun State Youth Empowerment Scheme
OVC	Orphans, Vulnerable Groups and Children
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PHC	Primary Healthcare Centre
POVNET	Network on Poverty Reduction
PRAF	Programme De Asignacion
PSNP	Productive Safety Nets Programme
PTF	Petroleum Trust Fund
RCT	Randomised Control Tests
SAGE	Social Assistance Grant for Empowerment
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SCT	Social Cash Transfer
SCTP	Social Cash Transfer Programme

SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SIP	Social Investment Perspective
SIP	Social Investment Programme
SP	Social Protection
SPF	Social Protection Floors
SPS	Social Protection System
SRMF	Social Risk Management Framework
SRMP	Social Risk Mitigation Project
SURE-P	Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Programme
TETFUND	Tertiary Education Trust Fund
TSP	Transformative Social Protection
TUOS	The University of Sheffield
TWWC	Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Agency
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UBE	Universal Basic Education
UPE	Universal Primary Education
WA	Wellbeing Approach
WEF	World Economic Forum

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DEDICATION

This thesis is gratefully dedicated to:

1. My parents starting with my amazing mum, **Deaconess Florence Adeolu Shadare** and my fabulous father (of blessed memory), **Chief John Adebisi Shadare**; both of whom laid the foundation that my family and I continue to build upon.
2. My beautiful precious wife (of blessed memory): **Mrs. Rita Abosedede Shadare** (rest in peace sweetheart)
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. My journey back to school as a mature student

On a cloudy Monday morning in the early part of 2000, in the chilly harmattan weather of the Nigerian Plateau region, I was travelling to the beautiful capital city of Jos¹, Plateau State Nigeria, scheduled to meet with a top politician in the state on a business appointment. The appointment was planned long before this day but because of the uncertain nature of doing business with the Nigerian political class, the dates kept shifting. Therefore, it seemed the meeting was never going to take place. Fortunately for me, just when I was about to give up hope, I received a call from the politician requesting me to come over. I swung into action and began preparations for the meeting in earnest. I was, by this time, a young, top-flight, and relatively well-to-do businessman. Two years prior, I had started a well-capitalised financial services firm along with a few friends and we had begun to do well, parading an impressive array of high-networth wealthy clients. Our business focus was wealth and asset management. As the managing director², I was naturally mixing with the upper crust of the Nigerian society: politicians, corporate titans of industry and a whole class of upwardly mobile executives. My career trajectory, up to this point, had prepared me well for this. I held an MBA in addition to many years of working in the financial services sector, which prepared and furnished me with the experience and expertise to undertake consulting work for key government establishments like the *Petroleum Trust Fund* (at the time, the current Nigerian President, Muhammadu Buhari, was its Executive Chairman) and the Nigerian Vision 2010³. Through these gilded opportunities, I interacted with many people including the current President and others within and outside government. So, when I started my own business, I was extremely prepared and had a few highly influential people I could call upon for vital business deals. So, it was through this that I got involved with the client I was scheduled to meet on this day in Jos. What happened on my way to the meeting would have a lasting impact on me, culminating in my decision to undertake a PhD, and in making a lifetime commitment to fight for social justice, equality, and wellbeing of vulnerable people⁴.

1.2. Finding my new calling - the 'accidental journey' to social policy

As I was based in Lagos, Nigeria during this time, the default mode of travel for me was by air. After booking my flight to Jos however, when I arrived at Lagos airport to board the flight it was cancelled due to bad weather. Therefore, I decided to explore flying via Abuja to Jos as I could not miss the appointment the following day given the length of time it took to secure it. So, after spending over twelve hours at the airport, I flew to Abuja to connect to Jos by road. In Abuja, I arranged a taxi to collect me from my hotel in the early hours of the morning for the four hours road trip to Jos. That journey marked my voyage into social policy! Travelling through many villages and settlements previously unknown to me brought me face-to-face with the stark realities of the poverty, underdevelopment and the hopelessness of Nigeria's infrastructural deficit and the lack of essential social services. Here I was, a young businessman in an air-conditioned vehicle, living in relative affluence and coming from a well-to-do background with all the privileges it brings, traversing through places that seemed like the medieval age. Being the very early hours of the day, I watched haggard looking children walking long distances barefooted to their schools; carrying on their heads the tables and desks used for learning and study. The shock of seeing children walking several miles to schools without any public transportation shocked me. I could not imagine how long it took (over 10 kilometres I guessed) to reach their school in the vehicle I was travelling: and, to imagine that they walked that long distance back and forth every school day was shocking to me. I discovered the school they attended had no decent building whatsoever: it does not deserve to be called a school: it has no roof, desks, chairs, or facilities whatsoever? Many of the children studied outside, exposed to the elements, under the tree in an open courtyard in 'the school' compound. I saw the condition in which these children lived; I saw them (and their parents) residing in mud houses with thatched roofs which could not withstand the elements. Their communities had no electricity, pipe-borne water, and essential services. Yet, I was on my way to transact business with someone who could literally change their lives. The irony was not lost on me. On this day, I questioned my moral philosophy and battled my own demons to eventually realise that something needed to be done to change these children's lives. I made a pact with destiny following that experience and, even though I had never heard of social policy, my journey took me back to the University of Nottingham to encounter social policy and the theoretical notion of the welfare state which then led me to this point.

1.3. Research background and overview of the research study

The appalling levels of multidimensional poverty, inequalities, lifecycle risks and vulnerabilities that citizens in Nigeria and other developing countries are challenged by, triggered governments, with the help of the international development agencies, to commit to social protection programmes and social policies as a way of alleviating the debilitating effects of poverty. The global commitment to fighting poverty was enshrined in *Agenda 2030* in 2015 when countries endorsed the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the '*Leave No One Behind*' concept (UNGA 2015), which commits to 'ending extreme poverty in all its forms and reducing inequalities among both individuals (vertical) and groups (horizontal)' (Sarwar, 2018, p.7; Stuart and Samman, 2017). Practically, Agenda 2030 mandates governments to reach out and prioritise vulnerable populations, groups and individuals that are the furthest behind across different goals and deliver progressive actions to safeguard their lives. This means that governments must implement pro-poor policies to ameliorate the living conditions of their populations. But why are low-and-middle-income countries (LMICs) like Nigeria not placing their citizens at the centre of core policies and developmental programmes? That is the principal question that led me to this study. Admittedly, tackling that question is problematic in itself; and requires more than a limited PhD research project to tackle. However, this thesis attempts to uncover some of the reasons why nations are caught in the throes of underdevelopment by examining actions governments can implement to improve the situation.

1.4. The compelling imperative of social protection

Social protection (SP) is now acknowledged as a critical policy response to extreme levels of poverty and vulnerability in developing countries of the global south. In Africa, there is an upsurge in the expansion and introduction of SP programmes (Devereux et al., 2015; Bastagli et al., 2016; ILO, 2017; Sarwar, 2018; UNDP, 2019) and the trend is predicted to continue. Recently, empirical studies have demonstrated that when they are well designed, SP systems can reallocate benefits from growth and together, contribute to higher economic growth (Ulrichs and Sabates-Wheeler, 2018; Bastagli et al., 2019; 2016; Davis et al., 2016; ILO, 2017; Alderman & Yemstov, 2012; Barrientos & Hulme, 2008). However, many countries in the global south have poorly designed SP systems. Despite the mounting

evidence base demonstrating positive effects of SP programmes on poverty and vulnerability reduction enhancing its popularity and appeal among governments and donors in developing countries (Arnold et al., 2011), there remains room for improvement. Chronic and extreme poverty persists despite the plethora of poverty reduction efforts worldwide (Bukuluki & Watson, 2012). This is especially a dogged problem in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). More than two and half decades, the population living in abject poverty declined in all world regions except for SSA (World Bank, 2018b). At the root is the astronomical rate of population growth, which surpassed the rate of poverty reduction, swelling the population of chronically poor people from 290 million in 1990 to over a billion in 2018 (World Bank, 2019). Millions of Africans presently live in extreme poverty, while those existing slightly above the international poverty line of \$1.90 a day are susceptible to shocks that could thrust them back into severe poverty. Within this background therefore SP programmes such as cash transfers (CTs) were designed and implemented in several countries on the continent.

CT programmes assist and augment the coping capacities of individuals, households, and communities to lessen vulnerabilities, risks and shocks connected with extreme poverty. CTs are employed as part of a broader SP interventions to assist underprivileged and vulnerable households in resource-constrained nations of sub-Saharan Africa. Generally, providing SP through CTs for the most underprivileged households is supported by researchers as a phase to more inclusive, pro-poor development (Ulrichs and Sabates-Wheeler, 2018). However, most CT schemes currently being implemented are limited in scope and coverage, providing relatively small amounts, and lacking sustainability and often reliant, at least partly, on donor funding; hence, producing concerns about expanding programmes and earning domestic political commitment to bolster extant programmes for the longer term. Moreover, many programmes are devoted to an interim safety net approach, calculated to support households smoothen income and consumption. Although this is crucial, there have, lately, been demands for SP to go further and tackle longer-term, structural causes of poverty. Nonetheless, barely partial attention has been devoted to the significance of distributed inequalities, like gender inequality, unequal citizenship, and displacement due to conflicts, which perpetuates poverty (Devereux et al., 2011), and the

role that SP plays in confronting wider socio-political vulnerabilities and bolstering social cohesion (DFID, 2011).

The adoption of CCTs is one of the ways developing countries are tackling the problems of poverty and inequality. CCTs are part of a larger SP programme, that is a globally acknowledged effective anti-poverty tool for addressing the risks and vulnerabilities associated with multidimensional poverty and inequalities in developing countries of the global south. Well-designed and properly implemented SP programmes can counterbalance the risks and shocks that consistently threaten the livelihoods of poorest citizens; hence many countries in Latin America, Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and the Caribbean adopted SP policies and programmes as a policy tool of improving the lives of their citizens. Since their emergence in Latin America (Brazil, Chile, and Mexico) in the mid-1990s, SP programmes have proliferated globally (Devereux, 2015; Barrientos, 2013; Molyneux, 2016). SP strategically lessens poverty, enhances resilience, and enables development as demonstrated by the evidence from Latin America and SSA where positive outcomes were attained in food, livelihoods' security, and human capital development (Bastagli et al., 2016; 2018; Winder Rossi et al., 2017; Handa et al., 2017). SP impacts are also recognised as augmenting the productive and economic capacities of the neediest and marginalised communities. Millions of deprived households are recipients of CTs attributed with reducing poverty rates in South America and in Africa (Bastagli et al., 2019; Ulrichs and Sabates-Wheeler, 2018; Bastagli et al., 2016; 2018; Davis et al., 2016; Devereux 2015; Kidd et al., 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018).

Beyond poverty alleviation and reduction in the rates of destitution, when combined with other socio-economic programmes, SP can strengthen the resilience of citizens, heighten the capability of poor households to manage, adapt to and endure natural disasters and other crises. SP also has both temporary and long-lasting benefits. In the short-term, poor households can access predictable, sizeable, and regular benefits and be protected from the effects of shocks, such as the asset losses/erosion, which can minimise adverse coping practices (Handa et al., 2017). In the longer term, SP can help build capacity, smoothen consumption and enable investments that can meaningfully contribute to people's wellbeing and resilience (Winder Rossi et al., 2017; Handa et.al., 2017). Despite its global

recognition, many developing countries are unable to fully implement comprehensive SP systems. SP is playing an under-utilised role in many developing countries, owing to the scale and costs of expanding existing, limited programmes or extending SP to fragile or conflict-affected contexts, for instance, where the protracted crises can cause disruption of livelihoods; food systems, and increase rates of morbidity and mortality, whilst also increasing the risks of or actual displacements of peoples (Winder Rossi et al., 2017). These peculiar challenges can frustrate efforts to introduce or expand SP. Also, as SP is not cheap, it is known that scaling up SP could be a formidable strategy that could stretch existing operational and fiscal capacity of governments in majority of low-and-middle-income countries (LMICs) (Greenhill et al., 2015; Sarwar, 2018). In countries where CCTs or SP programmes have been introduced, operational and other difficulties persist. But as countries improve upon the rudimentary forms of SP, they can progressively build upon and scale-up the programmes.

1.5. Justification for the study

An expanding body of evidence shows that CTs can make significant improvements to poor people's conditions (Bastagli et al., 2019; Millan et al., 2019). However, there is scant research on the perspectives of the beneficiaries of CTs and whether they consider such programmes to be beneficial or not. There is very little research on beneficiaries' perceptions (negative or positive) about the operation of CT programmes (Molyneux et al., 2016). Also, despite the many claims for CTs, debates persist about their ability to improve social capital, address unequal gender imbalance, promote human/social rights of citizens, or heighten clientelism. Other areas of concern include how CTs affect household social relations and foster a sense of citizens' accountability (Molyneux et al., 2016; Kidd et al., 2018).

This thesis investigates the lived experiences of some beneficiaries of Nigerian cash transfers in order to gain an understanding of their unique perspectives. Nigeria is important particularly because it is on the cusp of social protection transformation (Shadare, 2017; 2019), and given that the country is a 'slow-starter' and 'late-comer' to SP (Shadare, 2019), there is now the need to understand how CTs operate in the country; and

more importantly, how beneficiaries of CTs perceive the impacts of CT programmes on their livelihoods. In so doing, the thesis aims to contribute to the expanding literature on CTs (and of SP programmes) in Nigeria in particular. Beneficiaries' perspectives of, and attitudes towards SP programmes, in any contexts, are shaped by context-specific factors. Therefore, it is essential that such variations are studied as these are crucial if SP programmes must be appropriately and efficiently delivered. Incorporating the voices, perspectives and lived experiences of the beneficiaries into any study of SP is consequently highly significant. It is also anticipated that by qualitatively investigating CT programming through the lens of citizens as beneficiaries, users, and influencers of policies and also through the views of policymakers, bureaucrats and programme administrators, politicians, elites, and researchers will gain knowledge about the nuanced nature of social policy programmes in these particular contexts.

1.6. Scope of research

This thesis is an investigation of Nigerian CCTs. As a case study, the research explores how beneficiaries' perceptions of the SURE-P and COPE CCTs were constructed. The study is, therefore, not an exhaustive study of social protection in Nigeria; it is an exploratory, qualitative research study of two former cash transfer programmes which ended when the current Buhari administration came to power in 2016. As a qualitative study therefore, it has its inherent limitations which are fully discussed in Chapter 7. However, the thesis offers important contributions to the study of CTs in Nigeria and by implication, other less developed countries. Indeed, during my fieldwork, I discovered that this research is only the second context-specific PhD thesis ever to have studied Nigerian CCT programmes. As much as it places a burden of rigour, professionalism, and ethics upon me as a researcher to have undertaken this study, I am also profoundly grateful for the unique privilege of undertaking this study. It is therefore envisaged that understanding the peculiar realities of how Nigerian CTs have operated will help to channel concerns into development actions by emphasising the constraints and opportunities for transformative adjustment to SP in Nigeria. Further, the knowledge of how Nigerian CTs have performed and operated since their inception over fifteen years ago (Akinleye et al., 2019) may provide fresh impetus for the evolution of 'transformative-compliant' policies (Shadare, 2019). In the social

development and social protection literature, viable spaces are opening for the linkage of micro-levels execution of SP programmes with macro-levels of policies that are aligned with the competing priorities of poverty reduction and development-oriented programmes particularly for the countries of global south. Consequently, several critical new spaces that are robust enough to deliver compounded benefits of enhancing security of livelihoods and increasing resilience of peoples to shocks and crises, have opened. It is therefore within this flourishing literature that this research positions itself and asserts its influence.

1.7. Research focus: research design, research questions and research objectives

The starting point of this research is the notion that citizens hold certain views and beliefs which condition or influence their attitudes towards social protection and redistribution. Citizens represent a shared repository of information and function as a set of political agents. However, the study did not simply explore citizens' reactions to a given policy programme, but also investigated the ways in which the politics of SP are informed by the intersection of the realities of citizens' lived experiences, and the actions and interactions between policy elites and other actors. As a qualitative study, the research explored this interface between citizens, political actors, and institutions in Nigeria in the construction of public perception and attitudes towards SP and CCTs. The study has three main objectives namely:

1. To elicit beneficiaries' and programme administrators/government officials' attitudes towards conditional cash transfers (CCTs) in Nigeria
2. To compare the perceptions of CCTs programme administrators/government officials with those of beneficiaries
3. To contribute to the literature on the effectiveness of poverty reduction interventions and how the design of SP programmes can transform the social relations that reinforce and exacerbate poverty, vulnerability, and social exclusion.

The main aim, however, was understanding how the Nigerian CCTs operated and what the beneficiaries perceived as their main virtues and failings. The four specific research questions were:

1. How do CCTs (COPE and SURE-P) operate in Nigeria?

2. What do the participants (beneficiaries and officials) perceive as the main advantages/disadvantages of CCTs?
3. What are the main factors driving these perceptions?
4. In what ways might CCTs be made more effective?

Specifically, the study sought to ascertain the determinants of public perceptions of SP and CCTs programmes in order to find ways that CT programming might be made more effective. To adequately address its research questions, the thesis employed a qualitative research paradigm to capture the lived experiences of programme participants, who as beneficiaries, and as citizens, were influenced by their engagement with the programme. The qualitative paradigm involved a multi-method approach, encompassing in-depth interviews (with key stakeholders), semi-structured interviews (with beneficiaries); and focus group discussions with selected groups within certain communities reflecting the religious and demographic divide of Nigeria.

The study probed the distinctive attributes of Nigeria's informal social welfare arrangements. Further, and in line with recent thinking on SP and social welfare development in many developing countries, it hypothesised that politics undergirds contextual variation. Consequently, this study employed the adapted political settlements framework, a variant of the political economy framework. The utility of the framework lies in permitting an understanding of country-specific socioeconomic and political determinants which shapes values, attitudes, and behaviours. Also, the study affirmed that both elite and non-political actors' pledge to the expansion of SP is closely connected to the national political and global ideas and their interplay in particular context (Lavers and Hickey, 2015; 2016). In adopting this conceptual framework, the research built on insights from extant scholarship in the SP literature focussing on developing countries. Through semi-structured interviews with beneficiaries, key informants and focus group discussions, a rich data was generated that allowed themes that emerged during data analysis to be procedurally identified and presented. This process yielded remarkable insights which constitutes the findings section of the thesis. It also informs the study's contribution to knowledge.

1.8. Research contribution

Besides exploring how public attitudes to redistribution and social protection are constructed in a development context (especially in a multi-ethnic and complex country like Nigeria), findings from the research study affirm the salience of contextual dynamics, and the necessity of understanding the politics (and political settlements of a polity) and how it can be useful in explaining the contextual variations in the national experiences of social policy development. This is the first study of CCTs in Nigeria and only the second on Nigerian social protection; it thus contributes to academic discourse on social policy dynamics and redistributive programmes in development contexts by empirically showing the nexus between political contexts and the actors, institutions and citizens' perceptions and trust in government. Research findings should not only enrich our understanding of SP in Nigeria but also inform future policy actions as well as future research into Nigerian social protection. The study hopes to contribute to literature on enriching the effectiveness of social policy interventions by implementing transformative programmes that can alter social relations within a polity.

1.9. Thesis structure

So far, this introductory chapter has considered the motivation, background, rationale, and contexts of the issues explored in this study. In this final section, the summary of the thesis is explained. The remainder of the thesis is structured as follows, Chapter 2 surveys the definitions of social protection and conditional cash transfers, and the roles played by all the actors in the field. It also examines models of CCTs and other forms of SP by providing a taxonomy and definitions of the key terms and phrases. The chapter also incorporates a review of the key operational framework for setting up SP in a developing country context and highlighted the challenges involved in designing and implementing SP in development. Chapter 3 discusses the relevance of the welfare regime theory as espoused by Esping-Andersen (1990) to the social policy situation and the environment in Nigeria. In that chapter, an attempt was made to determine if there is a likely emergence of the Nigerian 'welfare state'. The chapter summarises by analysing if the Nigerian welfare regime can be categorised using Gough et al's (2004) welfare regime framework and the adapted political settlement framework and the impact of the political settlement structure on

policymaking, and how the dynamics of the successive administrations, affected efforts at addressing poverty and inequality in Nigeria.

Chapter 4 explores the political economy of CCTs and SP in Nigeria through an evaluation of the socio-economic and political situation in Nigeria to better understand how social policy making evolved under successive administrations. By tracing the trajectory of social policy and unpacking the Nigerian policy environment, the chapter investigates factors that can enable and constrain SP programmes like CCTs. Chapter 5 broadly explores CCT programmes and has two sections: the first reviews the literature on CCTs in development and discussed various debates in SP literature by focussing on critical issues of co-responsibilities or conditionality, targeting, the human capital development aspirations of cash transfers and the dichotomous contentions between the universal versus targeted approaches to the implementation of CCTs. It establishes the connection between multidimensional poverty and lifecycle risks and vulnerabilities. It also addressed the connected issues of fragility, informality, and instability in the policymaking of the Nigerian administrators as constraining factors and highlighted pathways for sustainably addressing these within the new political arrangements.

The second section of chapter 5 sketches the theoretical framing of the study; analysing the multifarious ways in which the concepts that underpins CCTs, SP and this research have been conceptualised. The conceptual framework adopted was justified on the strength of its significance in highlighting the enabling factors and constraints that can facilitate the adoption of a pro-poor anti-poverty programmes in a competitive clientelistic environment like Nigeria. The remainder of the chapter focused on the intersections of the diverse concepts and their framings within the broader SP systems. Issues addressed include multidimensional poverty, inequality, wellbeing, human capital development, lifecycle or livelihood risks and vulnerabilities. These various framings have implications for research, policy, and actions. The chapter concludes by examining the nexus between the avowed goals of CTs and the empirical findings of SP and CCTs' impacts in development contexts. It wraps up with a discussion on the configuration of the development priorities within which CCTs in Nigeria, as part of broader SP programming agenda, is situated.

Informed by the necessity of rationalising the pathways and methodological tools utilised to address the issues discussed in the preceding chapters, Chapter 6, describes the research design and methodology employed to address the research questions. A qualitative method entailing interviews (semi-structured and key informants/elite interviews) and focus group discussions (FGDs), were reinforced with a review of documents from manifold and disparate sources. The chapter examines the issues of reflexivity, positionality, and ethical concerns within a fragile and conflict-affected setting as challenges that were addressed at different stages of the study.

As a corollary to the discussion of the research methodology and design chapter, Chapters 7 and 8 presents the major findings of the study using thematic analysis. The findings offer insights into the human capital dimensions of the operations of CCTs in Nigeria and did so discursively, whilst never failing to provide the dialectics of the unique political economy of the Nigerian SP regime. These chapters also examined the dimension of social solidarity and the moral economy of the social protection by detailing how the social constructions and sensemaking of beneficiaries informed and shaped the operations of CTs in Nigeria. In casting a light on the '*social*' in social protection, Chapter 9 reflexively presented an integrated but unique social contract underpinning the new SP vision for Nigeria. Also, the chapter discussed citizens' perceptions of and attitudes towards SP programmes and CCTs (as redistributive policy programmes of government) by engaging with the issues of citizenship, trust in government, social quality, civic engagement, social politics of Nigeria against uplifting the empowerment of citizens, and making their voices count which can serve as mechanisms for fostering not only social relations but the sustainability of social protection. Chapter 10 reviews the key findings of the research and highlighted the themes through linkages to the overall aim and objectives of the research as spelt out in the thesis. The chapter wrapped up with a discussion of the thesis' contributions to academic and policy debates on SP and concludes with making a case for the '*understanding of the social*'; it also elaborates on the methodological implications of the research by proposing areas for future research direction. The thesis closes with some thoughts on a reform agenda and specific policy recommendations which should also enrich future research endeavours in this field.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIAL PROTECTION AND CASH TRANSFERS IN A DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

2.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the global spread of social protection programmes and conditional cash transfers by critically evaluating drivers of diffusion and why this process matters. It discusses models of CTs, forms of SPs and explores the roles played by various actors and institutions in the field in order to account for the plurality of frameworks and shapes of SP systems. By tabulating a taxonomy of programmes, including the definitions of key terms and phrases, the chapter separates SP systems from the contextual factors that enables or constrains their implementation in developing countries. By incorporating the key operational frameworks informing SP delivery, the chapter further highlights the challenges involved in designing and implementing SP in development. It concludes by reemphasising the imperative of social protection agenda as an inclusive pro-poor policy that aligns with the promise of the *Agenda 2030* of the Sustainable Development Goals [SDGs] of ‘Leaving No One Behind’.

2.2. Social protection definitions

That social protection policies have been framed as a pro-poor all-inclusive policy designed to alleviate poverty in many countries is not surprising. In the light of the 2008/2010 global economic crises and spurred by the ongoing uncertainties surrounding the global capitalist economy, the necessity for safety nets to shield and safeguard the poorest/underprivileged became compelling not only to alleviate poverty but to build resilience and enhance human capital (Tirivayi, 2017). More than any other poverty-reduction agenda, SP remains top-priority, high on the agenda of virtually all international and multi-lateral global organisations. Many organisations, notably the World Bank, the IMF, ILO, United Nations, UNICEF, UNDP, UNESCO, UNRISD, all unanimously agree on the necessity of SP in delivering positive outcomes in many areas including education, healthcare, and well-being amongst others (UNDP, 2019). As a way of understanding the subject matter, it is helpful, as a starting point, to examine the concept of social protection as well as its associated

terminologies and constructs. As a policy, SP is fairly (presumably) easy to grasp particularly when it is linked to improving citizens' welfare and wellbeing. However, it is a highly contested concept, not helped by the fact that many institutions have different definitions and paradigms for conceptualising it.

2.3. What is social protection?

The definition by Samson and Taylor (2015, p.9) was employed as a starting point in this research:

a broad range of public, and sometimes private, instruments to tackle the challenges of poverty, vulnerability, and social exclusion.

Whilst this definition summarises what SP represents; it does not sufficiently capture the totality of the concept in its broad sense. Therefore, other definitions were used, such as those proffered by UNDP (2019) and FAO (2019) and UNRISD (2010). The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD, 2010, p.135) defines social protection as:

policies and programmes concerned with preventing, managing, and overcoming situations that adversely affect people's wellbeing.

Similarly, both UNDP (2019) and FAO (2019) define SP as follows:

Social protection, as an umbrella term, connotes a set of public policies, actions, instruments enacted by a state (formal) or in some cases non-state (informal) actors within a country or a territory to help address poverty and vulnerability experienced by citizens.

Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004, p.8) however introduced the transformative dimension to SP and provided two definitions: one, conceptual, and the other operational. These two definitions have been extensively employed by numerous scholars and development practitioners operating in the international development field. The *conceptual* definition of SP comprises,

all public and private initiatives that provide income or consumption transfers to the poor, protect the vulnerable against livelihood risks and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalised; with the overall objective of reducing the economic and social vulnerability of poor, vulnerable and marginalised groups.

The *operational* definition defines SP as:

*the set of all initiatives, both formal and informal, that provide, **social assistance** in extremely poor individuals and households, **social services** to groups who need special care or would otherwise be denied access to basic services; **social insurance** to protect people against the risks and consequences of livelihood shocks; and **social equity** to protect people against social risks such as discrimination and abuse (Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2004, p.8)*

As one experienced social policy analyst Stephen Kidd, commented in Norway in October 2017 (p.3):

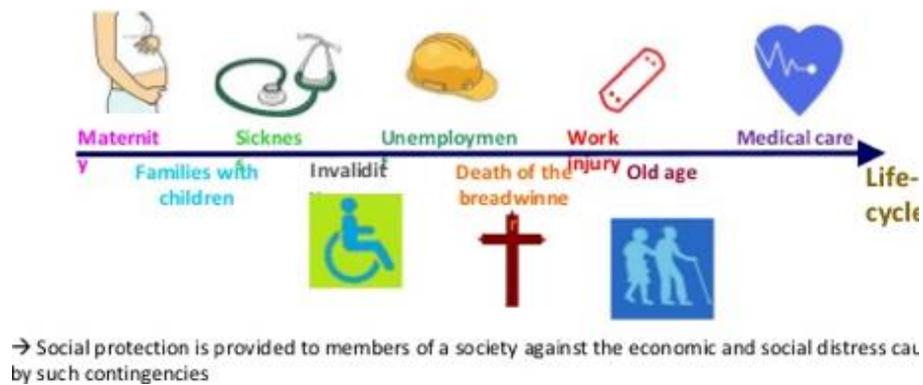
social protection currently occupies the attention of several international organisations who now appears to be devoting considerable attention to the design and implementation of social protection systems in many regions of the globe.

2.4. Forms and types of social protection interventions

Social protection (SP) can be classified by its functions, type, and instruments (Tirivayi, 2017). Ideally, SP interventions are practical in assuaging poverty, lessening vulnerability and strengthening the resilience of beneficiaries. As regular and predictable mechanisms, SP interventions can lessen credit, liquidity, savings, and insurance constraints experienced by citizens. With such constraints alleviated, beneficiaries and households are cushioned from shocks and enabled to better manage risks. People can also invest or participate in productive activities that enhances their resilience, livelihood, and adaptive capacities (Tirivayi, 2017). **Social assistance** and **social insurance** are the two major components of a SP system (UNDP, 2019; FAO, 2019). However, within these two components are

embedded other forms. SP is indispensable because people experience contingencies during their lifecycle, with unavoidable financial consequences (see Table 1 & 2 below).

Figure 1: Why Social Protection Matters - Social Protection over the Lifecycle



[Source: ILO/Cunha, 2015, p.4]

Table 1: The Lifecycle Approach - Risks and Vulnerabilities Across their Lives



[Source: Stephen Kidd/Development Pathways (2013)]

Social assistance denotes non-contributory benefits (conditional or unconditional) which are either paid in cash or in-kind to targeted individuals or households or deprived populations including deprived working-age adults, persons with disabilities, the aged, labour-constrained families, women, and children. Typically, beneficiaries are people usually living in poverty or are experiencing some considerable livelihood risks and vulnerabilities. Benefits are designed to provide relief to these individuals/families to enable them cope with their circumstances. Formal social assistance programmes are provided by the State to beneficiaries identified through a designated process of targeting or other means e.g., citizenship or from a registered list of individuals or households.

Informal social assistance is provided by non-state actors (NSAs) or civil society organisations (CSOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Other providers are private organisations who have incorporated social assistance into their corporate social responsibility (CSRs) packages or offerings. Faith-based organisations (FBOs) also provide social assistance programmes. Apart from cash transfers (unconditional, conditional, and in-kind transfers), other examples of social assistance programmes include pensions, grant/benefits, supplemental nourishments, food aid, humanitarian transfers, vouchers, school feeding programmes, cash-for-jobs, food-for-jobs, and fee-waivers. By far, CTs are the most popular and most successful forms of social assistance, being a constituent part of, and a critical element of a comprehensive SP system which, arguably, has become globally acknowledged (Bastagli et al., 2018). Millions of poor households have and continue to benefit from these programmes which have been recognised for reducing poverty rates in several states of the global south (Bastagli et al., 2019; 2016; Tirivayi, 2017; Davis et al., 2016; ILO, 2019).

Social insurance denotes contributory schemes that provide or guarantee compensation or benefit to beneficiaries during contingencies like illness, disability, loss of a parent/family/relative spouse etc, during maternity periods, during redundancy, adulthood (old age), or when experiencing shocks or crises that affects livelihoods (White, 2016). Social insurance derives from contributions pooled by people in public or private work and are therefore useful mechanisms to support people in the event of shock or crisis. Types of social insurance are unemployment, maternity and disability benefits, health insurance, retirement pensions and social security. **Social services** are also part of SP programmes and typically encompass public services such as educational support, health provisions, nutrition and agriculture support or interventions provided to vulnerable populations. **Labour market policies** as part of SP programmes encompass laws and policies created to protect workers, with the goal of stimulating demand for labour whilst actively encouraging employment amongst the population. Types of programmes include minimum wage guarantee, employment subsidy, wage subsidy, occupational safety standards, job training vouchers, job placement matching and job placement assistance. **Subsidies** have been incorporated into SP programmes because of their supply-side utilitarian function of encouraging consumption and production. Essentially, subsidies ensure that prices are

controlled and that goods are affordable. Subsidies have been used in many developing contexts to stabilise food production and enhance food security and they include agricultural input subsidies (fertilisers, seedlings), energy subsidies (fuel, gas, kerosene, electric), housing subsidies and food subsidies (staple foods).

Health care is included in some countries. SP instruments can be organised into four different classifications of function namely preventive, protective, promotive, and transformative which is also known as the *3P plus T* framework (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004; 2008). Table 1 depicts the different functions showing the examples of the different instruments. As shown in the table, SP interventions could be implemented as part of robust national economy strategy prior to household experiencing shocks or crises (that is as preventive, promotive, and transformative programmes) or after (protective, promotive). Some instruments can have manifold functions based on when they are provided to beneficiaries. Put together, all the instruments are designed to enhance productive capacities, resilience, and adaptive capabilities of populations. However, having all the above mechanisms does not guarantee that a SP system will be successful. This is because these mechanisms are affected by a multiplicity of factors which can influence their optimal functionality. Factors including programme design (for example what type of intervention is introduced and what are its features such as targeting, benefit levels, coverage, delivery channels, and regularity or frequency of payments); climactic variability which can affect supply-side provisions or availability of services; economic factors such pricing, markets' stability and infrastructural issues come into play. Social contexts can also affect the effectiveness of SP programmes when issues like exclusion and cultural norms are considered. This is apart from the demographic characteristics of target groups which may impede selection and registration of beneficiaries (Tirivayi, Knowles and Davis, 2013).

2.5. Social protection systems

Every SP programme operates within a social protection system which is understood as an integrated country-wide portfolio of programmes and interventions that are expected to achieve at least four basic functions for individuals and households which are: 1) promotion of sustainable livelihood improvements; 2) avoidance of deprivation by enhancing

resilience to shocks; 3) protection of a guaranteed minimum standard of living; 4) achieving societal transformation that brings about enhanced equity, minimal exclusion, attainment of civic

Table 2: Social Protection Instruments and their functions

Category	Function	Types of instruments
<i>Preventive</i>	Safeguard against livelihood risks namely deprivation and shocks (<i>risk mitigation</i>)	Social insurance security (pensions, health insurance, maternity, disability, unemployment benefits.) Cash transfers - conditional and unconditional (CCTs and UCTs) User fee waivers (applied in healthcare, and education) Minimum wage
<i>Protective</i>	Promoting relief and recovery from shocks (<i>risk coping</i>)	CTs (UCTs and CCTs) Public works programmes Social pensions (non-contributory) Feeding programmes (school feeding programmes) Humanitarian relief interventions (shock-responsive programmes in disaster management)
<i>Promotive</i>	Enhancing income-earning and productive capacities of citizens (<i>risk reduction and diversification</i>)	CCTs and UCTs, Asset transfers, inputs/agricultural User fee-waivers School feeding programmes Skills training Public works Wage subventions
<i>Transformative</i>	Addressing power/gender imbalances underpinning inequalities and social rights/exclusion (<i>empowerment and protection</i>)	Employees' rights laws Anti-discriminatory laws Inheritance and succession laws/Land rights/laws

[Source: Adapted from Tirivayi (2017), World Bank (2012), Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004; 2008)].

rights to social protection and human capital accomplishments (White, 2016; Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2004). Having a SP system (SPS) guarantees the sustainability of the policy and legislative framework for streamlining SP within national contexts and for ensuring that structures and the institutions such as the national budget framework etc, all

function together within particular SP programmes and their equivalent operational mechanisms (UNDP, 2019; FAO, 2019). ‘Codification’ connotes the notion that SP instruments can be amalgamated into a comprehensive structure of programmes and policies that address poverty and vulnerability over the lifecycle; which also bolster all-encompassing economic growth and social development. Codification entrenches SP within a broader developmental framework, facilitating auxiliary socio-economic sectors to fortify SP outcomes which further advance growth-related impacts (European Commission, 2015).

2.6. Theoretical frameworks: social risk management, transformative social protection, and adaptive social protection

Given that SP is one of the most evaluated and studied concepts in social policy, there abounds a multiplicity of conceptual frameworks (Jones & Holmes, 2013; Sarwar, 2018). Increasingly, SP schemes are routinely employed to alleviate vulnerabilities occurring across the human lifecycle. Thus, they uphold dignity, promote human rights, and significantly complement inclusive economic growth and citizen-friendly policies through human capital enhancement and empowerment of deprived people to intensify their participation in productive undertakings (Sarwar, 2018; ILO, 2019).

The World Bank’s social risk management framework (SRMF) is an analytical tool to categorise alternative policies and measures for addressing livelihood risks. SRMF, for a while, was the dominant framework for conceptualising SP (Holzmann & Jorgensen, 1999; Holzman, Sherburne-Benz, & Tesliuc, 2003; Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2004). SRMF according to Holzmann and Jorgensen (1999; 2000, p.4) essentially frames SP as **social safety nets** which it defines as consisting

of a collection of public measures intended to assist individuals, households, and communities in managing risks in order to reduce vulnerability, improve consumptions smoothing, and enhance equity while contributing to economic development in a participatory manner.

However, the framework was criticised for lacking an expansive conceptualisation of vulnerability, and for failing to provide an explicit explanation to address the concerns of the chronic (core) poor. SRMF had a limited role for government and limited market-based

SP provided by public providers (states, donors, or NGOs) (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004). SRMF focussed mostly on economic risks to assets and incomes and failed to account for social risks (World Bank, 2000). Thus, issues like social inclusion, social cohesion and social stability were treated as 'positive externalities of well-designed SRMF interventions' (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004, p.6). To address the shortcomings, Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) formulated the transformative social protection (TSP) framework which categorised all SP interventions into four measures namely, protective, preventive, promotive and transformative mentioned earlier. Protective measures provide succour from poverty and are narrowly targeted schemes that include social protection for the recurrently poor. Also included are social welfare programmes, means-tested programmes and benefits, non-contributory social pensions. Social services also come under this. Preventive measures aim to prevent poverty and respond directly with poverty relief. Social insurance or formalised systems of pensions fall under this category. Preventive measures may also encompass informal mechanisms. Promotive measures seek to boost real incomes and capabilities and includes microfinance, school feeding programmes and employment guarantees schemes etc. Transformative measures overall aim to tackle issues of social equity and exclusion, including cooperative action for employees' rights. It also encompasses human rights for marginalised groups (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004). Transformative interventions comprise modifications to the regulatory framework to safeguard 'socially vulnerable groups', including persons with disabilities, or domestic violence victims. TSP has also been deployed in social campaigns to protect victims against discrimination, abuse (especially for HIV/AIDS sufferers) (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004).

However, TSP was criticised for lacking focus on climate change adaptation, and not sufficiently encompassing humanitarian and disaster risk reduction in the face of covariate shocks (Bastagli, 2014; 2015; Davies et al., 2013). Consequently, adaptive social protection (ASP) was conceptualised. ASP is the framework employed to analyse the intersection of SP with risks and vulnerabilities of individuals to climate change effects and disasters (Bene et al., 2018; 2014; 2013; Drolet, 2014). ASP operates on the understanding of the interwoven reality of the shocks and tensions experienced by vulnerable and poor people. It aims to benefit from the potential synergies arising from the combination of SP,

humanitarian disaster reduction and climate change adaption (Bene et al, 2014;2013). Climate change and disasters affects livelihoods and socio-economic development in many ways. ASP instruments are deployed to augment individual, household, and community resilience. They also lessen destitution, foster human development and are deliverable on a large-scale in humanitarian crises in aid of disaster and crises' management (Drolet, 2014).

2.7. Why social protection matters

Social protection is usually provided for vulnerable people such as poor children, including orphans, women, the elderly, and persons living with disabilities. Others are migrants or displaced populations, the unemployed, and the sick (Carter, Roelen, Enfield & Avis, 2019). Poor, vulnerable, and marginalised people across the globe are confronted with risks and vulnerabilities. To help these people cope with these risks, governments often implement social security or SP programmes to support individuals, families, and poor households during perilous moments. These interventions assist people to cope better with risks and shocks. There are different types of risks: some risks are idiosyncratic, affecting individuals or households; others are connected with lifecycle phases. Others are covariate risks which are mostly associated with the climate or environment, or caused by crises, conflicts, disasters, or shocks. Covariate risks are often large-scale in nature and can destabilise communities, regions, or nations (Tirivayi, 2017).

In terms of contributions, SP interventions can affect a country's economy positively. Apart from their effects on beneficiaries, they can also produce positive spillover effects (externalities) on non-beneficiaries. According to Baranowska-Rataj and Hogberg (2018, p.3), spillover effects in social policies refers to unintended consequences for individuals who are not the targets of a government policy: 'a social policy externality, or spillover concerns a situation when a policy affects people who do not directly or currently utilise a policy or those who are not the direct beneficiaries of a government policy'. When the positive changes in the behaviour of beneficiaries diffuse to non-beneficiaries there is usually a corresponding change in the economy. Also, these changes can spur or raise hopes amongst non-beneficiaries of subsequent participation in SP schemes (Tirivayi, 2017; Alix-

Garcia & Wolff, 2014). The implication of the spillover effects can also enhance the perception of citizens about the intentions of government which can lead to enhanced trust in government and its institutions. However, the exclusion of non-beneficiaries may produce unequal power configurations and foster rent-seeking behaviour (Tirivayi, 2017; Rodriguez et al., 2011). On the other hand, negative externalities could arise when the targeting of SP schemes is deemed as unfair by non-beneficiaries who may respond to exclusion by attempting to sabotage the implementation (Alix-Garcia & Wolff, 2014; Tirivayi, 2017). Essentially, directly, or indirectly SP interventions bring about a substantial injection of cash to the local economy, which in turn triggers multiplier effects (Tirivayi, 2017; Bastagli et al., 2019).

2.8. Social protection ascendancy

Over the previous twenty years, SP rose high in international development discourses. Its ascendancy can be attributed to three factors all of which combined to accelerate its adoption by many countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Firstly, SP became the anti-poverty policy of choice because of its potentials for addressing multidimensional poverty, inequalities, and vulnerabilities in many countries. Secondly, SP was promoted by an influential corps of international development agencies, institutions, and actors, who were instrumental, and continue to be influential, for pushing the adoption and implementation of SPS in several countries around the globe (Beegle, Coudouel & Monslave, 2018). No other programme appears to have attracted a steadily growing literature or has been accompanied by a significant volume of evaluative studies which SP has garnered since gaining international recognition (UNDP, 2019; FAO, 2018e; World Bank, 2018; Barrientos, 2018; ILO 2017; Bastagli et al., 2016; Bastagli et al., 2019; Davies et al., 2016; Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux, 2007; Hanlon et al., 2013; Barrientos, 2013).

The corpus of research and non-academic studies on SP resulted in a staggering volume of evidence on the impacts of the different programmes and policies in developing countries (Bastagli et al., 2019). Thirdly, the global financial crises of 2008-2010 spurred new concerns and debates in the international community on the need for global development priorities post-2015. Social protection thus became a necessary tool to tackle rising levels of risks and

vulnerabilities as well as promote social inclusion and social justice. Consequently, many governments employed SP as an anti-poverty policy to generate social development outcomes and multiplier effects in local economies (ICRC, 2008). Additionally, SP programmes were touted as cost-efficient and amenable to the most pressing needs of the beneficiaries (for example in humanitarian or emergency situations), whilst also maintaining their dignity (ICRC 2008; Sarwar, 2018). However, despite all of the above, SP has been criticised for being a mechanism of social control (Harris & Scully, 2015; Devereux & Sabates-Wheler, 2004) which also have the unfortunate effects of stigmatising beneficiaries, creating social tensions, exacerbating vulnerabilities, and bolstering conventional power hierarchies and configurations of social exclusion (Harris & Scully, 2015; Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2004).

2.9. Diffusion of social protection in development

SP programmes remain the flagship anti-poverty programmes in several states, particularly in the Global South. Its global expansion, according to International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2017), the World Bank (2018) and UNICEF (2018), now incorporates over a billion citizens in low-and middle-income countries (LMICs) who enjoy coverage by one form of SP or another (See Table 1 & 2). The expansion of SP in many developing countries signifies that national governments recognise the necessity of SP programmes as a social policy tool to deliver social assistance, security and welfare support that helps counterbalance the vulnerabilities and tensions poorest citizens customarily encounter on the side-lines of the economy (Molyneux, 2016; World Bank, 2018, ILO, 2019).

According to UNDP (2019), Devereux (2019) and Barrientos (2018) the growth and expansion of SP in Africa has been driven mainly by three forces. This process has been buoyed by the global momentum to deliver on the SP agenda as one of the core pillars of SDGs and ILO Recommendation 202 (ILO, 2012), that provides guidance on the national implementation of Social Protection Floors (SPFs) for many countries. The first is the increasing evidence base that SP programmes have been able to demonstrate particularly with regards to the measurable benefits for beneficiaries as well as the fact that it has been able to contribute to meeting national development objectives and global targets for

poverty reduction (UNDP, 2019, p. 19). The second is the potent influence of international development institutions and their partners, which as indicated earlier, invested massively in impact evaluation studies to build evidence base and to convince national governments on the benefits of adopting and implementing SP programmes. These combined efforts contributed to the explosion in the number of professional strategic assistance being offered to developing countries, which ranges from technical assistance to financial or monetary aid parlayed into pilot projects/programmes further convincing national governments of the salience of SP. The most significant of all the forces driving the diffusion of SP, however, is the role of politicians, bureaucrats, non-civil society organisations and citizens, in acknowledging the transformative function of social assistance/SP in the economic development of societies and also in the lives of the beneficiaries (Devereux, 2019; UNDP, 2019).

2.10. Explaining the patterns of diffusion of social protection

According to UNDP (2019), there are three discernible patterns explaining the diffusion of SP programmes in Africa. These patterns are expansion, legalisation; and entrenchment and are briefly discussed in the next section (Figure 1).

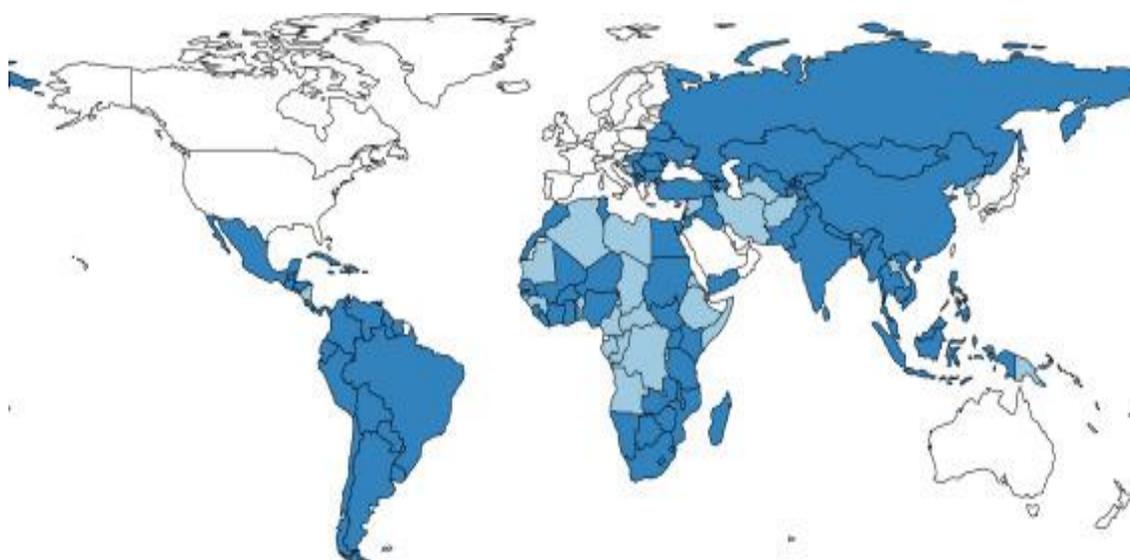
2.10.1. Expansion

Expansion refers to the substitution/replacement of targeted, residual programmes with universal programmes or the replacement of specific programmes like subsidies or in-kind benefits to CTs (UNDP, 2019; Devereux, 2019). However, the process varies across and within countries and incorporates several phases. The first part entails new SP programmes, or enlargement of current programmes. Similarly, pilot projects are nationally upscaled through injection of additional resources. However, expansion is embodied by the adoption of national policies or national strategies on SP which connotes national governments' increased commitments of resources to SP funding. Countries typically modify national laws to legalise the increased investment in SP which also invariably create and enable the processes, structures, and appropriate institutions to support SP expansion which also safeguards the architecture undergirding the implementation of expanded SP programmes (UNDP, 2019).

2.10.2. Legalisation

As indicated above, SP expansion demands, in most cases, constitutional amendment. Given that the State is the provider of SP, the responsibility of ensuring that citizens are protected from vulnerability, livelihood risks and poverty, implies the necessary process of legalisation of SP. Constitutional provisions and references to SP in the national constitutions of many African countries often employ various terminologies (UNDP, 2019). Terminologies used interchangeably are - social protection, social assistance, social welfare, and social security.

Table 3: Global Cash Transfer Programmes in 2015. Dark blue colour represents countries with at least one CT programme (Total number of countries =100 or 70% of all developing countries)



[Source: Dodlova et al, 2017; 2018]

Likewise, African countries have the choice between a 'rights-based' SP and 'a residualist-minimalist' paradigm with some countries adopting an unequivocal rights-based SP framework while others, like Nigeria, are implementing a progressive residualist framework that incorporates social investment and means-testing. Countries are also incorporating social accountability mechanisms into their SP legislations serving as inspirations to civil society groups and energised citizens to enforce and claim their rights to social assistance. Most countries' legislations on SP are underpinned by social accountability philosophies and values (UNDP, 2019).

2.10.3. Institutionalisation

The third stage is institutionalisation. This process can play out differently. However, countries with a national SP strategy (NSPRs), often progress to streamlining SP programmes by normalising and operationalising its execution and administration across all levels for citizens. This implies the establishment of relevant ministries, government departments or agencies mandated to deliver SP programmes. Across Africa, national SPSs are being upgraded and the result is the improved efficiency of national registries and identification platforms, payment mechanisms, beneficiaries' selection (targeting), and introduction of new structures and systems to improve registration of beneficiaries and for simplifying payments. Additionally, countries upgraded their management information systems (MIS) as the architectural platform for ensuring the smooth operations of SP programmes. Lastly, African countries are progressively investing in human capital underscoring the idea that institutionalisation must be anchored on people not just on systems, structures, or mechanisms. Consequently, across the continent professional social workers, administrators, and information technologists etc., are being recruited to support the delivery of SP services to beneficiaries. Also, training programmes are provided for administrators and implementers of SP (UNDP, 2019; Devereux, 2019).

However, despite these advances across Africa, progress in SP expansion is uneven throughout the continent (UNDP, 2019). Whilst national ownership of SP programmes and domestic financing plus minimal external support has grown exponentially, yet coverage is still woefully low throughout Africa (UNDP, 2019; Devereux, 2019; 2018; Barrientos, 2018). Yet, the low coverage, and sporadic progress has not slowed down the expansion momentum as countries continue to expand and entrench SP policies. The UNDP (2019) and Leisering (2019) traced the trajectory of SP programmes in Africa and affirmed that SP is more than a century, with South Africa leading the way followed by Namibia. Other countries, during the colonial period adopted SP. However, many countries, after gaining independence, discontinued the programmes.

Discontinued or rebranded programmes have been introduced with bigger coverage, newer monikers, and bigger budgets. UNDP (2019) disaggregated programmes by regions and noted that whilst new programmes have proliferated in all five regions of Africa since

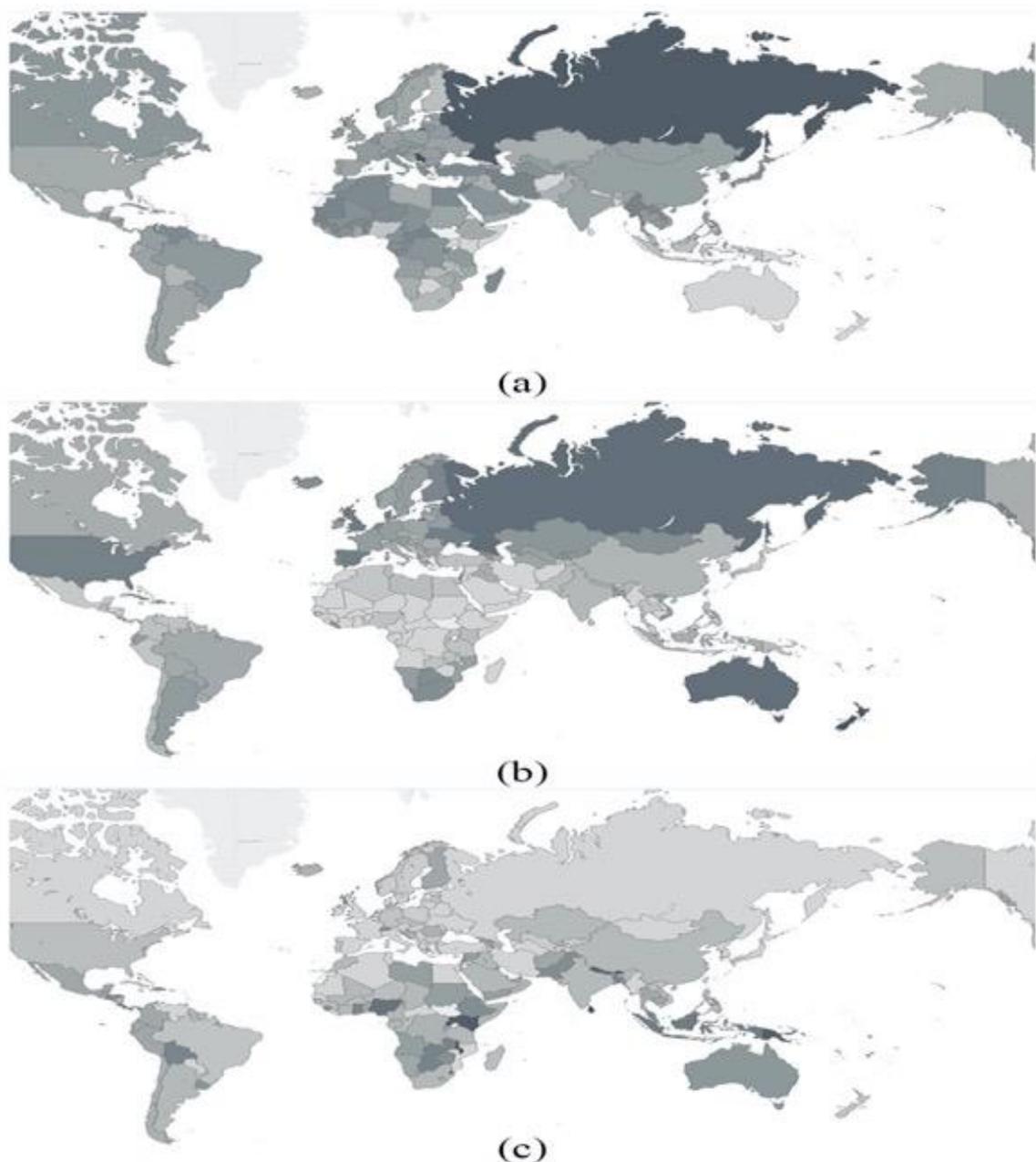
2000, Southern African region have 12 newer programmes since 2000 even though the region has had the greatest number of programmes in total. Eastern Africa had 19 new programmes whilst West Africa lead with 28 new programmes since 2000 (UNDP, 2019, p. 21). However, UNDP also noted that numerous programmes were yet to be deeply embedded in national policies; having a long way to go before being entrenched into social contract between governments and citizens. Essentially, most programmes are externally funded and, in some cases, managed by international agencies and their partners. In many instances, programmes are pilot projects having limited coverage, fewer beneficiaries, have no domestic funding and are not nationally owned thus constituting formidable implementation challenges during expansion to full scale, national programmes. Few programmes transitioned from pilot to full scale national projects but were later were enlarged with a social contract philosophy. Studies have shown that SP systems can be sustained within a polity when there are stable, capable institutions backed by strong political legitimacy and predictability (UNDP, 2019, Devereux, 2019; Barrientos, 2018; Kidd et al., 2019).

2.11. Institutionalising social protection

SP programmes are difficult to dislodge once they are locally funded and have become rooted within a broader social contract framework. Citizens frequently assume ownership of programmes, protesting massively if programmes are discontinued or halted (UNDP, 2019; Barrientos, 2018; FAO, 2019). Whereas food and forms of in-kind benefits saturate the African landscape, CTs, however, remain the ubiquitous SP instrument throughout the continent. The UNDP (2019) noted that Central African states had more public works programmes than other regions on the continent. Also, food-for-work, and public works projects which guarantee temporary jobs for needy citizens and labour-constrained, underemployed informal sector workers are prevalent in Africa. Ethiopia's *Productive Safety Net Programme* (PSNP) and Rwanda's *Vision 2020 Umurenge* Programmes combined public works component designated as 'livelihood promotion' with regular cash transfers (UNDP, 2019; FAO, 2019).

Institutionalisation necessitates the fortification of national architecture and institutions paving the way for the lessening of vulnerability and poverty, including the promotion of social inclusion within a polity (FAO, 2019; ILO, 2019). Strong institutions exert considerable influence that guarantees the sustainability of SP systems. However, in Southern and Eastern Africa, unconditional cash transfers (UCTs) predominate accounting - 45 UCTs against just 4 CCTs (UNDP, 2019). This contrast with 16 CCTs initiated in West African countries against 6 UCTs (UNDP, 2019; FAO, 2019).

Table 4: Global Patterns of CCTs and Social Protection Expenditure showing (a) Social contributions, (b) taxes and (c) private and occupational payments. Source: ILO (2017-2019). Colour ranges from darkest (1) to lightest (0) for each indicator



[Source: Schmitt, C., Lierse, H., & Obinger, H. (2020)].

2.12. Challenges of implementing social protection in developing countries

Despite the diffusion and spread of SP, especially in the last 15 years in Africa, challenges and problems remain.

2.12.1. Coverage of beneficiaries

Coverage is problematic; many citizens deserving SP are excluded. Besides, those selected by the state through targeting represent only a tiny fraction of the entire population. Hence, despite the introduction and expansion of many programmes across all regions in Africa, the total number of beneficiaries covered or enrolled in SP programmes is still abysmally low. Both UNDP (2019) and the World Bank (2018b; 2019; 2020) suggest that coverage is hampered by several factors including inadequate infrastructure and resources to provide supply-side facilities that will enable countries to streamline the delivery of SP. The absence of motorable roads, and access to remote areas affect programme coverage in many countries. Additionally, enrolment in SP programmes is low because many potential participants are hard to reach. Poor road network and the lack of basic infrastructure in many remote rural locations also means that even when the financial resources are available or when the government is poised to rollout the programmes, existential problems created by lack of infrastructural facilities hamper registration and smooth operations of CT programmes. Besides, in many countries the absence of complementary facilities and resources required to implement affordable SP systems are capital-intensive and therefore beyond what most countries can afford.

2.12.2. Resource constraints

There is a lack of experienced and trained manpower to operate critical services like IT or MIS needed to enrol programme participants. In addition, the low-level literacy in many countries means that even when new programmes are launched or rolled out, potential beneficiaries may not be aware or informed about them and how they may benefit (Gentilini et al., 2019; Barca et al., 2013; 2019; Barca & Beazley, 2019; Barca, 2017). Even in cases where public awareness and activities are undertaken, beneficiaries lack the cognitive abilities in certain areas to fully understand how the programme might benefit them. In extreme cases, potential beneficiaries and citizens often view the launching of

new programmes with suspicion and outright distrust because they do not have faith in leaders or political elites based on past/previous experiences. Although, many countries have resorted to partnering with telecommunication companies and mobile telephony services providers in delivering CCTs through their platforms, this solution is also bedevilled by problems. The fact that most rural areas lack connectivity to the national grid and can be at the receiving end of epileptic services when it comes to ICT and mobile telephony means that money transferred to recipients can sometimes take a long time before it is received or might even be lost. Despite this however, many private telecommunications operators are working in conjunction with governments to train beneficiaries and users on how to use their telephones as payment platforms although progress in some cases have been slow. However, as pointed out in some studies, mobile payments and increasing digitalisation of CCTs' operations has been one of the unintended consequences of the diffusion of CTs in developing countries. Virtually all the CCTs and UCTs programmes in operations have a digital payment platform for enrolling, monitoring, registering, and making payments to beneficiaries (Barca et al., 2019; FAO et al., 2019; UNDP, 2019).

2.12.3. Fiscal space and funding of social protection

Another critical issue is funding. Up till 2018, a considerable number of programmes are still donor-financed and also managed by international agencies or donor partners (Deveruex 2019). The usual mantra bandied by many public officials and politicians in Africa for the under-investment in SP is financing and fiscal allocations. Although the trend is changing as many countries are now committing substantial portions of their national budgets to SP, (in exceptional cases, fiscal provision is ring-fenced), yet a lot of progress still needs to be made. The paradox is that the countries that should be spending the most on social protection, resource-rich nations like Nigeria, Angola, and Gabon, are those not spending enough on SP (Deveruex, 2019; Shadare, 2019). In their analysis of social assistance budgets and fiscal spending on SP, UNDP and World Bank demonstrated that, on the average, below 2% of national GDP is committed to social policies by African countries. Although fiscal spending varies across and within countries, the data demonstrated that countries with larger income generally spend less on SP (Gentilini et al., 2019; 2018; World Bank, 2019; UNDP, 2019).

2.12.4. Social protection requires political commitment

The progress of SP in any context depends on the willingness and commitment by the elites to its adoption. The decision to legislate and enshrine SP in the national constitution is not politically neutral; but a major political act that requires commitment from the political elites. Thus, for many international agencies, donors and their partners, the starting point for SP is to 'sell' the benefits of programmes to the political elites and stakeholders to secure the critical 'buy-in'. Once on board, elites become advocates and guardians, ensuring the sustainability of SP. By continually affirming support, elites also ensure that appropriate national legislations, legal/legislative framework for SP are passed by the parliament. Political commitment by the elites is therefore crucial as this translates to guaranteed funding and SP's long-term sustainability.

Additionally, the issue of electoral advantage afforded by SP can be exploited to moderate the voting behaviour of beneficiaries since it can provide impetus for elites to implement it. SP literature is replete with studies demonstrating electoral effects of CCTs which reinforces its attraction to the political elites, premised on the belief that it could be a veritable tool for winning elections. However, this can produce adverse political incentives that can thwart efforts to pursue effective pro-poor inclusive social policies especially when the motivations of the elites are driven by corruption and vote-buying (Beegle & Christiaensen, 2019). Nevertheless, governments in developing countries are continually having to confront hard choices and trade-offs about the design/type of programme, affordability, and sustainability of SP interventions. However, the issue of who should be helped, and how and to what extent depend on specific contexts, which implies that a fine balance must be maintained between fiscal provision and rationing for a limited number of beneficiaries. As Howlett and Saguin (2019, p.5) pinpointed, 'the idea of social development remains the same but other elements (are) by-products of local contestations' (see also Deacon, 2014; Kaasch, 2013; 2015).

2.12.5. The influence of sociocultural factors

Despite its transnational nature, SP implementation mechanisms varies in different political contexts. Heterogeneity comes into play during programmes' delivery to beneficiaries

(Howlett and Saguin, 2019). As observed by Sugiyama (2011), the diffusion of CCTs in Latin America between 1997 and 2010 charted a distinctive trajectory aligning with the historical and cultural experiences of these countries (e.g., programmes were either grounded in Iberian or Anglo-Caribbean colonial experiences). Similarly, in Africa, distinctive patterns bearing resemblances to the sociocultural contexts within each country occurs. Thus, contexts play critical role during programme implementation. Context refers to a set of circumstances or characteristics in which an event, situation, or a programme takes place. Differences or changes in a context can either foster or impede the flow of deliverables of SP programme (Habicht & Pelto, 2019). The effect of sociocultural contexts on the implementation of CCT programme can produce bottlenecks that can hamper programme effectiveness (Theodore et al., 2019). In a study of Mexican *Prospera* CCT programme, the authors found sociocultural factors such as patriarchal family organisation, social norms, and traditional beliefs, played significant parts in acceptance, utilisation, and impact of the social assistance programmes (Theodore et al., 2019; Habicht & Pelto, 2019). Effective SP strategy development premised on an understanding of the social (health) behaviours and the context they occur is critical for programme effectiveness (Habicht & Pelto, 2019). Given that heterogeneity of SP programmes is informed by the cultural norms and beliefs prevailing in each country, policymakers have the challenge, therefore, of incorporating the knowledge of sociocultural context into programme design to strengthen and ensure appropriateness with the diversity of cultural and social contexts in which SP are implemented.

The implementation of SP programmes within any context should reflect specific nuances for example where incomes are difficult to measure or in contexts where social norms or moral economies of social production are complex, and embedded with social constructions of solidarity, commonality, and mutuality (Habicht & Pelto, 2019). In the global south, there is always the temptation to analyse state-provided social services from the narrow lens of advanced Western economies. Often, development practitioners and transnational actors involved in policy transfer overlook contextual aspects such as cultural values and traditions (which are an extension of a country's unique markers/identity) when introducing new programmes. Consequently, programmes that are wholly exported without regard to contextual peculiarities have a higher risk of failure. Castles (1985, 1989)

coined the term ‘social policy by other means’, to underscore the salience of historical and sociocultural factors driving ‘unconventional social policies’ (Seelkopf & Starke, 2019, p.220) in non-Western economies reinforcing the point that social policies must be grounded in historical and contemporary situations that defines every particular polity or country (Ugyel & Daugbjerg, 2020).

2.12.6. The role of domestic actors

In the implementation of SP, especially at ‘pilot stages’, domestic actors are often engaged by national governments and development agencies to advice on programme’s effectiveness at both national and sub-national levels. Indeed, much of the successes of SP in Africa can be attributed to the roles played by domestic policy entrepreneurs, who as policy agents, underpin national governments’ efforts in designing and implementing SP programmes. Domestic actors, along with international actors and partners, constitute what is known as the ‘*epistemic communities*’: a collective whose experiences and expertise were instrumental in the early phases of numerous pilot projects, and in determining specific contours and shapes of CT programmes in Africa (Hickey & Seekings, 2020). Hickey and Seekings (2020, p.9) attribute their influential roles to the ‘globalising nature of social policy making’. However, policy transfer, as highlighted by Peck (2011, p.168), is a ‘multi-site, multi-actor process and policy models that do not conform to a linear trajectory or travel forward from a singular place of invention’. Increasingly too, many domestic actors disagree, not harmoniously united in purpose and motivation. They operate in silos, driven by a different set of philosophies. Consequently, many do not tread the same direction with programme administrators when delivering service objectives (Ugyel & Daugbjerg, 2020). Known for displaying diverse motivations, domestic actors also sometimes reach beyond their remit leading to profound disagreements with administrators and civil servants on the best way SP schemes should be coordinated or how a policy process is driven. Since SP policies are moderated by the interactions between domestic actors, transnational networks and international organisations, any dissension between domestic actors and government officials can be problematic for ensuing policy instruments/policy strategies, which if not properly coordinated, can impede programme effectiveness. Likewise, incongruence in policy models localised to the political and social

realities of a country can produce disagreements between domestic actors and administrators (Ugyel & Daugbjerg, 2020).

2.12.7. The role of international organisations

CCTs are promoted as policy ideas by international organisations which has accelerated their adoption in Africa and elevated the status of SP to a global social policy agenda (Devereux, 2019). However, these actors may promote their own vision of SP whilst criticising competing visions. As pointed out by Hickey and Seekings (2020, p.13) citing Deacon, (2007):

policy transfer flows through relations of power, not only between global actors and national governments, but also between global actors themselves. International policy spaces have thus become 'terrains of contestation' within which advocates play out 'wars of position' over ideas and policies (Deacon, 2007), These ideas and discursive struggles took place across three distinct levels: 'paradigmatic' ideas at the level of worldviews; 'problem-framing' ideas, which serve to identify and define the 'problems', and specific 'policy solutions' (Schmidt, 2008; see also Hall, 1993).

On these three levels, transnational organisations differ. Consequently, since 2007, the global social policy landscape has been contested by three main ideological camps namely: the global neoliberal policies (driven and influenced by the United States of America); the global social democratic policies that are European-influenced and, the global-south debates about challenging the hegemony of the Northern imposed agenda (Deacon, 2007). Fundamental disagreements about the role of the State, and ideological contestations drives the forms of SP implemented. ILO embraced CTs but favoured universal programmes and a rights-based approach over targeted and residual programmes which the World Bank preferred. Nevertheless, transnational organisations are actively promoting own models, worldview, and definitions of SP. Consequently, different countries have different SP models and where they have attempted a mixture of these models it has resulted in disappointing outcomes and results (Hickey and Seekings, 2020).

2.13. Conclusion

SP is a critical policy tool for the accomplishment of precarious development objectives to address heightened vulnerabilities, persisting inequalities, climate change, forced migration, protracted and sudden shocks in many countries. It has proven capable of tackling poverty and enhancing the resilience of households and communities (UNDP, 2019; Oxfam 2019). Yet, as demonstrated in this chapter, the implementation of SP programmes in many countries remains slow although scope for expansion exists in many African countries (Beegle, Coudouel & Monslave, 2018). The lack of sustainable SP in the developing world has been acknowledged as a global problem (Beegle et al., 2018; ILO, 2019; Ehmke, 2019). This is not to say that there is an absolute lack of SP (virtually every country has some form of SP in place); rather the concern is about the regressive nature of existing programmes (Barrientos, 2011a; 2018). According to Beegle, Coudouel & Monslave (2018) every African country has at least one form of SP programme and African nations spend on average 1.2 percent of their gross domestic product (GDP) on SP schemes (Figure 2), yet many existing programmes tend to favour a privileged few, or are clientelistic, reinforcing patron-client relationships instead of guaranteeing liberties for vulnerable citizens (Ehmke, 2019; Holmes & Jones, 2009). In response to this problem, the SDGs affirmed the necessity for nation states to *'implement social protection systems and measures for all and achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable'* (United Nations, 2015).

This chapter discussed the global diffusion of SP programmes and CCTs including various types and forms of programmes and the roles played by actors and institutions. By offering a taxonomy of programmes, definitions and meanings, the chapter also highlighted challenges involved in designing and implementing SP in development. It concludes by reemphasising the imperative of a social protection agenda as an inclusive pro-poor policy that aligns with the promise of the *Agenda 2030* of the Sustainable Development Goals [SDGs] of 'Leaving No One Behind'. The next chapter critically discuss welfare regime theory and its applicability in a development context.

CHAPTER THREE

WELFARE REGIME THEORY IN A DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT

3.1. Introduction

This chapter considers the implications of the welfare regime framework and how it fits with the Nigerian social policy context. The first section of this chapter contextualises the welfare regime framework to the Nigerian situation. The second part of the chapter analyses the political economy of social policy in the Nigerian 'developmental welfare regime', focusing on the different pathways through which social policy evolved. This analysis is situated within the geopolitical complexities that constrain normative social welfare development in Nigeria.

3.2. Welfare regime framework in a development context

As a useful starting point, and because the discussion of welfare regimes in developing countries is often associated with the seminal work of Esping-Andersen (1990), it is important to briefly define the term 'welfare regime' (Sumarto, 2017). According to Gough (2004, p. 27) the term refers to 'the entire set of institutional arrangements, policies and practices affecting welfare outcomes and stratification effects in diverse social and cultural contexts'. In the face of globalisation, climate change-induced disasters coupled with the current prevailing uncertainties in many countries occasioned by threats of future economic crises, social policies designed to provide the mechanisms through which resources are (re)distributed among different classes of people in a country so that the basic needs of the citizens are met, regained their prominence in development discourse. But because of the imperfect nature of the market, the state often needs to intervene to regulate distribution so that the needs of the people are protected especially during periods of uncertainty (Jalil & Oakkas, 2019). Thus, the state is a guarantor of human wellbeing although opinions differs as to the optimum level of state intervention. The concept of the 'welfare state' emerged to aid understanding of the state's responsibility for safeguarding citizens' basic needs and protection from risks and vulnerabilities experienced during periods of economic crises throughout the life course (Jill & Oakkas, 2019; Kidd 2013; 2017; GOV.UK/Public Health England, 2020).

3.3. Welfare regime analysis and the Nigerian social policy context

A welfare state denotes a government that undertakes a set of social and economic policies and subsequent provision of resources which ensures the welfare of a country's citizens. The welfare state however is a contested concept in contemporary social policy (Elkemo et al., 2008; Bambra, 2011). Welfare state entrenches the triple nexus of state, market, and family with regards to constructing welfare provisions. Under a welfare state, the government assumes a critical role in ensuring the wellbeing of the population (Gough et al., 2004; Wood, 2004; Wood & Gough, 2006). Welfare regime embodies the assemblage of institutions – the state, the household, and markets – that regulates social and economic welfare along several dimensions (Barrientos, 2010; Adesina, 2007). Generally, the welfare state is a type of capitalist state or society that evolved in Western European advanced market during the early post-World War Two period (Esping-Andersen, 1990). The welfare state according to Bambra (2011, p.26), is 'more than a set of transfers and services', consisting of systems and practices that shapes society, impact stratification and therefore, theoretically is an essential macro-level political and economic determinant of wellbeing. Commonly, the family was regarded as the locus of welfare although industrialisation, urbanisation and globalisation weakened the significance of the role of families in many countries. As a result, the state became responsible for guaranteeing welfare provisions. Nevertheless, debates persist about the role of the state, market and family in welfare which also explains why there are diversities and variations in the state's welfare provisions for citizens across all contexts.

However, it is necessary to emphasise that although Esping-Andersen's typology was based mainly on European countries, it still has relevance in constructing a welfare regime for other contexts. Although scholars like Castles and Mitchell (1993); Gough et. al., (2004) Wood and Gough (2006); Gough (2013); Bonoli (1997); Davis (2001), Powell and Barrientos (2011) amongst others developed their own typologies, these have not supplanted the preeminent position Esping-Andersen's work occupies in the social policy literature. As the first breakthrough work to delineate welfare state typologies, it became the flagship in welfare state scholarship⁵. Esping-Andersen (1990) constructed clusters of three classical welfare states namely: the liberal (represented by the Anglo-Saxon poverty relief states of US, UK, Canada etc. where means-testing social assistance predominates and in which the

market is fully incorporated as co-providers of benefits); the corporatist-conservative (represented by the German-French-Italian Christian democratic state traditions in which the Church also shapes the corporatist regime's pledge to the preservation of the traditional familyhood); and, the social democratic (represented by the Scandinavian {Nordic} model of universal state which also promotes equality amongst all classes. Esping-Andersen's clusters also delineated the state according to three important concepts: de-commodification, system of stratification and public-private mix.

Welfare provisions are distinct within each cluster and the welfare responsibility of different social institutions such as the state, market and family are also differentiated between the clusters. De-commodification according to Esping-Andersen (1990), is the extent that citizens' social rights are immutable and associated with property rights, so that individuals are guaranteed certain welfare rights. These rights, income entitlement, adequate housing, and free access to healthcare for example, must be independent of the performance of the market. Social stratification emphasises the degree of 'liberalism' that permits a welfare regime to restructure societal inequalities while delivering public goods in preference to preserving the status quo. The role of the family and the market in social provisioning as opposed to the state varies according to the type of welfare regime (Ravallion, 2013).

Esping-Andersen's (1990) welfare regime framework is distinctive because of its cross-national analysis which focuses on countries' social welfare arrangements. This distinction is crucial because it helps our understanding of the functioning of welfare capitalism as an economic system involving a rigorous examination of how packages and coalitions of institutions, and actors, both in the state and the markets interact to provide the specific varieties of distributive outcomes for citizens (Gingrich, 2015). Nevertheless, Esping-Andersen's (1990) 'welfare clusters analysis' correctly distinguishes the distinctions functioning within the TWWC's categories. Hence, the 'liberal welfare states' functions as a market-oriented welfare state symbolised by lesser degree of de-commodification, and a stronger stratification where SP is mostly residual/targeted, means-tested, and low in value. The corporatist-conservative states welfare regime is rooted in Bismarckian-contribution-based social insurance system with a higher a degree of de-commodification

where social rights is more largely fixed, albeit with minimal redistributive effects (Ravallion, 2013). Social democratic regimes deliver universal social entitlements to everyone which produces a higher standard of qualitative public goods provision. Thus, the level of de-commodification is at its highest and redistributive mechanisms are abundant. Overall, the social democratic regimes overtly pursue full employment because it is the only system that provides comprehensive social insurance (Thelen, 2000; Ravallion, 2013).

3.4. Criticisms of Esping-Andersen's welfare regime

Despite its popularity and influence, it is difficult to ignore the inherent flaws in Esping-Andersen's typology. First, Esping-Andersen (1990) classification is inadequate to capture all types of welfare regimes and cannot be replicated across regions and countries due to its 'evolutionary timing and temporality' (Thelen, 2000). Powell and Barrientos (2011) argued that when investigating tangible social policies, it is problematic to operationalise different welfare regimes. So, while it might be expedient to map a broad identification of welfare models, Powell and Barrientos (2011) argue that Esping-Andersen's (1990) classification is incapable of capturing specific variations of welfare states and becomes more challenging when analysing lower-level SP programmes in developing countries. Second, the analysis lacked depth and inflicts constraints on specific welfare mechanisms. The typology's focus on CTs means that it ignores other types of benefits like subsidies, in-kind transfers or forms of social assistance benefits that are inherently associated with welfare states. In this respect, the criticisms extend to the typology's inability to capture the state's other regulatory functions that might likely have impact on social issues. Third, the typology's methodological limitations imply that certain theoretical biases are inherent in the classification creating issues of operationalisation in decommodification, social stratification and universality indexes owing to suppositions for example that means-tested social transfers cannot have redistributive effects (Castles and Mitchell, 1993).

Fourth, Bessant et al (2006), Thelen (2000; 2004; 2014); Hall (2010) and Pierson (2006) criticised the typology for inadequately explaining how the interaction of political coalitions, institutions and historical settings produce a precise configuration of welfare regime. Every nation pursues its own institutional trajectory with social policies resultantly

shaped by peculiar values, and also by context-specific historical, political situations. Fifth, the typology was criticised for lacking policymakers' perspectives which is critical in the policy decision-making process. Sixth, the ostensible lack of a 'gender dimension' within Esping-Andersen's typology drew several criticisms that subsequently inspired Esping-Andersen to modify his original typology to incorporate the 'concept of de-familialism' (Esping-Andersen, 1994, 1996) which permits the recognition of unpaid care work provided within family settings across many countries by most women, yet the typology still falls short in its inability to comprehensively analyse the market and family provisions of SP.

3.5. The utility of Esping-Andersen's analytical framework

Esping-Andersen's (1990) welfare regime analysis has significantly contributed to comparative social policy despite its limitations (Sumarto, 2017; Jalil & Oakkas, 2019). Yet, to address some of the glaring weaknesses in Esping-Andersen's typology, many scholars developed their own typologies. Of concern to this study is the criticisms by Gough and Wood (2006) that Esping-Andersen's classification should not be employed to construct a typology of social policy in developing countries. The major plank of Gough and Wood's argument as Sumarto (2017) opines is that welfare regimes should be scrutinised within the local contexts of national social policy systems in developing nations. Obviously, Sumarto's (2017) point draws on the work of Gough and his colleagues which formulated the concept of welfare mix regimes in developing countries. Further, Gough and Therborn (2010, p.9) claims that relying on Esping-Andersen's in a rigid manner will not only be inadequate particularly within the developing countries' contexts where there is an absence of 'the power and institutional capacities to adapt to international policy models to their contexts'.

Despite the shortcomings of Esping-Andersen's (1990) analytical framework, it is still a worthy reference hypothesis. Perhaps, more than anything, it lends itself to rendering a diagnostic review of national social policy designs in developing and transition countries. The evaluation of the extent of de-commodification of welfare policies are also helpful to understand how a country's SP system is effectively targeting the poorest (Ravallion, 2013). Besides, the study of social stratification can provide insights into whether extant privileges

are accomplishing redistributive effects or are effectively reinforcing erstwhile or existing disparities. On the issue of public-private mix, adopted by governments, it should be used to tackle the limitations in the public provisions of certain social policy programmes whilst providing evaluations of the degree of redistributive effects of CTs or situations where market-based regulation mechanisms could work in certain situations. Esping-Andersen's (1990) welfare regimes also delineate the tripartite linkage of state, market, and family in the provisions of welfare; this utility above everything else, cements its scholarly reputation and makes it relatable to any country or context, confirming Sharkh and Gough's (2010) observation that a welfare regime perspective is a valuable paradigm for analysing welfare policies in developed and developing nations. Indeed, without Esping-Andersen's work, the successive corpus of work produced on the different aspects of welfare regime classification, welfare modelling, welfare typologies and varieties of welfare capitalism might never have been done. To conclude, typologies are a vital heuristic device for social policy scholars, even for those who assert that exhaustive analysis of a single case is more befitting to capture the complexity of different social policy arrangements. Welfare typologies therefore serves as comparative lens through which a single country's welfare arrangements can be placed into a comparative perspective.

3.6. The quest for a welfare regime theory for developing countries

As mentioned above, the countless modifications to the welfare regime theory enrich our understanding of the functioning of the 'welfare mixes' or 'welfare arrangements' particularly as this relates to the study of social policy systems in developing countries. Gough et al (2004) adapted the notion of welfare regime theory to developing countries contexts' by developing a welfare mix of developing countries (Sumarto, 2017). By 'welfare mix', we mean 'the interactions of the state, private sector and the households in welfare provisions' (Gough, 2004, p.26). The novelty of the welfare mix concept is its modification of the Esping-Andersen's typology which moves beyond the tripartite coupling of the state, market, and family to become a quadrangular arrangement with the addition of the community as a fourth actor. Gough (2004) asserts that the community plays a crucial role as a provider of livelihood welfare and should be included in all welfare provisions. This

critical adaptation was underscored by Croissant (2004) and Sumarto (2017) as moving the welfare regime debates closer to developing country contexts.

Furthermore, through their influential work, Gough and colleagues (2004) produced welfare regimes for the developing world by classifying them into '*informal security*' and '*insecurity welfare regimes*'. Informal security regimes are 'institutional arrangements where people rely heavily upon community and family relationships to meet their security needs' (Wood and Gough, 2006; p.1699) owing to insufficient access to social protection from the state and market (Wood, 2004). Insecurity welfare regimes on the other hand, denotes social-economic conditions that produce insecurity and impede the materialisation of informal arrangements to address insecurities and risks (Gough 2004; Sumarto, 2017). Using this typology as a guide, Gough et al., (2004) and Bevan (2004) concluded that most sub-Saharan African countries, on account of political instability, conflicts, fragility, criminal and oppressive practices, oppression, serious economic difficulty, problematic disasters and crises like famine and insecure livelihoods are either 'informal security' or 'insecurity welfare regimes'. Sumarto (2017, p.942) clarifies informal security and insecurity welfare regimes as 'meta welfare regimes' belonging in a parallel category with Esping-Andersen's welfare state regime typology (Wood and Gough, 2004). Moreover, informal security welfare regime encapsulates characteristics of liberal-informal and productivist welfare regimes (Wood and Gough, 2004; Sumarto, 2017).

The work by Gough and colleagues (2004) encouraged the development of more comprehensive typologies for different regions of the world and amplified the attention on linkages between female paid and unpaid care work (Razavi and Stabb, 2010). Barrientos (2004) characterised Latin American 'liberal-informal welfare regime', as welfare regimes created in responses to the severe economic crises of the 1980s/1990s, which expanded informal/unregulated employment, decreased employment-related social protections, and caused greater poverty and inequality resulting in a move away from public social insurance to private provisions that produced negative welfare outcomes in Latin America (2004, p.167). Still in Latin America, Martinez-Franzoni (2008) incorporated informal employment and gender dimension in her regime analysis, which emphasised unpaid care work. Bevan (2004) characterised African countries as 'insecurity informal regimes.' Accordingly,

innovations and extensions were made in the analysis of welfare regimes which suggest a movement towards more global comparative analysis.

However, such analysis must still fully account for social policy differences existing between developed and developing countries. Also lacking is how to account for the changes evolving in the configuration of employment, in both the North and South. Furthermore, how employment provides or not provide the foundation for sustaining SP is considered as externally determined: employment policy is usually not considered a critical component of social policy (World Economic Forum [WEF], 2016). Informality and the prevalence of informal workers needs explicit recognition; therefore, the design of social policy must be adaptive, incorporating strategies to enhance employment opportunities. SP programmes based on citizenship only target the 'vulnerable' (the unemployed), the very young and the elderly, and those unemployed due to inadequate opportunities. However, within specific disciplines and policy realms, there is temptation to adulterate rather than strengthen linkages between economic and social policies. Indeed, the notion of 'delinking' or 'decoupling' social benefits from employment has been proposed but this raises the issue of whether social policy alone can adequately offset and safeguard citizens from risks resulting from the nature of employment itself. Even Esping-Andersen (1996), in a later work, recognized the flaws, and acknowledged that political settlements, alliances, and institutional histories produce disparities in welfare regimes. This state-centric modification underpins many of the amendments and critiques of welfare regime analysis.

The notion of welfare regime differentiates distinctive features of a 'welfare system' of a country; describing 'paths' or 'trajectories of welfare systems' pursued by a given state. Operationalising the notion of 'welfare regimes' in developing and transition countries' contexts entails capturing sundry patterns and combinations of support through the state, market and community through which 'needs' are met (Gough & Wood, 2004). Several scholars have attempted to re-construct social policy development in developing countries (Abel & Lewis, 2002; Gough et al, 2004; Barrientos & Hulmes, 2008; Mkandawire, 2004, 2007, 2011; Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2007; Devereux, 2013; 2015; Adesina, 2007; 2008; 2011) arguing that welfare programmes in African countries reinforce existing economic and social inequalities whilst doing less to foster redistribution or growth.

Although several statutory, non-statutory channels and a variety of institutions and actors supported by regional, domestic, and international partners provide social welfare. But academic social policy is leading the call for governments in developing countries with the support of international institutions like UNRISD, ILO, UNICEF, and UNDP to embrace social policy in the wider and broader context of public policymaking (Heintz & Lund, 2012; Hinojosa et al, 2012).

3.7. Mapping Nigeria's distinct welfare regime under neoliberal policies

Can the Nigerian social policy fit within welfare regime analysis? Is the 'Nigerian welfare regime' adaptable to the framework proposed by Esping-Andersen? Is it possible to differentiate within the distinct welfare system in Nigeria? The uniqueness of the Nigerian social policy domain affirms what Hall and Midgley (2004, p.31) refer to as the 'composite-ness' of social policy in the developing countries' contexts: a product of the ideological, political, and economic frames informed by colonial experience. The foundation of public administration in African countries like Nigeria, was the colonial structure bequeathed by the British colonial authorities. Postcolonial, post-independence bureaucracies preserved social security systems they inherited and these colonial 'relics' functioned well enough to create a rudimentary welfare architecture, which the newly independent countries consolidated and improved. Unfortunately, Mkandawire (2010) argued, that these path-dependent 'colonial relics' triggered failure and 'mal-adjustment' (Mkandawire, 2001, 2004, 2010) of society and public institutions in the newly independent states. However, 'colonial relic' did not cause the failure of policy making in Nigeria because it is implausible to blame everything on colonialism or exaggerate its negative impacts. Adesina (2007, 2010, 2012) however suggests that African social policy should be conceived in tandem with economic policy to guarantee equitable and socially sustainable development reflective of the contexts they are executed. By implication, social policy should not be narrowly construed nor restricted purely to the parochial definition of social service delivery. Given this background, any attempt to use the welfare regime typologies based on welfare capitalism may be unsuitable for developing contexts. Adesina (2007) argued for a rethinking of social policy practice in sub-Saharan Africa to reflect imperatives predicated on key normative concerns namely inclusivity, development, and democracy.

Gingrich (2011) agreed with this view and went further by attempting to provide a more complete picture as it relates to the politics surrounding welfare and social policy.

No matter how this is construed however, the critical point deserving attention is that whilst social policy development in Nigeria might have been framed and designed as a 'well-being orientated redistributive model' in an insecure, fragile setting (Gough et al, 2004; Wood, 2005) it appears, however, to pander, heavily, to neoliberal policies. The introduction in 1985 of the structural adjustment programmes (SAP) split the country along sectarian, ideological and political lines resulting in massive retrenchment of welfare programmes, loss of jobs which negatively impacted the country for decades (Gboyega et al., 2011; Ayoade et al., 2014). SAP seemingly damaged the fabric of the nation with public policy struggling to cope with the inherent challenge in the Nigerian federalist structure. Tensions ensued over battle for fiscal control (the derivation principle, which is the formula for sharing revenues) between the central government and the federating units. The underlying distrust and mutual suspicion over derivation principle inevitably produced tensions that translated into inefficiencies compounding allocation of national revenue among the three tiers of government (federal, state, and local) which further created opportunities for sleaze and rent-seeking whilst magnifying the inherent flaws in the allocative mechanisms. This, according to Olomola et al (2014), remain a contentious issue which brought Nigeria several times to the brink (e.g., the civil war between 1967 to 1970 and the Niger-Delta crises have been ignited over disagreements with the revenue sharing formula). All 36 states and 774 local governments plus the federal government jointly compete for fiscal relevance.

Grindle (1980) observed several public policies were formulated and implemented with the assistance of multilateral institutions like the IMF and the World Bank; unfortunately, most of these policies were obscured with politics and implementation bottlenecks. Even policies formulated singlehandedly by African politicians aimed at attaining radical and progressive improvement in the living conditions of the citizenry following several decades of colonial rule were tainted somewhat by neo-liberal thinking (Grindle, 1980). The resultant politicisation of public policies in Africa showed in the design of overambitious programmes by political parties to win political capital coupled with undue bureaucratic procedures. An

example is Nigeria's *Free Education for All* policy, that could not institute a resilient public education system, but rather caused several citizens selecting private education for their children because they thought it was a superior alternative (Makinde, 2005). Healthcare was no exception: the economic circumstances surrounding the introduction of the NHIS for example and its all-inclusive coverage projected it as overambitious/grand. Unsurprisingly, the scheme has struggled to achieve its goals.

3.8. Social policy failures in Nigeria

Social welfare spending in Nigeria and its retrenchment by successive administrations negatively impacted social development outcomes. Since attaining independence in 1960, Nigeria committed strongly to social developmental policies. However, progress was hampered by a toxic combination of fiscal resource constraints, conflicting political interests, sectarian (religious) interests and terrorist threats to national security by insurgents (Boko Haram, Niger-Delta militants⁶). Moreover, policymakers and politicians grappled with a historical relic of severe, multidimensional poverty and inequality, exacerbated by persistently extreme poverty and unemployment levels. The net result is untold hardship compounded by botched political experimentations, unproductive and misappropriated policies, maladministration in government, rent seeking, corruption, destitution, diminishing revenue, inflation, insecurity, social and economic inequalities, and ethnic contestations (Gboyega et al., 2011).

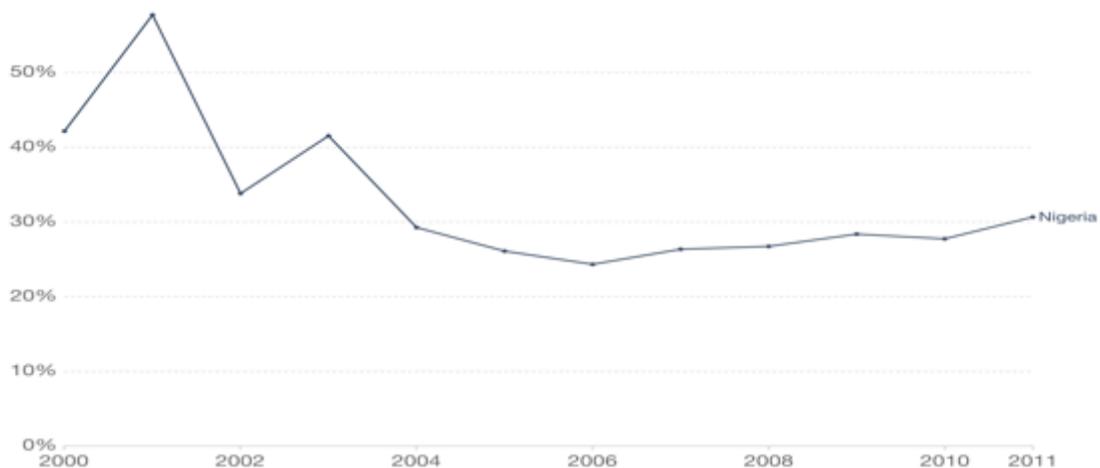
Social policy expenditure in Nigeria remained relatively low in comparison to less-endowed SSA countries (Holmes et al, 2012; Devereux, 2013). Previous social policy interventions like the Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP) in 1992; Directorate for Foods, Roads and Rural Infrastructure in 1986 (DFFRI); Better Life for Rural Women, 1987; Education Trust Fund (ETF), 1993, replaced by Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFUND) in 2011; Pension Reform Project, 1994; Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) established in 1994 but disbanded in 1999; and the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) introduced in 2004; all failed to deliver positive outcomes as they were often *ad hoc*, and narrowly implemented. The *MDG Africa Progress Report* (UNECA, 2014) highlighted areas in which Nigeria made insufficient progress such as healthcare outcomes

(such as the under 5 child mortality rate) and educational indicators (on universal primary enrolment) (ECA, 2014; African Union, 2014; AfDB; 2014; UNDP, 2014). The *Nigerian Vision 20:2020* (NGV 20:2020) attempted to re-frame social and economic development as a national strategic instrument with focus on social investment programmes as antipoverty and pro-poor growth instruments (NPC, 2010). The NGV 20:2020 recommended increasing government's spend on social policy; yet gaps in social welfare outcomes persist. Successive administrations' attempts to massively invest in education, healthcare, housing, and basic social welfare also failed.

Persistent heavy reliance on oil revenue, coupled with unpredictability in the international oil market, affected fiscal allocation to social sectors, resulting in major retrenchment in welfare provision and spending. Holmes et al (2012) recommended allocating resources to scale up SP programmes. A systematic analysis of the 2014-2017 national budgets revealed declines in government spending on social welfare by at least 1.52% compared to the year 2010-2013 fiscal year (FMF, 2018). Considering that a welfare state is shaped by its expenditure, the amount of social spending in Nigeria was very low. In the last fifteen years, recurrent expenditure has been a larger component of Nigeria's annual budget averaging about 70% of aggregate expenditure; the implication is that capital expenditure, at about 30% of the national budget, is largely inadequate to finance social protection and infrastructure. Besides, Nigeria's expenditure has been worse than Ghana and South Africa in two key areas of education and healthcare (World Bank, 2018). While the government recognises the need for more investment in education and healthcare (as underscored by programmes like the Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1975, followed by Universal Basic Education Programme (UBE) in 2000; the National Primary Healthcare Programme in 1990, augmented by the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) in 2004) what is problematic is that budget making (policy process) and implementation has not been effective mainly due to lack of coherence and coordination. Even the introduction of disparate pilot SP programmes failed in 2007 to achieve their intended objectives because of inadequate coverage and ineffective programmatic responses that failed to meet actual SP needs of local population (Holmes et al., 2012; Devereux, 2013; Patel 2017)⁷. It would seem however that the social policy failure is mostly due to lack of political will, as not enough material resources have been devoted to social policy (Figure 2).

To delve deeper into the failure of social policy inevitably raises the question about Nigeria's capability to create the fiscal space to finance and sustain a basic level of social welfare for its most vulnerable.

Figure 2: Nigeria's Government Social Spending between 2000 and 2011 represented as a share of the GDP



[Source: IMF/Mauro et al., 2015; World Bank/Our WorldinData.org, 2019]

Policymaking always involves trade-offs and allocative efficiency of budget allocations to ensure that the poorest are reached (Roy & Week, 2004; Roberts, 2003). Thus, the insufficiency of budget allocations can have a considerable impact on poverty reduction targets. Simson (2012) demonstrated the critical roles played by supply-side and demand-side governance factors in the Nigerian policymaking process and their influence on the practical and allocative effectiveness of investments and consequences of poverty reduction. Also, Amakom (2012) demonstrated that investments in primary education and healthcare were more pro-poor in absolute terms than tertiary education and education but with allocation bias in benefits from public spending in both sectors (Figure 3). Another study by UNESCO (2014) confirmed that shortage of trained teachers affected disadvantaged areas in the Northern States of Kano, Katsina and Borno for instance.

Others have argued about technical inefficiencies (Eneji et al., 2013; Olateju et al., 2009, Olomola et al., 2014). To be sure, governance issues, including inefficiencies have perennially plagued progress in socio-economic development in Nigeria and these arguments are all part of the earlier works suggesting that variations in social policy outcomes: historical-institutional legacies; the degree of working-class mobilisation; and the extent of cross-class conditions - all form part of the established narrative that has come

to define social policy trajectory in Nigeria. Rasual and Rogger (2015) demonstrated how flawed management practices by public officials in Nigeria impacted on the quantity, quality, and overall delivery of public services.

Figure 3: Nigeria's Government Healthcare Expenditure between 1995 and 2014 represented as a share of GDP



[Source: World Bank WDI/OurWorldinData.org]

Thus, the initial but problematic conclusion suggested by these findings seemingly validate claims by critics (mostly from the left) that these measures were palliative, motivated by the elites' desire to suppress social unrest and repel demands for alternative economic models or radical political reforms (Devereux, 2013). However, the issue that has not been thoroughly researched is how the decentralised nature of the Nigerian political system and the contested issue of 'fiscal federalism' continues to aggravate tensions in the polity. Also, the nation's historical legacy meant that state expenditure on pro-poor activities were frequently subjected to political will; reinforced by the fixation of the political elites with rent-seeking which unfortunately 'turned the rest of society into a prey' (Evans, 1989, p.570; also cf. Joseph, 1987, 1996; Holmes et al, 2012; Kaplan, 2014).

3.9. The evolving 'Nigerian welfare state'?

The 1999 Nigerian Federal Constitution is clear about the responsibilities of government to citizens: it directs government to focus 'public policy on actions that will enhance happiness and promote welfare' (FRN, The Nigerian Constitution, 1999). The constitution also stipulates governance must be conducted in a fashion that promotes 'welfare-enhancing'

outcomes for all Nigerians. Specifically, the government was directed to provide public goods for the citizens via access to qualitative education, healthcare, food, suitable and adequate housing, reasonable basic minimum wage, social insurance, old age care and pensions, equitable access to opportunities, basic amenities of life, security, and SP for sick and disabled, among others. At the very least, the Nigerian constitution *assumed* government's *capacity* to deliver these services. This assumption is not misplaced though, as constitutions generally tend to paint a utopian ideal. However, this 'assumption of capacity' of the State to provide 'public goods' and 'social welfare' in Nigeria is flawed given that government in developing countries, including Nigeria, often lack 'knowledge of how to execute development projects as policies are often ineffective, flawed and do not make meaningful impact' (Swamy, 2012, p.87).

Nigerian social policy undoubtedly traversed haphazardly through troughs and peaks within the last five decades. The nuanced debates about the determinants of social welfare underdevelopment suggests that historical, socio-economic, political, and context-specific variables often defines society's ability to efficiently deliver public goods including health, education, social welfare, and the like. Nigeria's unique social welfare has historical and cultural roots steeped in informal welfare arrangements, which mediates communal, kinship, local and family welfare arrangements. The informal welfare economy significantly accounts for and contributes to a mixed welfare production involving state, family, communal and non-state actors. Unfortunately, this form of welfare production has been largely untapped in social policymaking resulting in what Tang (1996, p.41) refers to as the 'marginalisation of social welfare'; a common feature in developing countries denoting the inability of a government to translate into actionable programmes the intrinsic penchant of citizenry for quasi-welfare/caring arrangements and for extensive informal arrangements.

The failure of the Nigerian state to achieve sustained social welfare provisions for the majority of its citizens has persistently undermined the state's authority and legitimacy (Adesina, 2007; Garba, 2007; Ayoade & Akinsanya; 2014, 2012; Hagen-Zanger & Holmes, 2012; Shadare, 2017; 2019). The stunted growth of social welfare production and social policy in Nigeria is compounded by an extensive informal economy, which also weakens

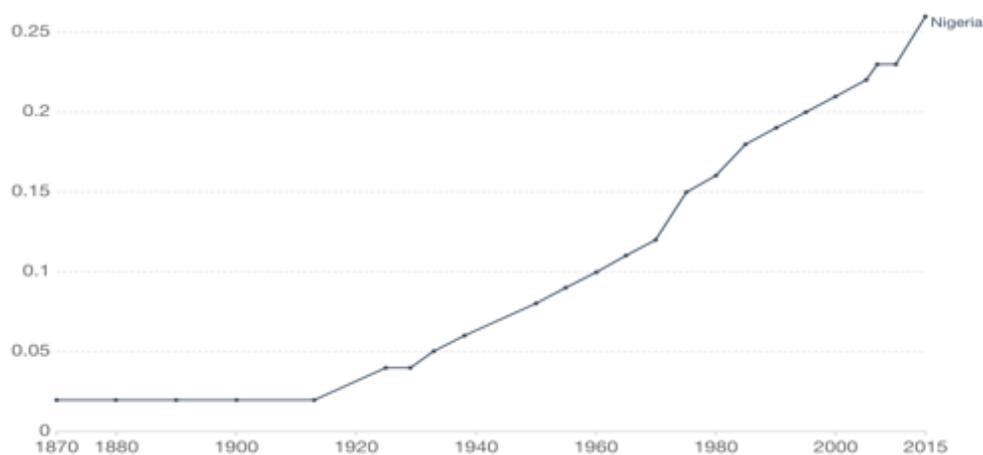
state and (public) institutional capacity, and aggravates 'elite capture'⁸, leading to incoherent, ineffective, state-funded social policy and social welfare arrangements. The issue of 'false starts' in the formulation stages of many public policies in Africa attracted some attention in the literature (Gboyega et al., 2011). With false starts inevitably come formidable challenges at the execution stages creating difficulty in addressing serious issues. Nigeria formulated several public policies to tackle problems and numerous challenges since independence in 1960 of which many fell short of their targets. However, as Gboyega et al (2011) argued, the political class were more interested in amassing power and furthering their economic interests. Ulriksen (2012) on the other hand, contended that while peasants and informal economy workers and public workers were key advocates of welfare policy expansion, it was the policy interests of the budding middle-class that provided the impetus for the direction of welfare policy development. This argument, predicated on the power resource approach, has been utilised to validate and rationalise the pattern of welfare policy development that evolved in certain developing nations. However, putting the policy interests of the different classes in society above the collective agenda of the masses misses the point (Cammett & MacLean, 2011; Akanle, 2013).

This research suggests that the issue of state failure conforms to a pattern, which is invariably an extension of the hegemonic culture of the ruling class; whereby public and social policies were formulated in accordance with the parochial political interests of the elites, often at a great expense to the 'Nigerian project'. The effect of this failure is palpable in the deplorable conditions of most Nigerians, earning her a dismal 158th position on the UNDP Human Development Index (HDI) [Figure 4] (UNDP, 2019). Whilst the reasons the ruling elites have not been able to transform Nigeria into a haven of prosperity is debatable and may never be known, what is indisputable is an historical neglect of the plight of the vulnerable members in the Nigerian society, demonstrated over many years in the failure to implement social policies that would improve wellbeing. Nevertheless, as stated earlier, this is not about failure of policy making per se, it is also about the entrenchment and perpetuation of a culture that promotes the interests of the elites.

3.10. Conclusion

Iversen (2005; 2010) argued that scholars of the welfare state grapple with understanding it as the intersection of democracy and capitalism. However, this argument misses the point especially where democracy in a polity is non-existent and where welfare capitalism is retarded. What is important is the reality of citizens in LMICs where they have to function under far more 'constrained conditions' of institutional welfare choice, and where the government can scarcely be trusted at all, even in a hegemonic sense, for simple law and order as a precondition for private decisions about wellbeing and security (Wood, 2015).

Figure 4: Nigeria's Human Development Index [Historical Index 1870 to 2015]



[Source: Prados de la Escosura, 2018; OurWorldinData.org]

In a broader sense, resorting to informal welfare and social security becomes the norm in these 'insecure', 'fragile' states with 'imperfect well-being regimes' (Gough et al, 2004). Putting this in perspective also entails understanding how social welfare functions in developing contexts and acknowledging how social welfare arrangements remain critical in these contexts especially when viewed against the utilitarian backdrop of how the different ethnic groups and communities have been preserved together for generations and have kept the tenuous relationships between the state and citizens together despite many challenges. Regrettably, however, these arrangements are now uncertain in many countries, including Nigeria. As is happening elsewhere, internal social welfare arrangements, including social policy agenda in Nigeria, is undergoing significant speedy changes, which shape policy processes, dynamics, and outcomes (Urbina-Ferretjans & Surrender, 2017). The Nigerian social policy arena has been progressing in the direction that is arguably distinctive, informed by its unique local dynamics and ideas. Unlike in the

analysis of advanced welfare economies, where the commanding role of state in social policy dynamics is strong, and critical, in Nigeria as in many developing countries, there is limited, almost detached involvement of the state in welfare provisions.

The Nigerian social policy model, with her social welfare arrangements built around extensive, largely informal social security mechanisms, does not fit with western typologies of welfare regimes. Hence, like in other developing countries, it represents hybrid, albeit unique model, that appears to fit in between and within a much 'broader welfare model', now distinctive of welfare systems in Latin America and East Asia; what has been variously classified as 'informal security regimes' and 'developmental state welfare models' (Kwon, 1997; Gough et al., 2004). Conceptually, the Nigerian 'welfare state' can be described to be in a 'state of development' and is presently positioned between a neoliberal market economy and a federalist, dualistic but minimalistic involvement in welfare planning involving the national government and the federating states. This model is characterised by minimal public expenditure on social policy, strong residualist elements in welfare arrangements; a predominant role for the family, reliance on female labour, a regulatory and enabling role for the state, a narrow commitment to the idea of welfare as a right of citizenship (Bolesta, 2007; Kwon, 1997; Wilding, 2000). To a large extent, this welfare regime, given its developmental orientation also appears to be somewhat 'productivist' (Holliday, 2000), where social policy is restrained by the prevailing economic policy goal of growth, and usually presented as an auxiliary to 'boost' the economy in attaining its overarching objective.

The next chapter digs deeper into the Nigerian social policy environment by exploring its trajectory and examining in detail the fault lines that created its unique form of social development. It will examine the complexities within the Nigerian nation to understand what informs, shapes, and moderates social policy as a sub-set of public policy. Afterwards, it will then review the state of the art, and the expanding literature on SP and CCTs. The debates, arguments and the issues that lies at the core of the global diffusion of the policy, programme design and implementation of CCT programmes will also be examined in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SOCIAL PROTECTION AND CASH TRANSFERS IN NIGERIA

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the socio-economic and political situation in Nigeria to set the stage for the analysis of SP in the country. To explain the trajectory of SP and CTs requires a political economy approach. The political economy approach emphasises the social, political, and economic structures and relations that could, and often are, outside the jurisdiction of the institutions or people they impact, hence social outcomes are politically determined (Bambra et al, 2005). Krueger (1993) explains political economy approach as the production of patterns of social outcomes through structures, values, and priorities of political and economic systems hence variations in each country's social inequality are demarcated relative to power, property, and privilege. The first section of this chapter traces the social policy trajectory in Nigeria while the second unpacks the elements of the Nigerian policy environment to provide the backdrop to fully understand how social policy and SP system can thrive.

4.2. Geopolitical and economic analysis

Since gaining independence from Britain in 1960, Nigeria has struggled with the challenges of nation building (Achebe, 1984). Nigeria attained independence as a federation and experienced numerous military regimes (1966-79 and 1984-99) followed by a 30-month civil war (1967-70). In 1999, Nigeria embraced civilian democracy with a bicameral legislature and has since held six presidential and parliamentary elections. Nigeria has a three-tier government with a Federal Capital Territory, (FCT) in Abuja and 36 states, subdivided into 774 local governments (LGAs). Historically, Nigeria operated a local government structure parallel to the central government. However, the number of states and local governments, and the allocation of public revenue and responsibilities has changed fundamentally over time (Adedokun, 2004). State governments exercise autonomy over local economic development policy, fiscal and expenditure policies (Norad, 2010). Also, states and LGAs noticeably differ in size, population, and resources, producing

significant disparities in poverty and vulnerability between states. For example, the poverty rate in Bayelsa (a southern state) is 20%; while in Jigawa (a northern state) it is over 90% (UNDP, 2009; Hager-Zanker & Holmes, 2012; Umokoro, 2013; Akinola, 2017). Nigeria is uniquely diverse culturally and socially: her geopolitics is complex. Contentions for political power and influence by the elites and the interest groups supported by tribal and ethnic leaders are rampant, resulting in prebendalism, a situation that exacerbate corruption as officeholders regard their positions as machinery for personal aggrandisement (Joseph, 1987; 1996; Akinsanya & Ayoade, 2013). Joseph (1987 & 1996) also contended that the present political structure in Nigeria reflects power-sharing arrangements constitutionally designed as a covenant by the political elites to deal with agitations by the various ethnic groups. Hence the federal system was supposedly crafted to manage the complexities of governance in a multi-ethnic, multi-tribal country of about 250 ethnic groups with the dominant tribes (Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa) always jostling for hegemony (Gboyega et al., 2011). Adewale (2011) described Nigeria as a complex conglomeration of diversities with multifarious identities and interpretations.

Indeed, the complexity of Nigeria's geopolitical structure is befuddling to many observers. Paden (2008) argues this complexity makes Nigeria a globally unique nation having a strong political resilience as a mechanism for resolving her complex ethno-linguistic and religious diversity. With almost equal Muslim and Christian population, Nigeria is potentially a distinctive model for interreligious political adaptation and a bridging power in global politics between the Western and the Islamic world (Paden, 2008). In theory, Nigeria's geopolitical duality and religious bipolarity could make her a distinctively dynamic cultural and socially diverse polity, but its heterogeneity have provoked diversity rather than unity; inflamed intersocial, interethnic and intercultural tensions, and continuously precipitating domestic conflagrations (Adewale, 2011). Nigeria possess abundant natural resources yet has limited levels of human development, suboptimal capital investment, and a complex geo-political environment. Classified as a middle-income, mixed economy with an emerging market driven largely by a flourishing telecommunication industry, a thriving financial services sector and consumerist manufacturing sector, the Nigerian economy is highly dependent on oil revenues [19% of 2014 GDP and averaging over 10% since 2014 till present] (PWC, 2018; Obi; 2014). Based on the rebased GDP figures (see Figures 5 and 6),

the economy is the largest in Africa and the 26th largest economy in the world calculated on nominal GDP (NBS, 2014; EIU, 2014; ODI, 2015). Nigeria is the most populated African country, with over 204 million citizens (World Population Review, 2020) [Figure 6 below]. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) projected a growth rate of 2.2% with the population rising to about 230 million in 2025 and 300 million in 2050 making the country the 6th largest in the world (UNFPA, 2019). Due to rapid annual population growth rates (currently averaging 3%) combined with rural to urban migration, a higher proportion of Nigeria's population (about 47% currently) resides in towns and cities (UNFPA, 2014; 2016; World Bank, 2014; 2018a). This trend suggests that Nigeria has become increasingly urban.

Nigeria is part of the *MINT* (Mexico, India, Nigeria, Turkey) bloc of emerging economies. With a thriving formal and an expansive informal sector, currently employing over 60% of the working population (ILO, 2018; IMF, 2018; World Bank, 2014; Kolawole et al, 2015), Nigeria's economic prospects appear bright. However, the country is beleaguered with chronic economic and political mismanagement, attested to by the failures of erstwhile economic reforms. Given her unique complexities as a developing country, Nigeria's economy's remarkable growth is puzzling. Annual growth levels averaged 7% (from 2002 onwards) and 12.7% (2102) (NBS, 2014), peaking in 2015 at 14% [Figure 5] (NBS, 2016). These results were not because of sound economic management on the part of government, especially given that the Nigerian economy is still mainly agrarian (Olomola, 2014). The explanatory cause for this economic growth was mostly attributed to developments in the extractive sector; oil and gas exploration, the mainstay of the economy accounted for over 70% of government revenues and over 40% of GDP (Gboyega et al, 2011; Awoyemi, 2019). As the leading African oil and gas producer, Nigeria is also recognised as having Africa's largest oil and gas reserves and is the world's fifth biggest net exporter of LNG (Liquefied Natural Gas) (Gboyega et al, 2011; USEIA, 2015). Persistently deep issues of poverty, inequality, extreme deprivation, class divisions and political uncertainties were classified as reasons for the unimpressive economic performance; many observers refer to them as 'the bane of Nigeria's economic progress' (The Nigerian Guardian, 2018). Following the outcome of the 2015 election, the citizens demonstrated that they can always use the ballot box as a platform for effecting a change in Nigeria's political leadership.

4.3. Cash transfers' emergence amidst worsening economic situation

In purely evolutionary terms, Nigeria is a 'late starter' to SP although in the broader scheme of provisioning for public goods as a poverty reduction mechanism, there were programmes undertaken by successive administrations to tackle poverty. Over two decades, Government invested in human capital, with limited success. Economic growth between 2012 and 2019 averaged 4%. However, stagnating levels of poverty persisted with several households experiencing chronic food insecurity and children under-five experiencing severe malnutrition (CBN, 2019; UNICEF, 2018; World Bank, 2019; 2020). With Boko Haram⁹ (BH) compounding the insecurity of lives and livelihoods, Nigeria experienced devastation of socio-economic conditions under BH's terrorist operations. Attempts were made by some scholars to link extremist religious ideologies to poverty and unemployment (Ojo, 2019; Alao, 2016); yet deeper issues of ethno-religious conflicts pose existential threats to national security and state-society relations in Nigeria. The problem remains the absence of a strict embrace of the terminology 'social protection' within the Nigerian public policy space. The Federal Government of Nigeria, on a pilot basis in 2007, introduced two cash transfers schemes: *In Care of the People*, (COPE), and *Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Programme* (SURE-P) [See Tables 5, 6 & 7] supported by international donor agencies. CCT programmes in Nigeria dates to the 1990s. COPE resulted from the merger of two main schemes supported by the European Union (EU) and World Bank (WB) in 2010. Their objectives include breaking the intergenerational transfer of poverty and reducing vulnerability of the chronically poor (NAPEP, 2007).

Table 5: In Care of the Poor (COPE) - Features and Summary of Attributes

COPE (In Care of the Poor)	Conditional Cash Transfer
Type of Social Assistance	Conditional Cash Transfer
Country	Nigeria
Year Piloted/Launched	2007
Objectives	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reduce vulnerability of the core poor in the society against existing socioeconomic risks 2. Prevention of intergenerational transmission of poverty and deprivation amongst beneficiaries, families, and households 3. Improvement of human capital investment in families and households

	4. Consolidation of human capital outcomes
Coverage (initial/pilot)	12 States
Coverage (2016/17)	36 States plus FCT (National)
National administrative coverage	774 local governments
Eligibility/Target Groups	Poor female-headed households
	Poor aged headed households with children of school age
	Physically challenged persons headed households with children
	Households headed by special groups (victims of VVF, People living with HIV & AIDS and other vulnerable groups with children of school age)
Selection method	Hybrid Community-based Targeting
Total Number of Beneficiaries (2016)	64, 000 Households
Point of Access/Service Delivery	Banks – Mobile Payments
CCT Amount	5000 Naira (30USD)
Disbursement	Participating families receives a Basic Income Guarantee (BIG) ranging from 1,500naira to 5,000naira per eligible child up to a maximum of 5,000 for four children
	An additional 7000naira is put aside monthly for every participating household as investment for 12months totalling 84,000 naira payable to families upon exit from the programme. This investment fund is known as the Poverty Reduction Accelerator Investment (PRAI)
Conditionalities/co-responsibilities	Compulsory School attendance and maintenance of dietary requirements for children and families
	Enrolment and retention of basic school aged children in education (Primary 1 to Junior Secondary School)
	Ensuring at least 80% school attendance
	Acceptance of monthly savings arrangements by NAPEP
	Participation of qualified under 5 children in free basic health programmes (vaccination and immunization against Polio and Vitamins A supplementation)
Professional payment	NONE
Service providers	NDE
	NAPEP
	Educational Officers
	Community Extension Workers (CEWS)
	Village and Community Inspectors
	School Inspectors
	Local government and state government officials

[Source: Author/Shadare, 2019]

Table 6: Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Programme (SURE-P) - Table depicting Maternal and Child Health component of SURE-P [SURE-P MCH] - Features and Summary of Attributes- Component One of SURE-P

Sure-P (MCH)	Maternal & Child Health Conditional Cash Transfer
Type of Social Assistance	Conditional Cash Transfer
Country	Nigeria
Year Piloted/Launched	2012
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Improvement in health outcomes for beneficiaries 6. Reduction in infant mortality rates 7. Improvement in stunting and malnutrition 8. Prevention of intergenerational transmission of poverty and deprivation
Coverage (initial/pilot)	8 states, later 12 States
Coverage (2017 – final)	36 States plus FCT (National)
National administrative coverage	774 local governments
Eligibility	Pregnant Women
Selection method	Hybrid Community-based Targeting
Total Number of Beneficiaries (2016)	40, 000 Pregnant women
Point of Access/Service Delivery	Primary Health Centres (PHCs) spread across Nigeria numbering by 2017 2000 PHCs
Total Amount	5000 Naira (30USD)
Payment frequency	Staggered
Disbursement	four tranches
Disbursement/co-responsibilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1st 1000naira paid upon registration and first antenatal care (ANC) visit 2nd 1000naira paid upon second visit to PHC 3rd 1000naira paid upon third visit to PHC 4th 2000 naira paid upon fourth visit to PHC and post-natal care (PNC)
Professional payment	2000 naira paid to Skilled Birth delivery attendant
Service providers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trained/Qualified Midwives Community Health Extension Workers (CHEWS) Village Health Workers and Skilled Birth Attendants

[Source: Author/Shadare, 2019]

Table 7: Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Programme [SURE-P] - Table depicting Community Services and Women/Youth Employment [CSWYE] Public Works Programme - Features and Summary of Attributes – Component Two of SURE-P

Sure-P (Youth/Women Community Public Work Programme)	Youth Empowerment Public Works Programme
Type of social assistance	Conditional Cash Transfer (Workfare)
Country	Nigeria

Year Piloted/Launched	2012
Objectives	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mitigate the immediate impact of petroleum subsidy removal on the vulnerable population 2. Accelerate the economic transformation through investments in infrastructure 3. Prevent intergenerational transfer of poverty 4. Lay foundation for future safety net programme
Coverage (initial/pilot)	12 States
Coverage (2017 – final)	36 States plus FCT (National)
National administrative coverage	774 local governments
Eligibility	Young Men and Women Aged between 18 and 35 years
Selection method	Hybrid Community Targeting
Total Number of Beneficiaries (2016)	370 000 Youths
Service Delivery/Payment	Bank – Mobile payment
Point of Access/Service Providers	<p>Banks</p> <p>National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP)</p> <p>National Directorate of Employment (NDE)</p> <p>Local Government Offices (LGOs) and States spread across Nigeria</p> <p>Post Offices (sundry)</p> <p>General Hospitals (Sanitation, Cleaning and Sundry Administrative works)</p> <p>Markets (Sanitation and Cleaning)</p> <p>Motor Parks (Cleaning)</p> <p>Traffic Control Management and Traffic Wardenship</p> <p>Public sanitation, sewage clearing/cleaning and gutter cleaning, grass-cutting and removal of wastes/objects etc from roads</p> <p>Sanitary inspection</p>
Total Amount	10000 Naira (60USD)
Frequency	Monthly
Disbursement	Through bank accounts and mobile payments
Disbursement/co-responsibilities	<p>Payment by mobile directly into accounts</p> <p>Subject to submission of jobs carried out, and verified by the inspector</p> <p>Attendance at work at stated times is compulsory</p> <p>Satisfactory report from supervisors and from colleagues is required</p>
Exit from programme	Graduation after 12month (1 year)
Lump sum payment	Yes – 120,000 after graduation and exit from the programme payable in bulk
Vocational and Technical Training	Yes – Continuous until graduation/exit from programme

Professional payment	None
Service value chain providers	Local government officers
	Community Extension Workers (CEWS)
	Civil Servants at Offices
	Trained Health Workers at Hospitals
	Skilled Professional Managers in government departments
	Traffic Inspectors
	Police Officers
	Market and Community Inspectors

[Source: Author/Shadare, 2019]

COPE focusses on school-age children residing in households headed by poor females or include elderly members, physically challenged individuals, or fistula/HIV or AIDS patients. Under COPE, beneficiaries received a monthly basic income guaranteed for a year, ranging from \$10 to \$33 (5,000 to 10,000 naira), depending on the number of children in the household limited to a maximum number of five. Beneficiaries also received \$40 withheld as compulsory savings, which is provided as a lump sum (up to \$560) to the head of household at end of the year. Under COPE, the government aims to promote entrepreneurship and the provision of core skills training for beneficiaries to enhance the prospect of successful investment of the lump sum. Cash payments under COPE and SURE-P are based on enrolment and retention of children in basic education (from elementary to secondary school), where at least 80% attendance must be maintained, and compulsory participation in government free healthcare programmes. The Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Programme (SURE-P) has two components, namely *Community Services for Women and Youth Employment (CSWYE)* and *Maternal and Child Health (MCH)* [See Tables 6 & 7]. SURE-P started in 2012 with the aim of providing temporary employment opportunities for unemployed men including unskilled women and youths cash-for-work (CSWYE) and improving maternal and child health through incentive-based CCTs. The target group for CSWYE are unemployed men and women of working age and with a minimum of secondary education. MCH focuses exclusively on pregnant women and new-born children. Nigeria's federal configuration permits programmes to vary notably amongst sub-national entities, such that the probable consumption of national-level requirements is constrained by state-level variations in the intensities of supply-side support.

Figure 5: Nigeria's GDP Growth Rate [January 2017 - January 2020]



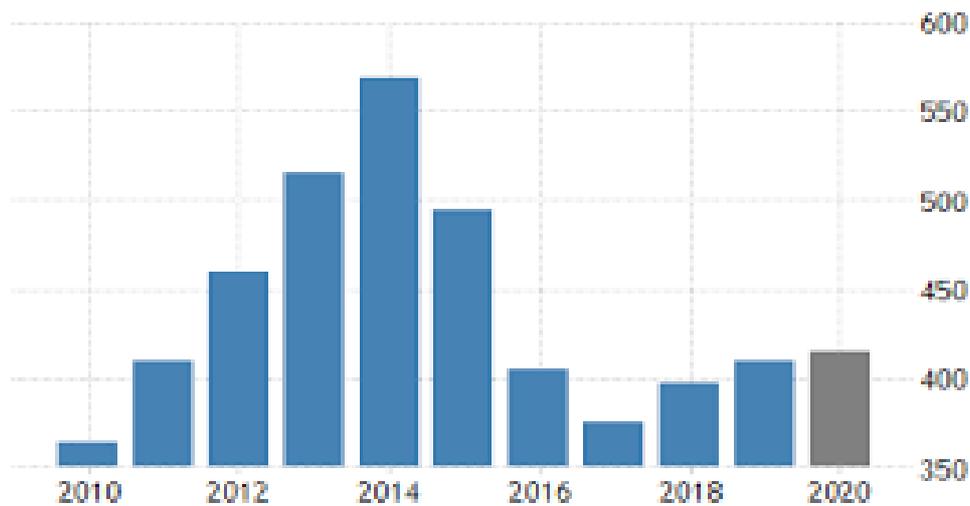
[Source: Trading Economics].

The CCTs were engineered upon effective community-driven development projects previously implemented in Nigeria; the foundation of which were projected to improve programme execution. Funding for COPE came from MDG Debt Relief Fund and lower-level counterpart funds by the Nigerian government with the World Bank providing technical assistance. Others, (DFID, UNICEF, and the UNDP) also provided funding and technical support. Donor funding supported programme execution and coverage which was approximately 1 in 10 eligible vulnerable households within a given state (World Bank, 2009).

Domestic funding via the government's successful CCT scheme also encouraged investment in supply-side infrastructure required to support human capital investments (Hagen-Zanker & Holmes, 2012; World Bank, 2012). From 2009, a widening of the SP platform enabled more resources to be devoted to development of a comprehensive social security platform which culminated in the launch of the National Social Protection Policy in January 2019. The Federal Government of Nigeria approved legislation to frame an inclusive rights-based SP agenda employing a lifecycle framework as a way of ensuring a stronger mandate for non-contributory and conditional social assistance programmes in the country. The legislative framework incorporated a 'rights -based' SPS predicated on the state-citizen contract (The Nigerian Constitution, 2009; Hickey, 2009). However, citizens' partial

knowledge and awareness of social rights with regards SP constrains any idea of a 'functional state-citizen contract' in the Nigerian context (Hickey, 2011). The next section accounts for Nigeria's unique socio-political economy. The presented narrative avoids previous narrow political economic analyses in which the realities of the country's diverse and multicultural dynamics were not fully captured.

Figure 6: Nigeria's GDP Per Capita [2010 - 2020]



[Source: Trading Economics, 2020]

4.4. The Nigerian economy between 2000 – 2019

A cursory look at Nigeria's economic performance between 2000 and 2018 projects an economy on the mend. Official data between 2000 and 2014, depicted this period as the 'growth years' of the Nigerian economy and presented a picture of an economy in resurgence with key indicators pointing to fundamental growth in critical sectors of the Nigerian economy (World Bank, 2018b). The floundering of worldwide oil prices between 2014 and 2016 however, affected Nigeria's domestic oil production which significantly slowed down the economy. The annual real GDP growth rate (Figure 7), which had averaged 7 percent between 2000 and 2014, dropped to 2.7 percent in 2015, and -1.6 percent in 2016 (World Bank, 2018b). The economy rebounded in 2017, with about 1 percent growth in the economy, which grew to 2 percent in 2018 and remain at slightly over 2 percent in 2019 (World Bank, 2018b). This apparent improvement in the Nigerian economy produced euphoria on the part of the political leaders. However, the reality is different from the data portrayed by the ruling elites. The rosy picture of the Nigerian

economy is masked by the gloomy realities illustrated in the livelihoods of the majority of the citizens. While political leaders gloated about the performance of the Nigerian economy, accompanied by clichés touting effectiveness of government’s policies, the grim truth remains that over half of the population are poor. Many Nigerians appeared not to be deceived by these numbers judging by the results of the previous two elections. Nigerian electorates are clamouring for the real ‘dividends of democracy’, not the simulated statistics touted by their elites.

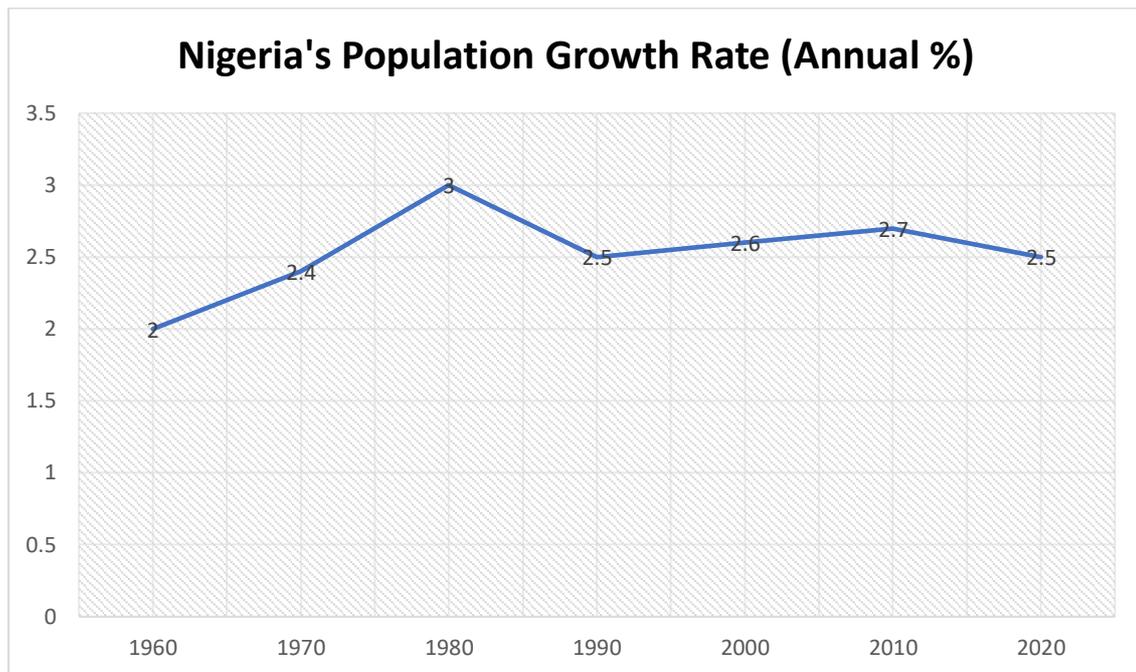
The journey to economic and political freedom has been slow, but if the implications of the 2019 elections¹⁰ results are anything to go by, it seemed plausible that citizens demonstrated their understanding of ‘voting power’ to oust politicians not delivering on their promises. Nigeria’s case in 2015¹¹ attracted the attention of the international community in what was described as the ‘Nigerian conundrum’ (Hoffman, 1995): the phrase used to describe the yawning gap between the poor and the wealthy compounded by a flaring class schism that has become more pronounced in the decade that Nigeria’s unprecedented economic growth propelled her to the zenith of African economic league table¹². As a researcher, it is difficult to adequately explain the uniqueness of the Nigerian situation without falling into the hackneyed narrative that permeated discourses on the Nigerian debacle for years, which focused on one-dimensional, narrow prisms in dissecting Nigeria’s problems. The perspective of a country steeped in corruption became the norm. The dangers of these one-dimensional analyses were that what was often presented did not reflect the intricacies and the complexities of the unique situation in Nigeria. The result was that most analyses were flawed and one-sided. However, this research study has tried to be balanced in presenting the Nigerian situation.

4.5. Nigeria as a ‘fragile state’

On account of threats posed by *Boko Haram* and other militancy/separatist groups in the Niger-Delta and Eastern regions, some commentators deemed Nigeria to be a fragile state (Kaplan, 2014). Between 2011 and 2019, the number of victims of terror attacks increased significantly; figures are not accurate but conservative estimates suggests over 5,000 fatalities and 1.5million people displaced from their communities (IEP, 2015; 2019). Clearly,

government's failure to deal with BH is worsened by the brazen manner of sporadic terror attacks which infrequently break out mostly in the Northern part of the country. Also, the fact that almost six years after the infamous abduction of the 'Chibok School Girls'¹³ there seems to be no solution in sight with many of the abductees still missing.

Figure 7: Nigeria's Population Growth Rate



[Source: Author]

For any credible researcher familiar with the reality of the Nigerian state, rejecting the tag of 'fragility' would be a hard sell. It is impossible to ignore the unstable security and safety situation in Nigeria which, on face value, supports the theory of fragility. However, while it may be hard to question the Nigerian security challenge, it is not difficult to dispute the labelling of Nigeria as a 'fragile' state given that this is a highly contested concept. Moreover, theories of state fragility with their avowed focus on the theoretical indicators or superficial manifestations of fragility, could also, often, present an ambiguous map of the fragile world (FAO, 2019; OECD, 2018a).

4.6. Nigeria's poverty profile

According to Datt, Simler, Mukherjee & Dava (2000, p.3), a 'useful starting point for the analysis of poverty determinants is a poverty profile'; being a valuable descriptive device for probing poverty characteristics in specific context or a country. A poverty profile offers

vital data on the correlates of poverty, and essential pointers to its underlying determinants (Datt et al., 2000). The incidence of national poverty (headcount index based on comprehensive household survey) has been on the rise in Nigeria, peaking at 62%, in strict per capita terms, in 2010 (NBS, 2012; NBS, 2014; 2016; [Figure 8]). Remarkably, Nigeria's poverty levels doubled just as the economy ballooned in the last two decades (EIU, 2014; World Bank 2018). As with many African and South Asian societies, poverty in Nigeria is multidimensional (Aigbokhan, 2008; Banerjee et al, 2006). Although, there are various approaches to investigating poverty, many of them, especially the monetary approaches which dominated the economics discipline have been critiqued for lacking depth and underscoring biophysical/material needs to the exclusion of wider social and subjective components of wellbeing. Consequently, multidimensional indexes grew in popularity to accommodate the expansive definition of 'who is poor', incorporating dimensions like health, education, security, housing, and employment (Jones & Tvedten, 2019; World Bank, 2018b; Alkire & Santos, 2013; South & Stewart, 2003). In ontological terms, Nigeria's poverty figure raises two vital questions: one, why has rapid economic growth failed to deliver better poverty reduction? Two, how could an economy of the scale and prosperity of Nigeria produce such high poverty levels?

Analysis of the depths and severity of poverty confirms that it is at its worst in the rural areas of Nigeria where 70% of the population survive on farming; although recent studies suggest rising pattern in the levels of urban poverty (Apata et al., 2009; Kolawole et al., 2015; Gamu et al., 2015; World Bank/NEU, 2019). Likewise, the proportion of rural to urban poor rose significantly in the years leading to 2018; however, poverty incidence is more acute in the rural areas of the Northern part of the country than in the south. Some Northern states have poverty levels of over 80% (NBS, 2014; World Bank/NEU, 2019). Income distribution and consumption patterns accentuated the Nigerian north-south divide with the relatively well-off households living in the south and relatively poorer concentrated in the North (World Bank, 2018b; Oxfam, 2019; 2017). UNDP estimated high inequality levels in Nigeria increased between 1985 and 2012 (from 43 to 48) (UNDP, 2014). Oxfam (2019) also reckons Nigeria has more unequal income distribution and asset distribution than Ethiopia, Madagascar, India, and Nigeria. The elements of poverty are

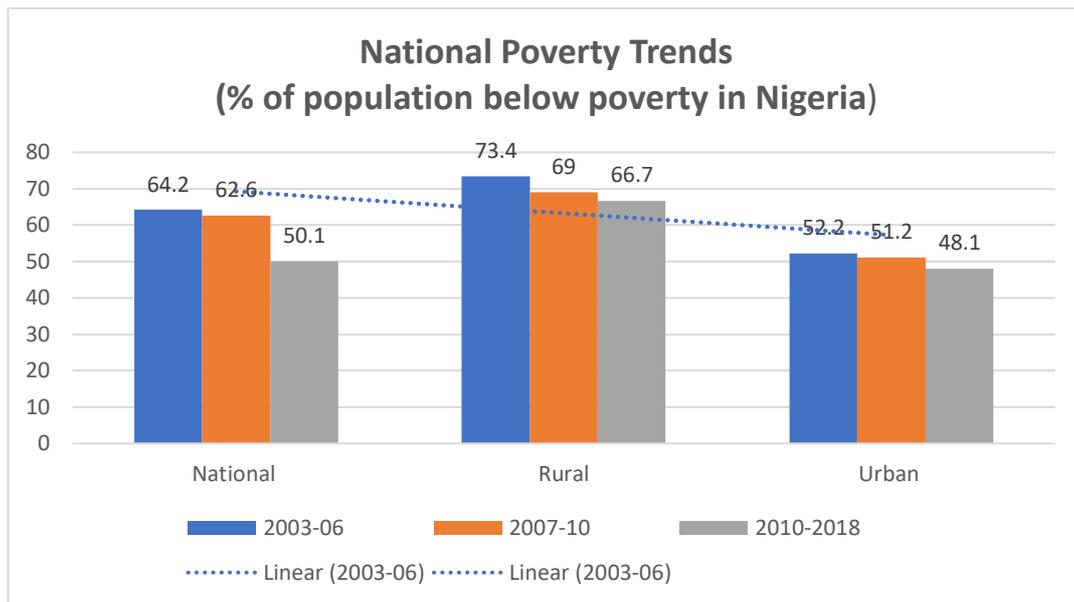
heterogeneous with the poverty dynamics showing a well-defined distinction between acute/chronic and transitory poverty.

Chronic poverty as a factor of aggregate poverty is static while transitory poverty is variable (Gamu et al., 2015; Kolawole et al., 2015). High poverty levels according to some scholars could provide a convenient pretext for insurgency and uneasy tension (Gboyega et al., 2011; Joseph, 1987; 1996; Mustapha, 2004). Indeed, the World Bank has consistently argued that poverty plays a critical role in the country's fragility even though there are insufficient empirical evidence to validate this argument (World Bank, 2014a; 2018b; OECD, 2018). Yet, some will contend that the Nigerian case is very distinctive, especially when viewed against the backdrop of persistent poor leadership and governance failings, compounded by a sturdy *prebendal* political relationships and *neopatrimony*, which despite surviving a brutal civil war and experiencing many near fatal crises, has not yet upended the country.

4.7. Nature and determinants of poverty

Banerjee et al (2006) conceptualized poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon characterised by causal complexity and diverse outcomes. The World Bank (2001) broadly conceptualised poverty as encompassing four components: (1) material deprivation; (2) lack of access to education and health; (3) vulnerability and exposure to risk, and (4) voiceless and powerlessness. These elements, combined, capture the gamut of social, economic, political, human health and environmental dimensions through which poverty can be analysed empirically (Gamu et al., 2015). Several analysts see poverty in terms of individual or family inadequacy of assets and income. Kolawole et al (2015) surmised that poverty is lack of necessities; and, on the basis of this basic needs approach, poverty can be considered in absolute or relative terms. Inequality on the other hand implies the diffusion of a distribution e.g., income, consumption, or some other welfare markers; thus, it is more comprehensive than poverty because it is expressed over an entire distribution. Although theoretically well-defined, income inequality is typically analysed as part of the broader poverty and welfare analysis.

Figure 8: Nigeria National Poverty Trends [2003 - 2018]



[Source: Author]

The chief triggers of Nigeria’s poverty are not just low incomes, savings, and growth but also high levels of inequality due to unequal access to income opportunities, lack of basic amenities, poor infrastructure, level of education, type of occupation, size of households and dwelling types, gender and access to water and health status. For example, rural households engaged in agricultural activities have lower living standards than those in non-agricultural activities. Ojowu et al (2007) revealed that occupational poverty incidence is highest in the agricultural sector, which in 2009 stood at 63%. Male-headed households enjoy relatively higher welfare and living standards than female-headed households. Similarly, large households’ sizes in the rural areas have reduced welfare and lower life expectancy than those in the urban areas, although there are significant variations across geopolitical zones. Other causative factors are social and entrenched cultural norms embedded in religious and traditional practices especially in the rural areas and in the Northern region, geography, ethnicity, age, and gender. For instance, gender inequality is prevalent in Nigeria (OECD, 2014). Women consistently encounter discriminations in access to and control over land, loans/credit facilities, political representation, healthcare, technology, and economic participation (labour market) generally. Poverty thus affects women more forcefully than men and in rural areas women are typically the poorest especially when they are the family heads/breadwinners. Besides, women experience

significant social risks and vulnerabilities – instances of domestic violence and traditional practices like female genital mutilation (FGM) (which is entrenched in religious and cultural beliefs in parts of Nigeria), combined with societal norms that views women as second-class citizens and inadvertently promote gender discrimination in certain situations, all exacerbate gender inequality. Poverty gaps between genders and amongst vulnerable groups is patently severe (Hangen-Zanker & Holmes, 2012). Poverty prevalence also vastly correlates with educational achievement in Nigeria. Households headed by persons with limited educational qualifications experience higher poverty incidence (NPC, 2010; Ojowu et al., 2007).

With over 50% of Nigeria's youthful population unemployed (Aigbokhan, 2008; World Bank/NEU, 2019), children and young people are disproportionately represented in poor households (Aigbokhan, 2008). The same applies to orphans, the aged and the women. Maternal and under-five mortality rates for the poorest are among the highest globally; poverty and deprivation also aggravate child protection issues: trafficking, prostitution, and other forms of abuse especially for orphans, vulnerable groups, and children (OVC). Varying patterns of poverty across geographical locations are similarly moderated by socio-cultural and religious norms compounded by prevalence of conflict, instability, and insurgency (Boko Haram); and with about 70% working in the informal sector (NHIS, 2010; Hager-Zanker). Stagnant growth in average consumption and increase in inequality rate in the North was worsened by total or near-total collapse of economic activities as a result of the insecurity situation. High unemployment rates and limited livelihood opportunities in rural and urban areas persistently impede the economic opportunities available to the citizenry but with the rising rates of HIV and AIDS and other forms of illnesses, especially among vulnerable groups, this vicious cycle of poverty persists. Scholars and policymakers alike contend that current high poverty and inequality levels in Nigeria are an aberration. Nigeria earned huge revenues from crude oil between 1970 and 2014 (Ayoade et al., 2014; CBN, 2018). The operating paradigm suggests that this abundant oil endowment represents a cause, trigger or incubator for violence and conflict. This narrative, known as the 'resource-curse'¹⁴, has been extensively covered in the literature with some commentators alluding to Nigeria, Angola, Sudan/South Sudan, Venezuela, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, and

Chad as examples of resource-rich countries afflicted by the 'oil curse' (Murshed et al., 2017; Signe, 2018).

4.8. Reformation process and transformation agenda under President Jonathan

In ameliorating poverty, previous administrations introduced various policies and programmes between 1986 and 2014. Programmes include: Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFFRI), Better Life Programme (BLP), Directorate of Employment (NDE); People' Bank of Nigeria (PBN); Community Bank (CB); Family Support Programme (FSP); Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP); Poverty Eradication Programme (PEP); National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP); and National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS); were designed to tackle the sufferings of Nigerians by creating work opportunities and access to credit facilities for job creation. In addition, the government, in concert with international development partners, introduced minimal SP programmes like cash transfers, and youth employment programmes, to tackle poverty and vulnerability (Hager-Zanker & Holmes, 2012). Ayodele et al (2013) observed that before the adoption of the national development plan - *Vision 20: 2020* - in 2010, as part of the former President Goodluck Jonathan regime's *Transformation Agenda*¹⁵ (Gyong, 2012; Thom-Otuya, 2015), there were numerous efforts to produce a suitable framework for the socio-political and economic development of Nigeria. The National Planning Commission (NPC), the government agency responsible for the coordination of different departments and ministries involved in policy implementation, however, could not deliver due to multiple relationships with disparate stakeholders, functions overlaps, and inefficiencies and limited cost effectiveness, the institutional capacity of NPC and other government agencies or departments was therefore weakened.

Aigbokhan (2010) observed that development programmes were highly politicised; used as tools by political leaders, to garner political support. Consequently, many well-meaning programmes that could benefit people are transient, often limited to the lifespan of the government in power, resulting in poor macro-economic management. In a critique of the former President Jonathan's administration, Ayoade et al (2013; 2014) disparaged its dismal performance as a monumental setback for Nigeria's worsening instability, blaming it for failing to generate economic prosperity and for not confronting the monster of

corruption. They cited other failings like the extremely disruptive deficit in electricity supply, the culture of disrespect for the rule of law, the increasing intensity of inter-ethnic hostilities and conflicts; the distressing issue of domestic terrorism; and the rising depths of poverty. President Jonathan's botched attempts in laying a good foundation at the outset coupled with his preoccupation with political survival and vacillation over critical issues of state made him one of Nigeria's unimpressive political leaders. Citing poor style of leadership as the key issue, Ayoade and colleagues (2013), posited that it was extremely difficult for the former President to sustain momentum and to connect with Nigerians despite coming to power on the crest of an unprecedented popular support (Ayoade et al., 2013; 2014). Under Jonathan, Nigeria nearly descended into anarchy and virtual collapse. Economic growth and development were hampered because of microeconomic instability; lack of political will and commitment; distrust and non-cooperation amongst government departments and between federal and state authorities; uneven, lop-sided unfair distribution of resources (skilled personnel, capacity gaps, poor infrastructure) also militated against the success of reform agendas initiated by government to tackle Nigeria's problem. Good governance was lacking despite being one of the core objectives of *The Transformation Agenda* under Jonathan thus depriving people of the dividends of democracy (Ayoade et al., 2014). However, despite these criticisms of Jonathan's administration, they are not unique to him alone but symptomatic of virtually all administrations in Nigeria.

Admittedly, high poverty rates, feeble institutional capacity, resource constraints, poor monitoring capacity and challenges in delivering quality services in the country, crippled policymaking processes; social development also suffered from the relative absence of prioritisation in national planning. However, on the positive side, economic growth rates remained strong during Jonathan's presidency and the growth trajectory continued throughout his tenure with projected GDP growth remaining at about 5% throughout (World Bank, 2016a; 2016b). In addition, oil and non-oil revenues augmented government overall income. Furthermore, a new legislation to improve the national taxation system was tabled in parliament (and was recently signed into law by President Buhari as the 2019 Finance Bill). Under President Jonathan, the Nigeria Sovereign Investment Authority (NSIA) was established with the sole mandate of managing the *Nigerian Sovereign Wealth Fund*.

The Fund began operations as a semi-autonomous body, with the goal of managing surplus income from oil reserves for ameliorating the weaknesses in fiscal and macroeconomic management (NSIA, 2018). So far, little progress has been recorded with NSIA. Sustainable development progress is an imperative but the challenge for Nigerian policymakers, elites, and political actors, it seems, is maintaining strong countercyclical fiscal policy to safeguard Nigeria from oil price volatility. Also, harmonisation of fiscal policies with markets, trade and improvement of public goods provisioning is crucial. Addressing weaknesses in public financial management will require instituting national standards on accountability and disclosure of government expenditures. This budgetary revamping process supported by a detailed public financial management transformation will ensure fair and equitable reallocation and redistribution of capital resources.

4.9. The paradox of the Nigerian situation

Despite being endowed with immense resources, it seems both ironical and implausible to accept that majority of Nigerians live in abject poverty. The paradox of the Nigerian situation is compounded by the superficial economic successes which have consistently under-delivered public goods to its people. Notwithstanding its potential as a resource-rich country, many citizens are still poor, surviving on less than one dollar daily (Gonnet, 2019; Oxfam, 2019; IMF, 2018; World Bank, 2019). This disquieting puzzle has challenged Nigerian poverty researchers (Gamou et al; 2015; Kolawole et al; 2015). More disturbing is that despite the enormous resources devoted to poverty reduction by successive governments, Nigeria could be considered a highly unequal society based on a high Gini coefficient presently standing at 43.5 in real terms (World Bank, 2018). Successive administrations' failure to tackle poverty and prudently manage state resources resulted in high inequality and widening disparity between the rich and the poor (Okunmadewa et al., 2005; Aigbokhan, 2008; Magnowski, 2014). In a 2009 survey, the UNDP concluded that 65% of the national wealth is controlled by 20% of the population (UNDP, 2009). The World Bank ranks Nigeria as the 28th poorest country in the world (World Bank, 2018b). The country is currently ranked 158th on the Human Development Index (HDI) out of 187 countries surveyed (UNDP, 2019).

4.10. A new turn in Nigerian social policy under President Buhari?

Since coming to power in May 29, 2015, President Buhari has taken a different path from his predecessors. During the first term, he scaled up the national SP programme under a different name (National Social Investment Programme – NSIP) and discontinued *COPE* and *SURE-P* in 2016 (SURE-P, 2016). However, he created the semi-cabinet position of *Special Adviser to the President on Social Protection in The Presidency* (which was a first in the country) in order to streamline the coordination of SP programmes in Nigeria. He also created the National Cash Transfer Office (NCTO) which had oversight responsibilities over the NSIP programmes and the management of the five different programmes within the scheme. A national CCT programme that aimed at registering 25 million beneficiaries, known as *Household Uplifting Programme* (HUP) was launched. HUP pays beneficiaries 5,000 naira bi-monthly upon fulfilling certain conditions. The beneficiaries are selected from eligible households registered in the National Social Register (NSR) which was also newly established under Buhari (NCTO, 2018).

Based on the performance of the NSIP, Buhari was re-elected for a second four-year term in 2019. His presidential act of creating a full-fledged *Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs, Disaster Management and Social Development* to directly coordinate SP programmes and humanitarian affairs headed by a full executive cabinet official represented a new chapter in Nigerian SP. The launch of Nigerian National Social Protection Policy also marked a new turn in social policymaking (Akinleye et al., 2019). These two major policy initiatives were unprecedented in Nigerian social policy development and represented a radical shift in government's commitment to SP expansion. From the perspective of policy making, the Buhari administration, with its avowed promise of prioritising SP signifies a significant demonstration of robust political will and an affirmative commitment to redrawing the map of social development in Nigeria. It also signalled a new dawn in which the future of social policy and SP might just be guaranteed. Whilst challenges remain, there is hope that the seeds sown could eventually bear great fruits.

This chapter presented the unique Nigerian political economy and analysed the trajectory of SP and CT in Nigeria from 1960 up to the current administration. The next chapter examines the 'state of the art' scholarship and the expanding literature on SP and CCT in global discourse which then sets the scene for the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES

5.1. Introduction

This chapter has two sections: the first, reviews the literature on CT programmes undertaken by national governments. Whilst the second considers the different theoretical frameworks that were used to analyse CCTs and SP. The chapter provides a more nuanced understanding of CCTs including the debates about them and the theoretical frameworks underpinning our knowledge of CCTs as part of wider SP policies.

5.2. Overview of first section: literature reviews and debates about CCTs

Hart (1999, p.68) recommended that social science researchers should endeavour to undertake literature reviews with the mindset of a creative researcher that is eager to release ‘the social science research imagination’ by maintaining a broad view of the subject matter. Following this recommendation, the section scrutinises various debates and issues underpinning the adoption and implementation of CCT programmes in the developing countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. The key issues, debates and contestations arising from the literature are highlighted. The section closes with a look at the SP agenda as a redistributive paradigm imbued with the promise of augmenting livelihoods and enhancing the state capacity for implementing an inclusive public good provision. The subsections are grouped broadly into three parts. The first offers a background to the origin and evolution of CCTs. The second analyses the Nigerian context and offers a theoretical checklist of competing perspectives informing the design and delivery of CCTs. As CCT programmes are very much about impacts, evaluations¹⁶ and outcomes¹⁷, the last section interrogates the claims made for and against CCTs and questions whether they are capable of being transformative in SSA context before concluding on likely policy implications.

5.3. Background

The expansion of CCTs have refocussed attention on social development policies aimed at providing security and SP to groups at risk (UNDP, 2019; FAO et al., 2018; 2019). CCTs are an integral part of SP policies across Latin American, Asian, and African countries, serving as safety nets to tackle poverty and vulnerability (UNDP, 2019). The first CCTs were

implemented in Latin America largely in response to the economic crises of the 1990s; extensively sponsored by multilateral organisations as policy instruments which enhances human capital and the agency of beneficiaries whilst, in the longer term, mitigating poverty, inequality, upholding co-responsibility and self-reliance (UNDP, 2019; World Bank, 2018; FAO et al., 2018; 2019; Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017 Fisher et a., 2017; Bastagli et al., 2019; 2016; Davis et al., 2016; ILO, 2017; Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016; Sandberg, 2016; 2015). Epithets such as 'magic bullets' (Adato and Hoddinott, 2007) and a 'quiet revolution' (Barrientos and Hulme, 2008) were utilised to characterise CCTs' subsequent successes. CCTs address short-term and long-term poverty and provide immediate poverty mitigation resources that increased essential consumption among the poor. By making cash payments to beneficiaries on the condition that children must attend schools and participate in health care programmes, CCTs increased and strengthened human capital formation amongst poor households, which is an illustration of co-responsibility between government and families (Hall, 2008; Bastagli et al., 2016; Davis et al., 2016). Consequently, CCTs aim at breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty. The acclaimed successes of CCTs in Latin American 'social policy laboratories' (Papadopoulos & Lever, 2016a) allowed them to become popular SP programmes in other developing countries (UNDP, 2019; FAO et al., 2018; 2019; Fisher et al., 2017; Davis et al., 2016; Bastagli et al., 2019; 2016; Attanasio et al, 2015; Cecchini et al, 2015). The next section reviews the literature on CCTs in the global south namely - Latin America (LA) and sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Greater variability of experiences is accorded to the cases of SSA, and an attempt is also made to challenge certain normative assumptions about what should be the role of the state in social policy development¹⁸.

5.4. CCTs - Conceptual issues and debates

The basic structure of CCTs is simple: it entail the transmission of cash and non-cash resources to households with young children, those living on the margins or in severe poverty, on the condition of fulfilling certain commitments intended to augment their human capacities (Cecchini & Madariaga, 2011). Human capital conditionalities, amongst others, comprise requirements such as school attendance, improved academic accomplishment by children, clinic visits, complying with nutritional objectives, adult

education courses. CCT programmes, sometimes called ‘cash for human development programmes’, linked financial payment to the functional compliance with health or education conditionalities (Samson et al., 2006, p.7). The provision of direct assistance to families and households served the same traditional functions as UCTs. Conditionalities had the extra effect of encouraging the build-up of human capital through education, health, and nutrition thus CCT can disrupt the intergenerational transmission of poverty and stimulate demand for assets which enhance human capital. CCTs to poor families compel concrete fulfilment with stipulations that children must attend school, visit health clinics, and execute prescribed activities. Furthermore, programmes are interconnected to infrastructural investment projects which boost the provision of educational and health services. Conceptually, CCTs are considered as part of the wider social transfer¹⁹ programmes in development discourses (UNDP, 2019; FAO, 2018b; 2018c; Bastagli et al., 2019; 2016; Davis et al., 2016; Fisher et al., 2017) and have two categorical purposes: a) temporarily support families with immediate poverty mitigation by augmenting basic consumption among the poor; and b) permanently, to increase human capital formation among poor children thereby breaking the intergenerational transmission of poverty (Jones, 2016). Despite the inconclusive debates about their appropriateness and their effects in diverse contexts, CCTs were eulogised as marking a critical step in linking poor and underprivileged families with school-age children to wider and all-encompassing SP systems (Bastagli et al, 2016).

Different understandings foreground CCTs within diverse SP frameworks. In the literature on SP many frameworks have been proposed but two key frameworks predominate to date (UNDP, 2019; FAO et al., 2019; FAO, 2018b; 2018c; 2018e; Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017). These are the TSP framework (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004) and the SRMF (World Bank, 2004; Samson et al, 2010). Both have consistently identified a crucial role for monetary social transfers in lessening vulnerability to poverty. Both frameworks also defined SP differently as discussed earlier. Similarly, The United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the World Bank also frames CCT differently. Recently, given the global spread of CCTs, they are understood as ‘assertion of social and economic rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR); with the State providing SP to its citizens as a matter of right’ (Gabel 2012, p. 538). Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux (2008)’s

TSP framework underscored the salience of risk mitigation through CCT interventions, emphasising how the root causes of poverty (like structural inequalities and social attitudes) perpetuates the vicious circle of poverty in the first place. At the same time, caution has been raised about the transformation agenda and its unintended consequences²⁰ as 'poor people's realities are local, complex, diverse, dynamic and unpredictable' (Chambers, 1997, p. 162). Therefore, 'setting a sweeping transformation agenda for the poor could be patronising and is arguably an assertion of outside (neo-colonial) power' (Aoo et al., 2007, p. 29).

CCTs are targeted at beneficiaries, poor families in particular and all have the expressed goal of mitigating poverty. There are differences, however, in the attention placed on the manner this objective is to be accomplished. Countries like Brazil for instance introduced targeted CCTs (The *Bolsa Familia Programme* [BFP]) primarily driven by a universalist principle which aimed to guarantee a minimum basic income and a commonly standardised national public services for all citizens. In other countries, like Mexico, the *Progress-Oportunidades* programme, had the prevailing objective of promoting human capital accumulation amongst poor households by improving educational and healthcare uptake, particularly among children. Yet in other contexts, the justification for the implementation of a CCT is connected with the extreme poor who are excepted from current safety nets or social programmes (e.g., in Chile/*Chile Solidario*) or reaching distinct vulnerable groups affected by certain adverse events (e.g., initially in Colombia/*Familias en Accion*). Thus, CCTs were originally envisioned as transient, compensatory, or emergency-based schemes (UNDP, 2019; FAO et al, 2019; FAO, 2018e; Bastagli, 2011; Bastagli et al.,2019; 2016). Moreover, CCTs were not just monies granted to decrease income poverty but were also provided as incentives for families to support their educational and health needs. Furthermore, CCTs address the demand-side of poor people's access to health and education services, since there might be different obstacles for the poor to access such services e.g., the necessity of children working in order to augment household income (Villatorro, 2005). Generally, in over two and half decades, SP has appreciably transformed Global South countries largely due to the commitments of governments in Latin America, Africa, and Asia to the transformation of their welfare regimes to incorporate SP for

previously excluded families and social groups. Both CCTs and unconditional cash transfers²¹ (UCTs) remain at the centre of this transformation.

5.5. Historical roots of CCTs

According to Barrientos (2013; 2011a; 2011b) and Fizbein and Schady (2009), forms of CCTs exist in all countries. Chile was the first country to experiment with CCT (Papadopoulos & Leyer, 2016) introducing the *United Family Subsidy* in 1981 (Lavinias, 2013). However, the first expansive CCT programme originally called *Progresa* was introduced in Mexico in 1997 reaching 300,000 poor families in rural Mexican areas (Marshall and Hill, 2014). Later known as *Oportunidades* it reaches over 12 million families/individuals or more than 40% of Mexico's population, and functions as the country's primary social safety net (Ramirez, 2016; Fernald et al, 2008; Marshall and Hill, 2014). The success of *Oportunidades* (now known as *Prospera*), reproduced sundry similar types throughout Latin America. Brazil quickly followed suit, introducing *Bolsa Familia* (some authors argued it predated *Oportunidades* by at least two years dating back to 1995 when it started in the Brasilia region of Brazil (Jones, 2016). *Bolsa Familia* rapidly grew in scope and size and became, at one time the largest CCT programme in the world, reaching an estimated one-quarter of Brazil's population. Currently, based on the number of recipients, the largest cash transfer programme in the world is China's DIBAO with more than 170 million beneficiaries (UNDP, 2019; Kakwani et al., 2018; Machado et al., 2018; Bastagli et al., 2019; 2016; Jones, 2016; Barrientos and Villa, 2016). Currently, CT programmes have been implemented in over 140 countries, reaching approximately 1.1 billion people globally [Tables 8 and 9] (UNDP, 2019; Millan et al., 2019; World Bank, 2018a; Machado et al., 2018; ILO, 2017a; 2018; 2019). Additionally, it is projected that about 42 African countries currently are implementing some variant of CCT schemes, with many more planned for execution (UNDP, 2019; Barrientos, 2018; Beegle, Condouel & Monslave, 2018; Arnold et al., 2011).

The first-generation schemes were centred on two core components that primarily focused on health/nutrition and education as a way of breaking the intergenerational transmission of poverty. The way these grants are packaged varies from country to country (Millan et al, 2019; UNDP, 2019; Barrientos, 2018; World Bank, 2018; Beegle, Condouel & Monslave, 2018; ILO, 2017; Rawlings and Rubio, 2005). For instance, regarding education, the main

aim is to increase school enrolment and to ensure regular school attendance. In some cases, the cash grants are confined to primary schools and in others they are extended to secondary schools. Similarly, in the case of health, some grants are targeted at children while other programmes are designed for pregnant or lactating mothers. As targeted programmes, CCTs epitomise an efficient utilisation of government resources yet still basically a 'safety net for the poor'. For instance, *Bolsa Familia* offers monetary assistance to impoverished Brazilian families; provided households (with children) must guarantee school attendance school and vaccination. BFP programme aims to both mitigate transitory poverty by paying monetary grants whilst tackling enduring poverty by augmenting human capital among the deprived (UNDP, 2019; Millan et al., 2019; FAO, 2019; World Bank, 2018; ILO 2017). Similarly, *Progresa (Oportunidades)*, a public CCT programme founded in 1997 in Mexico and is meant to reduce poverty by making conditional monetary transfers to families in return for consistent school attendance, periodic health appointments and nutritional assistance. Likewise, in Nicaragua, *Red de Proteccion Social (Social Safety Nets)* is associated with improved cultural attitudes toward educating girls²² (Adato & Hoddinott, 2007). Although as has been argued by some other scholars (Millan et al., 2019; Bastagli et al., 2019; Beegle et al., 2018) this is not an outcome of CCTs as such but an objective.

5.6. To condition or not – 'Conditionality' principle in CCTs

A central aspect of CCT programmes is the conditionalities attached to them. Within the broader milieu of social welfare, the term 'conditionality' as employed in foreign aid context, denotes the idea where donors provide financial grants and credits conditional on the country's performance in areas considered relevant by the financiers. With reference to SP, conditionality espouses similar notion 'but with respect to households or individuals who receive government transfers conditional on some form of behavioural compliance' (Schuring 2010, p. 4). Consequently, beneficiaries are compelled to meet specific conditions outlined by the scheme. CCTs are conceived of as involving 'co-responsibility' (Molyneux, 2008), where the beneficiaries are integrated as active, functional collaborators (in the promotion of productive capacity) and not as passive receivers. These were conceptualised 'as the mechanism of breaking the intergenerational transmission of poverty, affording underprivileged households' children to be better educated and hopefully less poor than

their parents' (Morais de Sa e Silva, 2017, p. 2). Freeland (2007) on the other hand strongly questions the efficacy of the word 'conditional' arguing that it fails to be inclusive. Instead, he suggests the term 'compactual' in which the society can participate together. He cautions against generalising the significance of conditionalities and, asserts that while their imposition might work in some contexts (Latin America), it might require certain structural conditions to be successful in, say the African context. Nevertheless, the first CCTs were designed to curtail the number of out-of-school children and to discourage non-attendance by offering a pecuniary incentive to compensate for the direct and opportunity costs of going to school thus making such interventions 'an instrument for longer-term human capital investments as well as short-term social assistance' (Rawlings and Rubio, 2005, p. 26). Most of the impact evaluations indicate improvements in school enrolment, attendance and nutritional levels and increase in basic income (Millan et al., 2019; Bastagli et al., 2019; Beegle et al., 2018; Lomeli, 2008; 2009; Adato and Hoddinott, 2007; Hall, 2008; Briere and Rawlings, 2006).

Whilst CCT programmes might have epitomised a striking shift in the global south countries' approach of focusing on the supply-side to a demand driven approach (Rawlings and Rubio, 2005), however, judging by the evidence from many countries indicating that the schemes succeeded in providing incentives to households to modify their behaviour towards nationally accepted social targets in circumstances where supply constraints are not critical, Molyneux (2008) cautioned against making sweeping generalisations on the basis of these findings. Relying upon evidence from CCTs in Latin America, Molyneux (2008) argued that there was scant empirical evidence demonstrating women empowerment. Certain schemes reproduced restrictions such as those found in a 'maternalistic model of care' (Van der Klein et al., 2012) where children's needs supplant women's needs. Second, conditionalities attached to the CCTs served to standardise the behaviour of mothers, for instance the insistence on presenting their children for health appointments, complying with school attendance, participating in health education programmes, and engaging in community work. These conditionalities puts additional pressure on time and care-giving responsibilities on women. Thirdly and perhaps importantly, Molyneux argued that CCTs reinforced gender divisions in care, binding women to families as caregivers and whilst maintaining paternalistic patterns of intra-household responsibilities for care or gender

relations (Molyneux, 2008)¹. It would therefore appear, as Patel et al, (2015) pinpointed, numerous studies on CCTs' impact and evaluations highlighted women's care-giving activities in the home and for young children which appear invisible, concealed and obscured in SP policies particularly in SSA.

5.7. Characterising CCTs – design and programme features

Before examining CCTs in SSA context, I will now analyse their key features. According to an extensive literature review, Lomeli (2008, p. 478 - 480) identified ten 'salient features' of CCTs shared amongst their promoters : 1) CCT programmes are 'respectful of market principles' even as public goods interventions; 2) CCTs boost the human capital of children via educational, nutritional and healthcare investments; 3) CCTs are novel by their fusion of social investment measures with traditional social assistance schemes; 4) CCTs intention of breaking vicious cycles of intergenerational poverty transmission and enhancing the agency of mothers as critical change agents in the domestic realms and by alteration of the family dynamics makes them salient; 5) CCT targeting interventions at precarious points in the lifecycle, and supporting with educational, nutritional, health check-ups plus income do produce positive impact; 6) CCTs goal of transforming underprivileged families' behaviour through conditions that, apparently, encourages them to become more productive, (economical) rational and efficient decision-makers; 7) CCTs promotion of education not only by assuaging the direct costs of schooling but also by offsetting the opportunity costs generated by having children attend school instead of working (Scarlato & D'Agostino, 2016). Concurrently, through conditionality, beneficiaries circumvent encumbrances to self-help boosting a mentality of 'earning your way out of poverty' considering that the pivotal assumption informing CCTs is that educational attainments will result in future higher earnings; 8) CCTs commits resources directly to individuals which represents an 'apolitical' measure, eschewing the necessity for bureaucratic or political intermediaries; 10) CCTs' design incorporates monitoring and evaluation of impact measures/outcomes which informs and drives better execution of programmes' effectiveness (Millan et al.,

¹ In another study however, findings from Brazil seem to suggest that CCTs may have helped address power dynamics in households where women were the beneficiaries and therefore the defacto breadwinner (see Chioda, 2011) although this situation also created another unintended consequence: domestic violence (Chioda, 2011).

2019; UNDP, 2019; Bastagli et al., 2019; FAO, 2018a; 2018b; 2018c; 2018d; World Bank, 2018; Fisher et al., 2017; Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016). In the way they are implemented CCTs differs in their objectives and goals given their specific political economic contexts [see Table 10] (Millan et al., 2019; UNDP, 2019; FAO, 2018a; 2018e). Although, practically, most of them concentrate on the creation of human capital of underprivileged families, whilst sharing numerous fundamental features that epitomise advances in the anti-poverty policies of many governments. Papadopoulos and Leyer (2016) identified five main characteristics of CCTs. The first self-evident characteristic of CCTs is narrow targeting of families in severe poverty. Targeting is frequently employed as one of most effective tools to allocate limited financial resources of the state when it comes to helping the poor. Different countries use different methods to determine or select beneficiaries but the most utilised tools for targeting are proxy-means testing (PMT), which estimates income of potential participants or household using data from national surveys (Millan et al., 2019; Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016).

Secondly, CCT programmes deliver benefits typically cash grants contrary to in-kind benefits or food subsidies. As pointed out by Papadopoulos and Leyer (2016), certain arguments employed to justify CCTs include their relative administrative flexibility and the fact that they are considered minimally intrusive to the working of national economies rather than redistributing resources, this is especially so because liquid cash permits families to realise fair and much better prices coupled with the certainty that households prefer the independence that CTs allows them (Levy and Rodriguez, 2005 cited in Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016). Among other arguments presented, is the issue of regressiveness of capital expenditure on infrastructure by the State by which cash paid to families becomes useful incentives which allows families to invest in human capital and undertake productive ventures that can shield them from market risks (see Fiszbein and Schady, 2009). In sundry cases, CCT benefits are paid to women, and amounts vary with age, gender, or educational level of family members. In many countries, many beneficiaries are women, mostly mothers, because they are perceived as being better fund administrators, who intuitively are more concerned with equity in the allocation of limited resources within families (Lavinias, 2013; Levy, 2006).

Thirdly, CCTs underscore households with children, although specific schemes can sometimes compensate families without children. Also, benefits are paid to the elderly, children (orphans) and disabled. Nevertheless, the focus of CCTs is upon households and children since investment in children's education is considered as a mechanism for breaking the intergenerational transmission of poverty and of enhancing the capabilities of children, as future adults, to escape poverty. This emphasis as shall be demonstrated later, represents one of the core elements of the social investment perspective, which in its logic believes that investment in present human capital makes CCTs' attempts at lessening poverty rates in the future important (Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016).

Fourthly, as Jones (2016) stressed, all CCTs are predicated on conditionalities that are prescribed for families to fulfil before qualifying for participation in the programme (Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016). The purpose of conditionalities is modification of behavioural patterns of beneficiaries. It must be stated however that the reasoning behind the notion of conditionality in CCTs is premised on a particular notion of poverty and how it is reproduced. Reproduction of poverty across generations is deemed to originate from a deficit of human capital investments, especially in critical areas of education, that 'leads to low worker productivity and depressed incomes in the future' (Lomeli, 2008, p. 479, cited in Jones, 2016). Conditionality is therefore designed to assist households make 'efficient decisions' (Lomeli, 2008, p. 479; Lomeli, 2009), which in turn bolster human capital stock in deprived families which consequently improve productivity, incomes and magnify labour market opportunities (Lomeli, 2008; 2009). Greater future prospects of employment and income for young people will enable them and their families to be uplifted out of poverty, thus breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty.

Poor families are confronted with singular constraints like minimal stocks of physical assets and education (human capital) (Roelen, 2019; 2014), resources which could constrain their abilities to invest in education of their children or undertaking a productive project (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009). Poor levels of human capital and limitations with investment in children's education can constrain several deprived households from exiting poverty across multiple generations. As shown earlier in the discussion on conditionalities, CCTs aim to tackle the deficit in human capital investment among the underprivileged by

allocating resources and incentives (education conditionalities) to accelerate human capital development among underprivileged children, thus affording a route out of poverty and fortifying them in the longer term, with the skills and opportunities to become productive (Roelen, 2019; 2014; Jones, 2015). Thus, by setting specific conditions which families must satisfy to retain their right to the grants, CCT conditionalities aim to alter behaviours of beneficiaries (Millan et al., 2019; Papadopoulous and Leyer, 2016; Jones, 2016). Conditionalities stipulates uptaking educational opportunities on the supposition that enhanced access to formal education will cause younger beneficiaries to acquire the knowledge, skills and confidence needed to boost employment outcomes in the labour market upon completion of compulsory studies (Saad-Filho, 2015, p. 1237), buttressing 'recipients' locus in the labour market (Saad-Filho, 2015, p.1231). As pointed out previously, conditionalities in CCTs involve 'co-responsibility' (Molyneux, 2008) in which beneficiaries or CT recipients are regarded as active participants rather than passive receivers.

However, there are arguments against the imposition of conditionalities. Rawlings (2005) and Samson et al, (2006) contend that conditionalities needlessly weaken household independence and agency as imposing them presupposes that the underprivileged will make irrational decisions that could advance their livelihoods. Others challenged the effectiveness of conditionalities with numerous scholars mentioning benefits in comparable UCT schemes (Millan et al., 2019; Barrientos, 2018a; 2018b; 2019a; FAO, 2018c, World Bank, 2018a; Marshall and Hill, 2014; Schubert and Slater, 2006; Fisbein & Schady 2009; Ozler, 2013; Ozler et al, 2010; De Brauw and Hoddinott, 2011). A study comparing UCTs and CCTs, found slight statistical differences between schemes (Robertson et al., 2013). However, in randomised control trials (RCTs), CCT programmes produced substantial progressive effects compared to a control group that did not receive monetary transfers, proving their effectiveness at addressing diverse health and poverty issues (Robertson et al., 2013). Whether paid with or without conditions, CCTs demonstrates favourable impacts on the communities/families (Marshall and Hill, 2014). Policy analysts have similarly pointed out that CTs often fail to reach the neediest, mainly because they are premised on the availability of generous health and educational provisions. Regions where poor social services exists are often inhabited by the country's most deprived citizens, and these areas may well not be chosen for CCT schemes. The monitoring

requirements can be organisationally onerous, especially in LMICs (Rawlings, 2004; 2005; Samson et al., 2006). Furthermore, conditionalities could be difficult, challenging for the families to comply with, especially the extremely underprivileged. As observed by Lavinas (2013), conditionalities foist a burden on beneficiaries which could indicate a potential benefit but carries the additional advantage of enhancing the development of their human capital.

The fifth characteristic of CCTs is that they have been extensively evaluated. Since the introduction of the first generations of CCTs, evaluation impacts have been common. Indeed, Mexican designers incorporated impact evaluations in the original design of *Progresá*, based on concerns about the sustainability of the programme, coupled with internal opposition from critics within the government, they desperately intended to prove that their ideas could produce empirical positive outcomes (Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016). To guarantee the reliability of the evaluations, the Mexican government outsourced them to national and international organisations (Levy and Rodriguez, 2005). Papadopoulos and Leyer (2016) pointed out that optimistic results from impact evaluations are partially the impetus propelling the global spread of CCTs (Bastagli et al., 2019; 2016). However, several evaluations have largely been favourable and positive of CCT programmes. Benefits ranged from improved school attendance to augmented household consumption (Danvers, 2010; Marshall and Hill, 2014). There was evidence also of unpredicted positive impacts, like the increased frequency of women in the workplace owing to children regularly attending school (Foguel and Barros, 2010). Similarly, there were concerns relating to unintended consequences like domestic violence against women (Bradshaw, 2008), escalations in divorce rates (Bobonis, 2011), perceptions of conditionalities as needlessly intrusive and condescending (Molyneux, 2008) and provisions or upgrade of infrastructural stock in a country (Kabeer, Piza & Taylor, 2012).

5.8. The spread of CCTs in Africa

Regarding the developing countries of sub-Saharan Africa, there were certain peculiar factors that pushed them into adopting social transfer programmes (UNDP, 2019; Barrientos, 2018). Three factors in particular stand out. The first is the adoption by African

Union (AU) political leaders of the '*Social Policy Framework for Africa*' treaty at the Livingstone Conference held in Zambia in 2006. The treaty was a call to action (AU, 2008; Taylor, 2009) which gave impetus to the acceleration of SP programmes in many African countries. The signing of the treaty propelled the expansion of SP programmes across Africa, underscoring the relevance of pro-poor poverty reduction efforts inspired by the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The *Livingstone Call to Action* proposed the adoption of inclusive, human-centred, rights-based SP framework which recognised a comprehensive agenda that aligns employment policies to poverty reduction (Taylor, 2009). A noteworthy aftermath of Livingstone was the consensus that a sustainable fundamental bundle of social transfers is affordable within existing fiscal resources of African governments supported by multinational development institutions (Taylor, 2009).

Secondly, the absence of (including limited access to) basic health care services in Africa disrupts and impacts the livelihoods of millions of the neediest people, particularly children, women, the elderly, and persons living with disabilities and those living in conflict-affected regions. CCTs provided short term, unplanned healthcare interventions. Based on the evidence and evaluations of several pilot CTPs/CCT schemes sponsored by donors and operated by African non-state actors, it was acknowledged that CCTs contributed to the increased agency of women and assisted persons living with HIV/AIDS and other life-limiting conditions (Taylor, 2009). These examples exemplified the potential of CCTs and how, with state interventions, CCT programmes could be enlarged, hence creating multiplied socio-economic outcomes.

Finally, the momentum created by the *Triple F* (fuel, food, and finance) crises²³ of 2008/2009 energised civil societies and activist groups across countries in Africa, which, coupled with the increased role of international development partners catapulted the demand for more social protection programmes to the top and precipitated a critical mass of aggressive push for further state-backed social investment projects across the continent. With the additional momentum galvanised by the unanimous adoption of the *Livingstone Treaty* by AU political leaders, CCT programmes became massively popular. Now virtually every country in the continent has implemented or is about to implement CCT programmes (Scarlato and D'Agostino, 2016; Devereux, 2019).

Table 8: Map showing the global spread of Conditional Cash Transfers between 1997 and 2010 [Coloured countries are where CCTs were implemented]



[Source ILO, 2017)

Table 9: Map indicating the spread of social protection and cash transfers between 1997 and 2010 [Coloured countries indicate where CCTs were implemented]



[Source: ILO, 2017]

Table 10: Examples of Cash Transfer Programmes in Selected Countries

Programme (CCT)	Country	Year Started	No of Beneficiaries	Type
Bolsa Familia Programme (BFP) - previously known as 'Bolsa Escola'	Brazil	2003 (initially 1995)	15.8 million Households or 40 million citizens	CCT

Prospera also formerly known as 'Oportunidades' and 'Progresa'	Mexico	2002 (initially 1997)	6.8 million Households	CCT
Rural Minimum Living Standard Guarantee Scheme (Dibao)	China	2006	78 million Households or 150 Million Beneficiaries	CCT/UCT/UBI
Child Support Grant (CSG)	South Africa	2004	30 million beneficiaries	CCT/Children benefit
Productive Safety Nets Programme (PSNP)	Ethiopia	2005	2 million households	CCT/Public Works
Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGA)	India	2006	50 million households	CCT/Public Works
Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP)	Pakistan	2008	5.5 million households	UCT

Bantuan Siswa Miskia (BSM) Cash transfer for poor children	Indonesia	2008	20 million children	CCT
Social Risk Mitigation Project (SRMP)	Turkey	2004	10 million children	CCT
Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP)	Ghana	2008	214,000 Households	UCT/CCT
Zambia Social Cash Transfer Programme (SCT)	Zambia	2003	250, 000	UCT
Social Cash Transfer Programme (SCTP)	Malawi	2006	160, 000 Households	UCT
Social Assistance Grant for Empowerment (SAGE)	Uganda	2011	120,000 Households	UCT/CCT
Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP)	Kenya	2004	350, 000 households	UCT/CCT
Familias en Accion (FEA)	Columbia	2000	2.5 million households (HHs)	CCT
Tanzania Productive Social	Tanzania	2010	5.1 million households	CCT

Safety Net Project (TPSSNP)				
Pantawid Pamilya Pilipino Programme (4Ps)	Philippines	2007	22 million people or 5 million households	CCT
Solidarity Programme	Dominican Republic	2005	1.1 million households	CCT
Juntos	Peru	2005	800,000 Households	CCT
Programme de Asignacion Familia (PRAF)	Honduras	2010	1.2 million households	CCT

[Source: Author based on Bastagli et al., 2016; ILO 2017; CaLP 2018]

5.9. Debates about CCTs

5.9.1. Breaking intergenerational transmission of poverty

Several arguments have been made for and against CCTs; most of which focused on evaluations of CCTs' achievements and shortcomings. The avowed goals of improving human capital accumulation among poor families and breaking intergenerational transmission of poverty for CCT programmes varies according to their purposes and national contexts (Jones, 2016). There is, however, contention about intensely focussing efforts on transitory poverty reduction, as demonstrated by conventional safety nets. SP systems have moved from a risk-management approach (SRM) which focussed on boosting human capital and preventing systemic poverty to social investment (SI) which promises an all-inclusive and productive, family- and gender-friendly outcomes centred on strategic acceleration of employment (Hemerijck, 2015). The SRM and SI paradigms both emphasised the salience of uplifting human capital and capabilities and building universal social protection that guarantees basic income and economic stabilisation (Villatoro, 2005; ECLAC, 2007; de Roldan, 2012; Hemerijck, 2015).

Table 11: Simplified Typology of Cash Transfer Programmes [CTPs]

Typology of Cash Transfers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty-Targeted Programmes (Also known as “Last Resort Programmes”) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Unconditional cash transfers (UCTs) ○ Conditional cash transfers (CCTs) • Categorical Programmes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Social pensions (non-contributory pension programmes to the elderly) ○ Disability allowance ○ Family and child allowances ○ Unemployment assistance • ‘Near cash’ Benefits <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Food stamps/vouchers ○ Other vouchers ○ In-kind benefits

[Source: Lindert, 2013]

Poverty, as discussed earlier, is a multidimensional phenomenon encompassing deprivations along multiple dimensions (Jones & Tvedten, 2019; World Bank, 2018a; Kwadzo, 2015; Alkire & Santos, 2013; Ferreira and Lugo, 2013; Laderchi et al., 2003). Intergenerational transmission of poverty is the precursor of protracted, lifecourse destitution resulting from the senior generations' incapability to transfer resources to the next generation (Moore, 2009; Harper et al, 2003). Poverty produces helplessness and susceptibility to challenging societal conditions mainly because the underprivileged have limited access to appropriate SRM mechanisms therefore unable to cope with shocks. Consequently, the tools frequently utilised and adopted by deprived households against the economic vagaries and adversities are typically informal tactics, like removing children from school, which could ultimately create human capital deficiencies thereby creating vicious cycles of intergenerational poverty (Harper et al, 2003; Jones, 2017). CCTs as SP instruments, can help to temporarily reduce chronic poverty and facilitate sustained investments that may disrupt transmissions of poverty to younger generations (Barrientos and Dejong, 2004). Thus, CCT programmes are increasingly seen and utilised as an effectual tool for poverty mitigation based on successful outcomes from Latin American countries and places like Bangladesh, Indonesia, Cambodia, Malawi, Morocco, and South Africa [Table 11] (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009; FAO, 2018e; World Bank, 2018a; ILO 2017a).

In Brazil and Mexico for instance, CCTs became essential, covering millions of households. Where successfully executed, CCTs appeared to have contributed to the attainment of SDGs targets in the aspect of poverty mitigation (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009). Yet, despite the positive impacts achieved, it is important to be careful about claims made for CCTs. For instance, concerns were expressed about whether their accomplishments could be replicated in poorer nations (Molyneux, 2007a; 2007b). CCTs were extremely effective in middle-income countries with superior institutional, technical, and administrative capacities. Consequently, whether poorer nations are capable of meeting the enlarged demand for social services engendered by new CCT programmes is ambiguous. Similar concerns relate to whether the monetary stipend paid to beneficiaries is sufficient to satisfy their needs, and to what extent this is adequate to safeguard families against unexpected shocks such as the unemployment of the breadwinner, sickness, and ecological disasters (Molyneux, 2007a). Scholars also contend that CCTs failed to essentially reach the most vulnerable and at-risk groups like the disabled, the aged or people who are outside the reach of educational and medical facilities, who also lack the capabilities to actively comply with the programme's conditions (de la Brière and Rawlings, 2006). Similarly, as emphasised by Adato and Hoddinott (2007, p.4) 'if poor people's preference differs sufficiently from conditions placed on their behaviour by government, the restrictions that conditionality imposes may actually reduce total welfare gains'. Therefore, the imposition of conditionalities may be counter-productive for citizens.

5.9.2. CCTs as poverty reduction tool

The debates on CCTs demonstrate that there is no magic bullet for reforming SP programmes (Devereux et al., 2015a). Whilst the evaluations of CCT programmes produced certain compelling outcome suggesting effectiveness, yet they are unable to definitively claim to have conquered the supply-side provision of health and educational services. Admittedly, undeniable connections are created because of execution of CCT programmes which assert to resolve specific challenges, nevertheless, newer, and more problematic and unexpected issues ensue in the process of implementing CCTs, especially at both community and household levels (Rawlings, 2004; Rawlings & Rubio; 2005). Arguments on the enforcement of CCT conditionalities are highlighted by scholars as revolving around two

branches. From one branch, is the claim about families modifying their behaviours from not registering their children in school and keeping them away from health centres, necessitating the imposition of conditions on families as this conduct results in underinvestment in human capital (Son, 2008; Herzog, 2011; Gabel & Kamerman, 2013). Another branch counters the notion of conditionalities suggesting that by their imposition many underprivileged families will be limited in benefitting from the transfers (Millan et al., 2019). Moreover, parent's refusal to send their children to schools or to keep-up with health appointments is probably because it is not their normal behaviour but probably, because they are simply incapable, owing principally to material deprivation.

According to (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009, p. 26):

CCTs are just one option within the agenda of social protection programs that can be used to redistribute income to poor households. They cannot be the right instrument for all poor households. For example, they cannot serve the elderly poor, childless households, or households whose children are outside the age covered by the CCT. Thus, redistribution to those groups is better handled through other means.

Additionally, Fiszbein and Schady (2009) presented two arguments to explain why CTs are not effective instruments for the eradication of poverty. Firstly, reducing poverty is best accomplished by pursuing economic growth especially in the poorer nations, however, to implement effective monetary policies in the context of limited technical capacities is a challenge. Yet, in many resource-constrained, developing countries, national governments, in attempting to address or mitigate poverty, have to concentrate efforts on the provision of basic infrastructures like upgrading public services and projects such as roads, schools, hospitals. However, proponents view CCTs as having little utility to the deprived populations as it does not portend any good for them. Proponents also argue that investment in public infrastructure is to be preferred above minimal welfare provisions for deprived people. The other issue relates to the notion that CCTs are perceived as disincentivising beneficiaries, discouraging employment and job-creation or development in individual's human capital for future rewarding work. Sadoulet and Janvry (2004) concurred and highlighted that CCTs are feeble instruments for poverty mitigation because many deprived citizens (like those without children or adult children that have passed

school age or working age) cannot satisfy the eligibility conditions imposed by cash transfer since the conditionalities are unrelated and unconnected to the depth of poverty. Generally, CCTs according to Sadoulet and Janvry (2004, p. 4), have three key complications. One, 'they are unable to correctly identify the chronically poor. Two, targeting the poor to minimise efficiency leakages when cash grants are made to categories of children already highly likely instead of going to school as opposed to children who would be induced to go to school through the transfer. Three, low uptake because the cash transfer offered is not sufficient to meet the opportunity cost of the change in behaviour'. Thus, from these clarifications, it is evident that CCTs cannot adequately address and resolve the conditions of the deprived and underprivileged population.

5.9.3. CCTs and citizens' political preferences and voting behaviour

Recently, a strand of literature has emerged revealing the impacts that CCTs have in influencing household behaviours, especially with regards political references. In a study by Conover, Zarate, Camacho & Baez (2019) on the comprehensive Colombian CCT programme, *Familias en Accion*, it was demonstrated how enrolment in the CCT programme increased political participation and support for the political party in power and their candidates amongst recipients of the cash transfers. Scholars like Dodlova (2016), Zucco (2015); Correa (2015) De La O, (2013), Baez et al., (2012), and Nupia (2011) demonstrated empirically that there is a positive correlation between CCTs paid to beneficiaries and political preferences of voters. However, majority of these studies focussed on South American countries (Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Uruguay) and mostly on electoral returns neglecting broader political impacts. With reference to Africa, there are scanty literature focusing on the electoral/political impacts of CCTs on citizens' voting behaviour and political preferences (Dodlova, 2016; Gentilini, 2016a; Abdul-Gafaar et al., 2018). The limited studies on the impact of political preferences may also suggest that, in Africa, CTPs may lead citizens to be less involved in political activities rather than demonstrating increased political participation. Other studies Bobba (2011) Labonne (2013), also reached varying degrees of conclusions regarding the electoral impacts of CCTs on citizens' political preferences in Africa. For instance, in her study on Ghana and Mali, Dodlova (2016) argued that CCTs did not please the voters as the politicians had

anticipated; thus, rather it decreased political participation on the part of voters and beneficiaries and did not produce incumbent advantage to the party in power. However, critics noted that some of these studies did not extensively consider the broader civic participation and non-electoral political activities in politically stable multi-party contexts (Conover et al. 2019; Correia, 2015; Baez et al., 2012).

However, the fact that a few studies have not conclusively established the correlation between CCT and political preferences, or that there is only limited literature in this particular area of social protection in Africa, does not indicate that voters (in SSA) are not also influenced by CTs to reward politicians with their votes. Gleason et al., (2001) demonstrated that it is possible to alter the economic circumstances of households, especially poor families through transfer grants and persuade them to exercise their voting rights in favour of the incumbents. Indeed, scholars such as Robinson & Verdier (2002), Camacho & Conover (2011) and Drazen and Eslava (2015) found that politicians could strategically allocate benefits to specific sections of the populations or to particular groups as a way to improve their political support and convince beneficiaries to vote in their favour. The SP literature is also replete with studies which demonstrates that citizens use the signals from social policy programmes as a basis for evaluating the performance and abilities of politicians; and also, as a barometer to determine their preferences for redistribution (Conover et al., 2019; Dodlova & Jay, 2017; 2016; Baez et al., 2012; Drazen & Eslava, 2010).

Ultimately, the role of CCTs in increasing civic engagement and not just in increasing political preferences or participation, seems to be more critical than voting/electoral impacts (Conover et al., 2019). Conclusively, studies have shown that in countries where CCTs have been implemented, programmes have elevated the nature of political discourse and sensitised citizens to the political process through their interactions with programme administrators and public officials who have also become channels of providing useful information to participants about their rights and responsibilities in the social cash transfers, including important information on health issues, nutrition practices and maternal and child care. Citizens in many countries have participated in periodic meetings at the community levels involving other beneficiaries, political actors, and programme

administrators. These interactions can nurture trust in the state which can resultantly bolster citizens' participations in the electoral process and in the policymaking process more broadly (Conover et al., 2019). However, many scholars agree broadly that citizens, through CCT programmes, can exercise their voting powers to freely reward or punish incumbent government regardless of whether the programmes are part of public or social policies or discretionary fiscal spending (Conover et al., 2019; Imai, King & Velasco-Rivera, 2017).

5.10. Nature of the cash transfer debates

Gentilini (2016a) argues that the CT debate is not new. The microeconomic groundwork of the debates originated from the neoclassical theory as outlined by Southworth (1945). In the 1980s and mid-90s, the transfer debate received widespread attention and more recently the emergence of CCTs on the global stage owed its characterisation to criticisms over the neoliberal policies of the early to mid-80s. The central philosophical quandary in the debate is the trade-off between provision of choices and ensuring a positive externality which refers to the benefit enjoyed by third parties which, in this case, are the beneficiaries (Gentilini, 2016a, p.4). For instance, CTs inherently functions as the modality providing beneficiaries (recipients) with the bigger choice whilst concomitantly stimulating local markets. Besides, an intermittent interpretation considers CTs as inherently paternalistic, from this standpoint, the argument supporting transfers can then orbit around over-supply of public goods. This notion incorporates informational, principal-agent or behavioural disagreements which has provided the underpinnings for most of the debates around conditionalities (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009; Gentilini, 2016b). Therefore, in its broadest sense, there is an underlying assumption that CCTs represents a channel of modifying behaviours nay consumption patterns. Yet, on the hand, transfers prevent people from maximising their potentials through choice, which, as described by Devarajan (2013) is due to the interchangeability or 'fungibility of cash', which underlies the inherent power of money and its effect on people. Thus, with this utility (of fungibility) cash can help to alter the balance of power between the rulers and the governed. Devarajan (2013, p.2) sums this up when he states: '...cash transfers have the potential to shift not just poverty-reducing policies but also the balance of power between government and its citizens, in

favour of the latter'. Consequently, the conventional proposition in favour of CCTs is simple: cash provide choice and transfer power, thus making them redefinitional²⁴ and transformative (Gentilini, 2016a; 2016b). Whilst this is a great advantage, it however needs to be qualified. Can having choice be qualified as a cardinal CCT objective? And can choice be freely and effectively applied in the context of limited availability of service and goods and, or are they simply exorbitant? This issue is key: as it is linked to technical issues around the efficient functioning of markets. Eventually, the contestation between fungibility and paternalism appears embedded in the political economy and sociological debates that stretches beyond the provenance and implementation of CCTs (Gentilini, 2016a, 2016b; Scarlato and D'Agostino, 2016; World Bank, 2016c; 2018a). These debates nevertheless affect the not only the design of CCTs but their implementation and operations in different contexts which inevitably are also constrained by contextual factors such as what the public perceive (citizens' perceptions) to be what poor people 'deserve' ('the deserving destitute')²⁵. The avowed public redistributive preferences and the social contract expressed in any polity, are all deeply engrained in path dependency and the influence of contextual determinants. This, then, is the paradox of CCTs, as pointed out by Devereux (2019) perhaps, more than any, concretises the rationality and necessity of CCTs and SP as mechanisms for improving livelihoods and wellbeing.

Moving on from the cash transfer debate, is the other debate relating to the neoliberal slant of CCTs. Saad-Filho²⁶ (2015; 2016) argues that the contribution and achievements of CCTs to the mitigation of serious inequality and reduction of poverty (which is globally acknowledged) have been undermined by the neoliberal context in which the CCTs evolved and must therefore function. Indeed, many of CCTs' limitations can be tackled via the execution of pro-poor universal social policies as critical component of a larger inclusive developmental strategy. The blend of inclusive macroeconomic policies with universal, intensely (re)distributional social policies can produce quicker and more significant gains against poverty and inequality than broader neoliberal policies, or CCTs specifically (Saad-Filho, 2016). There is a need, consequently, to depart from the hegemonic neoclassical or neoliberal approaches, that postulates that poverty is triggered by marginalisation from economic activity or markets, and that market-led growth swiftly moves to eradicate poverty; we must recognise or accept that distributional outcomes are consequential or

incidental. Conversely, political economy analyses of poverty and redistribution suggests that wealth accumulation simultaneously generates and eradicates poverty, and also produces and decreases inequality. Overall, the effect of growth on poverty and inequality is therefore contingent on the structure of the growth process and the social policy interventions.

5.11. Section Two: Theorising CCTs and social protection

Proceeding from the preceding section, this section will now consider the various theoretical approaches that have been used to analyse CCTs and SP. The section is structured into two parts. The first part entails the analysis of SP with regards to the countries of the global south. The second part focused strictly on CCTs by discussing the lessons garnered from its implementation in both SSA and South America. As evident from the discourse of SP in development and from several cash transfer programming (CTP) literature, there is a plethora of frameworks that have been used to analyse CTP particularly CCTs in developing countries' contexts. Before reviewing some of the more common conceptual frameworks, I will briefly reconsider two sources which have influenced conceptual thinking on frameworks of SP and have therefore, shaped most other frameworks employed by both practitioners and academics in international development practice.

5.12. Social protection from the Bismarckian era to 1948.

SP as a critical component of social policy is over a century old (Barrientos, 2018a; 2019b). As originally conceived, SP complemented and gradually replaced informal safety nets characteristics of nascent modern states. Although informal safety nets still prevail in many nations of the global south, yet, SP especially in the context of the '*Leaving No One Behind*' mantra of the globally endorsed 2030's *Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs) has become the critical tool for tackling and reducing poverty, inequality, and livelihood risks for world's poorest (UNDP, 2019; FAO, 2018c; World Bank, 2018a). According to the ILO (2017b), 71% of the world's population or roughly 5.2 billion people are without any form of SP. Based on findings by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), there are very high coverage gaps in sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia. In Africa alone, effective coverage which encompasses both contributory and non-contributory SP

schemes is at about 18%, which in comparison to other world's regions, makes Africa the region with the lowest coverage amongst all the regions (ILO, 2017a; BMZ, 2019). Many citizens in Africa lack access to SP, exacerbated by the absence of basic SP floors and SP systems: 'the tragic paradox of social protection is that it is those with the greatest need who have the least access to social protection' (BMZ, 2019, p.4). In 2018, the world commemorated the seventieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 25 which in 1948 covenanted that:

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control' (United Nations, UDHR, Article 25, 1948).

Despite the concerted efforts towards poverty eradication and global social justice, UDHR's promise remains largely unrealised. The failure to achieve the 'grand promise' that *Article 25* represents is not attributable to a lack of effort but rather to huge disparity in the development trajectories of the modern states of both the global north and south. Samson & Taylor (2015) observed that whilst high-income countries have been developing and expanding SP to their citizens for over a hundred years, the countries in the global south, lower-and middle-income countries (LMIC), failed to adequately provide SP for their citizens. SP in LMIC is mostly for employees of government and established formal sector private organisations (Samson & Taylor, 2015; BMZ, 2019). Citizens in LMICs are frequently more exposed to risks than citizens in high-income countries, due to the high levels of informality of the labour markets, a factor that reduces workers' access to employment-related SP schemes. Anecdotal evidence estimates that about 88% of workers in LMICs are in informal employment (BMZ, 2019; UNDP, 2019), with majority engaged in subsistence farming or agriculture.

But as the world confronts increased risks related to climate change, global pandemics (COVID-19), correlated shocks and forced displacements occasioned by ecological disasters, epidemics/pandemics, it is not unlikely that it is the citizens in LMICs that would

be mostly disproportionately affected as these are also the countries that possess the lowest capacity of coping with these shocks. In the light of these realities, SP systems became critical policy tools with some of the best potential for addressing countries' capacities to respond and adapt to shocks and crises as a way of ensuring sustained protection of population (UNDP, 2019; BMZ, 2019). Accordingly, social protection is now described as shock-sensitive and adaptive (OPM, 2015; 2016).

5.13. Citizenship and social protection in development contexts

SP as a subset of social policy, is the domain and the platform through which the political processes of redistribution occurs; therefore, it serves as the entry point, firstly, for affirming a state-citizen relationship pathway; the avenue through which citizens are enabled to exercise their social rights and articulate their preferences for redistribution. Moreover, and secondly, by serving as the channels for meeting the social and welfare needs of citizens, it becomes the platform for reaffirming social citizenship. As Roberts (2012) noted, social policy remains one of the major platforms for fostering relations between a state and its citizens; consequently, social policy inexorably affects the quality of citizenship. Regrettably, there is sparse literature on how SP in development context is affected by citizenship and vice versa. Thankfully, there is now an evolving strand of promising research in this area.

Defining the concept of citizenship in developing countries is difficult, complex, and highly contested (Oduro, 2015; Kabeer, 2005; Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2017). While it has no absolute definition, however, citizenship remains a powerful ideal and generally the manner people are treated is often associated with their status as citizens. Citizenship incorporates the protection of a people's rights, and has three dimensions: legal, political, and social (Turner, 2009; Kabeer, 2005; Marshall, 1950). However, in many sub-Saharan African developing countries and societies, for instance, there are enduring questions about the status of tribes, ethnic groups and minorities which relates to fundamental issues about the preservation and promotion of democratic principles and affirmation of basic rights. These questions of primordial solidarity and belongingness negates or are at odds with the Western conception (or rather the Marshallian notion) of citizenship (Turner,

2009). Thus, while rudimentary notions of citizenship such as legal and political citizenships are valid in these contexts, the dimensions of social citizenships are severely curtailed, proscribed or even non-existent in many contexts (Gao et al., 2020). The reality in many nations in the global south, according to Gao et al., (2020) is that citizens experienced severely curtailed political and civil forms of citizenships due to the pattern of political formations of the postcolonial independent African countries which generally disrupted any supposed sequencing of the civil, political, and social citizenships of citizens. So, at independence, citizens could only be conferred with only civil and political forms of citizenship. The consequence was that the intersection of citizenship competed with mutual forms of belonging, solidarity, and community within those countries (Gao et al., 2020), which resulted in the inability of several swathes of the population having their social citizenship rights curtailed or proscribed in practice. Thus, rightly, there could be no talk of social citizenship in many sub-Saharan African countries but rather a form of *'pseudo-developmental social citizenship'* could be discerned.

Normatively, every citizen is entitled to the basic principles of freedom, justice, and political rights. Unfortunately, due to the imprecise or evolutionary nature of democracies in many African countries, the concept of citizenship is often unclear. Social citizenship, according to Turner (2009, p.66), may be defined:

as the bundle of rights and obligations that define the identity of members of a political community, thereby regulating access to the benefits and privileges of membership. Thus, social citizenship involves membership, a distribution of rewards, the formation of identities and a set of virtues relating to obligation and responsibility.

The lack of social citizenship is clearly evident in a country like Nigeria. Besides, as a multicultural and multi-ethnic society, the rudimentary concepts of civil and political citizenship connects with and permeates all aspects of people's lives in post-colonial Nigeria (Kabeer, 2005). In a multicultural society, Skeie (2003) observes that there are multiple situations that can undermine the issue of recognition of the status and rights of the groups. He contends that the 'membership of different minority or majority groups may be a question of ethnicity, but it can also relate to religion, gender or sexual preference'

(Skeie, 2003; p.47). Hence, citizenship is strongly associated with the issues of identity, and therefore reinforce the debate and dichotomy between the majority and minority disputes (Skeie, 2003). In the case of Nigeria, Kabeer (2005) observed that due to lack of state-funded universal/comprehensive social security, citizens resort to their tribal and ethnic communities for social, political, and economic support. Consequently, many minorities are excluded from representation in government whilst also been subjected to manipulations and exploitations by wily politicians (Alubo, 2000; Abah and Okwori, 2005; Kabeer, 2005). Also, because in Nigeria, some political and civil rights of citizenship are linked with ethnicity, a citizen or an individual could live an entire life in a particular sub-national region of Nigeria (including been born in that particular area) without qualifying for the rights accruable to indigenes of the area. Consequently, citizens are compelled to seek such rights in their ancestral regions or home states, irrespective of the tenuousness of their connections to their home states or subnational homesteads. In these uncertain conditions, individuals, classified as non-indigenes encounter and experience all sorts of discrimination which can be as serious as being denied electoral rights or residency rights or being denied educational access for their children (Kabeer, 2005; Abah and Okwori, 2005). It is therefore not surprising that many Nigerians find comfort, and reassurance for social, economic, and political support within their ethnic and kindred communities. This is especially more striking in a context where the state is not providing public social welfare/SP.

Further, Alubo (2005) and Kabeer (2005) also indicated that based on the strong feelings of ethnic affiliations by citizens, political elites and leaders from different ethnic communities leverage enormous capital from this perilous situation, which is also exacerbated by poverty, to play the 'the politics of the belly' (Bayart, 1988; Kabeer, 2005, p. 13) or 'politics of stomach infrastructure' (Ojo, 2019, p. 242) which means the 'exclusion of minorities from representation in government and hence from an avenue for material accumulation and the location of economic and social facilities' (Alubo, 2000 cited by Kabeer, 2005; p.13). Consequently, Kabeer quoting Abah and Okwori (2005), asserts that 'it is not clear whether the problem that Nigerians face today is that of a state without citizens – because there is no real basis for a common Nigerian identity – or that of citizens without a state, in that the possibility of a common identity is thwarted by powerful sections of the elite who benefit

from reinforcing ethnic divisions' (Kabeer, 2005; p.13). The tensions generated from the lack of a common identity and the inequalities existing amongst the various tribes and ethnic groups in Nigeria has not only caused unending conflicts and instability, but they are also responsible for driving or energising the agitations by separate groups and individuals for 'social confirmation of identity' (Honohan, 2002; p.250). The quest for citizenship, after all, is a quest for belonging, hence, 'social confirmation of identity' is connected to the fortunes of citizens and wellbeing of any society. But, as demonstrated in classical liberal theory, such agitations for recognition can be contradictory to basic principles of democracy (Lija, 2011). This is because by acknowledging the status quo, past injustices are ignored, and this can have debilitating effects on power relations; the consequence of which can actually make the minorities and other vulnerable citizens to be worse off than the rest of the citizenry.

However, national identity, based on the examples of advanced welfare capitalist countries, is not, in and of itself, a necessary and sufficient condition for the sustainability of redistribution, development of a welfare state and social solidarity. This is because as Sandelind (2016) asserts, national identity is a constructed and 'imagined' identity which can also be re-constructed to adapt to changing realities. Sandelind (2016) cited Miller's definition of identity (1995) in which he declares that national identity is 'always in flux, moulded and shaped by the various sub-cultures existing within (a) particular society' (Miller, 1995; p. 128). Moreover, for developing countries to attain strong solidarity and an inclusive society, the quest for national identity must be weighed against other drivers or forces that can weaken solidarity such as changing demographics, social change, innovation, economic inequities, migration, power, and political contestations. To build an inclusive and a social cohesive society, therefore, requires a combination, not just of having a strong sense of civic or ethnic identity, but also the presence of a more pluralistic conception of national identity that takes advantage of the cultural diversity within developing societies.

5.14. Envisioning a new conceptual model

According to Barrientos (2019a; 2019b), it is important to acknowledge, that SP design and implementation have varied in the different contexts they were introduced because of the

persistence of poverty in which over a billion people are struggling to survive on less than a dollar (\$1) per day (ILO, 2017a; World Bank, 2018a; UNDP, 2019). The persistence of poverty and its associated challenges has a lot to do with not just the uncomfortable realities of the miserable lives of many poor people; but also, sadly, the reality that many of the 'working poor', who by definition, cannot simply work their way out of poverty, as they do not earn enough to feed themselves and their families, much less confront the uncertainties or the economic risks that continually undermine their livelihoods. The fact that several citizens in the global south earn their livelihoods in the informal sector (informal economy) where, on the average, wages are low and risks very high (Chen, 2008), means that it will take a longer time for these countries to move out of poverty even if they all embrace and aggressively implement social policies progressively for the next decade. Besides, informal employment and labour is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon hampered by the absence of relevant laws and legislations on taxation, SP, or entitlements to pensions and other employment benefits in development contexts (Julia et al., 2015). On the positive side though, it is encouraging that many African countries as noted by the UNDP (2019) are moving progressively to change the narrative by embracing SP programmes resulting in what is now a 'third wave of social protection diffusion' emerging across the continent (UNDP, 2019). Consequently, as SP is entrenched, national variations and contextual differences will be crucial. Also, SP research on Africa is likely to blossom in the coming decade (UNDP, 2019; Millan et al., 2019) spawning in the process new conceptual and methodological approaches that should enrich social protection discourses and literature.

5.15. Theoretical perspectives

I will now highlight some of the theoretical frameworks that are employed in the analyses of CCTs in the literature. They are discussed in separate sub-sections below.

5.15.1. Capabilities Approach

Conceptually, CCTs and SP, in particular poverty mitigation, are closely interwoven to the capabilities approach proposed by Amartya Sen. This approach 'constitutes a normative proposition to human development, based on the notion that the goal of development

should be to expand people's opportunities to enjoy a greater set of valuable activities or ways of being' (Tjelta, 2005, p. 24). As Sen argued, individual liberties are essential, which informs us that if one is to make an evaluation of how a society is structured, we need to recognise the degree of freedom possessed by citizens. Within this approach, Sen (1999, p. 87) depicts 'capabilities as the substantive freedoms he or she enjoys leading to the kind of life he or she has reason to value'. SP programmes, such as CCTs could and should be meaningful to the extent and degree that they can liberate an individual or a person from the difficulties and vagaries of life, and the challenges confronting an individual from which he needs to liberate himself. A second concern underscored by the capabilities approach relates to its concern with 'a plurality of different features of people's life and concern' (Sen., 2009, p. 232). Tjelta, (2005), stressed that development of human beings should be assessed holistically. In other words, the development of a person depends on several factors. Concentrating or centering exclusively on poverty in the analysis of capability approach has serious implications. Essentially, it demands a move away, a necessary shift from other variables like income, consumption, utility, and primary goods to capabilities. This point is highlighted by Sen (1999, p. 108) when he asserts that 'policy debates have indeed been distorted by overemphasis on income poverty and income inequality, to the neglect of deprivations that relate to other variables like unemployment, ill health, lack of education and social exclusion' (cf. Tjelta, 2006, p. 26).

5.15.2. Social Investment (SI) perspective

The early provenances of the social investment perspective are distinguishable being connected to the foundations, in the 1930s of the Swedish social-democratic welfare state, and the contestations of Swedish social democrats who considered social policy as an 'investment' rather than a 'cost' (Hemerijck, 2018; 2017; Nelson & Sandberg, 2017; Deeming and Smyth, 2015; Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016; Morel et al, 2012). The perspective is different from the traditional Keynesian and neoliberal principles which espoused a larger role for the markets, families, and communities. Jenson (2010) attributed the failures of neoliberalism and the truncation of the political space in contributing to the expansion of SI's perspectives. Hence, with the dawn of a new process of SP transformation and growth, the principles that helped to conceptualise and concretised the SI perspective

were solidified (Jenson, 2010; Franco, 2006). Some of the principles later materialised in the design and execution of CCT programmes (Jenson, 2010; Franco, 2006) These principles included the enhanced acknowledgement of markets as the vehicle to breaking with poverty; the 'co-responsibility of beneficiaries' for their own social wellbeing; the delivery of monetary grants to finance the procurement of services instead of concentrating on the delivery/provision of services; the devolution of services; an emphasis on the poorest households as well as on accurate targeting of potential recipients and the importance of the impact of social programmes evaluated in comparison with their original goals and targets (Franco, 2006 cited in Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016).

SI is a theoretical approach intent on 'adapting' SP to extant socio-economic conditions by emphasising policies that invest in human capital (Jenson, 2010; Morel et al, 2012; Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016). It considers social policy as a productive factor for economic advancement and growth in employment, which can then become a vehicle to tackling prevailing socio-economic conditions such as the flexibility of labour markets and the changes in family structures (Morel et al, 2012a; 2012b; Jenson, 2010; Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016). The logic of the SI perspective rests on the notion of investment in human capital as a social policy tenet providing people with the necessary resources to confront economic risks, whilst promoting co-responsibility, including rights, and ultimately assuring equality of opportunities and prioritisation of activation programmes as opposed to passive forms of SP (Morel et al, 2012a; 2012b; Giddens, 1998). Social Investment is child-centred: promising investments in children as a necessity that fostering and nurturing would-be future adults with the capabilities to confront risks, take charge of their own welfare and promote equality of opportunities in society is vital (Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016). SI perspective was formally adopted by the EU, multilateral institutions, and governments in the Americas for the design of social policies and CCTs (Jenson, 2010; Cantillon, 2011; Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016). SI recognised a role for state intervention and is adaptable to the 'knowledge-based economy', predicated on a skilled and flexible workforce that is adaptable to the constantly changing economic conditions and is a channel of innovation, and progress ensuing from collective creativity of the state (Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016).

However, the notion that CCTs devised under the inspiration of the SI perspective can produce sustainable extensive improvements in social outcomes have been critiqued (Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016; Lavinias, 2013). Concerns were raised about the necessity of addressing the issues of structural deficiencies in the different political economies where SI is operational given that CCTs on their own, despite their much-acclaimed successes, have not proven sufficient to tackle or reduce poverty. Empirical evidence suggests that CCTs seem to function properly when embedded within a comprehensive set of programmes to improve social and workers' rights, desegregating workers into the formal economy under enhanced conditions. For SI to achieve significant enduring outcomes in ameliorating inequality and poverty will therefore depend on the effective executions of processes of market and social integration (Hemerijck, 2018; 2017; Franzoni & Sanchez-Ancochea, 2014 cf. Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016).

5.15.3. Wellbeing approach

The wellbeing approach has steadily grown in the literature, although some contend it is still a burgeoning field. And despite being a nascent field, several scholars and policymakers continue to promote a wellbeing approach to direct social policy decisions (Ramirez, 2016; White, 2014; 2015; Rojas and Martinez, 2012; Cummins et al, 2009). The wellbeing approach (WA) underscores the important role of social relationships in people's lives (Camfield et al, 2009; Ramirez, 2016) and, therefore, presents a liberalised vision of humankind, livelihoods and the influence of policies and programmes in augmenting lives. This vision therefore permits rationalisations about issues of poverty and deprivation not only because people lack resources, but also due to how individual rationalise and express their feeling and thoughts about what they are capable of accomplishing (White, 2010; Gough et al, 2006). The WA approach is valuable in the analyses of social relationships embedded in the delivery of CCTs, whose principal goal is the improvement in the wellbeing of the poorest families and lessening of the intergenerational transmission of poverty by goading and energising the investments in basic capabilities (Ramirez, 2016; Molyneux, 2006). A critical aspect of wellbeing scholarship is prominently situating the individual and their perspectives at pivotal position so as to show through far-reaching empirical work that the good life involves a multiplicity of aspects that undoubtedly lie beyond the material

and economic realms. The approach is inherently holistic drawing heavily from various subjective and objective approaches such as basic needs, capabilities approach, happiness, and psychosocial perspectives. Often, wellbeing was equated with the material position of a country, measured by its gross domestic product (GDP). However, it has been argued that GDP as a metric for measuring the success of a country is, in and of itself, an insufficient metric especially as it does not fully apprehend the entire ramifications of human life. Therefore, it is generally acknowledged that other methods are required to capture other dimensions of human life like the social and the environmental aspects that GDP failed to incorporate (Conceicao & Bandura, 2008). The wellbeing approach was criticised for being an ambiguous concept lacking universally acceptable definitions and interpretations (Molyneux et al., 2016).

5.15.4. Political economy approach

The literature on the politics of the welfare state has long acknowledged that policies are political (Pierson, 1993; Hickey, 2008; 2011; Barrientos and Villa, 2016). Many authors (Hickey, 2008; 2011; Lavers and Hickey, 2015; Lavers & Hickey, 2016) affirmed that the politics of implementing SP programmes is an important part of their impacts and successes. Hossain & Moore (2001) drew an analysis of the politics behind the design and implementation of CCTs in Bangladesh by exploring political ideologies, institutions and actors shaping its origins and evolutions. Hickey (2008; 2009; 2013) similarly considers ideologies, policy spaces and political actors while examining, in a cross-country comparative study, which forms of politics underpins the implementation of successful SP programmes in Africa and Asia. Graham (2002) proposed a framework for studying the political economy elements in the analysis of safety nets and SP programmes. He highlighted the importance of public attitudes towards poverty in the public choice of programmes. Devereux et.al (2005) and Hickey & Lavers (2016), recognised political will as the chief determinant of whether SP programmes are affordable and sustainable. Britto (2005) analysed the emergence of CCTs in Latin America and found that political economy issues, such as consideration of risks and advantages of policies across disparate clusters in the society and the incentives, principles and comparative influence of the actors involved, were the key determinants to their successes. Both Graham (2002) and Britto (2005)

affirmed that public attitudes towards the poor in Latin America are comparable to those of the US and therefore perceive that a lack of effort on the poor themselves is a cause of poverty. The authors believe that CCTs are politically feasible only because of their conditionality component, which gives co-responsibilities to beneficiaries instead of simply giving them hand-outs. The major critique of political economy lies in the overemphasis of politics which tends to undermine the roles of agency/rational actors, ideas, and institutions. North, Wallis and Weingast (2009) and Khan (2010) and Lavers & Hickey (2016) proposed an adapted political settlement framework as an improved variant of the political economy approach.

5.15.5. Social contract approach

The social contract perspective is a corollary to the political economy approach. The social contract approach draws inspiration from Rawls' (1972) *'Theory of Justice'* which extends the social contract principle to incorporate the legality of all social and political institutions. Rawls claimed that citizens would not willingly subject themselves to constitutional authority except certain conditions were in place to guarantee fundamental liberties and equality. On the one hand the approach offers both analytical and normative standpoints that locates, methodically, the extension of SP within the mutable nature of state-society relations over time, especially about extension of 'social contract' to deprived citizens via their annexation into SP programmes. Normatively, a social contract perspective re-locates SP within a broader shift towards social justice predicated upon the primacy of social rights, instead of patronage, implying that citizens are obligated to perform certain duties in return for citizenship (Hickey, 2013). In other words, the approach contends that SP, particularly in developing countries, should be promoted, and pursued from a 'contractual' standpoint. Nevertheless, this approach constructs numerous claims that might appear vague, which may also be methodologically problematic (Hickey, 2008); consequently, some of its findings are limited in scope. However, the potential of the social contract approach in providing significant insights that can aid in the promotion and expansion of SP in Africa is promising, especially as the character of state-society relations appears to be the most crucial political force shaping development processes and outcomes (Hickey, 2011a; 2011b).

5.15.6. Conceptual framework: the primacy of politics and the inseparability of the social from the political economy

Having summarised the different conceptual frameworks and perspectives, and in line with recent thinking on CCTs and SP in developing countries, this study hypothesises that politics is at the root of contextual variation. Consequently, the adapted political settlement framework, a variant of both the political economy and political settlement frameworks, is employed. The framework permits an understanding of country-specific socioeconomic and political determinants that shapes and informs social policymaking. Also, it interrogates elites' commitment to the expansion of SP programmes by aligning both domestic beliefs and transnational ideas and their interplay in specific context (Lavers and Hickey, 2015). In adopting the adapted political economy framework, the study builds on insights from extant scholarship in SP literature. The framework like others, recognises that politics matters for SP in general (Graham, 2002a, 2002b; Pritchett, 2005; Hickey, 2009a; 2009b); and specifically, to sub-Saharan Africa (Hickey, 2008; Nino-Zarazua et al, 2011). Graham (2002a, 2002b) and Barrientos and Pellissery (2012) argued that politics shapes SP processes and that causal links run in opposite directions: SP can equally transform politics and enhance social cohesion (Mkandawire, 2004, 2007, 2013) and 'social contracts' (Hickey, 2011).

However, despite the growing research on how politics, socioeconomic changes and global processes can influence SP in developing countries there is, as yet no consensus or agreement on how politics can mediate redistributive outcomes in fragile or transient democracies. The adapted political economy framework emphasises the 'inseparability of the social from the economic' (Yi, 2015; Lavers & Hickey, 2015), which makes it relevant as a tool for analysing social policy in developing contexts. Also, it has a heuristic holistic perspective to social policy. Investigating SP in Nigeria, through the lens of the Nigerian CCTs, using the adapted framework, will therefore elevate our understanding of the sources of variation at both the individual and the aggregate level of welfare arrangements in Nigeria.

5.16. Can CCTs in Africa have transformative effects?

CCT programmes' impact on poverty, gender inequality, and stigma/discrimination based on available evidence demonstrates that expected outcomes are varied, complex and may be felt at multiple levels. A growing body of scholarship interrogated the extent to which CCTs can have transformative effects especially in the area of gender: young women and adolescent girls' health (UNDP, 2014, Dellar et al, 2015; Choudry et al, 2015; Devereux et al, 2015a; Devereux et al, 2015; Molyneux & Thomson, 2011; Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2008; Roelen, 2014; Barrientos & Hulme, 2016). In a recent UNDP report, CCTs helped to reduce poverty, economic and gender inequalities, all of which are priority outcomes for many African governments (UNDP, 2019). Also, CCTs have been linked with helping in the battle against HIV/AIDS in Africa (UNDP, 2014; 2019). Other impacts of CCT on human development includes improved outcomes in education and health (UNDP, 2019; World Bank, 2018a). Based on this empirical evidence, governments and development partners are increasingly adopting CCTs and SP programmes more broadly, as an investment in human capital development of the citizenry. CCTs have been executed to deliver multifarious positive outcomes emphasising citizens' overall wellbeing, resilience, and capabilities. For instance, in two studies conducted in Uganda and South Africa, CCTs were associated with delayed sexual debut, fewer sexual partners, reduced sexual activities and reduced intergenerational transactional sex among adolescent girls and young women (Choudry et al, 2015; Dellar et al, 2015).

While these are exciting results, it is essential to enquire whether CCTs can impact health outcomes including HIV drivers at a structural level; in which case are they transformative in the long term? (Devereux et al, 2015a). Alternatively, are they merely cushioning the effects of poverty, gender inequality, stigma, and discrimination, in which case they are not conclusively so (UNDP, 2014; UNDP, 2019). The SI approach lately became central to AIDS responses. Based on a 2012 joint communique, UNDP and UNAIDS described the significance of 'development synergies' – namely investments in other sectors of a national economy that portend beneficial effects on HIV outcomes – to strategic investments in AIDS responses. SP is an exemplar of such a 'development synergy', given the mounting evidence base indicating CCTs' capacities to prevent HIV, mostly via sexual transmission, in certain contexts. The plethora of the evidence on HIV impacts originates from programmes

targeted at girls and young women in generalised situations. Impacts were demonstrated in three broad areas (UNDP, 2014; Transfer Project, 2016).

The significance of this empirical evidence suggests that if CCTs do not operate at a structural level, then it is likely that these positive outcomes will cease once the cash transfer programme is terminated. If the effects of CCTs are short-lived, then it is possible that the transfer has not prevented HIV infection or other infection of other diseases but has merely delayed it (Choudhry et al, 2015; Dellar et al 2015). Arguably, for CCTs to be effective in achieving positive health outcomes, they need to be gender-mainstreamed or accompanied by 'gender transformation efforts' (Krishnan et al, 2008; Gideon and Molyneux, 2012; Molyneux et al., 2016) aimed not only at women but men, children, and the broader community. This way, CCT programmes are more likely to have deep, long-lasting transformative effects if these other strategies are in place. Although it is not easy to assess a structural intervention, it is evident that a regular and predictable CCT programme can provide more than just material wellbeing; it can also improve optimism, financial autonomy, status, household relations and gender equality [Table 12]. Because these outcomes alter the contexts in which sexual risk-taking behaviours occurs, CCTs can be associated with reduced sexual activity, delayed sexual debut, and most significantly, a reduction in HIV-infection (Baird et al, 2010; Choudhry et al, 2015; Dellar et al, 2015). Thus, despite not typically considered to be a transformative measure, the evidence from the studies highlighted demonstrates that CCTs have the capacity to transform young women and adolescent girls' vulnerability to HIV/AIDs (Baird et al, 2012; UNDP, 2014; Choudhry et al, 2015; Dellar et al, 2015).

5.17. CCTs in Latin America contexts - What lessons for sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries?

Recent studies of CCTs have attempted comparisons between Latin America (LA) and sub-Saharan African contexts regarding the implementation of CCT and cash transfer programmes (Kakwani et al., 2018; Machado et al., 2018; Schubert and Slater, 2006; Kakwani et al, 2005; Gertler, 2005). Based on several studies, scholars have teased out some policy lessons that could be learned by SSA countries and hopefully inform how they implement similar programmes in their countries.

5.17.1. First lesson: social protection should incorporate broader objectives

The popularity and successes of CCTs in Latin America popularised its adoption in LA region whereas in the African contexts unconditional cash transfer (UCTs) are common (UNDP, 2019; FAO, 2018b; 2018c; Devereux et al, 2006; Devereux, 2001). Also, following the advice and promptings of international donor agencies, some African countries were encouraged to implement CCTs modelled after the LA experiences (World Bank, 2018a; ILO, 2017a; Emerson & Souza, 2007; Lindert et al., 2006). However, a somewhat paternalistic approach is discernible in the way many development agencies and governments have pushed their agendas which would appear to have a distinctive gender bias (Devereux, 2019; Barrientos, 2018b; Kabeer, 2009; Molyneux, 2008; Molyneux & Thomson, 2011). In broader terms, there is no doubt that the immediate impact of CCTs helped protect and promote livelihoods. However, for long lasting transformative impacts to occur, CCTs would need to address the sources of vulnerabilities and structural poverty (Barrientos, 2018; Barrientos & Villa, 2016). But, owing to constrained fiscal allocations to social protection programmes in many African countries, politicians and policymakers have been encouraged to take a deeper look into how the infusion of financial resources can better impact intra-household dynamics (UNDP, 2018; Barrientos, 2018b).

Moreover, the framing of poverty and poverty reduction programmes at the macro-levels of many African countries need to resonate with contextual realities and country-specific demands on the ground; with the implication that SP design, adoption and implementation must go beyond the largely technocratic approach that have so far characterised SP mainstreaming which does not support tailored and operational approaches to the systematic integration of all groups - women, youth, children and the vulnerable issues (Barrientos, 2018a). As a holistic concept that proposes to combine reducing vulnerability and promoting citizens' rights, CCTs can, arguably, only be introduced to enhance government's public policy through a comprehensive re-evaluation of the total policy framework. In the design and implementation of social policies, it is critical for African countries to ensure embedding their SP systems within a multidimensional approach which enables and enhance the capacity of the SP framework to address the complex issues of exclusion, vulnerability and exclusion which have become top priorities for many governments in the global south (UNDP, 2019; ILO, 2017; Cecchini and Madariaga, 2011;

Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). A crucial component of this process is the strengthening and broadening of SP systems enhanced by legislations and national laws that provides legal backing to SP systems within a human rights framework and provides constitutional mechanisms that will entrench SP systems in the longer term in countries that previously had no such systems. In this connection, CCTs are an apt poverty reduction tool especially in sub-Saharan Africa in breaking the vicious cycles of intergenerational transmission of chronic poverty via fortification of the human capital in the most deprived and underprivileged families.

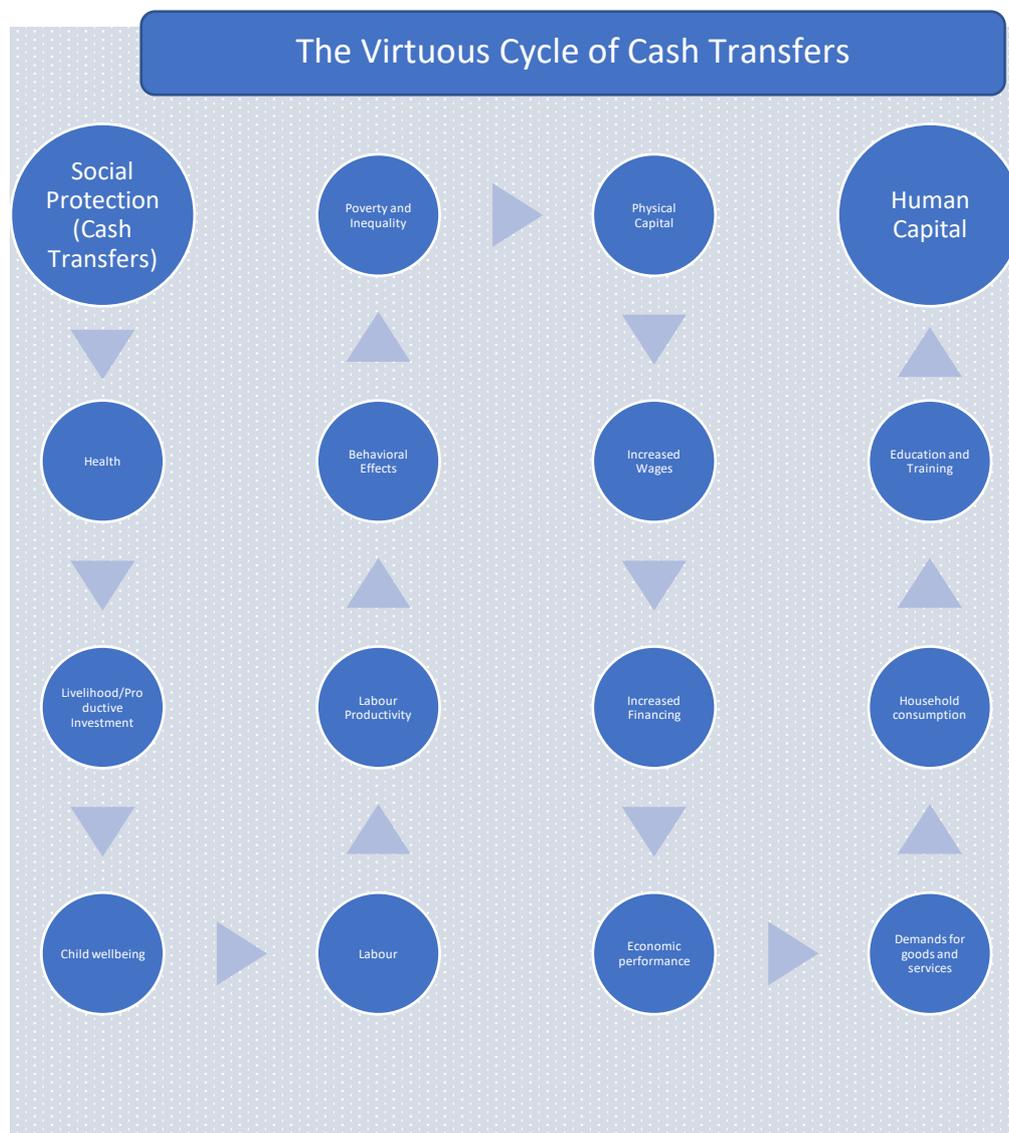
5.17.2. Second lesson: social protection is not sufficient by itself to address poverty

Evaluations undertaken to date have been largely positive about the utility of CCT programmes. Benefits reported ranged from improved school attendance to enhanced household consumption (Millan et al., 2019; World Bank, 2018a; Barrientos, 2018; Danvers, 2010; Marshall & Hill, 2015). However, some interesting findings recently emerged, based on the LA experiences, prompting newer debates and discourses amongst policymakers and academics (UNDP, 2019; Conover et al., 2019; Barrientos, 2018; Cecchini & Martinez, 2011; Cecchini & Madariaga, 2011). Some of these findings suggested the absence of any robust association between expenditures on CCTs and reduction in severe poverty (Barrientos, 2018; Barrientos and Villa, 2016; Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016). Moreover, Latin American countries such as Ecuador, Uruguay, Brazil, and Bolivia have spent above the regional average, in per capita terms, on SP, and yet they have achieved reductions in poverty rates that are above regional averages when compared with countries with larger fiscal provisions. Similarly, countries like the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, and Mexico who are great spenders on social transfer programmes, (spending above or close to the average), have yet to achieve better results; indeed, they have only managed to register mediocre results in poverty reduction levels. The Mexican case is particularly instructive because as the country with the oldest CCT programme, yet poverty levels have stagnated at virtually unchanged levels throughout the last twenty years (World Bank, 2018a; Barrientos, 2018; Barrientos and Villa, 2016).

On the hand, Latin American countries that spend less on CCTs than the regional average, like Peru, Columbia, and Chile, have superior outcomes at tackling/reducing extreme

poverty. Peru scored the best at reducing extreme poverty in Latin America despite spending a lot less than other countries (Barrientos, 2018; Barrientos and Villa, 2016; Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016). Thus, findings from these countries seem to suggest that spending on CCTs may not be necessarily correlated with poverty reduction. For many policymakers and academics in SSA therefore, this should provide important lessons. Lately in Nigeria a lot of emphasis has been on South-South collaboration in the area of social transfer programmes. It is hoped that some of these outcomes will serve as a guide in future policy design.

Table 12: The Virtuous Cycle of Cash Transfers



[Source: Author]

5.17.3. Third lesson: social protection can influence political participation especially among the informal sector workers

Other issues emerging from the literature comes from studies conducted by Barrientos (2018) and Barrientos and Villa (2016) which investigated the evidence of CCT programmes on political inclusion of beneficiaries and finds that there is scant evidence in support of this especially in relation to breaking the intergenerational transmission of poverty on one hand, and, on the other, promoting a positive relationship between educational and labour market inclusion of programme beneficiaries. In their study Papadopoulos and Leyer (2016) questioned whether the influence of SI approach in the designs and implementation of CCT programmes in Latin America generated enduring considerable advances in social outcomes. Their findings demonstrated that CCTs appeared to be more effectual at mitigating poverty when embedded within a much broader and all-encompassing set of policies or as part of programmes enhancing social and employment rights which also facilitate the integration of informal sectors workers into the formal sector under much improved conditions. Their conclusion, that the SI principle in Latin American social policies will be substantially entrenched when the structural deficiencies in the political economies of South American welfare regimes are seriously addressed, is critical. However, although Papadopoulos and Leyer (2016) make a valid argument, it is nevertheless, not novel. A systematic review of the literature on SP and development scholarship and discourse on SSA especially, showed that the same concerns have been previously mooted (Adesina, 2004; 2007; 2012; Mkandawire, 2007b; 2011; Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004; 2007).

5.17.4. Fourth lesson: social protection as a holistic programme can benefit the young people

Given that there is a lot of rhetoric about intergenerational cycle of poverty in much of CCT scholarship, Jones (2016) questioned the validity of that notion based on her study of the Brazilian *Bolsa Familia* (BFP) programme. Jones's (2016) findings demonstrated that CCTs' claim of breaking and interrupting deprivation, via human capital investments, are debateable. Jones's argued that the linearity of the CCT policy model makes it challenging in the decision to factor the intricacies of young people's trajectories and the manifold subtleties of intergenerational poverty mitigation. Her conclusion is for CCTs to embrace a more all-inclusive vision of young people and their trajectories in policy designs. This finding

should be instructive to programme designers in countries like Nigeria for instance, given that national CCT programme design could significantly benefit from Jones' refreshing insights into social outcomes for youths especially.

5.17.5. Fifth lesson: social protection has an impact on public trust

Insights from the Mexican CCT programme, arguably the most evaluated of all such programmes according to Papadopoulos and Leyer (2016) were presented by Ramirez (2016). Employing the innovative wellbeing perspective, Ramirez's findings revealed that relationship between public officials implementing CCTs and recipients (beneficiaries) can impact outcomes and the achievement of programme's objectives. If there is lower confidence, or lower public trust by citizens, this is correlated with negative relationship. Or where there is a more egalitarian and emphatic relationship between beneficiaries and programme administrators, there is a demonstrable positive effect on citizens' wellbeing. However, this finding requires further research in order to be conclusively affirmed. The exploration and scrutiny which further research might produce could yield similar or dissimilar results in other contexts. Indeed, this issue which is considered as one of the under-explored aspects of CCTs studies, was interrogated in the present study.

5.17.6. Sixth lesson: social protection has gendered impacts and paternalistic norms remain

Medrano (2016) and Nagels (2016) in their studies both explored the gendered impacts of the broader dynamics of CCTs in the Bolivian and Peruvian welfare mixes as well as the gender aspects of the market citizenship in the Mexican CCT programme. Nagels' (2016) study made the case that the implementation of CCTs in both Peru and Bolivia occasioned profound changes in their welfare regimes. She characterised these regimes as nascent 'social investment familialist welfare regimes' (Nagels, 2016). Her study also concluded that whilst CCTs to women appear to have improved their bargaining power within the homes and their material conditions, CCT programmes did not fundamentally challenge gender roles and failed to significantly enhance women's strategic interests (Nagels, 2016). This conclusion appears to affirm the inherent paternalistic orientation of many CCT programmes and whilst many programmes promote women and children-friendly agendas, the expected gender impacts have been scant and few in many contexts. This is a challenge

for policymakers, politicians and CCT administrators in SSA where gender roles are fixed; burdened and mixed with dense cultural values which are hard to supplant. This issue is a formidable challenge that might hinder the achievements of CCT objectives and social outcomes in countries like Nigeria where paternalism is prevalent. Medrano (2016) explored single mothers' participation in the Mexican CCT and interrogated key values and beliefs underpinning CCT design. She concluded that programmes' designs prioritise and gives pre-eminence to a gendered view of social citizenship about ideas of social need which prescribes autonomy and agency for working mothers as free, self-reliant, and 'active' citizens. Despite being one of the few CCT programmes that provides a relatively better welfare options for women living in poverty, Medrano (2016) contends that the Mexican CCT programme design appeared to perpetuate the hegemonic entrenchment of gender inequalities and cultural prejudice against underprivileged persons.

5.17.7. Seventh lesson: the need to reconsider the contentious issue of conditionality in CCTs

As further research offers us the chance to validate the findings from the Latin American CCT experiences in other contexts like Nigeria, it is useful that the lessons/findings from evaluative studies on Latin American contexts are used as guideposts to inform the implementation of new CCT programmes in Africa. As the investigation of CCTs continues, it will be imperative to interrogate CCT impacts especially in terms of social inclusiveness, women/gender relations/empowerment, educational and labour market outcomes. The spread of CCTs may have countered the apparent debacles of erstwhile social policy programmes to achieve their stated objectives, however, it must be said that the impact evaluations of CCTs produced contradictory results. As pointed out by Saad-Filho (2015; 2016) targeting and conditionalities, the two most iconic features of CCTs, in themselves are flawed. Targeting for instance undermines social cohesion in many SSA societies which apart from the fact that it is often narrow, is commonly incapable of compensating for the poverty-generating impact of neoliberal macroeconomic strategies. Moreover, conditionalities by themselves can potentially deny citizens their social citizenship rights for not satisfying/complying with extraneous conditions²⁷. Lavinias (2013) made the point that CCTs sidestep cooperative deeds by the CCTs' bypass of the institutions of communal representation (Saad-Filho, 2016) as the claimants must adhere individually to

conditionalities rather than staking a joint or communal claim, as a group. Therefore, Lavinas (2013, p. 40) proposes that 'arguments in favour of conditionalities ...rest not only on their supposed efficacy but also on a logic of control over vulnerable group'. Finally, conditionalities are subject to the availability of collateral public services, which makes the state becomes, in the words of Saad-Filho 'the prosecutor, judge and jury' (Saad-Filho, 2016, p. 80) of the 'success' of the deprived/underprivileged populations in meeting the conditionalities forced upon them before receiving benefits. Thus, the structure of the CCT programme can unintentionally obscure the failure of the state to provide basic services, while potentially penalising the deprived people for non-compliance and not accessing facilities that may be unreachable/inaccessible to them. Could this be the reason, perhaps, why CCTs gained popularity in the countries of sub-Saharan Africa? Whilst this question might be difficult to answer, it obviously demands more critical assessment.

5.18. Conclusion

As seen from this chapter, CCT programmes portend a lot for a society. Their benefits and demonstrated evidence as a mechanism for bringing the underprivileged into the economy as passive consumers of commodities and as borrowers through their participation is undeniable. Also, not disputed is their ability to also expand the economy and resultantly increase the scope of social policies to neglected or marginalised populations (Millan et al., 2019). However, CCTs as programmatic interventions have limitations with regards cost, efficiency, and equity. Moreover, they have a decidedly neoliberal bias which is rooted in their origin. Although they can provide relief to the targeted groups at the margins, however they are, by their design, inadequate for transforming the socio-economic, and political structures perpetuating poverty. In the final analysis, CCTs result in transactional interventions and capricious curtailments of the citizens' rights, which they can only manage within constricted limits. Although CCTs provide access to capital, they eventually may reproduce poverty rather than support its eradication. But, given they also generate unintended consequences, their utility might yet be in their paradoxical essence as much as in their normative philosophical orientations (World Bank 2018a; 2018b).

Three broad principles should be understood when it comes to the political economy impact of CCTs. One, is the importance of evaluating CCTs' impacts within the parameters of 'social inclusion, gender relations, education, and labour market outcomes' (Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016, p.440). Secondly, based on contemporary studies, CCTs can provide likely sustainable impacts on productive capacity, employment, and civic participation (Millan et al., 2019; World Bank, 2018a; Barrientos, 2018b; Barrientos and Hulme, 2016; Barrientos and Villa, 2016; Papadopoulos and Leyer, 2016). Thirdly, CCTs can sharpen our understanding of the theoretical approaches categorised under social investment, capabilities, wellbeing, social contract, and political economy approach and how these play a role in the welfare mixes of contemporary societies.

CHAPTER SIX

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the research process, research design and the methods employed in the study. It includes a discussion of the methodological framework, assumptions, and the rationale for the chosen methodology. The chapter is divided into two sections structured as follows: the first presents an overview of the research challenges given the peculiar nature of the research context. It then proceeds to explain the steps involved in designing the research and how the methodological process was followed through. This is followed by the philosophical orientation underpinning the foundation of the study. Then there is an exhaustive discussion of the methods and the rationale for the adoption of the qualitative approach employed for the study. The second section focuses on the research process including how the semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were developed followed by the elucidation of the approach employed to analyse interview data. The final part addresses the ethical issues and limitations concluding with the issues of trustworthiness and validity associated with the methods employed.

6.2. Background

Research on SP programmes and CCTs in the academic literature (Bastagli et al., 2016; Davis et al., 2016; Fisher et al., 2017), especially those based on quantitative paradigm, were rather narrow, highlighting mostly the positive immediate impacts of CCTs on consumption levels, educational outcomes, and health indicators (Fisher et al., 2017). Qualitative research however mostly underscored the unfavourable effects of conditionality and targeting (Kidd, Gelders and Bailey-Athias, 2017; Bastagli et al., 2016; Papadopoulous and Leyer, 2016). This is the first study of CCTs in Nigeria and the process leading up to this raised a few issues informing the need to adopt two research strategies. Firstly, this study utilised a broad understanding of the 'social investment perspective' and 'political settlement theory' as analytical frameworks and, secondly, it focused on the exploration of the 'politics' of SP, and 'civic empowerment' and 'human capital' of deprived and vulnerable populations in developing and fragile contexts. In the subsequent sections, the linkage between these three was explored then rationalised and concretised into specific

research tactics. To do this, I drew upon Grix's (2002, 2004) delineation between 'methodology' and 'method'. Grix (2004, p. 57) cautioned researchers interested in conducting precise research about the necessity of evaluating their understanding of the philosophical underpinnings informing the choice of research questions, methodology, methods, and intentions.

Consequently, how people perceive their meanings of social realities, make sense of their rights, obligations, how they uncover relationships among phenomena and social behaviours, inform their evaluations of their own and others' experiences. For researchers embarking upon certain types of studies, Crotty (1998) counselled on the need to determine the stage to commence: ontological, epistemological, methods/methodology. Scholars like Merriam and Tisdell (2015); and Lewis (2015) and Kothari (2004) and Cresswell and Clark (2011) however stressed that research is best undertaken after first identifying one's ontological assumptions. However, research, in Grix's (2004) view is best executed by clearly delineating a researcher's ontological, and epistemological positions of what can possibly be researched, known, or discovered about a research study. Delineating these will influence the methodological approach that will drive the research. Thereafter, a researcher should then be able to fully comprehend the impact their ontological position could have on what is being researched and thus decide to carry out the research (Grix, 2004, p. 68). Grix's (2004) thesis is a useful guide for undertaking robust research: a research informed by clear epistemological assumptions which shapes the methodology and methods utilised to collect data for the study.

6.3. Research challenges of conducting research in a fragile context

Fragile states are nations where the government has constrained capacity or incapability for providing essential services and security to its citizens. In fragile states, the relationship between the government and the citizens is tenuous. Such nations lack the institutions required to resolve conflicts peacefully (Khan-Mohmand et al., 2017). Based on Khan-Mohmand et al. (2017), Nigeria, presents the classic features of a 'borderline fragile state', due in large part to the crises of insecurity and instability created and exacerbated by *Boko Haram*, particularly in the North-eastern region of the country where several terrorist acts have been carried out over the past decade. Despite this, Nigeria enjoys relative stability,

with state legitimacy, authority, and capacity intact. Abuja (the federal capital) and the Southern (southwestern and south-eastern) regions are also mostly peaceful.

Data collection in fragile settings can be a difficult endeavour. Therefore, conducting research in a fragile and conflict-afflicted country like Nigeria comes with its peculiar challenges, particularly for a PhD researcher seeking to investigate the effects of social policy and societal transformation. In the Northeastern region for example, the consequences of Boko Haram's operations turned the region into a displacement zone where hazards, uncertainties and issues like food insecurity contributed to the escalation of violence. The cumulative effects of prolonged terrorists' activities transformed the landscape into a warzone; in many communities, villages and towns, people are experiencing precarious existences: communities have become places where lives are exposed to greater risk of deprivation, starvation, and hunger. This situation is so severe in certain communities that specific government SP programmes are delivered to beneficiaries by proxy and sometimes through operators working in neighbouring states. Economic activities have been paralysed in some parts of this region. Although fieldwork activities were not carried out in this region, due to the insecurity and potential threats to the researcher's life; it was still impossible to ignore the effects of the activities of Boko Haram in Kano State which shares borders with the North-eastern region where most of the terrorist activities take place.

The research challenges were not necessarily the result of violence, fragility, or conflict per se, which are formidable; but emanated essentially from the context of insecurity within Nigeria that restricted the flow of information. For instance, key actors, contacts, and research participants were difficult to identify and recruit. When information could be found, other vital elements of the bigger picture were often missing or unavailable. So, for researchers conducting research in fragile or conflict-affected contexts, careful consideration must be given to the choice of methods for eliciting information and collecting data. Khan-Mohmand et al (2017), suggested that empirical research approaches and methodologies need to be carefully matched to the configuration of fragility and conflict in each country being investigated. Borrowing from the typology developed by Khan-Mohmand et al (2017), Nigeria exhibits low signs of fragility and conflict, because

conflict is confined to one region. Hence, Nigeria was classified as a 'borderline fragile state' (Khan-Mohmand et al., 2017). Therefore, a major challenge for me as a researcher was to determine which methodological approach and specific methods were best suited to effectively undertake my fieldwork in Nigeria.

6.4. Research orientations, aims and objectives

Even though CCTs have been in operation for over a decade in Nigeria, scant research existed. This research investigated how attitudes and perceptions towards CCTs are constructed and moderated by beneficiaries. Understanding perceptions, attitudes, and beneficiaries' experiences of the Nigerian CCTs and how their use of the transfers affected their lives including their suggestions on how to improve the programme, would significantly contribute to the literature on SP in Nigeria. Evaluating beneficiaries and communities' perceptions could also be useful for monitoring and evaluation processes. Moreover, a case study of CCTs in Nigeria should enrich our understanding of the needs of those whom social transfers schemes was designed to assist. This study hopes contributes to the literature on enhancing the effectiveness of social policy programmes in developing countries by designing transformative programmes that can alter social relations (Bastagli et. al., 2016; Fisher et. al., 2107).

6.5. Research focus

This study focused on beneficiaries' and administrators' attitudes of the two major CCT schemes in Nigeria: '*In Care of the Poor*' (COPE) and '*Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Programme*' (SURE-P). The objective of the schemes was breaking intergenerational transfer of poverty and reducing the vulnerability of beneficiaries (NAPEP, 2007). This research explored the views of beneficiaries in the communities CCT schemes operated in order to understand their perceptions of CCT programming and the potential lessons or insights for future programming. Moreover, this study sought to contribute more broadly to the growing literature on CCTs in developing countries. Hitherto, no such literature existed in Nigeria.

To summarise, the three objectives of this study were:

1. To elicit beneficiaries' and programme administrators/government officials' attitudes towards conditional cash transfers (CCTs) in Nigeria.
2. To compare the perceptions of CCTs programme administrators/government officials with those of beneficiaries.
3. To contribute to the literature on the effectiveness of poverty reduction interventions and how the design of social protection programmes can transform the social relations that underpin and exacerbate poverty, vulnerability, and social exclusion.

This research was guided by two organising principles: first, it adopted a case study approach for its research design; second, it aimed to study the collective (community) experiences of beneficiaries. These principles provided a framework, rationale for the study, directed data strategies and delineated the boundary of the research.

6.6. Research Questions

The research questions were framed in line with the above objectives and rationale to address both official and beneficiaries' perceptions of programme effectiveness. The questions were also framed to, implicitly, address the perceptions of programming process, design and other factors that impacted programme outcomes. Further, the research questions sought to address the issues of social cohesion, citizens' empowerment, and social accountability at the community level.

The four specific *research questions* were:

1. *How do CCTs (COPE and SURE-P) operate in Nigeria?*
2. *What do the participants (beneficiaries and officials) perceive as the main advantages/disadvantages of CCTs?*
3. *What are the main factors driving these perceptions?*
4. *In what ways might CCTs be made more effective?*

The research entailed in-depth analysis of the CCT programmes that operated in Nigeria and how they were perceived by the main stakeholders. Also, the research involved analysis of the 'programme-recipient' relationship including the role of government policies. Choosing and employing specific data collection methods for any project is

'dictated both by the study's objectives and by its boundaries' (Burnham et al., 2008, p. 5). The research techniques were helpful to engage research participants in the active process of reflection on their perspectives, with the overall aim of understanding attitudes to both COPE and SURE-P programmes among beneficiaries, communities, and programme administrators.

6.7. Rationalising the need for a case study of CCTs in Nigeria?

Why did this research choose Nigeria as a single case study? Because it is logical and reasonable to do so and since the main objective of the study is to generate detailed and rounded knowledge on a specific case (Nigeria), thereby meaningfully contribute to the growing body of literature on the subject-matter. From the outset, the study was informed by nature of the relationship between human development potential of CCTs programming and the research evidence. I settled on the qualitative approach because of its relevance for capturing the contextual variables and for understanding the underlying dynamics of the country. CCTs and their impacts is an area that is under-explored in Nigeria. Proceeding from that premise, it should be possible assessing how the unique relationship between perceptions and the social reality constructed through CCTs generate its cohort of concepts and principles, which constitute the focus of this study. Verifying how established knowledge on CCTs directly informs this Nigerian case study, and how the insights from this study, can, generate, feedback to the policy process provide additional endorsement for undertaking the research. Adopting qualitative methods therefore enabled the generation of in-depth data, insights, and experiences from a limited number of key stakeholders which illuminated the key research themes. A qualitative study employing the methodological tools of case study, focus group discussions and key informant interviews were therefore appropriately suited for analysing both the COPE and SURE-P CCT programmes.

To properly understand how Nigerian CCT programmes influenced the beneficiaries' perceptions, also underscored the imperative of the Nigerian case study. Case studies enable the examination and exploration of complex, multidimensional phenomenon, allowing for amassing diverse perspectives from multiple sources. Case study method is also valuable in uncovering useful insights that could enrich the quality of discourse on

growing SP literature in Nigeria. As stated by Crowe and colleagues (2011), case study analysis permits the in-depth, multifaceted investigation of complex social phenomena in their real-life settings. Stake (1995) and Yin (2003) also highlighted the usefulness of case study by the researcher's interest in investigating an individual, group, event, process, or a programme. There are several definitions and forms of case studies which are categorised into instrumental, intrinsic, and collective (Stake, 1995); or exploratory, explanatory, or descriptive (Yin, 2003). Also, can be structured as holistic, single, or multiple case studies. According to Yin (2003, 2013), the adoption of a case study method by researchers is informed by any of the following:

- when the researchers are interested in answering the 'how' and 'why' questions.
- when the researcher is unable to sway participants' emotions or the data.
- where the context/phenomenon under study is important; and
- where there is opaqueness about the relationship between the phenomenon and the context (Yin, 2003; 2013).

Yin (2009) also categorised five fundamental parts of an effective case study namely: (a) research questions; (b) purpose of the study; (c) unit of analysis; (d) the logic that connects data to propositions; and (e) the criteria for interpreting findings. As detailed in the justification of the use of case study, this research study investigated the operations of Nigerian CCT programmes and further explored other related approaches to the subject matter including phenomenology, which is an exploration of lived experiences exclusive of the intrusion of current preconceptions; hermeneutics (the idea or notion of deriving hidden meaning from language), and ethnography (which is the study of cultural groups over a prolonged period) are employed. In the conduct of the research, singular constructs were elicited and comprehended through interaction between researchers and participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 111) with participants being relied on as much as possible (Creswell, 2009, p. 8). Consequently, incidents were not condensed to one-dimensional interpretations; new tiers of knowledge were uncovered as phenomena were profusely explained. Interpretive theory typically grounded/inductive, evolved from the data, not imposed on it (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 22). Thus, research questions are broadly premised on interpretivism because interpretivists recognise that value-free knowledge is problematic. Interpretive methods (open-ended interviews, focus groups, observations

etc.,) yield insights, understandings of behaviour providing explanatory actions from the participants' perspectives and generate qualitative data; but they should not overbear the participants (Mack, 2010). Data analyses as the researchers' interpretations, necessitates or compels researchers to formulate a research agenda explicit from the outset. A research which is principled and honourable should deliver robust evidence, offering plausible and reasonable findings (internal validity/credibility), which can be utilised by other researchers in different contexts (external validity/transferability), and the study and findings could be replicated without difficulty (reliability/dependability) (Richie & Lewis, 2003, p. 263-286; Cohen et al., 2007, p. 133-149).

6.8. The research methodological strategy

Reflecting upon Grix's (2004) recommendation, the starting point was formulating a methodological strategy by sketching backwards, through methodology, epistemology, then to ontology. Although Grix (2004, p.64), suggest it might be impossible to undertake a research without ontological and epistemological positions; yet researchers' varying ontological and epistemological positions frequently culminate in different research approaches towards the same phenomenon. Another motivation for the approach adopted in this study emanated from the argument offered by Crotty (1998, p.9) concerning the influences of phenomenon on the distinctive ways people construct meanings. Therefore, truth/reality become the consensus formed by what Pring (2000, p. 251) termed 'the dualism of co-constructors'. Given this understanding, the decision was made to foreground the research in the proposition that knowledge, as in interpretive paradigm, is culturally derived and historically situated. This naturally implies not challenging ideologies but accepting them. Knowledge and expressive realities, as constructs, emanate from the interaction between individuals and their spheres and formulated and diffused in a social context (Crotty, 1998, p.42). Consequently, the social world is implicitly comprehended from the personal lens of individuals involved in its ecosystem (Cohen et al., 2007, p.19). Interpretivism seeks to uncover concealed social forces and structures into consciousness and through its methodology seeks to understand phenomena from people's perspectives, examining interactions amongst individuals including the historical and cultural contexts they inhabit (Creswell, 2009, p.8).

Furthermore, as this research is particular to the Nigerian situation, it was also premised on the social constructivist worldview (Cresswell, 2009). This aligns to the nature of the phenomenon under study: a livelihood-enhancing, antipoverty programme intended for the benefits of citizens. Thus, the process becomes one of exploration of the state-citizen contract - the social contract between government and citizens. Consequently, the research process reflected and represented manifold perspectives, contrarily and collectively, understood and constructed. Also, given that one of the motivations for conducting this research was to reflect an advocacy worldview (Cresswell, 2009) where citizens as beneficiaries are permitted a voice in deliberations that they typically do not have. In the end, citizens empowerment was deemed a crucial element in strengthening the effectiveness of SP programmes.

The research was likewise motivated by the desire to uncover support for redistribution and determine if this support in any way indicates support for an evolving 'Nigerian welfare state' or an evolving 'Nigerian social welfare regime'. As a researcher, I was keenly interested in investigating how the Nigerian state provides SP to its most vulnerable citizens, using the lens of the beneficiaries' views of CCTs. This focus is a departure from extant research amongst social policy researchers in Nigeria. An equally important but neglected dimension is how community members, as active agents, influence programming design and process. To address this lacuna, existing studies on CCTs' beneficiaries inadvertently influenced not only my understanding (or the analysis) of the reality, but also my perceptions (Bryman, 2012). Without doubt an observable reality existed that CCTs' beneficiaries were somehow influencing its delivery in diverse forms in Nigeria despite their relatively short history. Although, this was not framed as a phenomenon of 'community perceptions of social protection' or 'public attitudes', neither was it ever highlighted as the role of government's policies over this process. So, analysing the role of CCTs through an investigation of beneficiaries' views requires twofold procedures: applying theory to a phenomenon and, simultaneously, constructing people's realities and meanings. Therefore, the interpretative nay constructivist understanding of social ontology is specifically crucial when applying the definition of SP to the Nigerian context. For example, there is a mismatch between policymakers' professed desire to tackle the immediate impacts of the economic crisis and the inherent limitations of CCTs programmes narrow

focus on structural poverty. To challenge this dominant orientation, the researcher's theoretical standpoint and values plays a major role. Hence, this research entailed a sophisticated process of reflexivity and sensitivity during the interpretation, evaluation, and analysis stage and throughout the research process.

6.9. Methods, research design and methodological approach: the qualitative research paradigm and epistemological considerations

To adequately answer the research questions, a qualitative paradigm was considered the most appropriate for this study. Whereas a quantitative method might have shed some light on the operation of CCTs, the present study warranted a deeper exploration of the experiences, perceptions, and perspectives of the beneficiaries through an adapted political settlements framework embedded in a qualitative research design. Qualitative research methods are helpful for the exploration of deeper meaning of specific experiences and understanding people's alignment of their experiences with their social constructs (Creswell, 2005). As explained earlier, this research was premised on a social constructivist worldview. This was employed to understand how the CCT programmes were perceived by the beneficiaries (citizens) and what principal factors might be behind these perspectives. Merriam (2009) and Stake (1995) both argued that constructivism accepts people's construction of meanings, experiences, events, and invention of their realities as active participants. Meanings are socially constructed in a constructivist view, allowing the investigation of beneficiaries' constructed meanings from the realities of the Nigerian cash transfers. Within social constructionism, opinions and viewpoints are never static; they change. This is because constructs represented multiple perspectives in time. A social constructivist paradigm therefore augments a transactional approach in which the researcher forges a distinct bond with the phenomenon under study. As a result, qualitative research connects the researcher and the participants (Merriam, 2009). However, Stenhouse (1975) describes this endeavour as imperfect, mainly because distinctive constructs in diverse settings must be valued. This view was re-echoed thus by Crotty (1998, p.16): 'If we seek to be consistently constructionist, we will put all understandings, scientific and non-scientific alike, on the very same footing. They are all constructions'. As clarified below, this interpretation of reality aligns with the manner case studies are employed and how data sources incorporate the effort and viewpoints of different categories of people

in all walks of life. A further significance of adopting a social constructivist world view is that it enables general conclusions to be sought through research, which at the same time, permits limitation therein to be acknowledged. Crotty (1998, p. 13) expresses it thus:

At best our outcomes will be suggestive rather than conclusive. They will be plausible, perhaps even convincing, ways of seeing things.

Qualitative researchers are mandated to investigate the 'real world setting (where) the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest' (Patton, 2000; p.39); thus, encompassing multifarious types of inquiry with then enables researchers to recognise and interpret the value of social phenomena (Cohen et al., 2007; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Merriam, 2001). By focussing on unearthing disparate 'realities' which individuals construct within their own social worlds (Marshall and Rossman, 2006); the researchers' goal is to understanding peoples' sensemaking and interpretations of their worlds. Inevitably, qualitative research becomes a means through which researchers immerse themselves in other people's lives in order to reflect this in their studies (Cohen et al., 2007; Ezzy, 2002). Thus, qualitative researchers infiltrate the universes of the participants to purposely conjure settings that enables participants to share their narratives, insights, and thoughts about the subject being investigated (Cresswell, 1998; Bouma & Ling, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008); this way, the observations, amassed as field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) permitting the analysis of both significant and irrelevant praxes that makes the participants' spheres visible, understandable and meaningful. As explained by Patton (1990, p. 1), qualitative research is an:

effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions therein. This understanding is an end, so that it is not endeavouring to predict what might happen in the future necessarily, but to understand the nature of that setting: the meanings, and the unique experiences of participants.

Bogdan and Biklen (2003), Cresswell (2005), Denzin and Lincoln (2000), Yin (2009) all acknowledged, that qualitative research methodologies are valuable tools of scholarly research, based on their capability for discerning the meaning that individuals ascribe to

their experiences. Some studies pose certain types of research questions entailing deeper examination that only qualitative methodology will be appropriate (Stake, 1995). Qualitative research allows researchers an extensive background about the topic to be researched (Patton, 2002; Seidman, 1991). For Strauss and Corbin (1998) individual feelings are hard to unmask through quantitative research methods hence qualitative research permits the researcher to study experiences, emotions, perceptions, and attitudes. Certain types of qualitative research are executed via case studies, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, narrative discourse (Stake, 1995; Moustakas, 1994; Charmaz, 2006; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Reissman, 2008). However, regardless of which approach is selected, as Smith and colleagues (2009) opined, qualitative research is laborious, time-consuming and is 'both imaginatively and emotionally demanding' (p.42). Consequently, this study was predicated on the proposition that beneficiaries of Nigerian CCTs, as a result of individual and shared experiences, had their perceptions affected by their participation in the programmes. For this reason, the researcher conducted fieldwork in parts of Nigeria over a period of six and a half months from November 2017 to May 2018 [Table 18]. The researcher also reviewed pertinent documents and conceptualised the data to make sense of how research participants constructed their individual views about CCT programmes and broader SP in Nigeria.

6.10. Recruitment of participants

The research study employed purposive sampling techniques for the screening, selection and recruitment of participants for the key informants'/elites' interviews and as members of focus group discussions (FGDs). Purposive sampling is a type of non-probability sampling method that is most effective when studying certain cultural realms with knowledgeable experts in it (Tongco, 2007). As a method for recruiting participants, purposive sampling permitted the selection of knowledgeable, experienced, and willing people eager to provide information on the operations of CCT programmes in Nigeria and their perceptions regarding the programmes. The list of potential participants was provided by prearranged contacts (who as employees in the National Directorate of Employment [NDE] were helpful) in providing access to Nigerian CCT beneficiaries. The NDE contacts, as gatekeepers, helped to facilitate access to beneficiaries. The researcher established contacts with these 'gatekeepers' via emails, text messages, and phone calls from the UK before the fieldwork

trip was undertaken. NDE contacts provided a list of participants (in both CCT programmes) to the researcher. With the help of the gatekeepers and using a comprehensive register of beneficiaries maintained at the headquarters of NDE and NAPEP, a list of beneficiaries of the CCT programmes in the research locations of Oyo, Lagos, Kano states and Abuja, Nigeria's federal capital territory (FCT) was provided to the researcher including contact details. Through this arrangement, a purposively sampled list of participants containing information on beneficiaries (names, mobile phones numbers and locations) of CCTs was drawn up. The researcher used this list to pre-select potential participants and also as a basis to send out invitation letters and information sheets to formally recruit research participants. The researcher thereafter established contacts with these beneficiaries and introduced the research to them. The selected locations were prioritised by virtue of their demographics: having experiences of severe livelihood crises, protracted stagnation marked by marginalisation, poor infrastructural facilities, and low economic development relative to other areas. Participants residing in these areas, which were partly rural in some places (e.g., Oyo and Kano and the rural parts of Abuja), were seriously affected by changes in the climate and by the economic policies of the Nigerian government.

Access to research participants was facilitated and made easier by the NDE gatekeepers, who also introduced potential research participants to the research, supported with invitation letters and information sheets on the research study. Apart from invitation letters/information sheets sent through the NDE gatekeepers and their channels, follow-up phone calls were made to potential participants. Participant information sheet outlined the purpose of the research, its objectives including all that the participants needed to know to enable them to provide informed consent. Information sheets, translated into local languages, fully explained the purpose of the research. Contacts made through the gatekeepers and their channels, reached out to the researcher for further clarifications about the research study. The gatekeepers proved extremely useful during the recruitment phase, as they also helped to follow-up to ensure that those who had agreed to participate did not forget the dates and times fixed for the interviews/discussions. The NDE gatekeepers also facilitated the links to staff and former colleagues at NDE, who utilised their connections in all NDE branches at all the locations of the fieldwork to assist in connecting the researcher with identified/pre-selected potential participants. Those

signifying intentions subsequently contacted the researcher and the gatekeepers through phones and text messages, to ask for further information or to indicate their interest in participating in the research. The researcher subsequently clarified the purpose of the research, and upon agreeing, participants provided informed consent. Dates and times of interviews and focus groups discussions were subsequently agreed. All participants gave informed consent after confirming they understood the purpose of the research study as purely undertaken for academic reasons.

Key informants were recruited from a pre-prepared list of potential participants and as programme beneficiaries were disaggregated by gender, location and age which greatly aided in their recruitment and, as these were experts involved in the operations of cash transfers in Nigeria mostly as policymakers, administrators or implementers, the process of recruitment was clear cut: they were contacted via emails and telephone messages to obtain their consent to participate in the interview. Those who agreed to participate in the semi-structured interviews gave informed consent after reading and affirming they understood the information sheet provided to them and the ethics approval granted for the study. Based on the researcher's own efforts in directly reaching out to potential research participants and based upon information supplied by the gatekeepers and the Federal Ministry of Budget and National Planning, a list of names/links to other contacts who assisted with the recruitment of beneficiaries who took part in the focus group discussions (FGDs) and semi-structured interviews, was provided. Snowballing technique was employed to aid in support of recruiting participants for the FGDs after the first and second sets of beneficiaries were recruited. The snowballing technique entailed participants inviting other participants who were also beneficiaries.

Beneficiaries of CCTs who were randomly recruited, resided in the communities and locations of interviews. As rural dwellers and mostly pastoralists, they lived agrarian lives; with the majority engaged in informal labour in the agricultural sector, transportation sector or trading activities. These families were usually affected by the severe environmental problems, disappearance of traditional livelihoods and sustained deterioration of basic infrastructure and public goods provisioning. Those residing in the commercial centres of Lagos and Abuja were not immune from some of the ecological,

economic and livelihood changes that seriously affected livelihoods. The focus on the rural parts of these locations was important in part because all the selected locations, the four states of Lagos, Oyo, Kano, and Abuja (the federal capital territory - a self-governing sub-national unit), collectively make up about 45 million citizens of Nigeria's total population [Tables 13, 14, 15, 16, 17] (Citypopulation.de, 2019). However, those living on the margins in both rural and urban areas of these selected sites, have been badly affected by the impacts of migration, marginalisation, disasters, economic crises, shocks, and policies.

6.11. Field Research Report

The research study proceeded with an exhaustive review of existing schemes in Nigeria including programmes' operational guidelines. This entailed analysis of selected government documentary records and materials, collected archival sources complemented by the key informant/elite interviews, semi-structured in-depth interviews and FGDs. The research questions addressed the 'how' and 'why' type questions. Fieldwork in different parts of Nigeria lasted for a period of six and half months in four locations: Lagos, Abuja, Oyo, and Kano States. The number and range of respondents interviewed, meant the research functioned as a multi-method study employing an array of techniques, including participatory approach through which ample, often hard-to-obtain, in-depth and triangulated data on both beneficiaries' and the societal perceptions of the CCTs were obtained. As face-to-face semi-structured interviews were the major data collection method, interviews were scheduled and conducted with key informants versed in the operation and administration of the CCT programmes in Nigeria. The interview process was widened to include selected non-beneficiaries living in the study locations of the COPE and SURE-P programmes. The following data collection methods were employed:

i). **In-depth and key informant** (expert) interviews: Interviews with experts acted to supplement the findings from the FGDs and the case study. Interviews with beneficiaries were essential to obtain views and perspectives from recipients of CCTs. Semi-structured guides, moderated interviews held with programme beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, programme administrators, community leaders, government representatives, and other experts/analysts working on SP. In-depth interviews and key informant interviews elicited varied standpoints on programme execution at national, subnational, and local levels

enabling the exploration of programme outcomes at the individual, household, and community levels. The selection of the participants was based on their age, position, occupation, and beneficiaries of transfers. An average of five individuals participated in each focus group. Some face-to-face (in person) interviews were conducted with selected participants on the telephone and through online communication. In some cases, as a follow-up, telephone interviews were used as supplements to clarify specific issues that were not expressed clearly during first interviews or aspects that did not seem very clear during initial interviews. Given that I was unable to afford prolonged on-site fieldwork with respondents that are physically dispersed, telephone interviewing was a realistic choice. Secondly, telephone interviewing permitted better flexibility in organising and conducting interviews at respondents' convenience. In total, thirty (30) semi-structured interviews were conducted with the following respondents broken down into two groups: elites/key informants and beneficiaries.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key Informants/experts/elites - 15
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beneficiaries - 15

Of the above, seven (7) key informants' interviews were conducted by telephone and 8 interviews were done face-to-face. In addition to the above, Four FGDs involving a total number of Thirty-two beneficiaries were held in four locations in Nigeria. The four locations (Figures 9 – 13) are as follows:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lagos, Lagos State
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oyo Town, and Ibadan, Oyo State
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kano City, Kano
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abuja, FCT

6.12. Maps of all research locations in Nigeria

Table 13: Map of Nigeria showing all the 36 constituent States of the Federation



[Source: Mapsopensource.com, 2019]

Table 14: LAGOS STATE showing the Local Government Areas [LGAs]



[Source: Bohr, 2006; Oni, 2010]

Table 15: Map of KANO STATE showing the LGAs



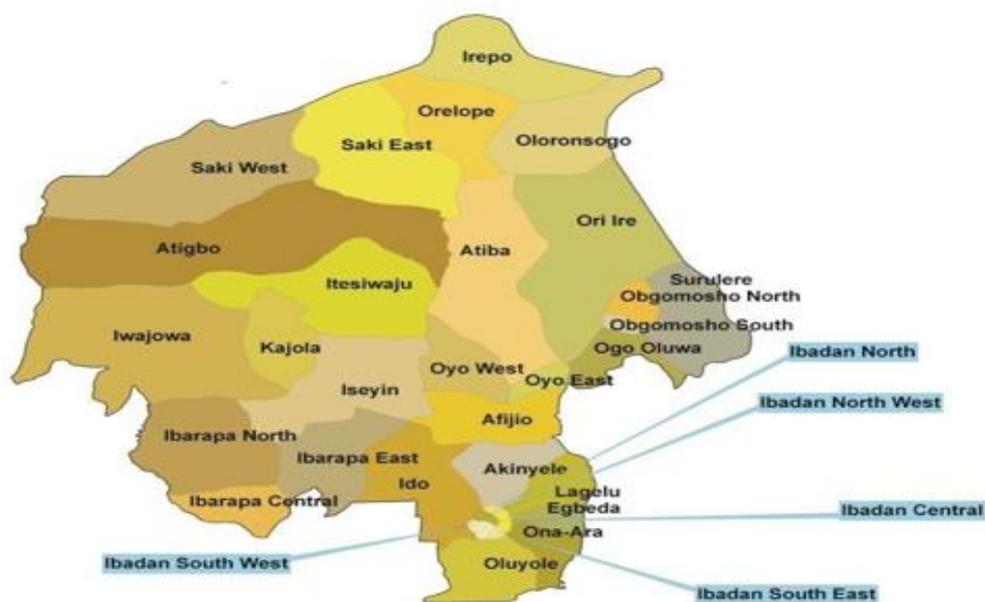
[Source: LGAECONOMICFORUM.ORG – Osigwe Anyiam Osigwe Foundation]

Table 16: Map of ABUJA - The Federal Capital Territory [FCT] showing the LGAs



[Source: LGAECONOMICFORUM.ORG – Osigwe Anyiam Osigwe Foundation, 2020]

Table 17: Map of OYO STATE showing the LGAs



[Source: LGAECONOMICFORUM.ORG – Osigwe Anyiam Osigwe Foundation, 2020

Table 18: Schedule of Respondents Interviewed

Semi Structured Interviews		Focus Group Discussions	
Key Informants		Beneficiaries	
Location	No. of Respondents interviewed	No. of Respondents Interviewed	Participants
			No. of Participants
Abuja	8	4	0
Lagos	5	4	8
Oyo	1	4	8
Ibadan	1	2	8
Kano	1	3	8
TOTAL	15	15	32

All beneficiaries were validated and confirmed as *bona fide* recipients of the CCT programmes both by checking their names in the social registers maintained at the offices of NAPEP and by physical identification of their identification documents which were all

verified by the gatekeepers and other beneficiaries. As beneficiaries of CCTs were resident in their various communities, access to them was not difficult for the researcher. Other respondents, particularly the key informants (and those who were non-beneficiaries) were also resident within the four research sites. In addition, key informants were officials and staffers from a range of organisations based in Nigeria. Selected staff of NAPEP at both federal and states levels were interviewed as key informants (mostly technical personnel in the government department), and also community representatives at the sub-national and local levels. Purposive sampling was also employed to select key informants, and participants for in-depth interviews and beneficiary FGDs. Respondents were knowledgeable and reasonably well-informed about the Nigerian CCT programmes and could share their views, opinions, or experiences with the researcher. This criterion informed the basis for selecting respondents; and administrators with detailed knowledge of the operation of Nigerian CCT programmes which were deemed important. In selecting respondents, I worked very closely with programme executives and local coordinators at both national and sub-national levels in Nigeria.

ii). **Focus group discussions** (FGDs) were conducted with CCT beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, disaggregated by gender, location, and age. FGDs questions for were organised around important vulnerabilities programme execution grant use impacts, responsibilities/obligations, complementary projects, and community participation. FGDs lasted roughly an hour and involved a maximum of eight (8) people at each of the locations in Oyo, Ibadan, Kano, and Abuja. The number and range of respondents was considered sufficient in order to achieve saturation; given that with qualitative research data coming from similar respondents can spur a process of revealing parallel categories of responses but once disparities have been captured to their fullest, the research, would have fulfilled its purpose. Thus, the numbers [Table 18] of respondents interviewed for this research were deemed sufficient to fully capture the ranges of experiences and perceptions of the CCTs in these locations.

Being an explanatory case study designed to apprehend phenomena and the conditions in which the happenings investigated are not clearly well-defined with known outcomes, the research typically tackled questions intended to explain hypothetical causal associations in everyday life that are challenging for quantitative approaches to determine (Yin, 2003).

Both Stake (1995; 2000) and Yin (2003) urged researchers utilising case study to collect wide-ranging data via multiple sources over a specified period of research. Using the in-depth interviews and key informant interviews as a guide, case studies involved beneficiaries of COPE and SURE-P identified by their characteristics (male/female, age, vulnerability) and selected in order to investigate different subtleties. With the help of key themes and guide, scheduled visits were made to the homes of selected individuals at agreed days/times and over different periods of time, to hold discussions. Findings were triangulated with different members of the family/household, peers, and friends. The synthesis of the data methods enhanced the credibility of the research from diversified data sources, which Bryman (2012, p. 392), denotes as a 'triangulation' strategy. Therefore, the case study method coupled with the research's orientation as a qualitative study, implies that eclectic processes could be less reliable, thus crosschecking with different sources of data is crucial to guarantee the validity of the research.

There are, however, limitations prescribing the selection of data methods which refers to both the focus and scope of research, including the circumstances influencing the conduct of the research. First, as I am a British citizen living and resident in the UK, but the research subjects are in Nigeria; therefore, there is the potential risk that my geographical location could positively and negatively influence the way that the research is conducted. Positively, I managed to sustain fresh insights on the subject-matter, whilst also maintaining an objective perspective. Nevertheless, in a negative way, the constraints of geography and distance limited physical access to the subjects and possibly access to data and compelled me to draw from external sources and online portals. Also, it placed a greater reliance than usual on gatekeepers, who were largely useful but also posed certain minor challenges. Importantly, every research project is executed within certain constraints; however, it is the duty and ability of the researchers to execute the project by skilfully navigating through all limitations and producing, despite these challenges, the best possible outcomes.

6.13. Reflexivity during the fieldwork and data collection

The analysis of data, in the view of Evans and O'Connor (2017), can be particularly challenging for early career researchers as they might be perplexed to discover that they have hit upon a wall after collecting enormous and vast quantity of data, with seemingly

no further pathway ahead and wondering what to do with the volume of raw data collected. To overcome this challenge, they proposed several ways to undertake data analysis based on different research traditions which can be employed when analysing qualitative data. Evans and O'Connor (2017, p.1) recommended a principle to assist a researcher complete 'good' analysis; a sort of guide or 'a road map' or heuristic pathway that must be available 'to guide and manage all steps of this important and crucial process'. From the commencement of the research and throughout the data collection stage, the researcher maintained a journal in which memos and notes were written to clarify the thoughts and to capture other emerging developments that might be useful for the research. Writing down memos and notes at the end of each interviews allowed the researcher to intensely engage with the data thereby helping in capturing and documenting the personal biases relating to the subject-matter being researched. At each interview session, the bracketing technique was employed and during the transcription process; this was done to ensure that the researcher's understanding was expanded and to also affirm his engagement with the participants and the data. Employing bracketing techniques for interviews has the advantage of increasing the 'researcher's clarity and engagement with participants' experiences by unearthing forgotten personal experiences' (Tufford and Newnam, 2012. p.86). Before recruitment of participants was undertaken, and prior to fieldwork, consideration was given to participants with little or no education who were unable to understand the information provided in the information sheet and, therefore, needed to give verbal consent. Data collected during the interviews were audio-recorded using a *Dictaphone* and this was also used to obtain verbal consent from the uneducated participants. The semi-structured interviews and FGDs were also recorded on a *Dictaphone* and the researcher also kept notes in his journal to complement the recording. Notes captured and recorded certain expressions, key phrases, comments, and words used during the interviews and the FGDs. Interviews were conducted in English, Pidgin English, and local languages (Yoruba and Hausa), which were later interpreted and translated into English. Participants, during the interviews, did not disclose sensitive information about themselves other than what was required for the purpose the research. Also, participants were guaranteed absolute confidentiality, anonymity, and data protection/privacy. All data were anonymised and used exclusively for the research study.

6.14. Executing the interviews

Interviews and FGDs constituted the main approaches for data collection. For the interviews, the researcher employed open-ended semi-structured interviews. The interviews consisted of questions that sought to elicit enough information about the experiences of beneficiaries and the administrators. The interviews were carried out between December 2017 and May 2018. All participants met the inclusion criteria in this study. Consent was obtained from all participants prior to the interviews taken place. In total, 30 interviews and four FGDs were completed with participants in Nigeria. This included 15 in-depth interviews with beneficiaries, 15 in-depth interviews with elites or key informants and four FGDs. The interviews and FGDs were predominantly undertaken face-to-face. Interviews lasted from between 60 minutes to 90 minutes and constituted the predominant data collection tool for evaluating participants' claims and perspectives and permitted participants the latitude to provide insights and explanations relating to the operations of the CCT programmes and how they made sense of their experiences. Each audio-recorded interview was subsequently transcribed *per dictum* resulting in several thousand of words of transcription data. Supplementary notes ensured the accuracy of the transcription, permitting the identification of participants in the discussion (Waters, 2010; Ulin et al., 2005; Krueger and Casey, 2000).

6.15. Key informants' Interviews (KIIs)

Fifteen (15) in-depth interviews were conducted with different key informants (elites) and individuals to gather information relevant to the study. Key informant interviews shed additional insights on the operations of CCTs to properly comprehend them in the context of overall societal make-up. The key informants involved in this study included staff/officials from the National Directorate of Employment (NDE), The Presidency, Ministries of Budget and National Planning, Finance, Social Development, Youth Sports and Culture and staff/employees working at the DFID, UNICEF, Save the Children, UNDP, NISER, NASSCO and Office of the Special Adviser on Social Protection. Others were top-ranking executives at some coordinating agencies/units overseeing the delivery of SP programmes at the national, sub-national and local government levels. The interviews provided information about the operations of CCT programmes, including operational and technical challenges affecting programming success. From key informants, the interviews yielded

more useful data that could not be gathered either in FGDs. Furthermore, data from the KIIs were useful for cross-checking and triangulating with some of the information collected through other data collection methods.

In-depth interviews are routinely employed within SP research to investigate diverse and different angles (Mathers and Slater, 2014). Interviews permit ephemeral and smooth connotations connected with experiences and perspectives of programme beneficiaries to be unearthed via prudently crafted, iterative, open-ended questions in the form of discussion (Rickly-Boyd, 2012). Besides, KIIs afford the researcher to gain insights into otherwise concealed issues (Woodruffe-Burton and Bairstow, 2013), such as the subtle negotiation of participation in CCTS and SP programmes (Molyneux, 2016; Mathers and Slater, 2014). Despite their obvious advantages however, individual in-depth interviews have been criticised as not being fully able to capture the dynamic interactions between participants that are inherent within FGDs (Gates, 2010). Moreover, the success of the interview is dependent upon the skills of the researcher (Golafshani, 2003). Therefore, FGDs were employed to strengthen the individual interviews. FGDs enabled conversations between the participants in a free-flowing manner. This flow of discussion was less disruptive to the participants' thought processes as contributions from participants generated rich and detailed insights.

The one-on-one and elite/KIIs were semi-structured permitting for themes to be detailed in a group of pre-determined areas which were broadened and elucidated upon further according to respondents' responses. It was necessary to allow participants offer their views of the CCT programmes in all its ramifications and give the participants freedom to express their views unfettered. The interview guides were structured to introduce respondents to the subject-matter and relax them. Through the introductory section on the respondents' opinions and roles within the CCT programmes, they were able to offer their unique insights. As their roles and perspectives vary; thus, each interview was tailored to each participant. Semi-structured interviews by nature allow participants the room for flexibility depending also upon their knowledge, responsiveness and how the flow of discussion proceeds; this aids the development of research themes. During the interview

process, the participants were prompted by the researcher to expand upon areas of interest to the research aims and objectives.

6.16. Cases selection

The individual semi-structured interviews with key informants and beneficiaries were classified into two distinct groups given that the people had wide ranges of experiences and expertise which reflected the complex realities of the research study. For the purposes of analyses, the interviews were sorted and classified into beneficiaries and elites for the process of detailed data and for presentation of analysis. This is a necessary technique of theoretical and selective sampling analysis employed in theory-based qualitative studies and have been recognised as useful in aiding sense-making of patterns emerging or arising out of the research data (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Voss et al., 2002; Sandelowski, 1995). Therefore, theoretical sampling particularly in multiple case studies should be reflective of typologies that permit robustness of findings which can be extended beyond the uniqueness of the single cases which are unique solely for being single cases.

As set out in the research objectives, the goal was to investigate the main drivers behind the perceptions of CCTs in order to understand in what ways they might be made more effective. As this study focussed on SP within the Nigerian social policy environment, it was necessary to devise a method of assessment and a framework that would suitably allow for a detailed treatment of data in order to generate the themes that are relevant for the study. To accomplish these objectives, the data were explored through a functional coding process which enabled originality to be encouraged or disseminated as it concerns the beneficiaries' perspectives and associated themes. It was important to have a sorting strategy for data categorisation so that interviews and all archival data were sorted according to their specific groups and typologies. With the aid of Nvivo 12, the data were coded and analysed over three stages and findings reflect the format and categorisation of coding.

6.16.1. Key Informant/Elite Interviews

A total of fifteen key informants were interviewed. These informants, as elites, were considered experts in the field of managing and administering SP programmes. They were

purposively sampled and selected based on their informed knowledge and understanding of the operations of CT programmes and in that positions, were privileged to share their insights, experience, and expertise on the operational, technical, administrative and implementation of the CCTs operation in Nigeria. Collection of primary data using FGDs and (KII)/Elite Interviews (EI) were intended to collect, collate, and analyse experiences, understandings, and opinions of citizens (beneficiaries) and community members; and government officials, programme implementers, experts, and representatives of civil society organisations/community organisations. This is particularly useful in relation to CCT programme service delivery, social accountability, and governance at the sub-national level.

The objectives of the KIIs/EIs were:

- To gain perspectives from non-beneficiary stakeholders - government officials, programme administrators, community chiefs and others, including civil society organisations that are not covered in detail by other instruments but are having an important role in improving useful information and knowledge about CCT operation and administration.
- To gain information in specific areas where key informants are likely to have specialised knowledge as experts/professionals /government officials and scheme administrations and civil society organisations (CSOs).
- To provide comparative depth and allow for cross-checking of responses to the FGDs.

6.16.2. Organising the Key Informant/Elite Interviews

The fifteen participants were drawn from a prepared list of candidates whose experience, knowledge and understanding of the CCT programme were considered relevant to the objectives of the research. Interviews of policy elites, as Beamer (2002) observed, are a very useful tool for analysing aspects of a policy process which necessarily are not illuminated by policy documents alone. Elite interviews also allow researchers to tap into the political constructs that might be otherwise difficult to investigate. As it turns out, this is a situation that frequently occurs in many developing countries; the constructs of political actors' beliefs are often difficult to defined (Beamer 2002). In conducting interviews with the elites, it was important, following the advice by Tansey (2007) to keep in mind the need

to reconstruct the trail of events that brought a policy change or caused reform, in order to corroborate information from other sources and to establish the decision makers, ideas and thoughts about the policy process. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with selected officials and administrators of COPE and SURE-P CCT programmes. Moreover, interviews were also held with selected officials representing the principal government departments responsible for implementing SP policies in Nigeria. These were the Nigerian government officials at the CCTs coordinating departments of NAPEP. In addition, the underlisted government officials at the Presidency were interviewed alongside principal officers in the following government departments and ministries:

1. National Planning Commission/Ministry of Budget and National Planning
2. Ministry of Women's Affairs & Social Development
3. Ministry of Finance & Economic Development
4. Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development
5. Ministry of Education & Youth Development
6. Ministry of Health & Social Services

6.16.3. Interview Protocol

Prior to commencing the elite interviews, respondents were served with written consent forms which outlined their willingness to participate in the study. This process allowed participants to freely give their informed consent to participate in the research. Informed consent is considered as ethically and legally necessary when undertaking research involving human participants. Conventionally, informed consent refers to 'document signed and dated by the participants, setting forth the purpose, benefits, risks, and other study information necessary to allow the participants to make an informed and voluntary decision to participate' in a study (Nijhawan, et al., 2013). It is also defined as the process where a participant is informed about all aspects of the research, which are necessary to make the decision to freely participate in the research. Informed consent is sealed when the participants voluntarily confirms their willingness to take part in the research process. The concept of the informed consent is embedded in the *Nuremberg Code*, the Declaration of Helsinki, and the Belmont Report (Fadare and Porteri, 2010; Nijhawan et al., 2013).

6.17. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

This research employed four FGDs to collect data that would have been challenging to capture using other tools. FGDs are used to extract perceptions, opinions, and ideas from participants that share at least one principal feature like gender or socio-economic status. FGDs, according to Krueger and Casey (2000) signifies a natural setting where the conversation topics are directive, but, also where, perceptions and ideas are communicated on participants' own terms, instead of mandated or externally imposed. It is acknowledged that individual perceptions and attitudes are shaped by their local contexts and are often best expressed in response to the opinions of others, which allow for the interplay of ideas and comments that build upon one another; thus, FGDs participants were provided with a safe environment that facilitated their contributions and allowed participants the freedom to speak their minds on matters/issues that affect them (Waters, 2010). Such information includes sensitive issues on family, gender, power relations, societal dynamics, and citizens empowerment that sometimes respondents felt uncomfortable to discuss directly with an interviewer. Specifically, the objectives of the FGDs were:

- To elicit the views of beneficiaries regarding indicators of CCT scheme service quality and citizen involvement and;
- To aid in obtaining greater depth, detail, and voices on aspects of interest with reference to service delivery/quality, social accountability and civic engagement.

FGDs were conducted in each study area: the first session was women-only FGDs; the second, was men-only FGDs, and the last two included both sexes. Each group comprised eight participants for tranquil management. The researcher decided on the kind of grouping since, respondents especially the women felt uncomfortable discussing sensitive issues affecting them or impacting their lives, their families, relationships, and their marriages especially when they were in hybrid groups (Sarsons and Xu, 2015). FGDs were conducted to get additional information to complement semi-structured, in-depth interviews. A checklist was developed to guide the FGDs. The FGDs held at agreed locations in the different study sites. The researcher managed, supervised, and coordinated all discussions in FGDs. During the discussions, the researcher took notes and recorded all the discussions on a recording device, *Dictaphone*, for retrieval. FGDs helped the researcher to obtain clarification about different aspects and dimensions relating to how CCTs operated

in Nigeria and examined the issues related to implementation of programmes, and how the administrative, organisational, accountability and civic empowerment issues impacted beneficiaries. The FGDs provided more detailed information that the researcher subsequently crosschecked with other data/information collected during in-depth, semi-structured interviews with beneficiaries and key informants/elites.

FGDs are useful for capturing participants' attitudes and perceptions in detail (Gregori et al., 2014), by exploiting the groups' participatory roles to gain knowledge and meaning through social interactions (Heiskanen et al., 2008). All four FGDs were conducted with beneficiaries as stakeholders, affording the dynamic environment inherent within FGDs that allowed participants to productively engage in a robust discussion, covering all the themes in detail, whilst also demonstrating all the contours and nuances in their perceptions. Within FGDs, the elements of the discussions are complex. Thus, group dynamics permit participants with detailed understanding of their peculiar experiences with CCTs to express their views, igniting new ideas and opinions from other participants (Heiskanen et al., 2008). However, there is always the risk that the researcher could derail the process by not keeping the focus group properly structured around all the relevant themes; this could potentially cause the group to deviate from the focus of the research (Heiskanen et al., 2008). Also, there is the probable risk of disruption in the flow and direction of discussions and conversations within the focus group, hence the researcher needed to ensure that participants stay focussed on the subject matter.

6.17.1. Organising Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

FGDs were held in Lagos State (Ikorodu) and Oyo State (Ibadan and Oyo town). The second focus group was held in Kano State (Kano city). Purposive sampling was employed to designate them into appropriate categories: a) beneficiaries (eligible and non-eligible); b) non-beneficiaries (eligible and non-eligible) living within Lagos and Kano, Oyo and FCT (Abuja) states. These motley group comprised elders and key individuals in the community where the CCT programmes operated. Questions posed at the forum were geared towards specifically responding to the research questions and related to be specific issues of the citizens' perceptions of programme impacts on households and individuals. Each FGD had different numbers of participants because some participants that were not previously

contacted directly by the researcher indicated their willingness to participate in the research after they were later approached by some of the selected participants. This process of snowballing helped in recruiting new research participants. FGD had a total of 32 participants, averaging 8 participants per FGD. Each group discussions lasted an average of 75 minutes with participants freely expressing their views. Also, there was an advantage in putting people together into FGDs as it ensures that group dynamic worked for the benefits of the participants who shared similar characteristics (age, needs, vulnerabilities). Research participants as a collective group functioned as critical sources of information that helped to shed light on both the context in which the CCT programmes occurred as well as how their lived experiences and perceptions panned out.

6.18. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews with beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries

Fifteen beneficiaries were interviewed on one-to-one basis and recruited as research participants from the amongst those who participated in the FGDs. These participants resided and earned their livelihoods from within the communities where the CCT programmes operated. Because women were the main beneficiaries, almost all participants were women (14) except for a sole male respondent. These women were also invariably responsible for maintaining and providing for their households. In some cases, the female respondents were heads of their households. Participants were interviewed for not more than 45minutes on the average but no longer than one hour. The goal of the interview was to elicit respondents' views and experiences with the CCTs. Also, as beneficiaries and participants, women are important to the study not just because of gender but more importantly because as mothers and key actors, the success and effective functioning of most anti-poverty programmes is predicated on their abilities as 'household care economy managers' (Holmes & Jones, 2013; Molyneux, 2007, 2009) to prioritise family needs properly and to ensure that the cash transfers are used for the benefit of the household.

Anecdotally, within the development community, it is the received wisdom that the gender of the recipient of CTs (i.e., women) influences the structure of expenditure's share (Armand, Attanasio, Carnerio and Lechene, 2018). Thus, women are presumed to be better and more effective in household management than men. Also, as critical individuals within

the household, women do better in the care of the children than men when they receive the grants/transfers. They are also more likely to fulfil the conditions attached to transfers (Fisbein and Schady, 2009; Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017; Armand, et al., 2018). Investigating the peoples' experiences and their engagement with the schemes was a critical source of information and knowledge for me as a researcher, because having engaged with the schemes directly or indirectly, they had views worth sharing. Geographically, many of the respondents who participated in the research resided in the rural parts of Nigeria and possessed limited educational qualifications and have experienced economic hardship or have been subjected to livelihood shocks and crises for most of their lives. They were classified as poor, living on less than a dollar per day and on the edge or margins of society.

6.18.1. Inclusion of non-beneficiaries

The inclusion of non-beneficiaries was to understand how the potential of SP is perceived on the ground, particularly among the groups that could not participate in the scheme. Including non-beneficiaries was also good because beneficiaries of Nigerian CCT are often targeted via communal and geographical targeting. This process involved various Community Associations situated within diverse communities (known as Community Social Assistance Committees [CSACs]). Programme officials also engaged with local chieftains and political leaders to pre-select beneficiaries. In some cases, however, some of the beneficiaries were accused of being close to chieftains and political leaders of political parties at the local and sub-national levels. However, the overall selection of household's heads/members was done by executives/officials of the CSACs in collaboration with government officials from NAPEP, the coordinating federal agency in charge of COPE; and local officials from participating states and local governments where the communities and households are located. CSACs were established in participating communities to assist government officials in the selection of beneficiaries and to monitor the implementation of the programme. Each CSAC comprised selected community members like the community/village head, the community religious leader, school-head, community health worker, women's leader, and community development representative. So, involving them was useful as they were able to provide unique insights including compelling narratives to highlight how CCTs impacted on their lives.

6.19. Data Analysis

Strauss and Corbin (1998) argued that qualitative research studies entailed a continuous partnership between data collection and data analysis by which they implied redacting and (re)organising substantial volumes of collected data to unravel meanings. In comparison to quantitative analysis, there are no formalised procedures for qualitative analysis. Hence, Marshall and Rossman (2006) indicated that qualitative data analysis does not often occur in a linear fashion. This view, corroborated by Cresswell (2013) and Strauss and Corbin (1998), counselled researchers on best practices and techniques to enrich the validity of qualitative studies. Data analysis techniques are useful to ensure that findings from the study are valid, credible, and dependable and this study have endeavoured to ensure that the study fulfilled that criteria. Consequently, data analysis for this study proceeded as follows. At the outset, reflexive journaling was employed. Fischer (2009, p. 588) described reflexive journaling as providing ‘self-awareness, including awareness of how one has participated in developing particular understandings’. Before embarking on the project, the researcher acknowledged his biases and consciously recorded them down throughout the research process, premised upon Ahern’s (1999) advice that employing reflexive journaling helped enhance a researcher's knack for maintaining (exercising) reflexivity. Bracketing throughout the data analysis phase enabled the researcher to evaluate/appraise his preconceptions with a view to bringing both main themes and negative contexts to the fore. Bracketing also afforded the maintenance of self-awareness throughout the entire research process.

6.20. Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis was adopted for data analysis. Vaismordi and colleagues (2016, p. 101) defined it as a set of techniques used to analyse textual data and explain themes. The chief attribute is the systematic process of coding, examining meaning and offering a description of the social reality through the creation of themes (Berg and Latin, 2008). ‘Themes’ refers to a specific pattern of meaning found in the data which can have both implicit and explicit contents: (manifest) explicit contents are materials that are directly observable across a series of interview transcripts; whilst (latent) implicit contents are subtle references, or implicit references in the transcripts that makes references to certain issues (Joffe, 2012). As a method for identifying and analysing patterns of meaning in a dataset, thematic

analysis enables the illustration of themes that are germane in the description of the phenomenon under investigation (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Joffe, 2012; Daly et al., 1997). The goal of thematic analysis is the underscoring of the prominent patterns of meanings existing within the dataset. Such patterns encompass affective, cognitive, and symbolic dimensions and by so doing, thematic analysis can reveal the discernible and suppressed drivers behind any subject (Joffe, 2012).

One of the features of thematic analysis and why it is particularly helpful as a data analysis tool is that in the description and interpretation of research participants' perspectives (a feature of all qualitative approaches), thematic analysis permits a lower level of inference interpretation, rather than a more abstract interpretation. Expressed in another way, thematic analysis focuses on the unambiguous explanation of the content of communication with a restricted contemplation on its implicit meaning (Vaismoradi et al., 2016; Ayres, Kavanaugh and Knafi, 2003; Sandelowski, 2010). Thematic analysis is useful for theorising through several codes, finding shared thematic elements amongst research participants and the events they articulate (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Cresswell, 2013). The process demands exhaustive reading and re-reading of transcripts to search for and identify similarities, nuances, and differences that enables researchers to develop themes and categories. Thematic analysis involves identifying data embedded within data and development of themes for categorisation and for examination (Cresswell, 2013). For guidance with the data analysis stage, the researcher utilised Braun and Clarke's six steps of data analysis as amplified by Nowell et al., (2017) [See Table 19]. The first step, entailed familiarisation with the data (engaging with the data through transcription of the interviews after which a first reading was done), followed by a re-reading of the transcripts. This was to understand the materials and the opinions expressed. The second step, involved the researcher generating initial codes, identifying preliminary fledging codes that were important. The third step involved searching for themes. The fourth step entailed reviewing the themes (at this stage, initial themes were classified, and a decision was taken to integrate, isolate or reject them). During step five, themes were defined and named (at this stage, most of the themes were refined and described, later possible sub-themes within the data were also identified). At step six, the researcher produced a report. During this stage, all the themes extracted from the data were subsumed and included in the

report. From each interview, the researcher inputted the transcripts into *Microsoft Word* documents; transcripts were painstakingly re-read, a process that demanded reviewing the transcripts line-by-line to ensure that information captured and reflected were detailed and correct. As recommended by Corbin and Strauss (2008), data analysis was done through axial and open coding.

Table 19: Six Stages of Thematic Analysis

Six Stages of Thematic Analysis	Means
Stage 1: Familiarizing yourself with your data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prolonged engagement with data • Triangulation with different data collection methods • Documenting theoretical and reflective thoughts • Documenting thoughts about potential codes/themes • Storing raw data in well-organized archives • Keeping records of all data field notes, transcripts, and reflexive journals
Stage 2: Generating initial codes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peer debriefing • Researcher triangulation • Reflexive journaling • Using a coding framework • Audit trail of code generation • Documentation of all team meeting and peer debriefings
Stage 3: Searching for themes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Researcher triangulation • Diagramming to make sense of theme connections • Keeping detailed notes about development and hierarchies of concepts and themes
Stage 4: Reviewing themes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Researcher triangulation • Themes and subthemes vetted by team members • Testing for referential adequacy by returning to raw data
Stage 5: Defining and naming themes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Researcher triangulation • Peer debriefing • Team consensus on themes • Documentation of team meetings regarding themes • Documentation of theme naming
Stage 6: Producing the report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member checking • Peer debriefing • Describing process of coding and analysis in sufficient details • Thick descriptions of context • Description of the audit trail • Reporting on reasons for theoretical, methodological, and analytical choices throughout the entire study

[Source: Author and Adapted from: Nowell et al., 2017].

At the categorisation stage, new themes and sub-themes were generated using categorical grouping. Each groups of words were assigned a theme and classification into distinct group allowed for comparison of groups. This process was done through NVIVO, which enabled themes and sub-themes to emerge. Interviewees' personal information were excluded from the inputted data; replaced by an assigned alphabet letter to safeguard their privacy.

Additionally, using the computer-assisted data analysis programme, manual checks of data were done to improve the trustworthiness, credibility, and validity of findings. To ensure that data was valid, errors were checked to eliminate unwanted parts. This procedure also entailed a second stage of comprehensive, meticulous reading and rereading of transcripts and exhaustive data analysis. This process was recommended by Braun and Clarke, (2006); Corbin and Strauss, (2008); and Silverman, (2000). The researcher reviewed selected materials/data before coding and categorical grouping was done. This is how thematic analysis was carried out. After identifying the relevant documents, the data was inputted into the computer using MS Word. Thereafter, open and axial coding was used to examine the data; this process enabled the themes to evolve on their own (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). The next stage (categorisation) involved the categorical grouping and creation of themes and sub-themes. NVIVO was used at this stage to help classify and group the themes and sub-themes into a coherent format.

All the first-hand data collected during fieldwork were transcribed with the aid of *Microsoft Note* software. All audio-recorded and annotated interviews were carefully uploaded to a personal laptop, backed up on a separate system in an encrypted format to mitigate the risk of loss or damage. In the process of transcribing, some of the interview data which were unclear were later rechecked with some of the interviewees for validation purposes. This step was critical as it helped in the process of validation and improved reliability of data and the overall research quality. In certain instances, amendments were made to the data transcripts to align with some recorded aspects and to resolve disparity between the audio recording and the revision or the amendments from the respondent. Data analysis was performed by combining software and traditional paper annotation. Bearing in mind the point raised by Miles et al., (2014) that transcribing, and structuring were critical starting points in the data analysis process, the researcher adhered to this recommendation. Structuring entailed organisation of data into different cases using the NVivo 12, followed by re-checking and re-reading the data to ensure conformity. This was augmented by content analysis, a process that permitted easy searching and identification for data within in-view format for data coding. Subsequently, as a means of generating data codes the researcher afterwards employed word counts, text query and word trees to generate data codes and to successively create new nodes.

6.21. Stages and description of the coding process

Based upon the principles associated with the conservative constructivist approach of the research, the process of data analysis permitted an iterative analysis of the collected data. Data analysis was segmented into three core stages. The first stage is the initial and open coding stage (Charmaz, 2014) or the first-order coding (Gioia et al., 2013); it permitted the different segments of raw data to be fashioned into incubation cases. Whilst this process was carefully undertaken, selectivity of the materials remained a key concern; as it is possible for some aspects of the process to be purged as it often happens in research development where all aspects are not integral (Charmaz, 2006). Moreover, whilst ideas are valuable tools in deriving meaning, socio-psychological processes can reveal much more, enriching the depth and productivity of the data. As this study is about exploring perspectives and perceptions of programme beneficiaries, it is necessary for the data to be mined for insights. Therefore, the progressions intrinsic in the transcripts were highlighted in the research journal, together with the summary of their potential significance and instances of their function and operations.

During the second stage of analysis, axial and focused coding which permits to search for the bigger story and excavation of the deeper materials in the data to reveal the themes were undertaken (Bryant, 2013; Charmaz, 2006; Corbin and Strauss, 2008; 2015). This process resulted in the clustering of the initial coding, establishing the linkages between the process and the themes that reveals overarching meaning. Also, at this stage the researcher made sense of the data and the initial codes derived, to decide what is analytically rewarding and useful to push the research process further (Charmaz, 2006; 2014). To give an example, there were numerous references in the initial coding to accountability and empowerment, which were then clustered into the label on social citizenship and social accountability; this was subsequently given prominence in the discussion sections of the thesis. In any research, and during data analysis both Charmaz (2006) and Goudling (2002) stressed the point about how the quality of the initial and focussed codes relies on the ability of the researcher to spend enough time and give proper attention to the checking and rechecking of the codes generated during the initial data analysis stage. As the analysis stage progressed, the researcher ensured that critical stance was taken with regards the codes and incidents derived as they were subjected to rigorous

checking, questioning and interrogation to be sure that the meanings and evolving findings were pertinent and important to the study. Paying attention to recurrent interpretation and being a participant in the research process, inevitably makes the role of the researcher critical and underscores his responsibility in the data analysis stage.

The third stage was theoretical coding. Here, the coding was systemically isolated to allow the researcher to combine and extend codes, notes, and similar incidents together so that their empirical and theoretical properties can be amplified. This allowed for subcategories to be generated from the previous stages and assigned into distinct categories (Charmaz, 2006; 2014; 2015). By this, the postulations that informed the themes were developed premised on the dual relationships that evolved in the data and in literature on social protection. Importantly, the coding and analysis process itself was dynamic; as coding persisted throughout the data analysis process, with continual refinement and adaptations as the process evolved. As a result, the quality and consistency of findings was assured. Even when a new code emerged then the researcher consulted with the data, and recoded sections of them in order to ascertain consistency and validity (Charmaz, 2006). This prevented restarting the coding process and recoding all the data over again. By rechecking the data, the researcher ensured that new codes were ascertained and tested against earlier data. This way the data analysis resulted in a generative process of producing themes that enriched the study.

All the three coding stages were done manually. As noted earlier, the first stage was premised on the research journal and the notes taken during and after the interviews and during the transcription stages (see Appendix). The second stage involved reflections and schemas that enable the clustering together of the themes, together with the records noted down in the research journal and the electronic version made on *Microsoft One Note* and *Microsoft Word* (see Appendix). The final stage was divided into two parts: the first part involved the clustered themes used as raw data to develop/generate codes. The second part was developing the themes in a such a way that they aligned with sub-headings and sections in the presentation and discussion of findings. Subsequently, *NVivo 12* was used to expand and categorise the themes into refined codes. The use of both manual and computed aided processes enabled a thorough analysis of the transcripts and afforded a

systematic coding process which eventually made it easier to retrieve the codes and developed a patterned structure of citizens' perceptions. Without this systematic process, the themes might have been lost completely in the avalanche of materials of raw data transcribed manually. Finally, it is necessary to stress that *Nvivo* was only employed to complement rather than replace or supplant the manual coding.

6.22. Explaining the data analysis protocol

6.22.1. Examining power dynamics in existing programming

Following the polar typology and replication logic of the research a total of four FGDs were held involving a total number of thirty-two individuals who were mostly beneficiaries. In the analysis of the data, some specific efforts were undertaken to align definite objectives, regarding certain questions asked, the specific data source, including type of data collected, and the explicit procedure employed in the data interpretation (Makota, 2011). The participants in the FGDs were mostly women, who numbered twenty-two (22). This demographic distribution is not surprising since most CCTs' beneficiaries in many countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa are women. According to De Brauw, Gilligan, Hoddinott and Roy (2014), CCT programmes have significantly and predominantly featured women as recipients with the rationale being that increased resource control by women was associated with both enhanced agency and decision-making power amongst women and enriched outcomes for children (ibid, 2014; Behrman, 2010). Also, there is empirical evidence that demonstrates that CCT programme effectiveness is heightened when monetary benefits are paid to women (Yildirim, Ozdenir and Sezgin, 2014) and other studies also confirmed that giving women resource control also enhances their rights and access to productive assets (Agarwal, 1994) which in turn also empowers them in their marriages (De Brauw et al, 2014). Therefore, it was also important to be mindful in the analysis of data to pay attention to issues relating to power and gender dynamics. Data were analysed by employing a content and structural-functional approach. Based on these two approaches, the analysis was predicated on the original accounts of the experiences and observations of the respondents and the respective power dynamics and gender relationships existing within study areas. The information captured from all FGDs was transcribed, categorised, and ranked to ascertain meaningful interpretations from the

diverse accounts proffered by respondents. Consideration was given to the central issues raised during FGDs and the setting where the interviews were undertaken.

6.23. Validity and Reliability

Reliability entails the dependability, trustworthiness, and replicability of the study findings (Numan, 1999). In qualitative research, validity denotes the accuracy of the research results. Validity determines the extent to which the research accomplishes its objectives (Golafshani, 2003). To look for validity within the qualitative information, Merriam (2002) suggested the concept of member checks. The researcher complied with this by requesting interviewees to check copies of their interview transcripts and asked them to authenticate the accuracy of the materials. Participants were shown parts of the notes taken down in the researcher's journal during the interviews. Also, portions of audio recordings that were not fully clear, were played back at the end of the interview to allow participants to clarify those grey areas. At other times, the researchers asked follow-up questions to clarify, or ensure that what was captured during the interviews represented what the respondents wanted to present or articulate.

For improving the validity and reliability of studies, Yin (2013) suggested that researchers employ three (3) sources of data collection and analysis for case studies. The three sources are several data sources, building a case study file and maintaining a sequence of verification. As for triangulation, Yin (2013) advised that researchers can employ it for dealing with triangulation. Triangulation is particularly important in that it curtails the biases, and the risk of reliance on a singular data collection method. In supporting the adoption of triangulation, Patton (2002, p. 247) observed that 'triangulation strengthens a study by combining methods. This can mean using several kinds of methods or data, including using both quantitative and qualitative approaches.' At the triangulation stage, the researcher searched for uniformities in data sets to ensure that all aspects of experiences were incorporated in the examination and analysis of data; thus, all aspects were thoroughly examined. Validity was checked for by maintaining a sequence of the evidence, which was helpful to align data from the database to the research question and issues under examination. This process enabled the researcher to ascertain that the conclusions drawn from the data were reliable.

6.24. Reflections and Ethical Considerations

Berg (2009) and Guillemin and Gillam (2004) defined ethics in research as keeping with the parameters of acceptable and unacceptable conduct, including matters of privacy, safety and the confidentiality of data. In the cherished traditions of assuring good ethical practice, cognisance was taken of potential issues that could have ethical implications for this study. Typically, all researchers work to protect the safety of participants, of maintaining their confidentiality, preventing biases and prejudices and minimising potential benefits. In order to assure the ethical integrity of the study, the researcher accepted responsibility for ensuring that all the associations and materials investigated were always respected. Guillemin and Gillam (2004) depicted reflexivity as a means for apprehending data, its collection, and the type of ethics in qualitative research methods and the way ethical practice should be consummated.

6.25. Ethical process

Ethical approval to conduct the research study was obtained from the Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield Research Ethics Committee. The unique nature of the research occasioned by the potential threats to life and safety of the researcher meant that the fieldwork research could not be carried out in the North-eastern region of Nigeria where Boko Haram terrorists' activities were rife. To assure the committee of his safety, the researcher's fieldwork was re-planned and rescheduled to only the safer parts of Northern Nigeria. Once ethical approval was obtained, the researcher sent out emails introducing the research study to the contacts in Nigeria ahead of the fieldwork trip. The nature of SP systems in developing countries such as Nigeria, meant that selected top government officials in the relevant government ministries and departments dealing directly in the administration of CT programmes were involved in the research study. Frontline officials involved in the delivery of CCT programmes at the local levels were invited to participate in the research. During fieldwork, prior contacts and meetings held with some of these officials greatly assisted in gaining access to programme beneficiaries. In accordance with the university department's ethical guidelines, the ethics application for the study was rigorously and robustly vetted and reviewed by the university's research ethics committee, which included a proper consideration of the research study's protocol, information sheet and consent forms. Final ethics approval was only granted after all the

proper clearance and suggested amendments were executed. Within the Department of Sociological Studies adequate arrangements were in place for research governance prior to undertaking research fieldwork in Nigeria. To guarantee his safety, the researcher ensured proper arrangements were in place in Nigeria to make the fieldwork trip successful. Following ethical approval, no further amendment was made to the research protocol.

For every research involving human participation, Guillemin and Gillam (2004) counselled the researcher to exercise a duty of forming an understanding of 'ethical tension' (p.271). It is therefore incumbent on the researcher to uphold the rights, privacy and confidentiality of participants and their freedom from mental and/or physical harm during and after the study. In this study, the informed consent process driving the recruitment of participants ensured that both semi-structured interviews and the FGDs' information leaflets and consent forms were displayed in the local languages of Yoruba, Hausa, Pidgin English, and English languages summarising the research, the purpose of the study and the assurance of anonymity for the participants. Also, participants were informed of the measures that would be taken to secure the interview audio recording at the completion of the study. Research participants were also made aware they had the choice to either stop the interview or completely withdraw/opt-out of the interview. Because participants often had to travel long distances to the venue of the interview, some participants in the FGDs were reimbursed with a token cash amount towards their transportation costs. This was not meant as an inducement or compensation as much as it was intended to appreciate the participants as a token of gratitude for travelling long distances to the venues of the FGDs and for committing time and effort to the study; but compensation to research participants is acceptable under certain circumstances.

Although there are concerns among researchers about compensating participants (Bentley and Thatcher 2004; Killawi et al, 2014), this is not an unacceptable procedure. The question of compensating, paying or incentivising research participants raises ethical questions, because incentive can be perceived as coercion; hence, the use of payment as an 'incentive' to participation is controversial (TUOS Ethics Guidebook, 2018). As observed by Alderson and Morrow (2004), the standards of the *1947 Nuremberg Code* declare that no persuasion or pressure of any kind should be placed on participants. However, there are arguments canvassed in favour of reimbursing research participants once it is conducted in a way that

does not over-ride the principles of freely expressed, freely given and fully informed consent. Reimbursement can spur participants' enthusiasm and interests in the research. Also, reimbursements are subtly non-coercive, allowing a gratuitous incentive to a potential participant where the risks and encumbrances involved are those which a competent, adult participant might reasonably refuse payment (Wilkerson & Moore, 1997; Dickert et al., 2002; Jones and Liddell, 2009).

In culturally diverse settings, empirical researchers have debated the necessity for adjusting certain research standards and procedures for extremely high-density multicultural settings like Nigeria, so as to avoid tensions that can arise when the necessitated approach to informed consent is predicated on Western ethical standards (Killawi et al, 2014; Fadare and Porter, 2010). The areas of debate include pressure to participate, limited comprehension of informed consent, verbal versus written documentation of informed consent, language and literacy barriers, confidentiality, and individual versus community decision-making processes (Marshall, 2008; Lakes et al., 2012; Killawi et al., 2014). Thus, the debate is dichotomised between those who canvass for the application of universal ethical principles in research (Hyder and Wali, 2005; Macklin, 2000) and those who argue that standards must be adjusted for culturally diverse settings (Upvall and Hashwani, 2001; Marshall, 2008; Lakes et al., 2012; Killawi et al., 2014).

Whereas Western researchers participating in international projects are bound to Western norms and regulations, researchers in tune with local conditions can re-adjust the standards to fit with the cultural setting in which their study or research is situated (Killawi et al, 2014). Thus, researchers who have questioned the appropriateness of applying a 'Western' approach to recruitment and consent procedures among culturally diverse groups in non-Western countries of the global south and among culturally diverse societies have often resorted to an adjusted ethical standard to obtain informed consent from participants when conducting research in such high-density multicultural settings like Nigeria (Dawson and Kass, 2005; Upvall and Hashwani, 2001; Hyder and Wali, 2006; Bhutta, 2004; Halabi, 2005; Fadare and Porter, 2010; Lakes et al., 2012; Killawi et al., 2014). The cash amount given to participants as a token of gratitude was also weighted as good on the risks-to-benefit ratio that was embodied in the ethics approval obtained from the

Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield. As illustrated by Fadare and Porter (2010), it is required for researchers undertaking research in Nigeria to incorporate cultural considerations for human subjects in medical/biomedical or health research for instance as enshrined in the National Research Guidelines of Nigeria (NHREC, 2006).

According to Bentley and Thatcher (2004) compensating participants for taking part is problematic especially as it raises concerns of inducement of participants to partake in a research that they otherwise might be inclined to participate in. They also claimed that compensation of participants to partake in a study can negatively influence the participants to answer the research question in an untruthful or less honest manner. As specified in the ethics approval and as part of the research ethics protocol for this study, the researcher conducted himself within the stipulated guidelines and conceptual framework of ethical practice in research and The University of Sheffield (TUOS) ethics' guidelines approved for this study. All information exchanged electronically were subjected to this protocol and this applied to all data from newspapers, websites, memos, archival records, interview transcripts, and reports which originated from very credible and valid sources. It was also vital that the handling of these varied data sources was characterised in the most accurate possible phenomenon possible.

6.26. The researcher's role in the research endeavour

In crafting, implementing, and analysing qualitative case study research, Denzin and Lincoln (2008) emphasised that the role of the researcher is related to the researcher's skills and competence including the strength of the methodological toolkit. Given the nature of this research, the role of the researcher is relevant particularly with regards ensuring that participants fully understand the different dimensions of the research topic and can engage with it. This can be particularly tricky, but the researcher can overcome these barriers. One of the ways the researcher can competently address this challenge is to have undertaken relevant and extensive training in research methodology as a way of keeping abreast of the trends and advances in the field of social science research; also, it is important that the researcher does his homework properly before embarking on his field work. If the researcher can successfully plan and execute his field research journey from the design stage to the evaluation stage, he can manage and overcome the potential barriers.

Furthermore, the researcher as an active partaker in the research process is responsible for his reflexivity and needs to be conscious of his opinions, interests, biases, and personal concerns as matters that could infiltrate and inadvertently incorporated into the research process (Woodruffe-Burton, 2006). Reflexivity is fully acknowledged as a part of the qualitative research process (Belhassen and Caton, 2006; Bell and Thorpe, 2013). Noy (2011) affirmed, 'reflexivity has a prolific history in research' (p.917); it behoves the researcher to be cautious in the application of reflexivity as this can be beneficial to the research process because it allows the researcher to resolve perplexing and delicate issues (Bettany and Woodruffe-Burton, 2006). Furthermore, Olsen (2003) pointed out that researcher can enhance the value of the research process by fully engaging and participating in the research dialogue. Reflexivity accordingly enables the researcher to fully designate connections within meanings through tacit understanding (Riley and Love, 2000) given that it is virtually impossible to fully separate or detach the researcher from the research process (Bettany and Woodruffe-Burton, 2006). Without reflexivity, even if it is minimally applied, it is almost impossible for the researcher to avoid the iterative dialogue and interaction that surfaces during the data collections stage and which, through the aid of reflexivity can permit the novel insights to be prompted during data analysis.

6.27. Positionality

The other ethical issue was the researcher's personal biases. In the interpretation of the data, there was a risk that they could be influenced by the researcher's biases thus affecting the validity and reliability of the study's findings. Therefore, to tackle this issue, the researcher painstakingly ensured that the highest standards of transparency were adhered to throughout the research process. As pointed out by Perkins and Baker, (2011), the researcher should be aware of their feelings, biases and motives and be conscious of the potential preconceptions which might impact their studies. To mitigate this risk, the researcher applied various bracketing techniques. Gearing (2004, p.1430), described bracketing as 'a scientific process in which the researcher suspends or holds in abeyance his or her presuppositions, biases, assumptions, theories, or previous experiences to see and describe the phenomenon'. Tufford and Newman (2010, p.81) further asserted that 'bracketing is a method used by some researchers to mitigate the potential deleterious

effects of unacknowledged preconceptions related to the research and thereby increase the rigour of the project'. The researcher must be able to apply the different methods of bracketing meticulously in order to fully evaluate and take cognisance of their own biases in order to find ways of mitigating them within their chosen qualitative research methods (Gearing, 2004; Fischer, 2009; Tufford and Newman, 2010). After the completion of the study, the data will be destroyed. Data collection is governed by the Data Protection policy of the University of Sheffield and this was declared to all participants at the outset and provided on the information sheet provided to all participants. Information and notes collected/recorded during fieldwork were safely and securely transcribed for retrieval during data analysis stages later.

6.28. Limitations

As with any research, there are inherent limitations in the adopted methodological approach. As a qualitative study predicated on a small, manageable sample of COPE and SURE-P programme beneficiaries, it inevitably implies that its findings might not be representative of all beneficiaries in the four states of Nigeria studied. However, it must be emphasised that this study was rather intended to enhance our understanding and shed light on germane issues that are crucial for future programming considerations and social policy development in Nigeria and in developing countries generally. Additionally, whilst specific themes within the research are of an evaluative nature (e.g., recipients' accounts of the CCTs and their recommendations for improving them), the study itself is exploratory and does not in any way relate to other ongoing projects that might share some semblance to the project.

Qualitative research approaches are, inherently, open-ended, and context-dependent (Bryman, 2004). Nigeria is multi-ethnic and diverse country with over 250 languages and dialects. The project was designed as a multi-ethnic field research with multiple locations and multiple languages spoken at community levels, so in addition to logistical challenges (poor infrastructure etc.), language issues were potentially challenging although this was mitigated by the use of vernacular languages and by the use of Pidgin English which is the unofficial language spoken in many parts of Nigeria. However, language could still be problematic when it comes to fully capturing the subjective experiences of poverty,

vulnerability, and empowerment. Other methodological challenges experienced while carrying out fieldwork related to existential issues; however, these were mitigated by the careful attention and preparation put in place prior to undertaking the research. The researcher ensured that appropriate physical conditions for research exercises are provisioned (taking into consideration distance from people's homes and allowing for conducive spaces like shaded areas, including the provision of refreshments).

Regarding other shortcomings of the study's interpretive research orientation; first, whilst the interpretive paradigm is sympathetic to discrete and singular meanings these can be concealed within thicker generalisations (Samdahl, 1999, p. 119); yet it can sometimes repudiate an elemental basis of knowledge, calling its validity into question. Additionally, it should not be determined/assessed by applying the same criteria as the scientific paradigm (Scotland, 2012). Researchers who question the validity of research under this tradition may not appreciate that legitimacy and trustworthiness can be achieved without asserting unchallenged certainty (Scotland, 2012). However, reaching a consensus within any research is often problematic. This is because, as Rolfe (2006) asserts, reality is skewed, biased, and varies from one individual to another; therefore, research participants should not be expected to reach the same conclusions as researchers (p. 305). Consequently, validity-enhancing criteria such as triangulation, member-checking and peer-review are futile since they presuppose an implicit objective reality which could be the basis of consensus (Angen, 2000, p. 384). Second, as earlier mentioned, knowledge produced by the interpretive paradigm has limited transferability as it is usually fragmented and not unified into a coherent body (Scotland, 2012). Often generalisations that are deemed useful to policymakers could be omitted from the study because research could produce highly contextualised qualitative data, and readings of this data entail prejudiced discrete constructions. Consequently, policymakers are at pains to support funding for projects employing the interpretive research methods (Scotland, 2012).

Third, participants' autonomy and privacy could be compromised as the methods of interpretive research are more intimate and open-ended than scientific research, which could engender unintended unveiling of secrets, lies and oppressive relationships (Howe & Moses, 1999, p. 40). Researchers therefore must decide their ethical responsibility whether

to divulge their participants' identities or arbitrate in their lives, or for instance, safeguarding children from abusive elders. Furthermore, the more data that researchers produce when framing a thick depiction, the greater the risk of participant exposure; consequently, researchers might have to lessen their contextualisation so as to protect participants' identities. Also, participants' restrictions and vulnerabilities can make researchers impose their subjective interpretations upon them during the research process. Interpretivist researches generate theorised accounts representing participant's sociological understandings (Danby & Farrell, 2004, p. 41), which inevitably raises the twin issues of data ownership, how it will be utilised and the degree of control that participants have over research findings (Scotland, 2012). Thus, accentuating participants' agencies is critical; although typically the researcher has the obligation to determine the direction of the research including the final interpretation of the data, which information is made public, and giving participants a voice is key. The established meaning-making structure woven into qualitative research can also distort our understanding of phenomena as researchers and, unfortunately, we are sometimes, painfully oblivious to this. Also, by neglecting external structural forces influencing behaviour and not capturing them fully, interpretive research is limited (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 26). Taylor (1993, p.59) recommend the salience of 'understandings' which denotes issues that are 'structured historically in the traditions, prejudices and institutional practices that come down to us which participants might not be aware of'. Understandings represents imperceptible dogmas underpinning actions, consequently research participants might not fully comprehend them as affecting their agency. Ultimately, researchers' explanations of phenomena might be shortened.

6.29. Conclusion

In this chapter, the methodology and methods employed in the study were presented. The epistemological and philosophical foundations of the qualitative case study approach was discussed, including a discussion of the semi-structured interviews, key informant/elite interviews, and focus group discussions including review of literature as the main data collection sources. The chapter provided explanation of the approach used for the study, the qualitative case study design, which situated the project within a constructivist framework and positioning it firmly in positive interpretivist school that utilised constructivist data examination approaches. Moreover, this chapter underscores the

relevance of using 'reflexivity' during the fieldwork and during data analysis. In addition, this chapter rationalised the adoption of the chosen methods along with a detailed discussion on their strengths and weaknesses. The preceding discussions clarified how the methodological orientations connect with the epistemological and ontological frameworks adopted for this study. At all times, scientific rigour was maintained throughout the entire process of undertaking the research. Although, no genuine research can completely be conducted through a neat linear process; however, every researcher must deal with uncertainties, some unexpected and messy and yet, discover the best possible research methods that fits the research under the peculiar circumstance. This research study did its best to manage all the challenges encountered in the course of undertaking the research.

The researcher operated within the ethical protocol specified by the Department of Sociological Studies Research Ethics Committee. Specific issues linked with interviewing, transcribing, coding and analysing interview and document data were addressed during the research process. The findings of the study are presented in the subsequent chapters; detailing all the themes that emerged from the data collected from the field and the themes highlighted in the interviews with respondents which provides contextual insights on how the programme was implemented. Also, it is hoped that the lessons obtained from the insights of beneficiaries and programme participants will help to foreground the reality of their perceptions and culturally informed beliefs and practices that underpins it. Also, it is hoped that insights gleaned from FGDs and semi-structured in-depth interviews with programme participants, may have allowed them to articulate their complex perceptions and opinions in their own environments in which they could freely interact and have the liberty of self-disclosure. Finally, this study sought to ascertain the compatibility of culturally informed practices and beliefs of the beneficiaries with the programmes' goals and objectives (Waters, 2010).

CHAPTER SEVEN

BENEFICIARIES' PERSPECTIVES

7.1. Introduction

As the previous chapters have demonstrated, citizens' perspectives of SP programmes and CTs, in development contexts, are multifaceted and complex. There is no precise way of determining them as most programmes are by nature donor-funded and promoted largely by international development partners therefore there is conspicuous bias in most published evaluative studies on the impact of programmes at the macro-level to support previous assumptions²⁸ (Garcia and Moore, 2012; Hickey, Sen and Bukenya, 2015; Adisa, 2016). Besides, most studies are often not focussed on the micro-level impacts and especially they do not take account of the views of beneficiaries themselves (Jones, Samuels and Malachowska, 2013). Although beneficiaries of CTs, hold myriad views, one of the key themes that emerged during the data collection and analysis is the extent to which participants took ownership of the programmes. This chapter explores beneficiaries' views relating to 'stakeholder claims' capacity and contributions. In doing so the chapter will explore the meanings that stakeholders ascribe to the programmes which reinforces their sense of ownership.

Investigating beneficiaries' participation, both as citizens and stakeholders in the changing environment of policy reform and increased government spending on social welfare programmes in Nigeria, an environment in which the both the benefits and burden of citizenship are constantly in a state of flux due to the diffused ownership amongst a myriad of stakeholders, is no easy task. In proceeding with understanding this complexity, this chapter considers the construction of the claims and perceptions by beneficiaries of the Nigerian CCT programmes as generated from analysed data collected during fieldwork. Issues of perspectives, agency, and roles of citizens as stakeholders are explored. Ascertaining the claims of the beneficiaries entails unpacking the importance and meanings ascribed to the programmes as participants. Thus, the chapter focuses on descriptions, attitudes, value judgements and emotions the beneficiaries assigned to the CCT programmes. It also considers the beneficiaries as 'stakeholders' with firm views on the role of the state, and, on welfare, and redistribution of wealth. Through this analysis, the

points of assonance and dissonance between beneficiaries and programme implementers are examined.

The first part of the chapter explores the process of sensemaking in the construction of beliefs, which leads to the explorations of attitudes, perceptions, values and emotions about identity, citizenship, sense of belonging and the role of the state. These various dimensions are fused together as a focal aspect of this thesis. This point is critical as key distinctions will be made between the concepts of passive and active citizenship to highlight the similarities and differences in the perceptions woven into the fabric of sensemaking and construction of meanings. In the final section, the emergent themes will help to clarify our understandings of the complex and multi-layered nature of meanings and their implications for SP programming governance. The main themes discussed in this chapter are resilience and coping mechanisms, consumption smoothing, social citizenship, trust in government, control and autonomy over cash and the care economy including household management, food security and income/livelihood protection, solidarity and social capital, preferences for redistribution perception of health impacts, and perception about programming effectiveness and administrators (see Table 20).

7.2. Ascertaining the dimensions of attitudes, meanings, and sense-making

Sensemaking is the process by which individuals collectively assign meanings to experiences (Kramer, 2017). Weick (1995; 2005) define sensemaking as the process by which people form meaning about their actual experiences and how this ultimately impact their behaviours. A more complex description of sensemaking suggests that it is a process by which individuals collectively create or construct reality in their everyday life, including assigning meaning to experiences and crafting order out of events by making sense of them (Weick, 1995; Kramer, 2017). Sensemaking occurs through the constructions of the shared meanings that represents an individual's reason of existence, points of reference and cosmic view, elements that combine together to frame the perceptions of problems, challenges, situations, and opportunities that enable an individual to feel fulfilled that he has done something worthwhile. Individuals process information to make sense of their environments, create knowledge and make decisions (Choo, 1998). People are confronted

daily with difficulties, and this creates opportunities and moments for constructing meanings and making choices. Individuals create knowledge in three ways:

- Tacit understanding or tacit knowledge in our experiences and capability
- Explicit knowledge that are codified as artefacts, rubrics, and habits
- Cultural knowledge that are believed as assumptions, beliefs, and values.

To create new knowledge entails converting, sharing, and combining of all the three types of knowledge (Choo, 1998; Choo, 2001). According to Kramer (2017) sensemaking is correlated with an interpretive perspective of communication which focuses attention on the way meanings are socially constructed through communication. Thus, from an interpretive perspective, individuals can construct or invent a shared meaning of their experiences (Kramer, 2017; p.1). However, as illustrated in the literature, the shared meaning that are constructed do not necessarily have to or required to possess any objective truth to them; what matters is that they create a reality that represents the lived experiences of individuals (Kramer, 2017). Weick (1979; 1995) envisions individuals as having the autonomy (freedom) to exercise agency, and freely process information to construct meanings and decide. Sensemaking owes its foundational origins to Weick (1979; 1995). The original model as proposed by Weick is predicated on seven general principles or properties. The seven properties based upon Kramer's (2017) typology are discussed in the next section.

7.2.1. Sensemaking and identity construction

Sensemaking is founded upon identity construction implying that individuals collectively choose definite, evident interpretation of certain experience, which by extension is subjective; the individuals are concurrently also selecting identity for themselves. Weick (1995, p.20) argued that individuals 'depending on who I am, my definition of what is 'out there' will also change'. Put differently, individuals' understanding of their identities, feelings/emotions, experiences, or actions/deeds or interactions with others are influenced by either the positive or negative perceptions or imagined identities. Consequently, these factors of individual identity and image influences sensemaking about peripheral matters or matters concerning individuals (Weick, 1995). Sensemaking occurs on the premised desire for identity creation, implying a very close linkage between identity construction and

enactment. The way individuals perceive themselves is enacted through authorising actions and as this process reoccurs, it is re-enacted until the enactment process of the self is complete (Weick, 1995). Weick (1995, p.24) believe sensemaking is grounded in identity:

'I make sense of whatever happens around me by asking: what implications do these events have for who I will be? What the situation will have meant to me is dictated by the identity I adopt in dealing with it. And that choice, in turn, is affected by what I think is occurring. What the situation means is defined by who I become while dealing with it or what and who I represent'.

7.2.2. Sensemaking is a retrospective endeavour

Individuals collectively or individually make sense or commit to clarification of an event only after the event has occurred. This reflective appeal of sensemaking implies that lived experiences of individuals guide and direct the sensemaking processes of events, actions, episodes at a specific time. Retrospection, according to Helms-Mills (2003) is the idea that we reflect on something; it is to be acting upon something that has already occurred. Or, as Weick (1995, p.24) puts it: 'people can know what they are doing only after they have done it'. Retrospective sensemaking entails the synthesising of multiple senses and the ambivalence associated with occurrences and events, defies or alter demands. Retrospective sensemaking additionally comprises miscellaneous mechanisms like values, priorities, and preferences to create plausible explanations or meaning (Weick, 1995). Ultimately, in what way these meanings of lived experiences or historical events are reconstructed will depend generally on whether those events are considered as wholesome or distasteful (Weick, 1995).

7.2.3. Sensemaking validates sensible environments

Without the environment meanings cannot be formed. Thus, sensemaking permits the creation of the context or the environment through a process of give and take between individuals and by their abilities to sanction, endorse or enact the environment they encounter through their actions, interpretations, and the constraints the environment places on them. Enactive sensemaking is the process through which actions becomes the tools for constructing reality and meaning (Weick, 1995; Kramer, 2017). Or, as Weick (1995,

p.30) puts it: 'the action of saying makes it possible for people to then see what they think'. The implication then is that action is the prerequisite for sensemaking. Hence, enactment in sensemaking demonstrates that individuals create or reproduce a portion/fragment of their milieu; this process is enabling by 'authoritative acts' (Weick, 1995). Enactment as depicted by Weick (1995, p.31) is: 'when people enact laws, they take undefined space, time, and action and draw lines, establish categories, and coin labels that create new features of the environment that did not exist before'. Enactments are the products of the '*sensemakers*' premised on the meanings invented through sensemaking. Individuals enact meanings on the basis on their inventions/creations, which further provides them with more avenues and opportunities to (re)create new meanings. So, enactment accomplishes for the *sensemaker* a change of levels or progression from the inactive to the active stage in the sensemaking process and this becomes a decisive factor in articulating what is constructed (Weick, 2009).

7.2.4. Sensemaking is a social activity

Individuals communicate the interpretation that has been formed or made of their experiences with others. Also, sensemaking is a socially conditioned endeavour which involves networking, interactions, and communication with individuals inside and outside an environment. Therefore, sensemaking implies that the individual's interactions, meanings, interpretations, and the resultant actions produce a rational meaning out of the 'whatever' situation being experienced. Social sensemaking is therefore a process that requires coordination of cues concerning images, prototypes, stereotypes, and protagonists that defines the social character of an entity (Weick, 1995). Individuals as social animals, converse, talk, discuss, and communicate; these are the primary means through which social sensemaking occurs. Within an environment, individuals interact through discourse (Weick, 1995) and engage in communicative interactions (Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld, 2005; Tsoukas, 2005; Boden, 1994; Garud, Dunbar and Bartell, 2011), or 'ongoing authoring acts situated in everyday work' (Carlsen, 2006, p.132) in order to arrive at or create socially acceptable meanings. Interactions amongst individuals permits the social construction of meanings.

7.2.5. Sensemaking is an ongoing process

Individuals are constantly experiencing new things and, therefore, must constantly make sense of these experiences, which although may be repetitive, yet still require new interpretations concerning their consistency. With the creation and development of new knowledge, sensemaking becomes the foundation for further human action, which leads to new avenues and realities that further require sensemaking (Weick, 1995; Kramer, 2017). Sensemaking, as an ongoing process, perpetuates the process of identity which also demands responsiveness to the changing realities. As new situations and realities evolve, new situations present new challenges for creating meanings. In this ever-evolving, ongoing process, individuals experience both negative and positive emotions relative to the events, interruptions and episodes that occurs. Negative feelings/emotions ensue when interruptions are perceived as harmful or detrimental; positive emotions are generated when the interruptions cease or are suddenly eliminated or where the interruptions cause the behavioural sequence or project completion to be accelerated.

7.2.6. Sensemaking is predicated on, and uncovered by cues

The breadth and complexity of all the information about an experience that the individual can focus upon makes it impracticable and unrealistic to be focussed on the entire gamut of experiences. Individuals, therefore, must extract meanings (extracted cues) from particular aspects of an experience in order to construct meanings or make sense of them. In this way individuals can make generalisations about the whole experience. Weick (1995) depicts extracted cues as unpretentious and recognisable structures that allows individuals to make sense of a broader social reality around them or in their milieu. The process entails interpretation and determination of meaning of observed cues. Extracted cues, as Weick (1995, p.55) observed are always 'moving in some general direction' which requires them to be properly examined as cues are created by individual actions which requires the individuals to 'learn where they were and get some better idea of where they are and where they want to be'. Past cues can inform the understanding of present events and actions and moderate/shape/influence the way people make sense of their current realities to properly determine future deeds/actions/behaviours. Cues are associated with the broader vision of the individuals and can provide or acts as points of reference for sensemaking and action building.

7.2.7. Sensemaking is not necessarily about accuracy but plausibility

Meanings assigned to an experience only must be reasonable or appear so; they do not have to be objective or have any logic of truth to them to be believed or accepted. There are multiple perceptions of reality thus, 'given multiples cues, with multiple meanings for multiple audiences, accurate perception of 'the' object seems like a doomed intention. Making sense of that object, however, seems more plausible and more likely' (Weick, 1995; p.57). Whilst sensemaking might be accurate, it is sensible (plausible) as the meanings created are close representations of the reality which requires collecting information from diverse sources using various methods.

7.2.8. The limits and utility of sensemaking

Despite all the alluring power of the notion of sensemaking, critics argue that Weick's model was based on an organisation which he conceptualises as a 'loosely coupled' system in which individuals participate but with the freedom to make own interpretations and execute directions from managers. Weick's central argument is that any organisation reflects the multiplied processes of the way it runs through the progressions of organising and structuring. But, despite this flaw, the theory was borrowed by sociologists and applied in numerous studies. Weick's theory of sensemaking was introduced in his 1979 ground-breaking book, *The Social Psychology of Organising*. However, in his later work, Weick applied the theory to the study of various events and their outcomes (1990; 1995). Sensemaking involves placing events within a framework, in order to comprehend, understand, rectify, resolve, or address surprises, construct meaning, interacting in pursuit of mutual understanding, and patterning. Applying Weick's framework is helpful in SP research to help to understand how individuals as beneficiaries and citizens can reshape and adapt to their environment through the constructions of meanings, they invent about their experiences with the CCT programmes; and, how as stakeholders in the SP system, they create knowledge that provide rationality to the uncertain situations they find themselves. Individuals as beneficiaries (citizens) use sensemaking to understand public policies and government programmes, and their lived experiences: thus, if properly investigated, sensemaking can offer insights into how programmes operated and performed. Using this framework, it is therefore possible to explore meanings held by

beneficiaries of the Nigerian CCT to filter their points of views as stakeholders and to ascertain the symbolic and emotive constructions attached to the SP programmes.

With this background, the chapter now proceeds to explore beneficiaries' perspectives under four broad dimensions of expressions namely: descriptions, attitudes, values, and emotions. On a continuum, these four dimensions represent the range of functional descriptions to experiences and emotions and demonstrate how similarities and differences can be mingled into meanings and sense-making dimensions. The next section discusses the differences that reveals the divergence of the complex, multifaceted nature of lived experiences of beneficiaries, who as stakeholders, form understandings informed by emotions, passions, and values and how this has implications for governance of SP programmes. From the above framework, it was possible to acquire knowledge of the functional descriptions of participants' understandings, perceptions, and responses and this was relevant to relate to as it is the essence of participants' attitudinal responses. Value judgements and perceptions are forged through participants' subjective impressions and accumulated attitudes. In quoting the views of participants pseudonyms are used throughout.

7.3. Concept of citizenship: affirming participation in a government social programme

7.3.1. Operationalising attitudes towards redistribution and citizenship.

Public support for social welfare is crucial in any polity whether that state is fragile, transitional, democratic, developmental, developing or developed. Public attitudes/perceptions about redistribution, the drivers of poverty, and about prospects for mobility are critical ingredients for developing a social contract and more permanent forms of SP in any polity (Shadare, 2017; 2018). Whilst it is common in Africa for citizens to demonstrate confidence in multinational and multilateral institutions, yet there is an equally important, perhaps, maybe even, an ostensibly illogical understanding of the role of government in addressing substantive issues of poverty and underdevelopment. Many Nigerians are unsatisfied with the current performance of the government, but they continue to embrace an aspirational outlook of the government's role in mitigating their social risks. Therefore, knowledge of public attitudes towards social welfare arrangements, SP and redistribution matters in any context, whether in developed or developing contexts

being an essential constituent and indicator of the legitimacy of the regime or the state (Graham, 2002; Mischke, 2014). Svallfors (2010; 2012; 2013) corroborated this view insisting that the data on the study of public attitudes towards the welfare state especially with empirical findings on determinants such as gender, class, occupation and age, which help to explain the level of public support for the welfare state on the individual level, can be applied to the study of public attitudes towards welfare or redistributive regime in any contexts, including sub-Saharan countries of Africa (Jaeger, 2009; Svallfors, 2010; 2012; Swank, 2013).

7.3.2. Awareness and understanding of CCT programmes

Being a beneficiary and a participant in the Nigerian CCT programmes meant a lot to the beneficiaries. Contrary to the bulk of empirical findings in the literature on citizens' support for redistribution, in which the issue of stigmatisation, the concept of deservingness and the morality of benefitting from social assistance programmes when one has not contributed to the economic growth of a state, have been advanced as reasons why the public will not support social welfare programmes (and also given that the bulk of extant research have focussed on how the economic liberalisation and trade openness for instance, affects social welfare programmes that benefits the well-to-do or the those who are better-off than the poor or the disadvantaged) (Rudra, 2008; Desai and Rudra, 2018). Although the segment of the world's population considered extremely poor has fallen by about 1.5% over the last two and a half decades, many of those lifted above the global poverty line are still vulnerable to shocks that could easily push them back into poverty. Hence, SP programmes are required as a stabiliser of households' and individuals' incomes (Desai and Rudra, 2018). So, is this why the poor are now embracing SP programmes?

Being selected to participate in the CCT programmes was a thing of joy and a major life event for all the participants interviewed. From the moment of meeting them, the beneficiaries did not hide their 'satisfaction' about being selected for participation in the programme. This is very revealing. In one sense it suggested that the beneficiaries felt a sense of identity, a sense of belonging, which further heightened their understanding of citizenship. For many participants, they had never experienced any sense of being '*part of the government*' by which they meant they never felt like the government cared or

bothered about them. They also reported that it felt *'good to be finally remembered'* by the government. Having been *'through a lot'*, (after experiencing for several years of livelihood shocks, crises and disasters and also being highly vulnerable to these as people considered poor); all the respondents reported that it *'felt like they now seemed to matter'* to the government to be *'living, be alive and be in need of help'*. So, at one level, there emanated from the citizens/beneficiaries a recognition of their sense of worth and importance to be finally considered deserving of social assistance. At another level, it reflected a fundamental reframing of the prejudices of interactions between the state and its citizens. Thus, the beneficiaries' self-identification as **satisfied** participants are indicative of the contractual nature of their relationships with the state. Evidently, this idea of citizenship reflected the widespread need for social assistance support offered by the government through the CCT programmes and, also, became the basis of a renewed sense of identity and belongingness into the structure of participants' day-to-day lives.

All participants reported that, as a result of the CCT programmes, they strongly felt that *'they were now part of the Nigerian state'* (suggesting an underlying awareness of lack of a strong sense of citizenship hitherto) and that the government's introduction of the programme and their participation is an acknowledgement of the parlous state of not just the Nigerian economy but also of their personal situations. They never believed politicians or political leaders cared about them. They never trusted politicians to do what they promised or said they would do for them; and this has been their experiences over many successive governments. So, for them to be *'alive to see us selected as participants'* (or see themselves being chosen) *'for the programme, without begging for it or without lobbying for it means that some people in government are actually listening'*. One of the participants, Bukunmi, aptly summed up the general feeling of all the participants when she put it (in Yoruba) like this:

*Awa mekunnu ni ilu yii, jinya pupo; lopo lopo; amon lati igba tin ijoba oselu
yii ti bere, paapa l'abe ijoba Goodluck Jonathan ati ni asiko Baba Buhari, ko
da, nse la mo bayi wipe, looto looto ni awon ijoba NaijERIA paapa ni ajo ati
aanu awon mekunnu ni okan.*

In English:

We, the poor people of this country are really suffering, but since the advent of civilian rule, especially beginning with the government of President Goodluck Jonathan and now under the dispensation of Baba Buhari (an affectionate term for the President, Mohammodu Buhari). In fact, now we can say, of a truth, that the people in government (our political leaders) now seemed to have the concern of the poor masses in their hearts. (Bukunmi).

This highlights one of the major issues that arises from the operation of CTs in a context riven by distrust of public institutions, government, and trust in politicians. However, whilst beneficiaries appeared to be happy with the federal government of Nigeria for the introduction of the CCT programmes and, whilst they also seemed to have genuinely applauded the Nigerian federal government for the initiative which they considered to be a tool for alleviating poverty, and supporting their households, their avowed support is not indicative of a general positive support or overall positive trust in the government.

7.4. Assessment of the targeting effectiveness of COPE and SURE-P

The Nigerian CCTs, according to the accounts of the beneficiaries, appear to have reached the vulnerable populations who exhibited the most significant livelihood challenges and those who faced serious health and nutrition challenges. There is lack of national data to confirm the accuracy of this assertion but based merely on reported accounts of the beneficiaries reached by the CCT, in terms of targeting and the overall knowledge of the programme, the CTs were reported to have reached those who were extremely vulnerable and most in need. The targeting method adopted for the CCT programmes, which was the community-based targeting method (CBTM) was, as implied, participatory by nature, and allowed both state, non-state actors and institutions to participate in the selection of beneficiaries and in the governance of CT programmes. Usually, the justification given for the adoption of CBTM in developing countries is limited financial resources which demand that available resources are allocated and utilised in ways that guarantees transparency and accountability (Akinola, 2017). As with most such programmes, the Nigerian CCTs were narrowly targeted at the poorest, most vulnerable categories of Nigerians including women, children, the elderly, the disabled and orphans. What was unique with the CBTM

mechanism used in the Nigerian case was that it was a 'hybrid' version of the conventional CBTM (Akinola, 2017), which permitted the involvement of both community and non-community members (like the local religious, traditional and opinion leaders), community organisations, civil society or non-governmental organisations, in the selection of beneficiaries, which also meant that these people could be called upon as observers, and unpaid monitors to check up with beneficiaries' progress in the programme. This therefore acts as a further filter that permitted the weeding out of some of the very poor regarded as 'undeserving'. Often, beneficiaries are known to the community leaders and agents, so there is a mutual understanding on the part of the beneficiaries to, at the very least, represent their communities well. Beneficiaries are thus conferred with the additional burden to act as 'good ambassadors' for their communities. Failure to represent the community well usually attracts lifelong stigma and shame.

Hybrid CBTMs are defined as a form of targeting vulnerable populations for participation in a government programme in which the process of selection of participants does not restrict the execution of programmes exclusively to members of the community, but also include the state, non-state actors and other bodies in the implementation of programmes. In the main, hybrid CBTMs conveys the notion of collaboration between community members/agents, public agencies, and government officials in the operation of CT programmes like selecting beneficiaries and performing related tasks like monitoring and evaluation (Akinola, 2017). With regard CBTM targeting mechanism, participants reported that they considered the process of selection fair and transparent. Some even went as far as saying that they considered the targeting mechanisms as giving everyone a fair chance to be selected. Although this claim may be far-fetched as critiques of CBTMs allege that community participation of agents in the beneficiaries' selection process can induce corruption and elite capture amongst others (Conning and Kevane, 2002; Yusuf, 2010; McCord, 2013b; Young and Maxwell, 2013).

In the case of COPE, it was particularly instructive to recall that based on the programme design, implementation strategy and operational guidelines as disseminated by NAPEP, the federal government agency charged with the administration and oversight of the CCT programme), COPE was implemented with the active support of state, non-state

institutions and actors at different levels (NAPEP, 2007; 2008). NAPEP instituted at both the States (sub-national), Local and Community levels various committees to assist in the implementation of the programme. The sub-national levels had what was known as the State Social Assistance Committee (SSAC), which comprised the State Coordinator (a NAPEP official), a representative of the subnational government, who is an appointee of the elected Governor (of the State); the rest are drawn from the relevant MDAs as members. SSACs are charged with selecting the local governments to benefit from the CT programme as well as coordinating the implementation of the programme at the subnational level. Beyond them, at the Local Government Assessment Committee (LGAC) which coordinates the selection of local government committees, are embedded NAPEP field officers who work with the LGAC to select the communities that will benefit in each local government. Within each local government, NAPEP field officers operate alongside the appointed local chairperson, the departmental heads of education and health divisions at the local government level plus a well-known religious leader and notable community elder as members of the LGAC.

To carry out their duties effectively, the LGACs were technically, logistically, and administratively supported by NAPEP to responsibly select the communities to benefit from COPE, and to oversee the implementation of the CT programmes at the community level. At the community level, the selected communities have their own committee, the Community Social Assistance Committee (CSACs) which was charged with selecting beneficiaries from the selected communities. CSACs members typically include community head who is the chairman of CSAC, other members include: the village religious leader, the school head, the community health officer, the community development officer, the women's leader, and the youth leader. The structure of the SACs (Social Assistance Committees) accords with NAPEP's guidelines that calls for strong community involvement and ownership, particularly in the selection process which is required for the programme's sustainability and the community's ownership of COPE at the community level (NAPEP, 2007).

Beneficiaries were finally selected from a list of those identified and shortlisted by the CSAC members from a *masterlist* of all households within the community assessed to be the

neediest. This list was then presented to the communal assembly in a transparent manner, openly, for authentication. Next is a screening exercise involving interviews for short-listed individuals by NAPEP and Local Government (LG) officials who would have to ascertain that their households satisfy the eligibility criteria. The list of recommended beneficiaries is then passed on to the NAPEP team at their headquarters. Those finally selected are chosen by NAPEP staff based on the eligibility criteria of which the selected households must have at least a child of school age and are either headed by a female, an elderly or aged person, a disabled person, a victim of Vesicovaginal fistula²⁹ (VVF), or a person living with HIV/AIDS. The entire process is finally verified by the NGOs or civil society organisation contracted by NAPEP to validate the final list of selected beneficiaries/households and to oversee and verify the payment of cash to beneficiaries. Fatima captured the opinions of other participants when she stated:

We did not know about the programme although we had rumours sometime about some plans by government to help struggling families by giving cash to them. We thought it could not be true as we had previously heard about things like that, which turned out not to be true. But this time when our leaders contacted us through our clan chief, and we were told that they were preparing a list of possible beneficiaries, and because we were really in dire need of help, we cooperated fully. They came around to ask us some questions, they also wanted to know specifically things about the nature of the household, whether we had children attending school or a sick, or disabled or an elderly person or someone suffering from that 'thing' that women suffers from (she could not name VVF as she was too embarrassed to say it out) or if someone had HIV/AIDS. We cooperated fully with them, and so, when we were informed by our local Chief Imam that we have been selected for the programme, we were happy. To be honest with you, we were surprised to have been selected.

7.5. Assessing health impacts on vulnerable populations in rural communities

In 2019, Nigeria officially became the seventh most populated country in the world (World Population Review, 2019; UN-DESA, 2019; CIA/The World Factbook, 2019) and, with a

projected growth rate of 2.6%, the population is projected to grow to 392million by the year 2050 (The World Factbook-CIA, 2019). Given the widespread concerns about the effectiveness of the Federal Government of Nigeria's public health care delivery services, successive administrations attempted to improve health outcomes for women of childbearing age and for more than 40million children that are estimated to be under the age of five and almost 88 million (44% of the population) under the age of 14 (UNICEF, 2019a; The World Factbook, 2019; World Population Review, 2019). With Nigeria accounting for a significant portion of global maternal mortality³⁰, the government hoped that the introduction of the CCT programme will increase the uptake of healthcare services and help to mitigate the failures of both supply-side interventions and demand-side limitations (the population's poverty level and user fees in health facilities). Theoretically, CCTs operate in healthcare on the premise of providing financial incentives to users to promote health-enhancing behaviour, and programme beneficiaries (often pregnant women) are encouraged to utilise maternal health services as their healthcare are also significantly subsidised through the programme (Okoli et al., 2014; Baba-Ari et al., 2018; Liu et al., 2019). The goal is to prevent or reduce maternal and antenatal deaths.

According to Okoli et al., (2014), 39% of pregnant women in Nigeria do not get antenatal care with only 38.1% of mothers delivering their babies with a skilled provider (NPC and ICF International, 2014). However, despite these low national figures, there are wide-ranging discrepancies across the country defined by geographical and socioeconomic characteristics. For instance, in the Northwest region of Nigeria, the percentage of skilled attendants is about 12.3% compared to 82.5% in Southwest region. Overall, only 22.7% of rural women deliver their babies with a skilled attendant present as against 67% of women in the urban areas (Okoli et al., 2014; Baba-Ari et al., 2018; Liu et al., 2019). The introduction of the SURE-P Maternal Child Health Component (SURE-P MCH) was intended to combine supply-side measures like the provision of qualified midwives to formerly short-staffed primary healthcare centres (PHCs) and trigger demand-side actions/response notably behavioural change and variations in communication and CTs to targeted pregnant women and nursing mothers³¹ (Okoli et al., 2014; SURE-P/NPC, 2016; Baba-Ari et al., 2018; Liu et al., 2019). As outlined in the operational guidelines of the CCT programme, beneficiaries were required to utilise the MCH services from antenatal care to skilled birth delivery and

postnatal care of the mothers and newborns. Beneficiaries that were referred from the primary healthcare centre (PHCs) to hospital at any stage in their pregnancy or delivery also receive free healthcare for a defined package of benefits reimbursed to the hospital by SURE-P.

Findings from participants indicate that the initial primary motivation for participation in the programme was the monetary incentive, which made it easier for beneficiaries to utilise the maternal and primary health services at the PHCs from where the cash was paid. Secondly, receipts of cash substituted for the women's lack of formal employment. Sefinat³² explained this:

When they approached me to enlist in the programme, I initially took it for joke; I was skeptical about it. I later realised that the government were serious about it especially as I heard there were other pregnant women that also registered. For me, I have never heard before that government will give someone money to attend antenatal care o. Maybe government is trying to convince us to use their own clinics (maternity centres) because in my previous deliveries (childbirths), I was attended to by the women from our mosques and the delivery was good, no problem. But to be honest with you, I don't work and for me, it was the money that made me go there.

Although for some other women, the money was insufficient as a motivation because of cultural beliefs, some of the women viewed the programme with suspicion. This sentiment was evident in the views expressed mostly by the rural women, although, for the women in the urban centres, their sentiment was different. According to Bilikis:

Someone told me that I should go and register at the place (PHC) and collect money to deliver my baby, so I went there..... But the money was nothing; it was too small, walahi! Honestly, why go through all that trouble only to get a pittance. I remembered they first gave me 1000 upon registering the first day I visited, and they checked me, but they were then asking me to come back again for check-ups before I could collect the balance of the money. Why would they be asking us to come back for 'small amounts' like when the money is really nothing to worry about. How much is the money

sef?³³ that they will be stressing us to keep coming back, so that we can be paid the balance³⁴. If not that the midwives were nice to me, and to others, even though I was really not sure if I was going to return, I eventually went back and completed all my required visits.

Other participants echoed similar views. Essentially beneficiaries lamented the transportation difficulties and travel challenges they encountered whilst travelling from their homes to the health centres. All the women interviewed complained that they had to travel far and commuting to the health centres was not easy as their pregnancies matured. The implication was that beneficiaries used part of the CT for their transportation. This situation was not helped by the cash administration system adopted by programme administrators, which only made payments twice between visits for antenatal care. Transport costs to the PHCs varied, depending on where the beneficiaries lived.

According to Memunat:

Getting to the place is a problem. It's far from my place and I have to take transport twice or if I took it once then I have to walk a long distance. And with my 'big belle' (big pregnancy) walking is difficult; so, I have to take transport. And waiting in the hot sun, is also there. When I go there, I must worry about the other children and if they arrive from school and they don't meet me at home; they will be worried.

Echoing this, another respondent complained bitterly about her own experience and the struggles she encountered during her trips to the centre to keep up with the appointments:

It would have been nice if they paid us separately for the transport. It's not fair on some of the beneficiaries to spend most of the cash they get on transport. That's why some of the money did not make it to the end of the programme. I almost did not make it to the end myself, but for my husband who kept encouraging me, I would have given up. My husband would not allow me to drop out. The good thing about the programme is that the midwives and the health officers were truly really nice to me and others anytime I am at the place.

Despite the issue of money, some of the respondents complained about the length of time it took them to be attended to by the staff. In one example, the beneficiary recounted how the PHC had a handful of medical staff, who were overwhelmed and outnumbered by the number of beneficiaries waiting on the line, waiting to be attending. She described her frustration as follows:

For me, though the place is not too far from house, and I still spend a little bit on the transport, I really don't mind going to the place. The staff are very good and jovial. And they are quite good at their job. But the only problem I have is that there are too many people being attended to by a few staff. You get there very early in the day; you arrive on time and you then have to wait on a long queue before it gets to your turn. The place cannot accommodate enough people and sometimes there are not enough chairs to sit.

Another beneficiary commented on the fears about the government's real intentions, citing low trust in the government and skepticism in the CCT programmes' objectives which stemmed from entrenched cultural beliefs about the seriousness, sincerity and transparency of government officials when delivering public goods. As observed by Waters (2010) and Haider (2005) local health practices and the use of specific health services by rural dwellers are connected to traditional beliefs and perceptions about the nature of health and illness, and these factors must be considered in the implementation of public-health programmes, if they are to be successful. Indigenous people maintain strong beliefs about traditional medicine and local practices which informs, and influences the actions taken by family members or relatives when an indigenous person falls ill or is sick. Typically, amongst the rural communities in Nigeria, traditional beliefs about health and illness shape the choice of healthcare alternatives and could potentially affect compliance with the CCT programme. According to Waters (2010), indigenous people view traditional illnesses as the outcome of imbalances between the individual and the surrounding biophysical or social environment; or, as the handiwork of supernatural forces. Thus, it is considered appropriate to respond to the traditional illnesses by deploying traditional medicines/medications, rituals, and other practices which may or may not involve the individual or could be provided or delivered by traditional health practitioners. Thus, some

respondents reported that they only took up the service just to compare how the modern healthcare services fared as opposed to the traditional medical practices. In the words of one respondent, in describing the pervasive observance of and adherence to local traditional, cultural medical practices:

Most of my relatives and friends usually give birth at home or in the house of the experienced local birth attendants. Also, we don't know how to go to clinics or hospitals for treatment, when their medications cost a lot, and they do not even treat you properly. The last time I had severe headache, someone gave me some tablets, but it didn't cure me. It was only when I took the 'agbo jedi' (the locally made herbal syrup) that I became well. The same thing applies to my four children; all of them have never been to the hospital; they were delivered at home; and they have never been ill or sick. We usually use local treatments for them'.

In Nigeria, as in other developing countries in sub-Saharan Africa, maternal health practices are much informed by, and driven by the entrenched traditional and cultural beliefs, which meant that majority of the rural women often have their labour and child births at home, frequently supported by a traditional birth attendant. But, despite the respondents' initial suspicion of, and aversion to modern, orthodox medical practices, they were still willing and ready to try or use Western healthcare services, but they were apparently frustrated by the issue of access, availability, and convenience of usage, which were the issues highlighted by the respondents in the interviews. Although, the beneficiaries reported that traditional medicine will still be their default first option, they will consider resorting to Western medicine only during emergencies or if they did not have a choice. It will therefore appear that issue of access, availability, adequacy, and convenience matter a lot to the respondents as they will readily embrace modern, orthodox medicine if these barriers are not prevalent. This issue is further underscored by the gradual erosion of the traditional health practices as there is thinning of the current pool of experienced practitioners, who due to their age, experience, and expertise, are finding it difficult to attract younger generation into their craft. Also, the pervasive influence of modern religions (Christianity and Islam) and their spread amongst the population, is causing a lot of people, both young

and old to view old traditional medical practices as anachronistic and antithetical to values, beliefs and norms of both Christianity and Islam which has a growing number of adherents.

7.6. Trust in government

Citizens' trust in the Nigerian government is still very low and, whilst trust in government and its institutions have been extensively studied in general, it has only recently started receiving attention in the SP literature. Evans, Holtemeyer and Kosec (2018) stated that government provision of SP can influence citizens' trust in government; the strength of the relationship is moderated by effect of the linkage to the quality of information available to citizens. Empirically, citizens have always demonstrated selectivity in how they reward government for providing SP. A number of studies demonstrated that provision of SP increases voter turnout and support for incumbent leaders (Evans et al., 2018; Linos 2013; Layton and Smith, 2015; Chen, 2013; Marschall et al., 2016). Studies by Mettler and Stonecash (2008) and Ellis and Faricy (2011) concluded that both the likelihood of voting during elections and public opinions are not affected by the level of government's social spending. Many of the beneficiaries interviewed also believe that government had an 'ulterior motive' for introducing the CCT programme. Most of them expressed scepticisms about the intentions of the politicians and the elites in introducing the programme. According to Kunle, speaking in Pidgin English:

Why e be like say na only when gofment wan make we vote for dem, dem go dey rush to introduce programme, dem no say go benefit dem for the time wey election go come

In English:

Why is that only when elections are fast approaching, is when the government is desperate for our votes, knowing it will surely benefit them? Why is it then that the government rushes to introduce popular programmes which they know will be beneficial to their electoral fortunes?

It is surely not too difficult to understand Kunle and many other beneficiaries' scepticism, given that the very nature of SP programmes makes their net effect on trust in government perplexing and ambiguous (Evans et al., 2018). This is particularly so, when it is known that

CCTs provide monetary and associated benefits to beneficiaries and can improve their livelihoods at least for a short period. Also, when government 'doles' out cash to citizens during the electoral season, it might be a signal to the citizens about the value government places on their welfare (Evans et al, 2018; Hunter and Sugiyama, 2014). However, based on the views expressed by some of the respondents, there is a strong level of suspicion of the real intentions of government when social spending on welfare programmes spikes dramatically during the electoral cycles. This view was echoed succinctly by Bamidele:

I don't even believe that this government is mindful of the interests of the masses because as for me, I am yet to be convinced about their (Government's) intentions; and in (sic) these programmes they are only trying to deceive us, the masses. We don't need cash, we don't need handouts; we need jobs, proper jobs. As for me, I don't see this thing (CCT programme) as sustainable. For how long are we going to be waiting for the government to give us handouts like Father Christmas? What we would like the government to do is provide us with jobs. As youths, we will be very happy if the government can instead use all these monies being wasted on this expensive programme, to build hospitals, schools, shopping complexes, provide good transportation, build bridges, improve electricity, and provide housing for us. If they had done this, they could have created or provided jobs for us; that is what we want.

Indeed, SP programmes have been shown from studies (Adato, 2000; Camacho, 2014; Attanasio et al., 2009; 2015) to build stronger social relationships in communities which also predisposes the citizens to wanting to be more cooperative with the government. Whilst Camacho (2014) in his study demonstrate that citizens' exposure to, and trust in certain government institutions may be increased, it is clear from empirical findings that there are certain dynamics that can increase the trust in government. However, as Freeland (2007) argued, spending on CCT programmes could impose overprotective and paternalistic conditions on the citizens which could also damage state-society relations. There is also the danger that citizens' participation in social welfare programmes might carry a social stigma and engender social tensions between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries which could further reduce civic engagement and dampen trust in the

government (Adato, 2000; Adato and Roopnaraine, 2004; Cruces and Rovner, 2008; Mettler and Stonecash, 2008; Chong et al., 2009; Camacho, 2014; Oduro, 2015; MacAuslan and Riemenschneider, 2011; Ellis, 2012). Since government's provision of SP, especially in developing countries, is often a political decision, there is always the risk or temptation of over-politicising the process and when the citizens feel that the process has become politicised, they often end up having their perceptions of government's sincerity of purpose and its fairness in doubt, open to questions and scrutiny (Dahlberg and Johansson, 2002; Guo, 2009; Brollo and Nannicini, 2012; Aytac, 2014).

As citizens' trust in government is partly associated with the social integration of marginalised and vulnerable groups, the perceptions of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries of CCTs is now increasingly recognised as the barometer for capturing the sense of attachment and commitment to mainstream political institutions (Maxwell, 2010). Also, trust in government can engender institutional confidence of citizens which might result in the formation of political capital which in turn foster social integration (Steinhardt, 2012; Niu & Zhao, 2018). Importantly, trust plays a crucial role in the stability of political regimes; therefore, lack of trust is linked with participation in activities that can damage social cohesion (Levi & Stoker, 2000; Niu and Zhao, 2018). Without trust in their governments, citizens might find it difficult complying with social integration policies such as SP (Marien and Hooghe, 2011).

7.7. Consumption Smoothing: Effects on beneficiaries' income, livelihoods, and nutrition

In the northern parts of Nigeria, most of the respondents (and majority of the population) are Muslims. Islamic practices, beliefs and norms pervade every aspect of social life. Polygamous marriages are the norm in this part of the country; because Islamic religion permits men to marry as many as four wives, So, in a typical polygamous household, women, in addition to being primary caregivers, are often the keepers and managers of home. It is also common for these women, despite being one of many wives, to honour and respect Islamic mores that stipulate that Muslim women (wives) must be beholden to their husbands. In effect, the women are not able to take certain decisions without the permission of the husband. Also, women are not considered capable of making effective decisions regarding the households. Even though many of the women might be living in a

separate apartment or building away from their husbands and the other wives, they still cannot take certain decisions without the approval, permission, and authority of the husband. It is therefore, to be expected, within this patriarchal context that women, as beneficiaries of CTs, will seek the approval of their husbands before making spending decisions. But the evidence from the field and the insights from the qualitative interviews with these women revealed a more complex picture.

First, because of the agrarian and pastoralist nature of the local economy, many of the women had few independent sources of income. Most stayed at home or worked on farms with their husbands as owners; others operated home-based businesses like laundering of clothes, preparations of home-cooked meals for neighbours and petty trading. However, with the introduction of the CCT programme, there appeared to be a major shift in the prevalent gender practices around decision-making and how the money received from the CCT programme was applied towards the household's needs. The decisions on what to do or what to buy with the cash received were taken by the women. According to Hajia Silikat:

When dem give me the moni, na me determine wetin I go do with am; na me know di tings we need for house; so, I no dey ask Baba Alhaji for permission before I spend am. I dey happy like that because, I sometimes use di moni to buy things for myself, the children, and the household. Also, I dey hapi as I no dey worri Baba Alhaji for money like before.

In English:

When we receive the money, I am the one who decides how it is spent. As I am the one who knows the needs of the house; what is lacking at home and so on. So, ehm, I don't really have to discuss with Baba Alhaji (her husband); and I don't rely on him for his permission before deciding how the money is spent. This particularly makes me very happy, because sometimes, I use the money to buy things for myself, the children and for the home. Also, I am happy as I don't have to depend on Baba Alhaji for money like I always do.

7.8. Decision-making and use of cash transfers

The respondents revealed that women generally retained control over the cash rather than their husbands or someone else, and they determined how it was spent. Both men and women widely accepted that the primary beneficiary of CTs were the women in the household, and that they are entitled to choose how to spend the grant. Most households reported spending most of the additional cash provided by the programme on food for the household, or for children. As a result of the programme, women residing in the communities where the CCT programmes were implemented spent more money on clothing for adults and children and owned more livestock like goats and chickens compared to the women in the non-CCT receiving communities. Thus, this study suggests that the CCT income leads to an increase in monthly household expenditure greater than the size of the cash paid to the beneficiaries. Both during the interviews and focus group discussions, majority of the women confirmed that they were the sole decision-makers on how the money/cash received from the programme is spent. The women retained not only the control of the transferred amount, but they also demonstrated a certain degree of autonomy on how they choose to spend the money. The money paid to the women was mostly spent on household needs in the areas of food, nutrition, and other necessities. Although three women, among all the respondents (two from in-depth interviews and one woman from the FGDs) mentioned that whilst they spent the money, the decision on how it was spent, and what proportion was devoted to certain needs in the home, was ultimately that of their husbands. They reported that they trust their husbands and they do not seem to have any problem or concern about how the decisions to spend the money was made. However, upon probing further during the interviews, it was revealed that all these women were in monogamous relationships, where it is possible to have a higher-level degree of trust towards the spouse when it comes to spending decisions.

Castilla (2014) found in an experiment conducted among married couples in India, that trust is a function of reciprocity and trustworthiness, which is accentuated when spouses can relinquish control to avoid frictions and achieve socially efficient outcomes because decision-making within the household is characterised by repeated interaction and caring. Also, in other studies which examined trust amongst married couples in developing countries, it was discovered that women are consistently less trusting than men (Ashraf et

al., 2006; Croson and Gneezy, 2004; Schechter, 2007; Barr, 2003). Women overall are more trusted by their husbands as better at managing household with limited resources, although they are considered less trusting and reciprocal (Castilla, 2014; Barr, 2003; Schechter, 2007). What the literature also found in the developing countries is that it is possible that women are less cooperative in this regard because of the prevalent lack of control over money. Limited labour force participation was found to also restrict the women's independence and denies them comparative advantages over household resource management (Castilla, 2014; 2015).

With the cash paid periodically to women (via direct lodgments to bank accounts), the women also found the source of income as predictable. With this predictability, the female beneficiaries were able to plan and use the cash income to change their household livelihoods and work activities. In the words of Hajia Modinat:

For me, di ting I dey like na when dey pay us the moni, na regular; dem tell us the time and day di moni go enter our accounts and na so dem do am throughout. We know di day dem go pay us; so fit plan for things wey we go buy for di house from market in advance.

In English:

As for me what I love the most about the programme is that the money we are paid is regular. They tell us in advance when we will be paid and what date the money is paid into our accounts and this is how they operated throughout the programme. We know the dates we are paid, and for this reason, we can plan well in advance about what we need for the home; the essentials to be bought from the market.

Also, for others who were paid in cash, the story was similar. The women who opted to receive their money in cash did so because they feared that their husbands might not allow them to use the money for the home or to buy the things, they will like for themselves. However, this might be double jeopardy as women risked losing the money, or having it stolen or making impulsive purchases. The accounts from many of the women, however, did not indicate the occurrence of any of these risks. The women who got paid in cash,

seemed happy and content to have been paid cash which was used in most cases for not only procuring basic needs of the house like food, but was also used for medical or healthcare related issues (some women had preexisting medical issues for which they had to resort to local medical solutions; others had issues with sanitary pads for menstrual periods as this is done in secrecy to avoid shame; others also used the money to buy medications for the family).

In some cases, women also used the cash for petty trading which had the potential to increase their income. Overall, the income supported increased expenditure on food and on provision of improved diet for the households. This contributed to improvements in household's food security throughout the year and helped mostly to support the families during the lean seasons when food shortages constituted a serious threat to family existence. Overall, with the provision of cash to the households, families could participate in more productive activities as the extra cash allowed the families to invest more cash into livelihoods. The aggregation of multiplied injection of cash to beneficiaries helped to boost petty trading and local economic activities as more household's business enterprises emerged from the savings accumulated by the beneficiaries from the cash received.

This was particularly echoed by all the respondents. There was unanimity of opinions around the potential asset creation potential of the CTs. All the respondents reported that they often reserved a portion of the money as savings for future investments in business. Some of the women beneficiaries used the cash to procure materials or other items used in producing goods, or items that were sold at night markets, or traded off in market stalls or shops located around their residences. Other respondents in certain cases used their monies as down payment or deposit to acquire wealth generating businesses like the case of some of the women in Oyo Town, who used their monies to buy grinding machines that were used to start small businesses. The application of the extra source of income provided by the CTs for creating new forms of work or job activities that might be considered somehow less desirable, but this demonstrated households' responses to the livelihood challenges they experienced. Also, some of the beneficiaries, in the manner they handled or managed the cash, demonstrated their ingenuity and creativity. This finding negates the simple notion of dependency and the anecdotal evidence held by many policymakers and

scholars that beneficiaries of CTs do not use their cash 'wisely'. The notion that beneficiaries spend cash on alcohol, tobacco, or other temptation goods, or that CTs create dependency, thereby thwarting attempts to improve financial standing in order to remain eligible for transfers, or the notion that CTs amount to nothing but a 'handout' (Handa et al., 2018) was not supported by this investigation. Indeed, according to the respondents, having autonomy and retaining control and making decisions over how the cash was utilised boosted their dignity and sense of self-worth.

Almost all the respondents asserted that their dignity, independence, and autonomy in their respective decisions to utilise a significant portion of the cash income towards investments in livelihoods activities and household business enterprises. Thus, the CT programme increased women's participation in the local economy, through their engagement in work activities which also boosted their earnings. Although, some of the men who took part in the SURE-P programme also reported similar results. However, it was not possible to determine, in the case of the women reporting their work activities, if their husbands or spouses' earnings were also boosted. The words of one of the women perhaps best sums up the feelings of many respondents:

The only good thing for me is that without the money, I would not have been able to quickly start the petty trading business that I am doing now. The money came at the right time and it served as seed capital for setting me up in business. For that, and if not nothing I am grateful to the government.

7.9. Food security and managing in scarce times

When it comes to food security and how families were able to cope with the availability of food, particularly during times of scarcity (more so for respondents living in the Northern region of Nigeria, who mostly live and work in an agrarian and pastoralist economy), findings provided some interesting opinions. Cash transfers, it seemed, had some effects on the availability of foods for the families most especially throughout all seasons. Although, it was reported by some respondents that were familiar with livelihood risks that families are often exposed to during lean times when the risk of hunger is especially stark, they never realised that the CTs will help them to cope better during those times. The

availability of cash provided through CCTs became a predictable source of extra income that allowed households to achieve some level of stability in their food consumption for the particular year. This situation had the effect of lessening the debilitating impacts of food shortages, scarcity, and the usual seasonal variability.

According to majority of the respondents, receiving cash was helpful in dealing with hunger and helped families to have increased access to food, which in turn provided critical nutrition for children and the elderly, who were at risk of malnutrition as these families would have struggled to afford to provide enough meals and food for their households. Another remarkable insight was that CTs provided the families and households enough to reduce their reliance on external support or help from family members, relatives, and friends because with the money paid recipients/beneficiaries did not have to resort to borrowing money to tide over during the times of food scarcity.

In the words of Hajaratu:

Walahi, if no be for this moni dem give us, we no go fit do so many things. If not for di money, ee no go fit feed our children and our families. Dem try well well. Di moni help us solve plenty problems for our homes. We use am buy food, so we no go hungry or we no starve. We no dey go borrow food or money again. And we dey hapi

In English:

Honestly, because of the money given to us we can afford to do a lot of things. If not for the money, we would have been unable to feed to our children and our families. Government has done well by introducing this programme as the money was useful; it helped us to provide for our families and enabled us to deal with many problems. We bought food and did not go hungry; we did not starve, and we did not have to borrow food or money from relatives and friends. And we are happy.

Another dimension of this finding was that as a result of this experience, and by having enough food stock for the families and in their households, bought with the money paid to beneficiaries of the CTs programmes, the family members did not have to undertake extra

precarious work to earn income or to travel far distances away from their children and family in search of work to be able to provide food for their families

7.10. Income and livelihoods of families

As a result of the cash received many of the respondents reported that they were able to learn new skills and, in some cases, re-trained to become eligible for new kinds of jobs. Some of the respondents were also able to become engaged in several unpaid and paid jobs. The implication of this was that many of the beneficiaries especially women became part of the local economy where they significantly contributed to economic activities. Women were usually engaged in petty trading and in selling wares, usually farm products, and food, in the market. Some women also sold cooked meals such as snacks, rice, and beans. Therefore, the injection of cash often boosted the confidence of the women and spurred their creativity as they could now use their time, emboldened by the cash, to engage in trading and commercial activities. With the earnings, the women could significantly improve their household earnings when their additional income were combined with their husbands/spouses. Additionally, many of the respondents asserted that with the extra income, their spouses could re-invest their monies and the extra time afforded by the reprieve that the money provided not only permitted the men/spouses to engage in farm activities. Thus, the CTs reduced the pressure on the families and enabled them to cope better as more food was available.

All participants perceived the injection of cash into their economic lives as boosting their incomes and their livelihoods. It also helped to smooth their consumption and enabled them to participate in productive activities. This will be discussed later in this chapter, but this issue is connected to fostering a sense of identity, of citizenship, of participation and of belonging. This finding is in alignment with the study by Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2017) which affirmed that in the astonishing ascent of SP, negligible attention was paid to the economic and political inclusion for the underprivileged and deprived population especially in LMICs and aid-dependent nations given that many studies focussed on income being often discretionary, and conditioned, by definition. Hence, under the CCTs' 'rules of engagement' families somewhat considered it their luck to be selected for participation; thus, labels of the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor profoundly inform and drive the

prevalent and existing normative backdrop for social assistance (Sabates-Wheler et al., 2017; p.6). Thus, it is quite possible for governments in developing countries to provide SP for people with a sense of social justice and by enabling access to SP in modes that indisputably aim to resolve and tackle vulnerabilities and livelihood risks whilst upholding the ethical and unrelenting provision of basic social rights and citizenships to everyone (Sabates-Wheeler, 2017). However, going beyond the assessment of the impact of SP programmes and their immediate outcomes, there is ample evidence that CCT programmes can potentially address transitory and enduring poverty (De la Briere and Rawlings, 2006; Yildirim et al., 2014; Bastagli et al., 2016; Davis et al., 2018; World Bank, 2018; ILO, 2019).

Participants enjoyed being enrolled or enlisted on the programme for many reasons. For some, it allowed them to receive regular and steady income which boosted their ability to participate in productive activities and to find something meaningful to do. The monies participants received monthly was a lifesaver to some people. The typical monthly amount received by programme beneficiaries (10,000 naira SURE-P; 5,000-naira COPE) or (£40 and £20³⁵) was very small by every standard but the fact that beneficiaries received anything at all was deemed a miracle. In the words of Kafilat one of the female beneficiaries of COPE:

Honestly, the money we were paid was a miracle for my family. Before I joined the programme, life for me and my children was a struggle. To feed, to buy basic things, to survive was a great challenge. I was not doing anything apart from selling my body to survive. So, when I started getting the money, my condition changed a bit. At least I could afford to eat and feed the children.

Another participant, Olatunde, a male participant in SURE-P, who was paid 10,000 naira spoke of how the money became a lifesaver for him:

Dem no know wetin the mon idem give us do for some of us o....my brother, I no go lie, gofment try well well. I use the money do something beta for myself. I use am to chop, to improve my life. I use the money treat my sick children and look after my family. Gofment do well for us (Pidgin English)

In English:

My dear brother I won't lie to you, the government does not realise how important the money they paid us was to some of us. I utilised the cash to do something tangible for myself and my family. I used it to improve many things in my life: not only to feed myself and the children, but I also used the money for treatment of my sick children and for the wellbeing of my entire family.

From the accounts of beneficiaries above, it is evident that the CCTs became vital boost to the family/household income, allowing investments in healthcare, feeding and care of the children. Cash was also used for day-to-day items like transportation and payment of other bills. However, the most revealing aspect of the receipt of the cash was how it was critical in dealing with emergencies and other existential issues. Regular cash receipts by poor households and indigent families are associated with meeting general social needs of the family, aged parents, relatives, and children. Money was used for food, for procuring medications and for general healthcare, to pay rents or for housing, and school fees and associated education costs. In the words of Rashidat:

I get plenty relatives wey be say, na me dem dey look up to. If moni (money) no dey, dem no go chop. Na di moni wey we get from dis programme, we dey use support ourselves. I get old mama, she don tay.....nah di small job wey I dey do and the moni dem give us, nah dem we dey use to look after grandma and the children, and the family, including hospital bills and tablets (medications). All di money, we dey use am to support and provide welfare for the entire family (Pidgin English - Rashidat).

In English:

I have a lot of relative that look up to me and if I don't bring money home, we shall go hungry. It is from the little money we receive from the CCT programme that support the family. I have an aged mother, very old; and it's the small trading business that I do plus the cash they give us that is used to support everyone – grandma, the children, and the family. The whole income is used for household maintenance – for welfare and support of the family.

Table 20: Summary Table of Themes and Sub-Themes [Chapter 7]

Main Themes	Sub-Themes
Perceptions of social citizenship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preferences for redistribution and support for SP programmes • Professed awareness and cognition of SP programmes • Taking ownership of programmes • Heightened sense of belonging and citizenship • Understanding of deservingness principle • Less concern about stigmatisation of being beneficiaries • Expression of ‘moral dilemma’ for the deserving and excluded non-beneficiaries – perceptions of fairness and unfairness • Enhanced understanding of ‘social contract’ – (state-citizen relations as it pertains to public goods provisioning)
Livelihoods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consumption smoothing/ easing impacts of shocks and crises • Food security Increased food consumption/increased access to food • Increased boost and confidence • Autonomy and control over cash • Agency of women/ Improved decision-making • Gender roles in the care/household economy • Increased economic activity • Investment in families especially childcare and reproductive care and maternal health • Impacts on health
Resilience and coping mechanisms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empowerment • Skills enhancement • Enhanced well-being and welfare of family • Resurgence of upbeat mood • Optimism about future • Asset generation • Creativity and innovation
Trust in government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scepticism and low trust in government • Perceptions of deception among political leaders and elites • Perceptions of political favouritism and clientelism
Solidarity and social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social cohesion/social relations • Trustworthiness and reciprocity • Enhanced communal spirit • Enhanced economic commonality • Shared/communal compassion • Shared responsibility • Subsistence ethic • Strengthening cultural norms/moral economy
Programming (including administrators)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service availability/supply-side provision • Usage and access to services • Challenges and barriers to implementation • Targeting effectiveness • Attitudes of administrators and officials • Bureaucratic delays • Unequal power relations with top officials • Politicisation of selection process • Concerns with payments

Most of the respondents reported that the cash was used to directly support between one to four individuals in their households. Some of them had households of over 10 individuals. Others had households of 15, 20, 25 and 34 individuals. The cash was paid to the women and covered household expenditures which relieved the poor families from immediate exposure and risks, and from poverty; and it also allowed them to invest in their children's human capital³⁶. Despite the immediate respite from poverty, respondents could also afford to purchase consumption goods that allowed their children to enjoy more healthy and nutritious food, which in turn contributed to a healthy family unit. The SP literature provides ample empirical evidence in support of CCT programmes positively affecting children's health, resulting in improvements in the height, weight, and the well-being of children particularly amongst girls (Davies et al., 2016; Bastagli et al., 2016). Existing evidence on consumption smoothing mechanisms indicates that many households in developing countries are highly risk-averse, which makes the provision of cash through CCTs to raise welfare particularly appropriate (Chetty and Looney, 2005). Based on findings from the study by Garcia and Moore (2012), there are a handful of CCTs that focus on ex-ante transfers, although most programmes focus on transfers after an event (ex-post).

Therefore, CCT programmes that occur ex-post may result in the assistance not being in place in a timely manner (Nobre et al., 2019). Accordingly, demand for 'shock-responsive', 'climate-smart' and 'adaptive' SP systems is increasing (Ulrichs et al., 2019; Davies et al., 2009; Kuriakose et al., 2013; OPM, 2015, 2017). Nowadays it is fashionable for multilateral organisations and national governments in many nations in the global south to appropriate adjustments to national SP systems in order to make them become more climate-sensitive, and/or by embedding the requisite capacities to address transitory shocks, and as persistent stresses, in newly designed schemes (Ulrichs et al., 2019). Also, according to Carter and Janzen (2015), cash can preclude vulnerable households from falling into a poverty trap; therefore, the longstanding and multidimensional poverty can be ameliorated by integrating elements of 'vulnerability-targeted social protection' into a conventional SP system. After all, enduring poverty is occasionally deepened and perpetuated by diminishing the human capital of the next generation, which makes the case for more social protection even more compelling. This logic of CCT inspired their

adoption as they are focused on lifting poor households/families out of poverty by investing in nutritional, healthcare, and educational programmes (Carter and Janzen, 2015).

7.11. Supporting the 'Moral Economy'

Receipts of cash enabled families to support not only immediate relatives but also extended family and in some cases friends, acquaintances, and community members. That indigent members could afford to support other deprived members in need was particularly striking; an issue that reinforced and demonstrated how the social structure within the communities was fostered and maintained by a philosophy of '*being each other's brothers and sisters' keepers*'. This practice accords with the wider social structure of many Nigerian and West African families and communities, where family and kinship encompass a wide range of relatives. Providing support for others is a traditional practice in many African communities. In Nigeria, the practice is not static, but constantly changing; dependent on local economic circumstances and situations and, the fortunes of the people being supported. The level of support rendered also transcends cash; people often give of their time and efforts to support others in distress. As pointed out by Aliyu:

We are all one big family; we do support one another. At the moment I am helping my wife's relations, and this is because they are like extended relatives who we have supported in the past and they have also supported us too. we cannot afford to leave them out when things improve for us.

Cash is paid to beneficiaries in a flexible manner, mostly through mobile phones or bank accounts. But the process appears uncomplicated as the immediacy and internet communications means that beneficiaries are informed quickly through their mobile phones once deposits have been made into their accounts. According to Martha:

Getting money paid into our accounts directly have been a blessing in disguise. You know some of us still want to help relatives and other family members in need and, sometimes don't want our spouses to know anything about this. So, we prefer to, rather quietly, give them money and having this money paid directly into our accounts helps with that process.

From the above, it appears that there is a pervasive spirit of a strong sense of economic commonality; a kind of moral economy that is highly localised, and culturally contingent on the customary paternalistic obligations of the communities. Moral economy as a historical concept espouses the notion that peasant societies share a package of normative attitudes concerning social relations and social behaviours surrounding their local economies where 'subsistence ethic' prevails as an ethical and a moral organising philosophy (Little, 2008). The concept of moral economy has not been fully associated with SP although moral economy has been advanced within the wider literature on redistribution and the politics of public provisioning; still, it has not been fully applied within the realms of SP. To understand the importance of moral economy, is to understand how values, informal practices and local economic customs are collectively embedded within the productive mechanisms of a community, in which the moral obligations and social norms becomes the defining essence of the local economy (Orlando, 2010; Langeegger, 2016; Palomera and Vetta, 2016). Viewed in this way, moral economy thus becomes a dynamic concept which can be used to explain, and account for the class informed frameworks involving traditions, valuations, and expectations (Palomera and Vetta, 2016). An understanding of the concept of moral economy is also helpful because it can deepen and improve the notion of power relations and hegemony by its attention and focus on the incongruous values that guide and support livelihood norms, practices and behaviours, the avenues through which cultural dominance is reproduced and transformed.

Moral economy is acutely compatible with the analysis of political cultures, norms, and expectations of the diverse groups of citizens involved in social reproduction. But beyond this, moral economy can also usefully help us understand how the power relations between citizens and their elites are articulated and how the characters, nature and relations between the classes intermingle with the productive processes of change and continuity. As a result, the concept of moral economy has the ability to underscore the abstruse and ambiguous logics, rationalities and values that inform, shape, and undergird livelihood practices in which the vigorous classes and clusters struggle around the boundaries of what is good and acceptable, their power hierarchies and the political projects that they could inform (Palomera and Vetta, 2016).

Given that families and households often spread their cash/transfer receipts among a wide range of relatives and kin, and considering also that for these families who themselves are vulnerable members of the society needing much help and assistance that could be offered to them, to therefore see them demonstrate this level of communal compassion not only emphasises the relative importance of cash in strengthening cultural norms and societal values amongst vulnerable populations but also shows how much having the 'thought of the other'; having a sense of shared responsibility to support others like themselves, is a remarkable display of cohesive social relations, which is best epitomised in the 'subsistence ethic' principle introduced by Little (2008) which he referred to as the notion by which community members believe in structuring local social arrangements in such a way that it is respectful of the subsistence needs of the local poor. So, in conformity with the core principle of the concept of moral economy as proposed by Thompson (1971), the peasant communities are aroused to protest, and aroused to rebellion when the terms of the local subsistence ethic are breached by the elites, state authorities, or market forces (Little, 2008).

Therefore, by indirectly invoking the concept of the moral economy, the respondents seemed to convey a strong sense of communal bonding and cohesive spirit. This attitude became institutionalised and formalised as an arrangement that captured both the principle of reciprocity and a commitment to the fate of the disadvantaged (Gotz, 2015); and, it also, in a sense, was a way of reframing the citizens' opinions of the state and society; an opinion that is predicated on what Svallfors (2006, p.2) called 'normative feedback effects of public policies and formal institutions' which had the trappings of a stratified moral economy of class and a societal moral economy. Thus, the logic of the notion of moral economy becomes one in which the implementation of social assistance programmes is to be adapted to the local traditions of the people to enhance their performance. Therefore, enriched by the demonstration of the state to the sensitivities to the moral dilemmas raised by the inevitable political problems created, the combined efforts of the acts of goodwill, charity and self-help of the peoples and the communities could become the precursor of a 'welfare world', which is the way the welfare state emerged in Western Europe (Sayer, 2000; Gotz, 2015).

7.12. Resilience and coping mechanisms

Several empirical studies demonstrate that women and children in developing countries are the most vulnerable to shocks, crises, and disasters particularly in the area of food, nutrition insecurity and livelihood crises (FAO, 2019; Ellis, 2003; Babatunde et al., 2008). Also, children under five years are mostly vulnerable to malnutrition, undernutrition and infectious diseases and other dangers. The next category, women (especially nursing mothers) are also vulnerable to undernutrition and especially more susceptible in their roles as nursing mothers with their babes collaterally exposed to these risks. Closely following them are widows, elderly and aged women, divorced women and single mothers who are all extremely vulnerable. These women in some cases have also been unfairly affected by the traditionally embedded local practices and paternalistic norms in which for instance they lost their access/rights to land and have also been denied the right to cultivate land for economic reasons or were not given sufficient time to cultivate the land. In some extreme cases, these women became dispossessed of their belongings and lost their husband's or spouse contributions to household livelihood (FAO, 2019; Ellis, 2003; Babatunde et al., 2008). Furthermore, female-headed households have been shown to be more vulnerable during periods of shocks, disasters, and crises. Women in female-headed households experience a greater degree of unequal access to and control of resources, including access rights to farming or grazing lands, livestock (FAO, 2019; Ellis, 2003; Babatunde et al., 2008).

The implementation of CCT programmes targeted at families and households is, therefore, helpful, and critical during times of stress, duress, conflicts, crises, and disasters. The case of Nigerian beneficiaries is consequently not different to the experiences documented in literature of programme beneficiaries in other contexts. The discernible effect of the CCT programme as a tool to support and enhance human capital and production activities during these austere times are therefore validated by respondents.

As reported by Mariam:

I know some families whose current existence and survival depends on this money. Without this money as a life saver, I don't know what might have happened to them. But, thankfully, we got this money, and things started

to look up. For me, and am sure for many others, this money has eased the pressures and made a lot of us to become hopeful. I know many widows, and many older women or single parents who were helped by this cash. Those who were not working previously but surviving on the goodwill of the community could now do something. We have all some women who experienced loss of lands and other things when their husbands died and who, with this programme could do things they could not do before. I only wished the government had done this programme earlier.

Also, because the programme offered training and skill development for the beneficiaries on how they could improve their pastoralist and agricultural livelihoods; beneficiaries' abilities to increase agricultural yields and outputs and knowledge of better farm management increased. Many of the respondents indicated that they were trained on how they could implement agricultural and other livestock innovations to increase farm yields and agricultural outputs. Other training programmes were in the area of skill enhancement and capacity development to enhance the ability of programme participants and beneficiaries to cope with shocks. As reported by respondents in the Northern region of Nigeria, where they are susceptible to conflicts associated with Boko Haram as well as climate-induced changes which affected the environment and their land, the training programme provided alongside the CCT programme, gave them some succour. The introduction of the CCTs was a way of assisting the families and households affected by the conflict and ecological challenges to preserve and protect the security of their livelihoods and food. Without the SP intervention therefore, many families might have had it more challenging and difficult. SP programmes not only allowed these families and households to enjoy temporal provision of formal social and food assistance, they also obtained other support like agricultural inputs, farm subsidies alongside the cash transfers and vouchers.

7.13. Experiencing a sense of empowerment

Several respondents reported that the introduction of the CCT programme not only boosted their confidence but also caused an increase in their emotional make-up and their feelings and moods. Respondents reported experiencing a kind of an upbeat, 'can-do' feeling which according to them gave a feeling of empowerment. These individuals, having

experienced severe episodes and periods of conflicts, violence, and confronted with precarious existence and unforgiving insecurity of lives and livelihoods, and threats to their properties and so forth, the introduction of the government CCT programme represented a somewhat hope-restoring and spirit-uplifting event that helped families cope with the shocks and crises. Families appeared to have experienced a regeneration and resurgence of their spirits as a result of the programmes. Respondents reported that they could overcome uncertainties and did not have to worry about the existential problems related to their livelihoods and food security.

As a result of the consequences of the terrorist activities by Boko Haram, some parts of Kano State, had their once vibrant agrarian economy, livelihoods and pervasive tranquillity disrupted. The resultant devastation seriously impacted agricultural livelihoods; the effects on livelihoods was manifested in livestock losses, reduced access to fishing grounds, destruction of irrigation and farming facilities, and the collapse of extension services and key agriculture-based value chains (FAO, 2018a; 2019). The Boko Haram-controlled areas, with many rural dwellers and majority of poor residents further experienced fatalities, forfeitures, and other losses as a result of the strict Islamic form of governance that operated through the imposition of levies on all goods, products and outputs transported to the market; also, the market and trade facilities including fish and seafood markets were not excluded. The collateral consequences of these restrictive and punitive practices which bore the hallmarks of the ISIS Islamic-controlled states meant that economic production activities in most of the Northern Nigerian states have fallen drastically owing to mass displacement and limited access to markets (FAO, 2019; FAO, WFP, and UN Women, 2018). According to Aisha:

We have been suffering since Boko Haram started their wahala and operations: no market; no business, nothing to do. Things were tough. But when this programme started, we were able to do something with the money they gave us. This programme has really improved our lot. At least we get regular money to cater for basic needs especially food.

7.14. Social issues within the family, the search for employment, precarious work, and opportunity

There is something that arises from the strengthening of family structure and relations as respondents who benefitted from CT programmes becomes temporary providers positioning them within family networks as benefactors which in turn enabled familial relations to be strengthened. *Rafinat* opined that the injection of cash permeated and structured virtually all aspects of her life and she was not alone. Many participants reported that they earmarked part of the cash for 'emergencies' which meant that they expected to use the cash for other purposes or for others in their communities. Thus, at once, having money relieved pressure but also, paradoxically intensified pressure on participants to be helpers of their kin. The presence of cash in the lives of the participants was therefore akin to an event where the practicalities of being in possession of cash also reinforced their sense of identity and social relationships. Having more money to spend on the family signified that respondents cared about the welfare and well-being of their families and relatives. Cash became the conveyor of a sense of responsibility towards the family:

You have the responsibility of helping everyone in any way you can. This money is not for acquiring possessions and other vain things. They are meant for necessities of life; they are meant for food, clothing and buying essential medications when people are sick or not well. It is therefore incumbent on us to help each other out whenever we are in need or in desperate situations (Asake).

The fact that respondents saw the presence of cash as an opportunity to demonstrably act out of care, especially in the conspicuous manner they were focused on the needs of others in the community signified they displayed a keen attentiveness to the needs of those who should be helped. For almost all the beneficiaries, community came first. Therefore, for the participants, helping others by lending a helping hand, conferred a kind of honour and respect: honour for keeping the traditional values of the community alive and well; and, respect, for being magnanimous enough and for having compassion for others. As reported by the beneficiaries, having cash is imbued with a great social meaning; possession of cash permits the owners to make decisions, and to do things in the way or manner than they wished, without anyone dictating to them. It also enabled them to carry out acts of

goodwill, as responsible citizens, to others in the society who have been good or kind to them. The satisfaction that comes from doing positive, albeit random acts of kindness, goodwill, cannot be quantified as many of the beneficiaries confirmed or reported in the interviews. Basirat captured it thus:

Hmm, one thing I am grateful for is the love from my people. The people in this community are like family. And you know without our families, relatives and the community, life would have been tougher and unbearable for us. It is a tradition in this community for us to help one another. That is the reason that we are strong; we care for each other.

As far as the families' resilience and well-being is concerned, some of the respondents discussed in the FGD about the issue of making CTs to nuclear families rather than to women or head of households. Mainly, some felt that the level of transfers was meagre and could not adequately meet or cover many households or poorer families' needs. Paying to the family will spread the benefit more evenly and permit other members to be part of the household decision making. At the end of the discussions however, after evaluating the pros and cons of the matter, and based on the fact that the small amount of cash transferred could create a likely basis of grievance and possibly conflict among family members, participants concluded it was better to continue giving cash to women. Traditionally, many African families and households are part of an extended family structure, so, the issue of equitable division of the money within the extended families was perceived as problematic. Family members often disagreed when it comes to sharing money and, the issue is even more challenging when women are charged with the responsibility of making purchasing decisions about how the money should be spent. This issue, given that patriarchal culture valorises masculinity, can cause problems as women are not expected to be or considered as trustworthy, or fully human (Becker, 1999). Thus, patriarchy reinforces and reproduces gender inequality, but its consequences can often run deeper than gender inequality, especially in many traditional/developing societies of the global south.

In the FGDs, respondents agreed women are better managers in caring for the needs of family members (especially children), and for paying more attention to the health,

nutrition, education, and the overall well-being of the family. Men, on the other hand, are considered or viewed as reckless, prone to misspending cash on drinking alcohol or wasteful behaviours or activities. In the words of one of the male members in a focus group:

Giving the money to our women means that it is for our children, and our elderly relatives. Therefore, it is a good thing that our wives are given custody of the money. Our women may not be respected but we all know that they put the family first, and therefore are better home administrators, especially when it comes to providing food and taking care of the households' needs.

The fact that most men are constantly absent from the home, due largely to the migratory nature of their work, also implies that they are not able to fulfil the most basic requirement or conditionality of receiving the transfer as they would not be present or available to collect payments. Thus, as pointed out, the consensus amongst the participants seem to be that women, being the recipients of the transfers was a good idea. In the words of another participant:

As far as we know, women are more trustworthy, dependable, and sometimes more level-headed and pragmatic than men. It is better that we are the ones collecting the money because we can ration and prioritise the money according to the needs of the family or household. We are also always around at home. No matter where we go, or what we do, we are always around; always present with the children and the relatives because we are the ones who take care of everyone.

Another participant, a man, also commented thus:

If I was given the money, I might still end up giving it to my wife although it may never be the full amount given to me. I might not be able to resist the temptation to use the money for something else. Or forget temporarily that the money was meant for the family, which should not be the case. In my opinion, I welcome the decision of the administrators to give money to the women.

Overall, the issue of the gender obligations of women regarding how CTs were spent resonated so powerfully with many participants. Most respondents seemed to agree with the conventional wisdom that women are better administrators of the cash than men. However, the downside of this finding is that men often have a much higher probability of finding employment than women. Women have a further gender disadvantage which comes with the encumbrances associated with a sexualised demarcation of household domestic work which prevents them from being active participants in the marketplace (Bohn et al., 2014). Unfortunately, because domestic work executed concurrently with other obligatory female duties remains undervalued and underappreciated in many African societies, including Nigeria, female beneficiaries, as mothers with young children are confined to the position of homecare providers, which is also evidently an understandable deterrent to their prospects of securing paid employments. This issue becomes complicated and structurally challenging for women and female beneficiaries as a social group, because of the necessity of providing day-care, and other caring duties for disabled and elderly members of the family. According to Munat:

I cannot cope with four children and my elderly mother who is living with us, as well as my disabled brother. I have no choice but to be around the house. Sometimes, I do get support from other relatives, but most of the time, the huge work undertaken in the home leaves me tired and knackered by the end of the day. Even if there is opportunity for me to work, I might not be able to do it unless the job is very close to my house.

Viewed against the policy expectations of the CCT programme, which aims to graduate beneficiaries into the job market, armed with financial independence and job training, after they exit the programme, there is a likelihood that such expectations are unrealisable. Female beneficiaries (as poor women in a certain phase of their adult lives) reported that the pressures of their marriages or statuses as married mothers and housewives with young children means that equality of opportunity is non-existent. Given the higher rates of employment in the informal sector, which provides over 90 percent of the available jobs, and is the only route to gainful and meaningful employment for the poor and unemployed beneficiaries, but they still have to grapple with creating or finding employments in an informal sector that comes with severe disadvantages, coupled with the strong

vulnerability of informal employment and labour to the vagaries, shocks and risks in the economic cycle.

Aguilar and Sumner (2019) observed that the high level of poverty in the rural areas of the world's low-income and middle countries, like Nigeria (which according to Kazeem (2018) is now regarded as the poverty capital of the world) is characterised by overlapping deprivations in education and access to decent infrastructure like water, sanitation, health services, electricity, and housing. Agriculture remains the predominant occupation for most rural dwellers. As reported by many of the respondents, at least one or two family members work in agriculture. Subsistence farming seems also to be norm; but, farming, as an occupation, appears to also be losing its allure for many of the dwellers especially the younger generation. In the rural locations where fieldwork was conducted, most of the respondents confirmed that most farmers are the elderly: farming appears to be the exclusive preserve of the ageing demographic with the agricultural sector failing to attract young people who prefer to search for work in the urban centres. The reason for this is not clearly evident, but from the accounts/testimonies obtained from the interviews, it seemed that farming in the rural areas is plagued by lack of basic infrastructure including poor or no electricity, access to government and farm subsidies such as fertilisers, financial problems like lack of credit, support government and issues of storage and fair-trade for agricultural outputs. As suggested by respondents, many young people do not see any future in farming. In the words of a male member of *SURE-P*, even when beneficiaries were required to work on the farms as part of their co-responsibilities for participating in the CCT programmes, many beneficiaries preferred to work in places like hospitals, post offices, local government offices, motor parks, traffic wardens and cleaners. Nobody wanted to work on the farm. Indeed, it was discovered that the plan to make people work on the farm was later abandoned, jettisoned by the government due to the low appeal from the beneficiaries:

For instance, okay, if you understand my background, in my community, most of us were working on the farms. We were not really big farmers. The farm yields and the crops have dwindled and there is not much left for us in farming. We are into farming, mainly because that is the thing we were

born into here in (name of village). We are a farming family, a farming community and with the current situation of things, farming is no longer attractive, therefore we are struggling to survive. So, the programme came at a good time for me, for us (Tijani, Male, 33).

Another respondent recalled:

When the government started this programme, they initially thought of sending some of us to the farms to work, but they soon discovered that there were not enough farms around. That's one. Secondly, many of the farmers themselves operated small-scale farms and were not able to support additional hands. Besides, the community leaders and government realised that the youths were not interested in farming but wanted proper jobs. This was what made them to provide opportunities for the youths by allocating us to places like hospitals, post offices, the traffic offices, motor parks, and the environmental departments where we could build or acquire skills that could help us get work. So, for me I believe that it was the right thing to do. Which young person, that has gone to school wants to be working on the farm where his livelihood and future are not guaranteed. If the government wants to motivate and encourage us to work on the farms, they must make it worthwhile, and attractive for people to be in farming (Ramoni, Male, 31).

In the words of another respondent, the motivation to participate was spurred by the desire to get busy doing something rather than just sitting idly at home doing nothing:

At that time, I had nothing, really nothing. I mean I was not really doing anything. The money coming from farming, which is our family's business was not too good. When the programme started, I thought that the money was not too bad, despite that it was small. I also wanted to learn something else, and I thought the programme was a great opportunity to learn something, gain new skills, new experience, meet new people and possibly get a good job (Rufus, Male, 30).

Another respondent complained about the precarious nature of farm work as one reason why many young people are fleeing the farms. According to him, farming is unattractive due to the nature of technology employed which meant that those who work on the farms are subjected to back-breaking labour as they are forced to utilise basic implements like hoes and cutlasses, for intensively laborious work on the farms:

Today, when mobile phones and internet technology has democratised knowledge, the youth are not interested in working on the farms or in remaining in the villages. Everybody that has gone to some school looks forward to getting a well-paid job; nobody wants to go and till the ground in a farm that has no financial appeal. Besides, the bigger farms have forced many small-scale farmers to abandon commercial farming in favour of subsistence farming, which is not profitable. The only type of farming people does nowadays are the ones close to their dwellings or in their local gardens, where they only farm to produce food for their families (Adeyemi, Male, 35).

In the words of another respondent:

Besides, the opportunity to leave home every morning, to go out to a place, and to do something worthwhile, something for the community, our community, this was, to me, something that really touched me. I knew that we were helping the community, and the government was also doing something important to reduce poverty, to reduce unemployment and to make sure that they try their best to help the people, I felt at least, that the government is trying. So, I was very happy to participate in the programme (Yekeen, Male, 34).

Indeed, the ageing profile of mostly rural-dwelling Nigerian farmers (and older farmers in many SSA countries) remain a critical source of worry for policymakers and politicians (Aguilar and Sumner, 2019; Douglas, 2016). All African nations are experiencing a somewhat distinctive ageing prospect most especially because fertility rates remain high although infant and child mortality rates are also at worryingly high levels. According to the Pew Research Centre (2014), Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa, Ghana, Tanzania, and Ethiopia

are experiencing ageing and their societies will require services and policy responses which the respective national governments will extremely find difficult to bear given that the solutions, which are largely political in nature, are not easy to implement. Also, many African citizens feel that it is the duty of their national governments to tackle the ageing of society (Pew Research Centre, 2014; Douglass, 2015). The threat of urbanisation, exacerbated by the migration of young adults from the rural areas to the urban areas in search of employment, will only further worsen the situation. As Aguilar and Sumner (2019) highlighted, despite the availability of arable lands in many rural parts of African, paradoxically poor people are increasingly looking for jobs away from the farm, striving for better lives. We have a situation in which poor people are not necessarily 'idling out'; they are striving to become low-income workers with better wages. Consequently, owing to the shift from agricultural work, majority of rural dwellers are not in agriculture (despite majority rural households being predominantly constituted by young people); It is estimated that between one-third and half of poor rural dwellers in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) are not in agriculture (Aguilar and Sumner, 2019).

Migration to the urban centres from the traditional villages and impoverished rural areas according to Douglass (2016) is often motivated by the myth of opportunity. This probably explains why many of the respondents of *SURE-P* reported that they remained working in the places where they were assigned to carry out their work placements after exiting the programme or after completing their mandatory participation. Despite not being paid any money or receiving financial rewards for their labour, participants reported that they could not return to sitting idly at home. Thus, several beneficiaries remained at their original places of assignment providing what amounted to free labour, hoping in the process to gain valuable work experiences that will facilitate future employment prospects; and allowing them to feel a sense of fulfilment. According to Sola:

The programme is really really good. I was unemployed at the start of the programme, just staying at home doing nothing. And because one had little qualification to start with, the choices are limited, nothing much as such, there was not much, not a lot of things I could do. Before the programme, I was just surviving, living by doing bits and pieces, here and there that I could find (Sola, Male, 33).

Another respondent recalled his experience thus:

The CCT programme made people to see me as going to work; I was seen as someone who now had a job. Everyone in the village could see me as going to work. They were saying to me and to my family: “See, he has started working now; see, he is going to work too”. That really boosted my confidence. It made me happy. And it emboldened me and made me want to actually do well so that I can more jobs from there. It also made me to believe in myself (Chika, Male, 36).

Another respondent summarised the whole experience through these despairing comments:

If one was to consider the fact the cash transfer programme was a political project, one could have easily objected and refused to participate in the programme. Also, considering the inadequate, little amount they were paying us, there was no reason to join; because to be frank with you, the money was nothing to write home about. But, at that time, we had nothing; we were broke; jobless and helpless; and because we had nothing, we had to accept it. However, it was not all that bad (Timi, Male, 35).

7.15. Social preferences, prosocial inclinations, and socio-demographic profiles

According to the literature on social preferences, concerns for distributional fairness and reciprocity have implications for misrepresentation when research participants are not representative of the population (Falk et al, 2013; Bardsley et al., 2010; Croson and Gächter, 2010; Henrich, Heine & Norenzayan, 2010; Gächter, 2010; Falk and Heckman, 2009; Levitt & List, 2007). This becomes relevant where there might be an overrepresentation of prosocially inclined participants [that is, those inclined to doing good for improving society] (Kaiser et al., 2015; Levitt & List, 2007; List, 2009). The contention is that a drastic overrepresentation of prosocial behaviour is particularly problematic. However, it also accepted that there are biases as well in underrepresentation of participants' preferences. Therefore, the important question for the context of this research study is whether research participants differ with respect to social preference based on their socio-demographic and religious characteristics. The presumption or

assumption that selection bias in respondents might have favoured more prosocially inclined participants, however, is not evident in this study. This is because participants (beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries) as well non-participants do not differ in their various socio-demographic (including religious) dimensions, therefore preferences are unlikely to be significant and statistically different between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries or participants and non-participants. Indeed, this is not surprising, as confirmed in Falk et al. (2013) which studied misrepresentation in social preferences between laboratory and field experiments and reported no difference in the preferences of participants. While there might be selection bias within subgroups, this does not constitute or make up a sufficient part of the respondents to yield an overall significant effect.

Thus, participants or beneficiaries are no less prosocial than non-participants or non-beneficiaries with similar socio-demographic background. The study's recruitment procedure was purposive sampling (participants must have experienced specialised and varied capacities as COPE and SURE-P beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries [if they are community members or programme implementers] implying uniformity in the sampling population which accords with the research objective, and the approved ethics protocol. Furthermore, it is apparent that for both research participants and non-participants, aside the study's ethical procedure, the prevailing circumstances would have been the same and even if a whole new cohort of participants were recruited from the same population pool, the degree of differences in preferences would not have been significant to invalidate the findings of this research. Moreover, and importantly, as a way of minimising response bias in the findings, programme administrators, implementers, or community leaders were not directly involved in the selection of research participants. Therefore, beneficiaries' perceptions triggered the positive affirmations and positive effects attributed to the Nigerian CCTs' operation; these, as well as administrators' perceptions, all originated from respondents' aggregate evaluations of SP programmes. However, the question whether all types of individuals base/premise their perceptions of the positive effects on the same fundamental set of dimensions has been rigorously debated in SP and cash transfers' literature especially in the context of sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. However, there are insignificant differences between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries and between different categories and classes of people. This, on one hand, might be because of the

pervasive level and depth of multidimensional poverty in Nigeria. Secondly, it could be due to micro-individual preferences which is a function of socio-demographic profiles. Thus, the findings in this study accords with similar findings (Bastagli et al, 2016; Davies et al, 2016, Hands et al, 2018) that suggest that the criteria for determining perceptions of SP differs from contexts to contexts and at the micro-individual levels. The other issue relating to socio-demographic dimension of the beneficiaries is subjective interpretations: different respondents can interpret CCT benefits differently. Nevertheless, caution should be exercised in reading some of the findings in this study. The external validity of this study's findings will therefore depend on how well the study sample represents the Nigerian general population. For example, beneficiaries in particular locations and those with certain socio-demographic profiles might have presented a more favourable, or positive affirmations of programming attributes and benefits than others in parts of Nigeria.

Perhaps the absence of an opt-out option might have triggered or resulted in an upwardly biased attribution of positive effects by beneficiaries which predicted the probabilities of participation and success. Therefore, it is possible that the positive affirmations from respondents was because of acquiescence bias because respondents felt that this was the appropriate answer, especially since majority of respondents consumed some level of suitable SP services. Also, because of the selection process in which the community plays a key role, beneficiaries, and non-beneficiaries, feel a strong sense of belonging and identity and one way of expressing that sense of belonging is by being positive in their affirmations. Consequently, the results/findings reflect or represent views/perceptions of households with peculiar socio-demographic characteristics who will most likely have some biases and preferences which will affect their attitudes. Also, as households and communities tend to benefit from the SP programmes' effects, there is a large multiplier effect or a perception of it which tend to come through in the opinions/views expressed by respondents.

7.16. Religious variables in the construction of attitudes and perceptions towards SP

The role of religion in welfare states has been studied, but only with reference to Western European and liberal welfare states of North America. With regards to the nexus between religion and social policy, authors including Jawad (2012), VanHeuvelen (2014) and Pavolini et al., (2017) asserted that religion remains a central aspect of human life in both highly

secularised societies of the global north and the developing countries in the global south. However, the religion-social policy nexus is complex, intersecting with multiple dimensions. In Nigeria, religion is pervasive, and influences how Nigerians views the world (cosmic view). Thus, examining the influences of religiosity on public attitudes allows the study to capture the effect of culture and moral values on preferences for SP. Robinson (1994) found that religious influences are positively correlated with success in life as respondents attributed their sense of moral guidance, facilitation of decision-making, and minimisation of conflicts to their religious faith. Hence, religion determined moral rectitude, commonly offering emotional, spiritual support and moral guidance. Other studies on the influence of religion affirmed it as a mechanism for coping with stressful mental health and physical conditions including trauma, crises, privations, and sufferings (Butler, Stout & Gardner, 2002; Elkins, Anchor, & Sandler, 1979; Lindgren & Coursey, 1995; McCullough, 1995; Poloma & Pendleton, 1991).

The influence and significance of religion is evident in global social policy debates dealing with issues ranging from education and family policy to health care and support for the poor (Jawad, 2012; Pavolini et al., 2017; Sedmak, 2019). Also, Algan and Cahuc (2006) affirmed that religious beliefs affect support for welfare state benefits. More religious people could therefore be expected to express preference for redistribution or social protection since it provides at least a minimal welfare support for everyone. Although religion is not typically considered a core issue because social policy scholars do not necessarily associate it with contemporary social policy, yet there is a long history of religious influences on societies all over the world. Also, with the recent rise in populism and extremism, it is more relevant. Consequently, it is reasonable to assert that religion could more directly challenge the hegemonic position of liberal democratic ideals within the broader social policy domain. This view is based on the rise of religious fundamentalism in both the West and the Islamic world. However, what matters, according to Gorski (2005), is recognising that religion is a socio-political force in the context of developing countries which influences most aspects of life.

Whilst the discourse on the linkage between religion and welfare issues have produced mixed results, it is not implausible to assume that they could or might be a contributory

factor in the construction of attitudes and perceptions towards redistribution and SP in developing countries. As observed by Van Oorschot et al. (2008), religion is a determinant in the formation of public perceptions and attitudes towards the welfare state. It is also the connecting bridge between the welfare state and culture. In particular at the individual level, entrenched, widely shared welfare values and beliefs are considered significant (Opielka, 2008). Van Oorschot (2006) also established religion as an independent variable influencing European public perception of deservingness, where Christians are not more solidaristic towards needy people than non-religious people. Thus, it is not surprising to find that amongst beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, religion might have influenced the positive views expressed or affirmed in support of the Nigerian CCT programmes. However, rational choice theories contend that religion and social expenditure could be classified as substitute mechanisms that safeguard individuals against adverse life events. The implication being that religious individuals prefer lower levels of SP than secular individuals; consequently, nations with higher levels of religiosity have lower levels of social spending (Scheve & Stasavage, 2006).

Moreover, Stegmuller (2013), in a study investigating the linkage between religion, voting behaviour and public attitudes, found that religion plays a dual role. Firstly, religion shapes individuals' moral preferences (religious individuals held conservative opinions on moral issues and living in increasingly secularised societies, they turn to conservative parties that pledge to implement morally conservative policies). Secondly, religion shapes individuals' economic preferences (those identifying with major Christian denominations hold anti-welfare views and prefer more conservative economic policies); consequently, they are less likely to vote for a redistributive party, irrespective of other socio-economic characteristics (Stegmueller et al., 2012). The observable distinction, according to Stegmuller, (2013), is between religious and secular individuals not between Catholics or Protestants. Consequently, Pavolini et al., (2017), determines that as far as individual values, religion, and the welfare state go, there is a complex relationship between how SP systems and religion functions, due mainly to the many intersecting socio-economic variables occurring at the micro-individual level, where the distinction in the behaviour between those religious people regularly attending services and those who do not appears to be more important than their religious denominations. Moreover, at the individual level, it appears

as if being religious in itself rather than one's specific faith, is what shapes welfare or redistributive preferences and behaviours. Of significance too, is the role played by faith-based organisations (FBOs) in many countries where, historically, they have provided welfare programmes (social assistance, education, health care for the elderly and childcare, to other family support etc) (Pavolini et al., 2017). However, at the individual level, where people tend to act according to their values, the tendency in SP literature has been to analyse the linkage between personal values, orientation, and attitudes about social policy/social protection within a society.

However, in developing countries, what appears to be relevant to the development of welfare regimes and perceptions towards SP is not so much the micro-individual differences as such, but, firstly, the principle of solidarity, which holds that the community has a collective responsibility for tending to the social needs of its members through solidaristic support emphasising the commonality binding everyone together. This principle also finds expression in kinship, and shared communal values which espouses togetherness, unity, and social cohesion. The second is the overreliance on religious or pseudo-religious organisations (FBOs and non-state actors with strong religious leanings) that have become 'providers' of welfare provisions. These actors' operations however negate the principle of subsidiarity which runs counter to the principle of solidarity. Thus, in an environment where the State is incapable of providing for the citizen's welfare needs, these actors become 'defacto' welfare providers, with the State only left with regulating of how provisions are delivered and directing intervention in periodic, residual welfare provisions.

7.17. Factoring non-beneficiaries' perceptions

Purposive sampling permitted the inclusion of non-beneficiaries whose views and perspectives were also relevant for the purpose of reflecting the community perspective. At the community level, findings reveal that regular cash grant from CCT empowered and capacitated women's economic and social participation in the community. At the household level, women had better control of decisions regarding how to spend or utilize the cash which had the effect of enhancing gender equality as reported by the non-beneficiaries interviewed who confirmed thus:

COPE and SURE-P enabled women to better interact and engage with their husbands in a manner that did not suggest that they were inferior or are subordinated to their husbands. Many of the women were able to make purchasing decisions on food matters and on other households needs. The men did not appear to have much choice and many simply allow their wives the room to do as they pleased. The women seemed to also manage their households better with the CCT money.

Additionally, many non-beneficiaries viewed the CCT programmes as enhancing the resilience of participants. They confirmed beneficiaries and constrained households, because of the cash income and the resultant boost in their confidence, were able to cope better with the shocks and susceptibilities arising from their poverty-stricken circumstances and from the resultant destitution. The fact that beneficiaries used the CCT money to support others in the spirit of 'being each other's keeper' also contributed to enhancing communal resilience and social capital. All the non-beneficiaries confirmed that the injection of cash improved social relations amongst members of the community, and potentially sustained peaceful co-existence, avoided conflicts and strengthened communal cohesion. Non-beneficiaries also felt jealous and envious about not being selected. Although they understood that it was impossible to include every member of the community in the programme, they still wished they had been selected. Some non-beneficiaries felt excluded. Those excluded seemed not to harbor resentment towards those selected. Some non-beneficiaries felt they could have exercised better judgement with respect to how the money was utilised. Others reported that they could have used a greater share of the money as savings to complement existing petty trading or to augment savings towards new asset acquisition to improve their income-earning potentials. Overall, it appeared that with reference to the psychosocial, relational, and subjective effects of the CCTs and its contribution to poverty reduction and the development of human capital, both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries expressed a sense of satisfaction with the CCT programme and how it improved social capital and social cohesion within their communities. This finding is consistent with findings in previous research on the effects of CTs in developing countries, where beneficiaries reported a heightened sense of self-worth and a feeling of empowerment because of participation in CCT programmes (Alatinga et al.,

2019; Handa et al., 2018; Fisher et al., 2017). Furthermore, the injection of cash empowered beneficiaries' and non-beneficiaries' livelihood improvement, sense of dignity and greatly expedited their socialisation process (Alatinga et al., 2019; Fisher et al., 2017). These findings are consistent with similar findings in SP literature and accords with the Rawlsian (1999) vision of social justice that seeks to accomplish equality of access to resources for the deprived and the underprivileged population in each society.

7.18. Interactions with programme officials and administrators

In the view of most of the respondents, the officials from the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) and the Ministry of Budget and National Planning and other government departments were generally cooperative and supportive. Respondents reported that they enjoyed cordial relationship with these public officials. Participants felt that the government staff had a good attitude, and were helpful, friendly and provided information regularly. In the words of Hajara:

What I found most memorable about the programme was the attitude of the officials and programme administrators towards us. The relationship between us and them was really encouraging. They were really very nice to us. They treated us very well. They taught us many things and they didn't really looked down on us. They made us feel welcome, and to have a sense belonging. When my friend mentioned that he had, uhm, that he experienced a sense of belonging that was what I thought about. I thought about how the officials related with us, the way they treated us and carried us along, right from the moment we signed on to the programme, till we finished. They were always ready to listen to us (Hajara, Female, 35).

Many of the respondents considered the officials to be quite supportive to beneficiaries. They also praised them for assisting beneficiaries navigate some of the critical procedures and bureaucratic processes involved in collecting cash or complying with the co-responsibilities. Many female beneficiaries commended the health officials at the clinics and the nurses at the Primary Health Centres (PHCs) for the respect, compassion, and cooperation they demonstrated to pregnant and nursing mothers during their visits to the health centres. To some of the beneficiaries, the attitudes of the officials were endearing

and contributed to their positive experiences. Those who travelled long distances to the PHCs sometimes almost gave up on the programme but recounted and admitted that they stayed on the programme because of the attitudes of the nurses and the health officials and how they treated them humanely and nicely on each visit encouraged them to stay on the programme. Doyin recalled:

I remember then that we had finished preparing our weekly reports and submitted it to them, (the officials/programme administrators) they always praise us, telling us that we were doing very well. What they usually tell us always make me feel proud, makes me feel very happy. I think they realised that we were working well and doing a really nice, good job for them and from them whenever we said that we are sending them our weekly reports, they always made us feel important, and from that point on, you could see that these people, they really appreciated what we were doing. This attitude always made us to want to be doing well (Doyin, Female, 35).

Another respondent, Fowoke, put it this way:

All the SURE-P coordinators from the State and the local government staff, they always took to their responsibility over us. And just like he said, they always adhere to all the complaints we took to them and they always address all the complaints we bring to them, all the problems we bring (Fowoke, Female, 34).

In the words of another participant, the coordinators treated the beneficiaries with respect and dignity:

Regarding our coordinators at the local government, I will say that they really treated very well. Sometimes, when we go for meetings, we hear that other local governments are not doing well. That they don't give reports regularly, that they are not turning up promptly for duty, that they are not taking their assignments seriously or that they are lazy, etc, we hear such reports.

Both beneficiaries of COPE and SURE-P always had good words about the junior or middle-level staff and officials, most of whom were the frontline staff. However, it appears though that the beneficiaries were not that positive or effusive about the top senior officials who many were dissatisfied with. They complained that the senior officials were not as good as the frontline officials who seemed to have received a near total positive commendation from all the participants. Most of the complaints revolved around the bottlenecks and the associated problems around programme execution and implementation. All the participants had something to say about the challenges observed in the execution of the SP programmes which manifested at all levels. Bolutife expressed his displeasure this way:

The problem we have in this country is the politicisation of empowerment programmes, especially the politicisation of national programmes. That is the bane of any poverty-reduction programmes. In the days of, ehmm...., there was a programme under (former President) Obasanjo, he introduced a programme when he was president, PAP, that is Poverty Alleviation Programme, it was scuttled. So, the same way, went for Sure-P (Bolutife, Male, 34).

There were problems of lengthy delays in processing payments and the bureaucracy that dogged the entire process of payments which often caused frustrations and disappointments on the part of beneficiaries. There were levels of administration that many participants felt affected the smooth operations of the CT programmes in Nigeria. It appeared as if at the local level, officials had limited control and thus, ownership of the overarching national SP strategy which implied that the local officials had an overly, somewhat excessive dependence on the Federal/Central government officials. This reliance on the federal government often resulted in gaps, delays, and other administrative bottlenecks which hampered the smooth and efficient operation of the CCT programme at the local level. Respondents reported regular complaints about the administrative lapses or flaws in the programmes. For example, one of them had an issue with the way the programme was structured and how they were graduated or exited out of the programme:

The way that participants were graduated out of the programme was badly flawed and not well-managed.

Another commented about their collective experiences and felt that the officials and administrators did not fully engage with the beneficiaries to seek their views on the way the programme operated:

First of all, they did not ask us for our collective experiences, our views were not sought. The lump sum they promised us was not given to us.

In the words of one of the participants, the government made them feel like they were used for the selfish political agendas of the politicians and were promptly abandoned after the programme despite all the promises made to them by the officials at the beginning of the programme. He simply said this:

They (the administrators) forgot about us.

Echoing similar sentiments, other participants reported feeling abandoned and expressing a sense of being left alone, without further support from the government as soon as the programme ended; with complaints about how several officials refused to speak to them again or relate with them on how they could move on. The major complaint related to the failure of the beneficiaries to be paid the lump sum they were promised (some of which is still unpaid and outstanding to this day). The failure to pay the beneficiaries the lump sum, which was supposed to be paid upon graduation from the programme is certainly a source of anger for the beneficiaries:

I think the programme was scuttled partly because Jonathan, the former president lost the election. Someone told us that the reason we were not paid was because the money meant for our lump sum payment was used for election campaign, the re-election of the president.

The fact that the lump sum graduation payment was not paid made many beneficiaries to feel as though they were cheated, lied to, or exploited. One of the participants put it this way.

When the programme ended, we were left alone! Nobody (either the administrators or programme officials) got in touch or contacted us. They did not even mention the money again, and this even made us to feel angrier.

It was really disheartening listening to the beneficiaries recall their experiences, and reminiscences on the way the CCTs affected them. They felt a connectedness to the programmes in a such a way that is probably difficult to adequately articulate. Participants, as beneficiaries, fully embraced the programmes and took ownership of it. Hence, when President Buhari cancelled the programmes, many of them were aghast:

Because the president (Jonathan) lost the election, they stopped the programme. And they did not give us the money that we were promised. At the end of the programme, they told us that we will go into our businesses or own trade, and we were supposed to use this money, (250,000 naira), as our final lump sum payment, but they never gave us the money.

Another participant was rather direct in his account:

Not receiving the money is the only thing that made me sad. I already had plans of what I wanted to use the lump sum money for. I was terribly sad when we didn't get it. Though, they keep on promising us, that we shall get it but till now, we have not heard a word from them.

Certainly, if they had been paid the money, the beneficiaries felt it would have transformed their lives for good. In the words of one of them:

I believe that money that will make me to feel empowered is coming. But they are still owing us, since 2015, six months arrears...the money is 'missing'. Maybe it's lining someone pockets.

From the accounts of beneficiaries this problem was not specific to their sub-national, or local areas. The issue of failure to pay the all beneficiaries of SURE-P their lump sum payment appears to be a national problem according to the beneficiaries, as they were able to discover from their interactions with the frontline officials who provided them with regular updates on the progress with the outstanding payment. According one of the respondents, this issue is not just a sub-national issue, he reported that from his discussions with the officials at the state level, he was able to get a better picture of what the situation with the unpaid money was. He explained the issue in the interviews this way:

But this is not the problem of Oyo State alone. It is a national problem. (i.e., the outstanding 6 months cash transfers owed and the 250, 000 lump sum payment that has not been paid).

All in all, despite the failings with the programme and despite the flaws identified, many of the beneficiaries remained positive and hopeful about their future and felt that the programme in some ways contributed positively to their well-being and livelihood. In the words of one:

Although, I am not happy that our outstanding lump sum monies has not been paid, I still feel that the programme was a good one for us. When I look back now, this is what I will say: I still have respect for the officials who did their best for us at the very beginning of the programme. The way they managed the programme at the very beginning was impressive which made many of us to have high hopes. For instance, my brother and sister spoke about the help rendered by the officials to us when we were opening bank accounts, the very first time they started the programme, that was a memorable moment for me and some people that I know. Unfortunately, many of us did not feel the same way by the end of the programme: that initial positive spirit was no longer there, and it's a shame that they did not continue like that.

7.19. Optimism for the future

Many respondents despite their feelings of frustration and disappointment, were however hopeful that their wellbeing would improve in the future. They expressed positive feelings about the prospects of securing new jobs or finding businesses, trade, or other opportunities for employment. They felt that future government support would be helpful and despite their grievances they will still accept any help from government that will set them on the path to full employment and social citizenship. Different perceptions abound as beneficiaries all expressed aspirations and hope for their future in diverse ways. However, despite the different narratives, all participants had high hopes for their future wellbeing and livelihoods. They expected not only better educational opportunities for their children, but also better occupational opportunities for the adults. One phrase that

was echoed and re-echoed by all participants, which aptly captures their optimism for the future is this: 'E go better' which literally means: 'It will get better'.

7.20. Conclusion

Based on the analysis of data collected during fieldwork in Nigeria, all the respondents overwhelmingly expressed support for the CCT programme and would gladly participate in the programme again should the opportunity arise. They praised government for coming to their aid and for introducing the programme to support their livelihoods. There was consensus in their support for the programmes and in their praise for 'social referents', frontline officials and others in the administration of SP programmes in general. Indeed, this sense of civic awakening in Nigerian social policy has opened space for understanding how social protection could be an interface between the state and citizens. Some studies have begun to argue for rethinking SP through the lens of citizenship (Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2017). Moreover, the narratives of beneficiaries about the effects of the CCT programmes on their livelihoods; families, wellbeing and communities confirmed their positive perceptions about the Nigerian SP programme. However, if the one of the cardinal objectives of SP is safeguarding families against livelihoods risks, shocks and to empower them to transition out of poverty (ILO, 2018; 2019), then it would seem that, based on the accounts of beneficiaries, the programme did not fully accomplish that goal. In the next chapter, the research findings on the perceptions of programme administrators and officials are presented.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ADMINISTRATORS' PERSPECTIVES

8.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, the themes emerging from interviews with the Nigerian CCT programme beneficiaries were examined in detail with the conclusion that citizens experienced a breach in trust towards their leaders despite having a strong sense of ownership of the CCT. Insights from the elites covered issues specific to CCT programme's implementation. The perceptions of these officials on the operation of the CT programmes with specific references to their operational, technical, and administrative challenges and the relationships with beneficiaries form the basis of this chapter. Based on interviews with selected officials, the Nigerian CCT programme implemented in the states (sub-national locations) produced inconsistent results, as this chapter demonstrates. The following themes are discussed in this chapter: officials' engagement with SP programmes, perception of impact of SP programmes on women, perceptions on programme design, targeting, operational and governance and supply-side constraints (see Table 21)

8.2. The perceptions of programme administrators and government

Why it is important to understand the views of CCT programme officials and administrators, who as public officials deliver the programmes on behalf of the state? First, Pierson (1993) pinpointed that the welfare state in whatever shape or form represents perhaps the most significant domain through which citizens encounter their governments. And especially for recipients of CCTs, who are substantially exposed to higher levels of supervision, this is unsurprising as the underlying philosophy of welfare conditionality presupposes a self-conscious acceptance and embrace of government direction (Watson, 2015). When a state adopts the principle of welfare conditionality for its redistributive programmes, the underlying premise is that recipients of CTs must be provided clear authoritative guidelines about how to behave (Watson, 2015). Secondly, under CCTs, the role of bureaucrats responsible for administering the benefits is fundamentally altered mainly because that they are the frontline officials with supervisory responsibilities over beneficiaries. However, this position of trust might have wrongly accorded higher levels of discretion to the

government officials, which is not necessarily so. Thirdly, as conditionality is inherently disciplinary, financial sanctions are routinely applied to enforce programme's mandatory components. Programme beneficiaries were threatened with benefit reductions, suspension, or cancellation, if they failed to fulfil required behavioural obligations, and left with no choice, are often willy-nilly, bound to comply. Thus, as observed by Watson (2015), the fundamental shift in SP to conditional, work-focused system of social welfare provision has the potential to dramatically alter an individual's experience of the State. In highlighting this phenomenon further, King (2005) stresses that in this 'altered state of experience', the language of shared citizenship for all members in the polity evaporates, replaced by the language of contract, responsibility, and distrust of welfare recipients.

One of the important strands of literature that emerged in the last couple of years relates to the sociological and political functions of welfare claims-making which argues that CCT as a form of social welfare provision can serve as an important site of sociological and political learning (Watson, 2015). Several comparative social policy and political sociology scholarship have documented, at aggregate levels, how participation in rights-based social welfare programmes can increase political participation while the opposite experiences have been reported for beneficiaries of CCT programmes where as Watson (2015, p.646) puts it, 'people lose interest in the political process' with findings reporting 'lower levels of political and personal efficacy'. The current emphasis on workfare, which CCTs typifies, has arguably, symbolised a new vision of the welfare state. Consequently, instead of protecting society from the brutalities of market forces, social policy (social protection), particularly in many developing countries has become an instrument of vigorously commodifying labour (Watson, 2015). Hence, many developing countries were deceived, under the pervasive neoliberal agenda of the Bretton Woods Institutions, aided and abetted by development agencies and practitioners, to embrace public sector reform.

Although public sector reform discourses have frequently focussed on the functioning of the bureaucratic processes and the effective performances of public sector in every country and this has often translated into how citizens' overall appreciation or distrust of government services was presented. However, generally, this one-side view of public services, this one-dimensional pattern, have almost always dominated the discourse in

literature. So, how does the citizens' experiences with the State moderate and shapes patterns of democratic citizenship? According to Mettler and Soss (2004) 'citizen-centred' frameworks, although diverse in their orientations, might be helpful analytical tools for understanding individual characteristics, attitudes, and interests as central drivers of public behaviour (Watson, 2015; Brady et al., 1995). However, because we cannot study citizens' attitudes and interests in a political vacuum, it is now increasingly relevant that 'street-level' bureaucrats working across different levels in the public sectors in developing countries become critical touchstones through which citizens interact with the state. Increasingly, as Watson (2015) observed, the insights that often emerge from a critical look into the interactions between 'street-level' bureaucrats and citizens in developing countries are helpful for understanding political behaviour and citizenship. Citizens' interactions with government programmes like CCTs are usefully helpful as the basis for constructing the beliefs and attitudes of the citizens concerning the nature and responsiveness of government and hence, their likelihood of political participation (Campbell, 2003; Mettler, 2007; Mettler & Welch, 2004; Soss & Scram, 2007; Watson, 2015). Indeed, as demonstrated in some studies, the lived experiences of citizens were found to overshadow conventional predictors of civic participation like education, money, and time (Watson, 2015; Weaver & Lerman, 2010).

Whilst there are many Western studies on the public reform agenda, there are very few in Africa and very little research exists on the perception of government officials of the impact of their programmes, or the impact their services and performance have on citizens. So, capturing the views of selected government officials was a distinct departure. When the government introduced the CCT programmes, top officials in the Ministries of Budget and National Planning [MBNP], Finance, Health, Culture, Women Affairs and Youth Development were energised. Some of them were recruited from the private sector to work at the top echelons in the different ministries to help government in the execution of the CCT programmes across Nigeria. From the semi-structured interviews, it was evident these officials took to their jobs with pride, fully aware of their remits and the historic implications of their responsibilities. The consensus among respondents was that the programmes made a significant difference to the lives of citizens. In the words of a top official in the Ministry of Budget and National Planning:

Sincerely you know, looking at the CCT programme, and let me say this personally, you know, and this is also from my experience, you know, I can say that really SURE-P and COPE has made some level of impact; some level of very good impact, you know, especially, under what I call the social safety nets sector. You know where the resources are targeted, you know at improving the social safety nets, you know in terms of supporting ermm, job creation for youths, job creation for the unemployed, you know supporting health facilities. I can say, you know, in that area they (SURE-P) have really, they have really ermm, done positively.

This sentiment was echoed by one of the female officials:

For me, to see the joy on the faces of the women beneficiaries of COPE as they collected their monies (cash payments) gave me a sense of fulfilment. I was really happy to know that I was part of something. It was mission accomplished. Hmmm, errmm.... You might not fully understand what I am trying to say; you probably won't understand but just to put in context, when the programme started the entire department in this ministry was on high gear; we were all brimming with excitement as we could not wait to witness the launch of the programmes. I recall how most of my colleagues were all primed, fully prepared; and, considering the many hours, days, and weeks of planning and preparation which we all sacrificed, that went into the launch of the CCT programmes. But errmm, I guessed the good thing was that we all felt very happy to see the immediate impact the programme had on the lives of these women in particular and their families. For me, I was glad that the little amount meant a lot to the women....as I knew some of them saw it as Godsent.

However, before the roll-out of programmes, doubts, and uncertainties about the readiness of government persisted in the minds of citizens. So, for the government officials, as reported in the interviews, clearly succeeding in the implementation stage was important. Thus, officials believed that their roles in successfully delivering the programme

to the citizens, were critical in achieving the desired outcomes for the beneficiaries. Reflecting on the critical roles played by programme officials, one of them stated:

The serious, stern manner the staff and colleagues in our ministry, took to their roles, I mean those hardworking officers in this ministry, who worked so tirelessly, during the implementation phases when we were rolling out SURE-P and COPE, the manner many of the government officials operated and engaged with others to ensure the success of the implementation of the CCT programmes really took us by surprise. We all knew, erm, we all were determined to ensure the success of the programmes. Hence, we took the assignment seriously and we were genuinely motivated to deliver positive outcomes for the government, and most especially the beneficiaries. So, during the implementation phase the zeal of the officers and the commitment most of colleagues showed was something else. I tell you, if we see that level of commitment day to day, I am very sure many programmes will succeed.

But if government officials were so enthusiastic about the success of the programme, why were they unable to fully deliver a problem-free CCT programme? Why despite their demonstrated zeal, was the implementation of CCT in Nigeria beset with problems? These questions do not produce easy answers. Because the policy context is extremely complex; the factors that shape and influence policy implementation are generally multifaceted, complicated, and multi-layered with public policies consistently resembling what Hudson, Hunter and Peckham (2019, p.2) refers to as 'wicked problems' that are impervious and resistant to change, because they have 'multiple possible causes, and have several potential solutions that vary in place and time based on the local contexts' (Hudson et al.,2019).

Adding to the complexity is the federal nature of a multi-ethnic country like Nigeria, where policy formulated at the national level often are challenged by the need to ensure some degree of consistency in delivery at the subnational level, especially where the state governments have distinct degree of political authority (Norris et al., 2014; Hudson et al., 2019). At the subnational levels, it is acknowledged that policymakers are also confronted

with the 'messy engagement of multiple players' who are eager to protect their collective interests, whilst also flaunting their diverse sources of knowledge. Besides, central authorities might not be responsive swiftly enough to tackle any problem that might arise at the local level because it might be hidden from their view by actors at the subnational levels acting out of self-interests or by a combination of naivete and the desire to fan the embers of divisions or the desire to pander to selfish and parochial interests. Thus, it takes a combination of factors for public policies to become successful.

However, the point that appears most relevant for this study is that made by Campos and Reich (2019), who argued that for public policy implementation to be successful in any context, administrators and civil servants have to confront and, successfully overcome political challenges which comes from political elites and other implementation stakeholders. This challenge, also, must be juxtaposed with the issues of contextual barriers which can, formidably frustrate, public policy programmes' implementations especially in sub-Saharan African countries. As pointed out, when one of the respondents reflected on the challenges encountered in the CCT policy implementation process, the major difficulty in achieving the results envisaged are due to political factors:

Basically, the main reason why I would say that government was not able to consolidate or build upon the successes of the COPE and SURE-P and the MCH component of the cash transfer programmes, are, you know, are purely for political reasons really. Although there were other factors, but I will put politics at the top of the list. Also, and maybe this is also a political issue, errm, it is also, you know. due to, errm, what is known as the issue of policy somersaults, which is the policy of inconsistency that is prevalent in most developing countries. Because you know, one, that, for programme to succeed you need the political will. And, you know that when a government is in power and introduces a new programme, you know, often you find that a new government comes in and starts abandoning that programme, not just for any reason, you know, but for purely political reasons (Director, NPC/MBNP).

So, while it is evident that several factors explain the persistence of policy failures in development context, what seemed critical was what is known as ‘local universality’. Based on the work of Sausman, Oborn and Barret (2016) this refers to the process whereby general rules, products, or guidelines are shaped and tailored to fit into local contexts and are thus implemented within the practical norms and practices subsisting in the contexts (Hudson et al., 2019). So, whether governance is diffused or centralised, implementation of public policies is highly dependent on local contexts. Based on what the literature on policy process and complex systems demonstrated, there is no guarantee that the success of a programme in one context will produce the same results in another (Braithwaite et al., 2018; Allcock et al., 2015).

Table 21: Summary Table of Themes and Sub-Themes [Chapter 8]

Main Themes	Sub-Themes
Engagement with policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affirmation of preparedness for executing SP programmes • Determination to perform/deliver good results • Support and willingness to engage with SP objectives • Keen sense of responsibility • Engagement with communities/citizens • Accountability mechanisms
Impact on women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender equality • Women empowerment • Improvement in healthcare provision and access • Improvement in reproductive health and maternal care • Enhanced agency of women • Participation in economic activity • Investment in families especially children and maternal health • Impacts on education
Programme design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coping with limited resources • Managing trade-offs • Political interference • Concerns about policy appropriateness • Social goals • Institutional capabilities • Resourcing
Targeting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exclusion errors in selection • Perceptions about efficiency • Perceptions about political favouritism and clientelism
Governance and operational issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resource allocation • Improving legal framework to institutionalise SP • Domestic policy knowledge • Failure to replicate policy successes • Executive/Elite commitment to SP
Implementation and supply-side constraints	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concerns about conditionality • Compliance and civic engagement • Monitoring of beneficiaries

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Challenges and barriers of coordinating agencies, departments, and local administrators • Targeting effectiveness • Attitudes of administrators and officials towards beneficiaries • Corruption and bureaucracy
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8.3. Perceptions on policy design and operational issues in targeting programme beneficiaries

In addition to political interference, policy implementation was marred by technical or operational issues. One of the technical issues relates to policy design. In the case of CCT, one major problematic area seems to relate to targeting. Targeting is a critical component in the design of CCT, used, in the opinion of Ravallion (2007, p.2) ‘as an instrument for reducing poverty’. Within the context of CCT programmes, targeting mechanisms are envisioned as instruments of (re)distributing the economic benefits principally, as Fiszbein & Schady (2009, p.7) puts it, ‘rather narrowly’ to the poor. Devereux (2016, p. 166) opines that targeting in CCT programmes is widely regarded as ‘one of the most intractable challenges in social policy’ because it is impossible to achieve. The impossibility of achieving 100 percent targeting accuracy in the opinion of Devereux (2016) also raises ethical questions about *fiscal efficiency* (how much money can be deployed on ineligible beneficiaries?) and *social justice* (if it is morally acceptable to ‘exclude’ or leave some people behind) and further strengthens the case for *universalism*. However, despite coming under sustained attacks for both pragmatic and ethical reasons, Devereux (2016, p.168) posited that two dominant arguments can be presented for targeting: (a) normative/ethical and (b) pragmatic/operational, both supporting the ‘need’ principle of redistributive justice. Ideologically, targeting aims at transferring resources from the well-off to the deprived and underprivileged as a mechanism for sustaining a minimum subsistence or a decent standard of living. Based on this, targeted programmes, if well-designed and delivered, becomes a pre-requisite for redistributive justice (Devereux, 2016).

The operational argument for targeting is premised on the idea that policymakers live in real world of budget, fiscal constraints, and insufficient resources to distribute to all the poor; therefore, scarce public resources must be optimally used and efficiently allocated to achieve maximum impact. Thus, when a government intends to pursue antipoverty public policy, social spending is directed towards the poor in the form of income support which

are thinly spread over the entire population including those who do not require it. So, viewed in this manner, targeting becomes a strategically planned and implemented tool used for allocating limited resources in a meaningful manner (Honorati et al., 2015; Bah et al., 2018; Tohari, Parstons and Rammohan, 2019). As a planned process directed at poor individuals and poor households, targeting, according to Crespo (2019; p.1) is employed by government to increase a programme's effectiveness especially within a fixed budget. Therefore, the more resources directed towards the targeted group, the more the likelihood that a CCT programme can accomplish its objective of reducing poverty. Consequently, targeted antipoverty programmes represent critical SP interventions implemented to reduce poverty in developing countries (Tohari et al., 2019). Additionally, the diffusion of targeted programmes in development accounts for why evaluations of targeting in CCT programmes have focussed predominantly on the determination of those who live in poverty; and, also, why CCT continues to be popular. However, different targeting mechanisms exist and vary according to different countries (Crespo, 2019).

Targeting low-income households or individuals is sensible because they simplify the selection of programme beneficiaries and for a wide range of social programmes (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009). Over 102 countries are currently implementing modified targeting systems covering almost two billion people (Bah et al., 2018; Tohari, Parstons and Rammohan, 2019; Crespo, 2019). According to Hall (2008, p. 812), targeted SP programmes are conventionally considered as a tool of 'technocratic planning'; although, it is commonly accepted that they have 'a very strong political dimension' in reality. Thus, it is a rational course of action by policymakers to take, since as Hall (2008, p.4) indicated citing Pritchett (2005) that 'a policymaker who takes into account the reaction of voters to targeting can always do better than one who ignores electoral politics'. So, what accounts for the popularity of targeting mechanism in CCTs? As confirmed in the literature (Handa et al., 2018; Doocy & Tappis, 2015; IRC, 2016) the choice of CTs is not just political but also economic. CTs are not only useful for reducing poverty by creating safety nets for vulnerable people to help them cope with livelihood risks, but they are also about sustainability and about the costs of operating them. By nature, CTs are, generally cheaper to administer relative to cost per dollar of value transferred (IRC, 2016; Doocy and Tappis, 2015). And, because CTs enable beneficiaries achieve greater dignity and control, which

also helps them to prioritise their own needs, they are preferable as tools of SP. However, questions persist about which targeting approach provides the optimal results for targeted beneficiaries and delivers optimal CTs in different environments. One way of understanding how different programme design options function is by assessing their cost implications. It is possible for certain design choices to dramatically increase or decrease the cost efficiency with which CTs are executed (Doocy & Tappis, 2015; IRC, 2016). Thus, in many SSA countries, the choice of CCT programme design, the targeting method employed, is informed mostly by pragmatic considerations of cost-efficiency especially in contexts where there are sizeable variations and dissimilarity in the local and international wage levels. In poorer countries, the administrative costs of operating CCTs which provides no actual, physical transfer of cash to beneficiaries (non-transfer costs), can consume proportionately more of a programme's entire budgets than in contexts with high price levels and large transfers. In cheaper contexts, the cost of giving money to a wider pool of beneficiaries, and, in the process, accepting some margin of error, might be lower than the cost of extensive targeting activities.

There was near unanimity amongst the officials interviewed on what was perceived as the relative success of the Nigerian CCT programme's community-targeting model adopted for selecting beneficiaries. The targeting approach used in COPE and SURE-P also entailed geographic and categorical targeting of beneficiaries at the subnational levels and at the local governments and the community (household) levels. This targeting mechanism means government officials, administrators and selected community members were involved in the selection of beneficiaries. At the State-level, COPE/SURE-P targeted poor households and families at the local governments and communities and villages where these poor families lived. The major criterion employed was purposive identification of families or households with children of school age that are headed by females, the aged/elderly, or physically impaired persons, or individuals belonging to special vulnerable groups such as persons living with medical conditions like Vesicle Vagina Fistula (VVF) or HIV/AIDS (PLWHAs).

Community-based targeting according to Adato and Haddad (2002), has the following advantages: 1) local people living within the community know who is poor amongst them;

2) local people always put the community first and have consideration for community priorities; and 3) the selection process entails an educational procedure that takes cognisance of the necessity of managing decision-making for the benefits of community members. However, the selection of beneficiaries through the community-based mechanism are fraught with significant risks such as: a) excluded or dissatisfied community members can cause disruption to the projects and b) they can be the source of potential conflict within the community. Also, conflict can arise within the community when decisions are being made about priorities and outcomes. However, to neutralise these risks, community participation mechanisms need to be transparent, accountable, and open to participation from outsiders (Adato and Haddad, 2002; OPM, 2017). Hence, the role of programme administrators and officials is crucial. Indeed, whilst reflecting upon the Nigerian CCT programme, the issue of targeting according to these officials contributed to the success of the programme. The following quote from a senior professional in one of the ministries, typifies this assertion:

In terms of the targeting, you know the government tried to consider the poorest of the poor, I mean states with the highest poverty incidence, to target those particular areas and most of the places were mostly Northern states. The targeting process worked in my view because the community was involved, and those who were eventually selected were those whose situations were considered grievous.

When the respondents were further questioned that the targeting process might have been manipulated to favour certain people and, also, might have been tainted by prejudice including allegations of political patronage and undue influence by the political elites, they pushed back vigorously. Although allegations made by beneficiaries (during interviews) with regards the manner the community agents³⁷ responsible for identifying and selecting beneficiaries (also charged with assisting local officials with monitoring and evaluating CCT operations at the local level) were appointed, which most beneficiaries felt was a 'political job'³⁸ for loyal party members and, therefore, their positions smacked of nepotism, the officials pushed back but acknowledged that whilst it was difficult to declare the targeting process a complete success, (since no process was without its challenges), based on the

relative accomplishments, most of the respondents still felt that given the peculiarity of the Nigerian context, they would rate the targeting process fairly and relatively successful. One government official said he thought, overall, that the targeting was *fit for purpose and achieved its objectives*³⁹. The official confirmed that the targeting process was based on the understanding of achieving a trade-off between cost and efficiency. Limited funding meant it was impossible to incorporate everyone in the CCT programme; hence the choice of the targeting method based on geographical and categorical targeting of states/local governments/communities was informed more by the principle of cost-saving and operating within limited resources. However, within SP literature, the most extensively used targeting approach employed either based on proxy means targeting (PMT), or geographical, community or hybrid targeting, all considered the preferred approaches endorsed by both IMF and the World Bank are also inconsistent with the rights-based approach⁴⁰ to social protection espoused by the ILO and the UN and its related agencies. Critics of targeted CTs also argued that the time and resources required to properly design and effectively implement targeting implies that in many cases, targeted schemes can end up being more expensive than universal ones and/or ran a much higher risk of excluding large segments of vulnerable populations (IMF, 2017). What also makes targeting expensive in developing countries is because of limited availability of statistical data and the low-level administrative and technical capacity in the public service sectors (Jerven, 2013; 2015).

The SP literature suggests that the theoretical motivation for targeting in CCTs is premised on the necessity of allocating public resources only to those in need to improve the effectiveness of antipoverty programmes and keep spending low (Croady et al., 2004). Targeting grew in popularity during the era of structural adjustments programmes (SAP) when governments in many developing countries were urged by the Bretton Woods Institutions to reduce public expenditures. Therefore, despite the multifarious challenges of targeting in CCTs, even its most ardent supporters will concur that it is impossible to accomplish precise targeting in any SP system (Kidd, 2015; Asri, 2017/2019). Empirical findings demonstrate that problems of information gaps, missing data, misreporting, and corruption in targeting produce exclusion and inclusion errors which invariably exclude many of the vulnerable population that CCTs are designed to assist in the first place (Kidd,

2015; Deveruex, 2016; Asri, 2017/2019). Also, due to the relative weaknesses of institutions coupled with higher levels of poverty in many developing countries, these problems tend to be particularly severe.

When these flaws were broached, most respondents felt that the cost of implementing targeted CCTs might involve an initial substantial cash outlay at the outset, but over the duration of the CCT programme, the cost evens out. One of the officials interviewed said that to implement a universal SP programme will involve a much higher cost which Nigeria could not afford as she lacks the infrastructure and logistics to effectively implement a universal SP programme:

As much as I would have loved it, the honest truth is that we do not have the proper and the right infrastructure to implement a universal social protection system in Nigeria. And, in my view, the government would have been attempting to bite more than it could chew if it had started off with a universal programme of social protection. Whilst I appreciate the necessity of that kind of social protection system in Nigeria, I do however worry that that utopian dream would have been dead on arrival. It was better to experiment with this targeted system first before going out all the way. I am also sure that we will learn a lot in the process that would be usefully applied to any future process of introducing, errm, or implementing a universal social protection.

From the foregoing, it appears many civil servants/public officials understood the challenge and difficulty of implementing a universal SP system in Nigeria. So, why the choice of community-hybrid targeting involving community agents? How does this enhance the targeting process? In answering these questions, the official view seemed to be that the benefit of involving community agents far outweighed the costs or risks of using them. One official stated that it would have cost the government a lot more, if community agents were not used. This official, whilst responding to questions, also justified the engagement of community agents as not only reflecting engagement with the local community, but, importantly, as tapping into the local repository of knowledge, which was essential to correctly identify participants that should be selected for programme since it would have

been difficult for the government officials, being outsiders, to go into the community, without sufficient local knowledge of the people, to randomly select participants for the CCT programme. He also justified the political affiliation of community agents to the political party in power as proof of what essentially happens in a democracy:

Remember we are in a democracy and the party controlling the government, PDP, is regarded as the largest political party in Africa. It could not have become the largest political party in Africa if it didn't operate as a grassroots movement. Most of the community agents were the people who coordinated the machinery of the party at the grassroots and mobilised the people to vote. They were the one who continued to work within the different communities as mobilisers, party agents and foot-soldiers. So, in a sense you could say they already had the experience, or rather, the expertise, to mobilise people. As grassroots people themselves, these people are good at community organising and being able to encourage people to participate in the political process.

Another official explained that although community agents were once loyal party members, their decision to select beneficiaries was not based on party affiliation as they were not working independently but in partnership with government officials, including officials of NGOs and CSOs who were also assigned duties by NAPEP and other government agencies and external inspectors to guarantee transparency and accountability in the process of selection, disbursement, monitoring and evaluation of the programme:

Those complaining that community agents were biased should remember that they did not work alone. How can they be biased when they were not solely responsible for selecting the recipients of the cash transfers? Community agents were only agents of their communities and therefore were trusted to act on behalf of their communities. Also, they worked as part of team, which is known as CSACs, comprising independent individuals from different nongovernmental organisations and civil society groups. You also had religious leaders and other people there. So, personally, I don't understand how people could be saying that these agents were biased?

Based on the interviews, the partiality of community agents, as critical resource persons in the targeting/selection process, providing a vital service, was never an issue of concern to the administrators. Rather, community agents in the opinions of some of these officials, played important roles as *filters who knew the community and the people so well*⁴¹, that *without them the targeting and selection process might not have succeeded*⁴². But, rather than minimise the risk or the dangers that the community agents might pose to the governance of SP in Nigeria, by casually defending their unique roles and the important work they do in the implementation of Nigerian CCT with a lame explanation, government officials who defended community agents against accusations of bias, nepotism and corruption might be unwittingly reinforcing the belief that these agents were appointed to do the bidding of their political masters who appointed them for their ostensible value, but also expected them in return to provide some unwritten, un-coded, unsolicited work for the political party in power in the execution of their duties. In the final analysis, community agents are rather like *pseudo political appointees*⁴³, whose duties reflected the wishes of their political bosses whose interests they are willy-nilly beholden to. This underscores the influence of political considerations in the operation of SP programmes (Hickey, 2008; Merrien, 2013; Yi, Sohn and Kim, 2018). Although, it is difficult to challenge these labels of community agent as ‘political agents’, it is also undeniable that without political considerations (which inherently informs the adoption of SP programmes in developing countries), SP may not become a frontline issue on the political agenda. Politics greatly matters when it comes to social protection.

As observed by Hickey and Bracking (2005), vulnerability and poverty are inherently political in nature, both in terms of their fundamental drivers and their tactics in addressing entrenched poverty and marginalisation. Therefore, for the chronically poor and the most vulnerable (the people least likely to benefit from economic growth), politics matter. Moreover, due to limited fiscal space for SP (the predominant reality in many SSA countries), national governments historically underinvest in social policies, the ruling government’s choice of a targeted CCT programme therefore becomes a choice informed by political beliefs and attitudes of the elites about who should receive support, and in what form (Graham, 2002; Hickey, 2007; Jones et al., 2013; ODI, 2013). In developing countries, the decision to employ targeting rests on trade-offs (Alatas et al., 2012) in which public

spending decisions are frequently political choices; the lines are blurred between philosophical (conceptual) and rational arguments for and against SP programmes (Devereux, 2016). Therefore, in richer countries, public spending on SP averages roughly 20% of the GDP while, in LMICs the average ranges between 2-5% (Devereux, 2016; Bah et al., 2019; World Bank, 2018a; ILO, 2017a; 2017b; 2019). Domestic elites and politicians in developing countries have consistently exploited the mantra of ‘affordability’ as an excuse for not committing resources to SP programmes (Seekings, 2017). Based on studies in four African countries, Seekings (2017, p.23) asserted that constraints placed on programmatic reforms by domestic elites is about ‘affordability in simple economic or fiscal terms’, as the political ceiling on reforms is far lower than the ceiling suggested in technical studies of fiscal space. In concluding, Seekings (2017, p.23) argued that affordability of CCT in Africa is not so much ‘about fiscal space, but a matter of priorities’ (p.23). Nonetheless, putting political considerations aside, the adoption of community-based targeting mechanisms by the elites, on the positive side, may make CT programmes politically popular as people may feel that it aligns more with their vision of who is needy or deserving. However, another critical concern, elite capture, can implicitly occur in targeting mechanism, whereby allowing for local discretion in choosing programme recipients, elites could conceivably capture the process (Bardhan and Mookherjee, 2000; Hannah & Karlan, 2017).

But in the adoption and implementation of CCT programmes, Hanna and Karlan (2016) contend that the ultimate choice of SP programmes that a country chooses depends greatly on their social goals, institutional capabilities, and resources. Nevertheless, specific design choices and methods of implementation may affect the way CCT programmes achieved their stipulated objectives. Perhaps, this explains why despite all the respondents interviewed admitting that the Nigerian CCT was without its flaws, they were somewhat in praise of its overarching objective, of redressing the effects of austerity on Nigeria. In the words one of the officials, the Nigerian CCT was essentially introduced:

...To address the effects of the subsidy removal and the austerity programmes on ordinary Nigerian citizens. And I think, to a somewhat large extent, it accomplished that. I know that there are many lessons learnt from the programme and I also know that most of the lessons will be internalised and applied to subsequent welfare programmes.

Another official explained that the government's goal of wanting to provide succour for the masses and alleviate the poverty situation. He commented that what:

...motivated the leaders to apply some part of proceeds of the subsidy removal to the safety nets programme, SURE-P and COPE and the other part to infrastructural development (Interview with KII).

8.4. Perceptions about programme impact on women

CCTs are intended to empower recipients, mostly women, to provide for their families and build-up certain formative assets to enhance their productive capabilities. CCTs empowers women to actively participate in the household and the community. According to one of the administrators (who actively worked in many rural communities), part of the Nigerian CCT's strategy was improving gender equity in recipient communities which meant ensuring that cash were transferred to the mothers as intended. This, as Gil-Garcia (2016, p.453) confirms is because policymakers consider women as 'more 'responsible' than men in the maintenance of the family and the home'. However, this principle, which has been somewhat overwhelmingly confirmed in many of the evaluative studies (Davies et al., 2016; Bastagli et al., 2016) conducted globally on CTs, has not resulted in gender equality in many traditional African countries where women are still regarded as second-class citizens. As Gil-Garcia (2016) contends, in the implementation of CT programmes, several contradictions persist on the ability of CCTs to realise gender equality. So, how has the Nigerian CCT programmes fared regarding women?

Government officials appear to hold the view that the Nigerian CCT adequately catered for women since they were the focal point of the programme and were seemingly over-represented amongst the beneficiaries' cadre. In the opinion of one of the top-level position officials in one of the key government ministries responsible for the administration of the Nigerian CCT expressed during the interviews, women are highly regarded in the delivery of programmes because:

We had the strategy to empower the people but to do that we had to understand what the critical areas are. Well, as you know, as the government we needed to understand the depths of depravity; so, on the

basis of all the studies that we have done, you know, some insights were helpful. One of the steps we took, with regards empowering the people, was to look at how to create more opportunities for women. Once we took that decision, we then decided to consider conditional cash transfers. And you know what we did was, you know, once the conditional cash transfers programme was created, what we did was to specifically look at women as recipients of the cash and also to look at addressing some of their peculiar problems. In this regard, what was done, errm, with the intention to address these specific female, women problems were that we looked at maternal childcare.....that is why you know, we promoted the Maternal Child Healthcare project, the MCH as a major component of the CCT.

Another top official in the Federal Ministry of Health (FMH), expressed similar sentiments. The introduction of the Nigerian CCT was considered as a project to promote women empowerment and ensure that pregnant women had enhanced access to primary healthcare. His remarks:

When we started the cash transfer programme, you know, basically what we set out to achieve was how to support women, pregnant women, to attend, you know this ante-natal care and the women you know who were participating were also beneficiaries of the conditional cash transfers. Then there is also training for couples for the adoption of family planning, which is also part of the initiative, which is done at the point of receiving the ante-natal care, which is done in conjunction with the Nigerian Maternal Health Initiative. And you know also, the states or the facilities receives regular supply of drugs (medications/medicines) and other consumables such as the "Mama Kits" which was really popular. And also, we had the midwifery kits, you know for SURE-P, and then the facility, you know because, you know, in some of those areas you have scarcity of what do you call it, medical staff, manpower, medical facilities, not even the medical facilities as such, but the manpower to support the beneficiaries of the programme in this communities. And then the facility, you know in some of these areas,

you know they lack all these things – resources, nurses, medical staff, and manpower, health workers, health extensions workers and so on.

Another FMH official agreed, reflecting thus:

You know what we were doing was providing, midwives, nurses, health care attendants, birth attendants and health extension workers, in each of, you know, the facility to be able to adequately support these poor women. And for most of those midwives, who were well-trained, what we did, was, you know, to look at places within Nigeria where there was abundance of qualified people, abundance of such medical staff and abundance of manpower, what we usually did was that we imported from other parts of Nigeria to meet the shortage in other parts of the country.

The focus on the healthcare component of the CCT therefore, in the opinions of these government officials, helped address gender imbalances, thus enhancing CCT programme effectiveness. The idea was not just giving cash to women but supporting their medical, gynaecological, and physical wellbeing. However, despite the claims of these officials, it is hard to conclude that CCTs seriously challenged women's traditional maternal roles, rather than merely reinforcing them through the addition of new family-related responsibilities and by increasing the time women spent in looking after or caring for dependants. It would have been more helpful if the programme were explicitly geared towards women's social and economic empowerment such as by promoting more equitable household relations between men and women, and, also creating programmes requiring greater male participation in fulfilling CCTs' conditions (Molyneux & Thomson, 2011).

Despite this, the fact that many women received training programmes not just in the area of medical, reproductive health or maternal childcare aspects, but also in the area of skills development, and job creation training, some of the government officials interviewed reported that the CCT programme brought some gains for women. While, as demonstrated in the previous chapters women experienced increased decision-making powers at home, and had improved access to health checks, with capacities and knowledge of their rights enhanced as citizens, and as participants in the CCT programmes, who also benefitted from

enjoying greater self-confidence; it is equally noteworthy to mention that the CCT programmes did not directly increase women's knowledge of their full rights as citizens, nor did it allow them to understand how to tackle the issue of domestic violence and other forms of abuse they were subjected to. Most of the women beneficiaries were also largely uneducated and they did not really consider the project as 'empowering' as such (Molyneux and Thomson, 2011). Whilst acknowledging the good intentions of government, and accepting that social and economic empowerment of women was made an explicit goal of the Nigerian CCT programme, it would, perhaps, also have been more beneficial to the women if government had considered promoting broader and comprehensive family-friendly policies that would have given greater prominence to the caregiving roles of women in the society, which could have also acknowledged the extensive childcare work and other children-care arrangements provided by women to the Nigerian economy, all of which entailed a considerable investments of time and resources.

8.5. Difficulties and challenges with the governance of social protection

Regarding the institutional framework for implementing CCT programmes, the failure of a legal framework in which are embedded SP legislation is considered one of the major drawbacks of the governance of Nigerian SP and CCTs. Laws and regulations formalise government's commitment within the SP sector; they also help establish the mandate of an SP institutional framework by defining responsibilities, duties, obligations, powers, and procedural requirements which also defines working relationships between different agencies and departments in practice. But, as there is no formal legislation to anchor SP, a range of different stakeholders are involved in the institutional arrangement of SP and CTs: including different agencies, departments, and institutions with responsibilities for coordination, implementation, and oversight spread across various ministries. As confirmed during interviews, government officials and stakeholders have started to articulate a more consistent sector-wide narrative, on the necessity for a well-developed, relevant laws, legislations, and regulations. The recent launch of the National Social Protection Policy is an important step in that direction. But, for several years, especially prior to the introduction of CTs, calls were made for the enactment of clear, consistent, and explicit laws and regulations to govern the administration and coordination of SP to avoid ambiguity and fraudulent practices, but those calls were not heeded.

This issue was highlighted by one of the key informants who offered his perspective on the issue of the poor governance structure of Nigerian SP and complained they did not borrow lessons from previous programmes. He lamented that this failure is one of the reasons for CCTs' lack of sustainability:

And if you recollect, the projects executed under PTF⁴⁴ were fantastic, but the issue of sustainability.....the issue of sustainability destroyed it. To put it context, see now when we wanted to implement SURE-P, we advised the government to let us put some of the ideas from PTF into the implementation and the government was unwilling to do that. We said to the government, let's try to see how we can implement it, and we said, how we can implement many of the good things under the PTF in the current government structure, under the current government structure....we said to the government PTF had many good things that we can borrow from...Things that can help SURE-P and COPE get off to a good start. But what did we have? Government turned deaf ears and we could not harvest many of the good examples from PTF.

The issue of poor governance and coordination was highlighted by every key informant, who occupied a privileged position of advising/providing technical expertise to government, and this issue underscored why public policies in general were improperly executed. As shown above, failure to align sustainable good practices affected the effectiveness of programmes that have the potential to benefit many citizens. The failure of SURE-P and COPE, was, according to another key informant, due to the poor allocation of resources to different departments and ministries which hampered coordination and affected the administration and governance of programmes.

We had a real problem under SURE – P; the resources, you know, were provided to different government ministries to manage, so that really created a serious problem. The issue of the sustainability element was not taken into consideration. And it really became problematic later on when we ran into problems...I mean, had there being a centralised structure like we had under PTF for instance, the issue of poor coordination for example,

would not have been a problem. So, we complained to the authority and we expected that this lack of sustainability issue would have been addressed. We even cited the example of PTF and advised the government to absorb the lessons into the current administration SURE-P and COPE but, no, they did not listen. And what we were thinking is that they should have learnt from that experience of PTF, and you know, domesticate the knowledge within the government structure and you know that has really not been done.

Failing to 'domesticate' previous policy knowledge (policy mobility) from successful programmes to new programmes also proved to be one of the undoing of SURE-P and COPE and accelerated their decline. Within the Nigerian public sector, there was a debilitating but persistently corrosive practice of policy failures where policy successes in an area are not replicated by successive regimes, as the example with the PTF demonstrates. Marsh and McConnell (2010) did a taxonomy of policy failure and came up with three classifications of policy failures as either a *process failure*, *programmatic failure* or *political failure* which happens at the three levels of policy process namely: policymaking, implementation, and review/post-implementation. The failure to replicate policy successes from one regime to another makes it appear as if the political adversaries were determined to prove a point by using their disregard for previous policy success as a political weapon, a point alluded to by Robertson (1991). In political sociology literature, failures in the policymaking arena are mostly characterised and analysed in terms of the politics and social construction around the progressive facets of public policy expansion and the probability of policy successes and failures being promoted at critical junctures. In the reflections made by Robertson (1991) for instance, it was highlighted that there are precise phases in the policy process and the political cycle (for instance during elections, or during policy executive deadlines etc) that it becomes attractive to promote a policy as a failure or success; and/or when there is an imperative to look for policy solutions from other climes which might create moments of change or policy windows that could either cause a policy failure or success (Kingdon, 2003; Lovell, 2019). Having this challenge with policy mobility, the Nigerian public policy with regards SP has not fared too well.

Perhaps having this in mind, another official interviewed alluded to the new social (protection) investment programme currently being implemented under President Buhari as being implemented without learning from previous or past policy successes:

The new social investment programmes currently being implemented are..., erm, just like, you know, they have not been properly set up. It would have been ideal for us to have aligned them with the previous programmes, SURE-P and COPE, because that is how it is done in other places. The practice should have been that ideally, we ought to, or we should be learning from previous experiences, but often we don't do. You know we had the PTF⁴⁵. PTF, you know was a system that was set up outside the government. And it did very well. But it had one challenge: the issue you know of sustainability and ownership. Because it was created outside government, so it was easy to wind it up. You know the issue of ownership and sustainability became a problem. The same thing we are doing with the current programme which worries me.

This respondent underscored his argument that the politics replicating policy success was marred by parochial interests of the politicians, in describing how the policy process (and policy mobility) was truncated:

So, when the social investment programme came around, part of the policy they adopted is that whosoever you know that was formerly part of or was previously involved in the previous projects like PTF could not be absorbed or taken into the new social investment programme. That whoever has participated in that programme, for some strange reason, was not allowed to be part of the new programme. The reasons they gave was ludicrous, because, hmm, because let me give you an example, let me tell you, this my department has participated in all the development projects, and, erm, I can show you all the reports. Let me even show you the reports (gets up and brings a couple of reports from the shelf), these are some of the reports..... this is from 2010, and this is from 2011, from 2012, from 2013, 2014, 2015 and so on.

This is how two experts described what is happening currently with regard to implementation of SP programmes in Nigeria which echoes what the respondent (KII) referenced above reported during interview. His point however relates to how the demarcation of powers and delineation of authority can emasculate the execution of programmes especially if the executive position is not assigned fiduciary powers:

So, you know when the Buhari government came on board, they established the social investment department or unit, a parallel structure, under the Vice President and they decided to appoint a Special Adviser to the President on Social Investment and Social Protection. It is an independent unit, and outside the government. The unit, social investment programme in the Presidency is similar to PTF under Abacha government. But unfortunately, it didn't even have that kind of autonomy of PTF. Because PTF had a lot of autonomy, which was legalised by a decree and you know the leadership was also strong. But under SIP, it was put under what you call it, a SPECIAL ADVISER to MR PRESIDENT and you know this Special Adviser doesn't even have a voice at the Council (the Federal Executive Cabinet Council) for instance. Who (The Special Adviser) is not even powerful enough to influence a lot of things?

The other expert echoed:

And then, going by the government structure again, you see, once, you know you cannot really appropriate fund to the entity, which you know which is outside the mainstream public service structure; so, that, you know, made the SIP office not to have direct access. The money for the SIP is domiciled in this ministry (Ministry of Budget and National Planning), while the operation, you know, is being managed by, by the SIP office, the NSIO. What they call National Security Implementation Office which essentially is security management. So, you see, the money is domiciled here in Budget Planning Commission while the security apparatus is in the NSIO, in the Presidency.

The position of the *Special Adviser on Social Protection*, which was created to facilitate the execution of SP programmes under the current administration, is, according to the respondent already experiencing similar challenges faced by the previous policymakers: which is lacking direct authority to make fiscal and expenditure decisions that could make the difference between success and failure. The situation described by the respondent was especially grim: as depicted in the picture in which the Special Adviser on Social Protection lacks the executive powers to decide on *what* to spend the money allocated to her agency. She must pander to the powers that be before she can get all financial allocations already approved for her unit released for projects:

The Special Adviser still has to come to our ministry. She has to submit the documentation and so on to us here if she needs money. And we have to check it, scrutinize it properly. And so, with all the approval process, all the bureaucracy, all the administrative delays, she has to depend on us. So, in essence she doesn't that have political power, she doesn't have the political control and power to exercise or take executive decisions. Personally, I think there should have been, maybe a much robust, erm, proper structure and you know a self-accounting structure. Because for now, most of their staff are either consulting or seconded you know for them from their development partners or seconded from some ministries. So, the commitment is really not, erm, not only the commitment but you know the entire, erm, accountability, you know the feeling of accountability may not be there. Because when you bring people from outside the government and you say to them, you know, 'go and implement that project', you know they will be asking is this an ad-hoc project or a permanent project which affects their level of commitment. And you know after some time when the project winds up, you cannot even locate them.

Most of the top civil servant informants felt that the politicians were unprepared to accept their professional advice. As career bureaucrats one of the key informants bitterly retorted that they felt like their work and experience counted for nothing when new projects are introduced. When responding to questions about lack of continuity and the seeming rejection of previously successful practice(s), that could have been transferred into new

projects, she talked about how they were treated like novices who did not know what they did. She did not mince her words when she gave an account of her experiences; recalling several instances where many of them felt that their numerous years of service were unappreciated:

What you should know is that we know what we do. You know we are a government department, a government institution, and we have been doing this job for many. As a department we also have joint management with some people from outside, so, we often conduct joint monitoring and evaluation of the projects because we have the capacity, and the management has a lot of involvement in SURE-P. And you know when we go out, we produce a lot of report and provide them to the SURE-P administrators but what you find is that most of the recommendations and views, which represented what we experienced on the ground during monitoring and evaluations, were not followed through.

The elite/key informant interviews produced interesting insights into the workings of government policymaking process. They revealed that government departments worked in silos, and often are not in communication with each other, leading to fragmented programmes, gaps and duplications in services/deliveries which ultimately created inefficiencies. From this unfortunate situation, uncoordinated actors emerge, each pursuing their own rather than a common agenda, and as this uncontrollable scenario can become exacerbated, especially in an unstable context like Nigeria, policies that could have enhanced citizens' wellbeing suffered in the process.

In the words of one of the respondents, the disbandment of strategic teams following the completion of assignments, and the failure to contain/preserve the collective memory of their successes is how best to represent the issue of governance failure in public policymaking in Nigeria. His descriptions of what happened in the ministries and government departments following the completion of a specific programme and policy intervention is telling:

So, when they were disbanded at least we were there, and we have documentations of what has actually happened, and that bit of memory is there..... but when social investment programme came on board they said, look, we are not even going to give a seat. They said we are not even going to get you involved. So, we suggested why don't you look into what you have done previously, you get me? But they said look, because we are bringing up this social investment programme, we are going to start afresh. But we, erm, tried to get them to understand, you know, that at least we have some memories of what happened previously. But they would not listen. So, for two years at least, there was no provision for this department, provision to at least provide that technical support for the social protection project. And so, we were not involved at the very beginning of social investment programme. And am sure you will consider that very strange.

It must be stressed however that despite their sombre tones, many officials, who as stakeholders, still had vested interests in the successes of government programmes, and desired to see their works acknowledged and appreciated; all had praises for the courage and the foresight of certain leaders and political elites for their vision and courage displayed in pushing ahead with some of the programmes which they felt required a lot of boldness and strong resolve to push through. However, despite this upbeat, optimistic tone, officials confirmed during the interviews that they encountered several problems at the implementation phase of CCT programme. Within the stated operational guidelines of COPE and SURE-P, the Nigerian Federal Government, through the designated federal ministries/departments were granted the authority to execute the programme. But, as a federation, the Federal ministries and departments were expected to work with the subnational governments at both the State and the Local Government levels concurrently implement CCT programmes. This governance structure and strategy was therefore open to abuse and many challenges that could operationally affect their implementation. Normally, and ideationally, there should be convergence with other departments at the different levels of government based on an integrated development approach. In principle, this integrated approach was adopted by the Nigerian government, the reality during the implementation stages was however far from the ideal. This has to do with the

decentralised nature of programme implementation, which created problems of poor coordination and synergies, issues that impacted the successful or seamless operations of the CCT in many areas. So, if the programme officials were enthusiastic about the positive impacts of the CCT programme, how do they answer to the criticism that the implementation of the CCT programme was flawed with regards execution, monitoring beneficiaries and the overall coordination of the implementation process?

8.6. Perceptions on supply-side constraints

The notion that the implementation process plays a momentous role in the outcomes of welfare provisions and SP programmes in the developing nations is fairly established in the literature (Samson et al., 2010; Andrews et al., 2012a; Devereux, 2015; Davies et al., 2016; Bastagli et al., 2016). Also, as confirmed in many studies, is the inability of many African government institutions to effectively implement SP programmes which has continued to drive/push the call for more participatory governance mechanisms that will incorporate both state, non-state actors and credible institutions to exercise more influence and authority in the coordination and execution of SP programmes (Akinola, 2017). However, this situation has not been helped by the diversity of SP programming, evidenced by the multiplicity of SP approaches which have been introduced in diverse contexts which also implies that there are no universal recommendations or type of SP that exists. Every country, it seems, must fashion, and develop a SP system that is appropriate for their contexts.

For instance, the conditionality aspect of the Nigeria CCT programmes stipulated beneficiaries' compliance and full consent with programme conditions. To be paid, beneficiaries had to comply with these conditions which in this case means commitments in the area of education, health, and public works (NAPEP 2007). According to the guidelines⁴⁶, the conditionalities⁴⁷ represents obligations by the state to provide and guarantee that all public facilities are available for the families. Implicitly therefore is the government's promise of availability of resources as the basic pre-requisite to guarantee compliance with the conditionalities. In addition, the CCT programme provided a compliance verification mechanism operating at different levels, involving government appointed officials and non-state actors who operated through the CSACs. Compliance with

conditionalities presupposes receipt of services by the participants (demand-side) and availability and accessibility of educational and medical facilities (supply-side) (Natividad, 2018). However, according to Hall (2008), monitoring of adherence to conditionalities was always a contentious issue. CCTs only make sense if conditionality is systematically monitored and enforced and if it can contribute to positive changes amongst recipients. But, if beneficiaries are unable to meet their obligations as required by the '*terms of engagement*' with CCT and, are unable to reciprocate their duties under the programme, then CCTs could risk becoming nothing more than 'a form of thinly disguised charity designed primarily to capture votes' (Hall, 2008, p. 810).

Virtually all respondents, in their positions and statuses of privilege and influence, were directly or indirectly involved in the operations of the CT. They admitted there were problems regarding operations, administration, and implementation of CCT in Nigeria. Administratively, and as alluded to earlier, there were problems with coordination of activities with other departments and ministries, especially at the sub-national levels. Local and state governments' staff were unwilling to perform policing roles, especially in states that were not under the control of the political party in power at the centre. Also, some of the local personnel that were engaged were not completely independent since their political links to the ruling party were in question. This caused problem in the effective monitoring of beneficiaries' adherence to the conditionalities. It was reported during interviews that there were insufficient data on the adherence to health conditionalities and the school attendances, as this was hampered both by the problem of coordination between the ministries of health and educations both at the Federal level and at the sub-national levels.

Also, the unwillingness of government staff at both the State and local government levels to effectively monitor beneficiaries meant that there was insufficient and proper monitoring of beneficiaries. The programme therefore relied on community agents, and *ad hoc* consultants working for NGOs and CSOs at the local level. In the words of one of the top government officials at the supervisory ministry:

The Federal government was unable to adequately supervise the beneficiaries and recipients of cash transfers throughout the country. We

just couldn't do that....it really was impossible. I mean, errm, the resources were not there, you know. So, the way the CCT programme was managed, was that we put a lot of reliance on the community involvement of non-state actors, especially the staff of the various NGOs and the CSOs who were fully involved. And you know that, errm, the issue of lack of resources is even more serious at the local government levels where the staffing requirement and the material requirement are gross inadequate or where the technical expertise needed to carry a very good monitoring is lacking. Besides, many local governments are too associated with their political leaders which posed the risks of these leaders hijacking the programme. So, at the end of the day, I will say that, although we tried our best, we did not really get it right with the proper monitoring of beneficiaries.

Unquestionably governments in developing countries are challenged by a nexus of mutually reinforcing difficulties/challenges that strengthen and bolsters the necessity for SP and simultaneously constrain their abilities to successfully implement efficient SP systems. Reasons advanced for the limited coverage of SP in developing countries are myriad; but, top of the list include fiscal resources, policy design and implementation elements and political economy factors (Bastagli, 2013). Other factors relate to type of SP adopted, and the issue of sustainability of the programmes. Yet, as observed in the literature, implementation of SP system differs greatly in developing countries (Andrews et al., 2012a; Bastagli, 2013). But all issues influencing SP sustainability arise mainly because countries have heterogeneous institutional capacities, which significantly influences the design and implementation of their SP system differently. Overall, empirical evidence suggests that capacity to implement efficient and sustainable SP (particularly local capacity) is limited in SSA countries compared to countries in Asia or Latin America (Samson et al., 2010; Bastagli, 2013; Andrews et al., 2012b). Therefore, any policy to improve SPSs must readily, squarely confront the challenges of policy implementation (Roberts et al., 2004). However, social policy analysis in general, particularly in the global south context, tend to overly emphasise issues of policy design and adoption over question of policy implementation (Campos & Reich, 2019). But it must also be acknowledged that policy implementation, in and of itself, is a very complex phenomenon which cannot be fully

grasped by an ill-prepared, under-equipped government. Therefore, the politics of implementation of SP (and social policy in general) matters. It is important to properly manage all the stakeholders involved in order to improve the chances of accomplishing policy objectives (Campos & Reich, 2019).

8.7. Conclusion

Whilst CCTs have been progressively used by governments in developing countries to address poverty, yet there continues to be a simultaneous rise in poverty and inequality within most countries (Ravallion, 2014). The battle against poverty and inequality has become dominant in development discourse and continues to alter and moderate political opinions and civic engagement globally. Additionally, the push for more fiscal and political commitment to SP will ultimately continue to impact political landscapes in much of the developing world for years to come. Hence, SP programmes will remain hugely important as important social policy tools to redress inequities. SP programmes have the prospects of moderating public opinion and enhancing citizens' political engagement largely because of their ability to reallocate wealth within a society from the wealthiest to the poorest. However, much remains to be learnt from the implementation of SP programmes in developing countries, especially how the relationships between SP and political attitudes of citizens might affect/influence the battle of tackling inequality. Because citizens, might, on one hand, have a perception of their relative economic circumstance which might not be relevant to how they articulate their political attitudes.

On the other hand, the utility of SP to other citizens might simply derive from their particular economic situation or the acuteness of their depravity (or their perceptions of these) all of which may not be relevant or useful to how they view SP or if in fact they hold any entrenched position or views. But, as informed by our understanding from the literature on political attitudes that classic voting theory centres on absolute not relative economic wellbeing(welfare), citizens typically reward government for good socio-economic outcomes and punish it for bad ones (Nadeau et al., 2013; Lewis-Beck et al., 2013). Similarly, several studies from sociology, psychology and economics demonstrated the salience of reference points (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979; Levy, 2003; Mo, 2018), policy framing (Chong and Druckman, 2007; Benson and Jordan, 2012), perceptions of

inequality and economic standings of citizens as significantly influencing attitudes towards the state (Healy, Kosec & Mo, 2017) and the perceptions of the role of non-state actors (Fair et al., 2018). Citizens' perceptions of economic levels, especially of their wellbeing, income levels and accomplishments in society is acutely affected by their comparisons to others who seem to be better off than them [equity theory] (Adams, 1965); relative deprivation theory (Walker & Smith, 2001), and social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954; Suls & Wheeler, 2001). Therefore, beneficiaries' perceptions of government's SP programme may not be correlated with their political attitudes.

CHAPTER NINE

CCTs, TRUST AND CITIZENSHIP

9.1. Introduction

This chapter distils the key issues that emerged from data analysis reported in the previous two chapters. The chapter provides an overview of SP and CCTs by offering propositions that are informed by the findings from this study. It also reflects Smith's (1996) conception of the sociology of endeavour², because it aligns with one of the goals of this research which, is the (re)construction of a roadmap to aid our navigation of policymaking in a fragile context which 'does not displace and subordinate people's experience(s) but could be employed as a vehicle of expanding their knowledge beyond it' (Smith, 1996; p.171). The following themes are discussed in this chapter: citizens' trust in government, social citizenship and state-society relationship, and the burden of policymaking with regards the salience of social policy in development, role of supranational actors and rethinking social rights (see Table 22).

9.2. Trust and the State – why it matters

The contemporary era is marked by flagging trust in authorities and professionals coupled with pervasive rise in extremist ideologies (Blomkamp, 2017). Also, there is pervasive diminishing confidence in democratic politics which has unfortunately resulted in the legitimacy of many governments around the world being contested (Blomkamp, 2017). Conventional wisdom dictates that governments are placed in power to tackle a range of pressing and complex public problems such as unemployment, security of lives and property, climate change, infrastructural development, chronic health conditions and care for the elderly. Therefore, it matters how public policies are designed and implemented in every society. Nowadays in developing countries, governments operate in partnership with civil society organisations, non-state actors, development partners, international agencies and citizens' or community associations to 'co-design' public policies (Blomkamp, 2017;

² Dorothy Smith, argued in her 1996 article: *"Telling the Truth after Postmodernism"*, that sociologists should "create sociology for the people"; a sociology that is developed from a sociological enquiry, or from a unique "standpoint". This sociology must be about "telling the truth" and must be vigorously pursued as an intellectual enterprise that is wholly rooted in the "actualities of the social" (that is, the lived experiences of the people) as the people lived them.

2018). A discourse on restoring faith and trust in government is critical; if any society must achieve good governance, it must clearly engender and fundamentally safeguard a strong sense of collective trust by the citizens, as a glue binding the fabric of society together; every society requires a fundamental and strong sense of trust. But the manifestation of a social trust occurring in the polity is often linked to the effective delivery of good governance by the state (Levi, 1998). Undergirding that philosophy is an affirmation of social trust/social pact upon which are founded the principles of reciprocity, elevation of social rights and acceleration of citizens' capacities. All of which are dependent on prompted trust and trustworthiness between the states, stakeholders/actors, and citizens (Levi, 1998).

The continued survival of a polity therefore is linked to the strength of the trust it can leverage from its citizens. Citizens typically have certain expectations from their governments, which is reliant on trust and expresses belief or faith in actions or intentions; and those expectations could be positive or negative (Möllering, 2001). Given that a social bond is premised on expectations, a social contract is therefore precipitated when it is favourable; however, when opportunities and hopes are unmet, trust is damaged and the social contract is weakened (Levi, 1998). In relation to SP/social policy, Babajanian (2012) rationalised that these expectations permitted the incarnation of the state-society contract from which comes the notion of the capacity of the state to muster the political will to finance and deliver important public goods and services. The level of trust in government by citizens is thus a function of the strength of collaborative values between government and the citizens, which ultimately enhances the level of government effectiveness (Myeong and Seo, 2016). Public institutions, as agencies of the government, can therefore legitimately act, based on the level of citizens' trust and confidence, in the interest of, and on behalf of the citizens, to implement agreed policies of the government. An increased level of citizens' trust translates to a legitimated mandate to public institutions to actively implement the planned policies of government. A higher level of citizens' trust in a government therefore confers a degree of public support and consensus to public institutions carrying out policy programmes.

Trust in government entails having a positive perception about the actions of government. It is a subjective phenomenon (OECD 2013), and as Easton (1965) explained, represents the confidence of citizens in the actions of government to do what is right and what is perceived as fair. To Van de Walle and Bouckaert (2003), for trust to be tangible it must be based on the congruence between citizens' preferences (their interpretation of what is right and fair and what is unfair) and the actual functioning of government. However, citizens preferences are not homogenous but diverse; therefore, what is perceived as right, fair, or unfair by someone person might not be perceived so by another. So, to properly understand what inspires trust in government, the predilections of citizens must be linked to their perceptions of the workings of government (OECD, 2013; Babajanian, 2012).

To illustrate further, one respondent commented thus:

I am seriously disappointed that the (CCT) programme, failed to deliver on its promises to most of us. The enthusiasm with which we enrolled on the programme, and the expected outcomes that confronted us at the end of the programme, completely left me disgruntled (Male, 33).

Corroborating the above sentiment of breached trust, another respondent bemoaned the feeling of distrust experience by many participants thus:

It appeared to me and I believe many others, that, at the end of the day, this (CCT) programme was not actually intended for the masses but another ruse by politicians to siphon money from the government's treasury (Female, 32).

In the intricate settings of citizens' lived experiences, compounded by the realities of livelihood risks and vulnerabilities, played out in the precarious conditions of underdevelopment, exist a sturdy worldview borne of these realities, which shapes and influences the perceptions of citizens and how their attitudes are constructed. This explanation manifested in the stories of the participants in the communities as they created their susceptibilities around breaches in their social compact with the state actors and institutions. This breach was fashioned around three significant issues: an absence of reciprocity, unmet expectations; constrained access and a lack of recognition ensuing in a perception of the state and political leaders as 'impervious' and 'dishonest'.

This issue was highlighted by one of the respondents thus:

To be honest with you, the cash transfers scheme was a political programme designed to placate the people when the politicians realised that the people were angry and annoyed with them. You see, if I must be candid with you, the programme was designed to make people happy. But what do we get: it hijacked by powerful political individuals for their selfish interests...? In the end, the programme could not accomplish its objectives. So, ermm, for me and based on my experience, the programme maybe achieved 50% success... it did not fulfil certain expectations (Timi,34, Male).

In the social contract literature, reciprocity is considered a critical element predicated on the notion that the moral and social ethics of citizenship and entitlements are intertwined and constitute the ingredients binding the state and citizens together in a contractual relationship (Sparke, 2004). The idea of reciprocity is predicated on the principle of mutuality and contingency both of which govern the relationship between citizens and the rulers. It also entails the idea of playing the *rules of the game*, the *game of the rules* and the *rules of the players* (Thorhauge, 2013) resulting in a situation in which the meaning of the game, and its essence is no longer determined by the rules but by the way in which the players engage with those rules. Therefore, for citizens, *reciprocity* conveys the idea that there is responsibility on the citizens to give the governors the benefit of the doubt, which enables the social contract to function in a way that permits stability and sustenance proposed by the state and state actors to maximally benefit the citizens. Without this, the social contract and trust will be undermined (Levi, 1998; Ellis, 2006).

Thus, as a critical element of the social contract, reciprocity is mutual, communal, and dependent on the permanence, continuity, solidity, and the pastoral support provided by the state and the state actors, without which the social contract and trust is weakened (Ellis, 2006; Levi, 1998). In the narratives of the research participants, breaches in reciprocity by government officials, in discharging their functions and duties were manifested on two fronts. The first was with regards citizens' expectation of reciprocal support based on the effective performance of the administrative responsibilities of the government officials, including the execution of public service/technical obligations. The

second relates to the insensitivity demonstrated by the officials to the plight of the citizens in the discharge of their functions.

9.3. Constructing citizens' perceptions of government officials and the public sector

Citizens' perceptions as mentioned earlier are based on subjective values which, as social constructs, emanate from the meanings attached to realities and experiences. Social constructionism holds that meanings produced in social interactions by different actors are produced based on their unique perspectives, assumptions, and standpoints (Gergen, 1985). Because the obligation of national government is the improvement of the citizens' welfare and societal progress, which is accomplished through public goods and services provisioning, it is therefore a serious public mandate that plays a key role in both a nation and the global economy (Fourie and Poggenpoel, 2017; Linna et al., 2010). It is not therefore unexpected that citizens can form negative opinions of public sector officials and workers. The public sector often must cope with sometimes unrealistic expectations because it is aligned with a wide array of stakeholders, each with its own interests. This scenario means that a variety of expectations are imposed on the public sector (Bjork et al., 2014), and as a way of addressing the multiplicity of stakeholders' expectations and address the needs and expectations of all the stakeholders, the public sector is expected to be effective and efficient in the execution of its responsibilities. According to Mihaiu, Opreana & Cristescu (2010), effectiveness and efficiency in the public sector denotes the maximisation of resources relative to the outputs accomplished implying that the public sector is able to deliver public goods and services which seamlessly responds to the yearnings, needs and expectations of stakeholders, within the budget constraints (Fourie and Poggenpoel, 2017).

However, in an increasing context of uncertainties, an ever-changing world, the public sector is under continuous scrutiny by citizens with sustained demands for more accountability. And, given that the interactions between citizens and the public sector employees are constructed based on the actions of these workers, unsurprisingly, civil servants and public officials suffer from a somewhat unhelpful image among the public/citizens. The poor perceptions of civil servants and public administrators generally stem from the day-to-day performance of their jobs and what they do. Van de Walle (2004)

opines that as far as the public is concerned in developing countries particularly, civil servants and public officials are generally perceived as inefficient, slow, uncaring, and expensive. What accounts for these negative perceptions is not hard to imagine: presumptively, individuals generally have subjective emotions, based on their interpretations, meanings, and knowledge? These results in perceptions of the government and public institutions that are not necessarily objective. In the view of Warren and Karner (2010), citizens' attitudes are neither subjective nor objective but inter-subjective. Intersubjectivity is often not extensively debated in sociological circles despite its strong philosophical roots and its contemporary applications in the field of psychoanalysis and psychology. The notion of intersubjectivity was coined by Edmund Husserl (1859 – 1938) and simply means the 'interchange of thoughts and feelings, both conscious and unconscious, between two persons or 'subjects', as facilitated by empathy (Cooper-White, 2014, p. 17). To fully understand what intersubjectivity entails, it is helpful to deconstruct the meaning of subjectivity: it is the perception or experience of reality from within an individual's perspective which could be both conscious and unconscious and is inescapably proscribed by the boundary or the horizon of a person's worldview (Cooper-White, 2014). Therefore, intersubjectivity, is subject to several connotations but within social sciences it could refer to such things as cognitive agreement or understanding between individuals or groups, or it might mean something connected to others simultaneously through or by the divergence of two subjective perspectives (Cooper-White, 2014) like in the act of someone lying or presenting themselves as something they are not in a given social situation. One respondent summed it up best this way:

The CCT programme was laudable, but the people in charge (officials administrators) were clueless; they pretend to know what they were doing but I don't think they actually do (Bami, 31, Male).

In a post-truth world, and as it is common within sociological domains where concepts such as constructivism prevail, intersubjectivity holds a significant place. Within the public policy domain, intersubjectivity has exerted greater relevance particularly because astute policymakers and politicians have found it useful, as a tool to accomplish certain goals. The utility of intersubjectivity is seen mostly in the manner politicians/policymakers communicate the presumed virtues of public goods provision to an uninformed citizen

which can sometimes produce unexpected outcomes. This is one of the dangers of intersubjective connotations, as in the case of social protection programmes in a context where trust and *believability* is crucial. For instance, in countries with heterogeneous institutional capacities, like Nigeria, the design and implementation of social assistance programmes differ massively. Generally, evidence indicates that the capacity to implement social development programmes that are sometimes labour-intensive and technologically driven, are severely limited. This is true of many SSA countries when compared to other countries in Asia or Latin America (Del Ninno et al., 2009). Based on the interviews with key informants and elites occupying strategic positions within the Nigerian public sector (given also their privileged influential roles), it was interesting observing how the lived experiences of beneficiaries are contrasted with, (and, are therefore affected by) the perspectives of policymakers, programme implementers, and administrators in the stakeholder chain. What manifested from the narratives of respondents revealed how the constructions of perceptions by these officials emphasised their attitudes, beliefs, and understandings around issues of social pact with the state actors and state institutions. Sometimes, respondents, in their strategic roles, understood the salience of issues of reciprocity, the need for promises to be kept or fulfilled, the salience of access and of ensuring that programme officials, administrators and policymakers are aware of the poor perceptions of the citizens towards the state, and the elites (politicians) who are often perceived as unworthy of being trusted and insensitive.

Yet, as demonstrated in the previous section, some Nigerian citizens seemed to be satisfied with the attitudes, actions and conduct of some of the public officials engaged in the delivery of the CCT programmes. But despite this apparent endorsement, most of the citizens interviewed, still harboured worries about and distrust of politicians and public officers. This trend according to Bierschenk and Sardan (2014) is symptomatic of what obtains in many countries, but the tendency is more acute in developing ones where there is pervasive malfunctioning of governments across all levels, which, for the citizens, seems to justifiably provide a solid basis for harbouring and nurturing distrust. In sub-Saharan African countries, the failing state apparatus is identified as one of the main reasons for the crisis of distrust in government, which has consistently failed to provide public goods for the citizens. It is these persistent failings of government which has been behind the recent

calls for public sector reforms in many developing countries including Nigeria (Van de Walle, 2004; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2000). Indeed, Van de Walle (2004) indicated that low trust serves as the catalyst for reform in countries where the overall dissatisfaction and distrust in the government is prevalent. This point was confirmed by Suleiman (2003) who stated that citizens' dissatisfaction with public services is the catalyst for ambitious public sector reforms in many sub-Saharan African countries. Yet, when it comes to the matter of the public discourse, it is often surprising to find that some government officials also feel the same way about the state of public sector performance (or rather lack of it) as most of the citizens. This much came through in the emerging themes that unfolded during data analysis.

Table 22: Summary Table of Themes and Sub-Themes [Chapter 9]

Main Themes	Sub-Themes
Public trust in government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trust matters for public provisioning • Restoring faith in government and institutions • Mutual reciprocity • Improving civic engagement • Accountability
Social contract and state-society relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Moral and social ethics of entitlements for citizens • Intersubjectivity • Managing public demand for redistribution • Improving state-society relations
Salience of social policymaking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inevitability of social development • Creating fiscal space for SP • Improving legislation • Prioritising social policies • Formalising the informal sector • Expanding tax revenue base • Institutional capability enhancement • Lessening administrative burdens
Role of supranational organisations and actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy ideas and transfer to domestic context • Domestic alignment • Managing expectations and balancing the trade-offs
Social politics in development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizen and public engagement • Improvement in legalisation of SP • Engagement with stakeholders • Negotiated politics and political settlements • Sustaining consensus and commitment to SP
Rethinking social rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concerns about social exclusion • Concerns about informal sector workers participation in economic activities • Concerns about SP expansion • Concerns about social justice • Reinforcing social citizenship

9.4. Rethinking social citizenship in development

The concept of citizenship as mentioned earlier is complex and highly contested (Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2017). However, in the context of social rights, social citizenship remains an ideal; an 'unfinished project' in several sub-Saharan African countries based on the treatment of people as political-civic citizens but not social citizens. Citizenship incorporates the protection of a people's rights, and has three dimensions: legal, political, and social (Kabeer, 2005). However, in many African societies there are persistent questions about the status of marginalised populations, minorities including the preservation and promotion of democratic principles. Normatively, every citizen is entitled to the basic principles of freedom, justice, and political rights. However, in many African countries the concept of citizen is often unclear. This lack of clarity is evident in a multicultural and multi-ethnic society like Nigeria, where the concept of citizenship connects with, and permeates all aspects of people's lives (Kabeer, 2005). In a multicultural society, Skeie (2003) observes that there are multiple situations that can undermine the issue of recognition of the status and rights of the groups. He contends that the 'membership of different minority or majority groups may be a question of ethnicity, but it can also relate to religion, gender or sexual preference' (Skeie, 2003, p.47). Citizenship is therefore strongly associated with the issues of identity, which reinforces the debate and dichotomy between the majority and minority disputes (Skeie, 2003).

In Nigeria, Kabeer (2005) observed that due to lack of state-funded comprehensive social security, citizens resort to their tribal and ethnic communities for social welfare arrangements, political, civic, and economic support. Consequently, many minorities are excluded from representation in government whilst also been subjected to manipulations and exploitations by wily politicians (Alubo, 2000; Abah and Okwori, 2005; Kabeer, 2005). Also, because in Nigeria, some rights of citizenship are linked with ethnicity, a citizen or an individual could live an entire life in a subnational region of Nigeria (including been born in that area) without qualifying for rights accruable to indigenes of the area. Consequently, citizens are forced to seek such rights in their ancestral home states, irrespective of the tenuousness of their connections to their home states or subnational homesteads. In these uncertain conditions, individuals, classified as non-indigenes encounter and experience all sorts of discrimination which can be as serious as being denied electoral rights or residency

rights or being denied educational access for their children (Kabeer, 2005; Abah and Okwori, 2005). It is therefore not surprising that many Nigerians find comfort, and reassurance for social, economic, and political support within their ethnic and kindred communities. This is especially more striking in a context where the State is not providing public social welfare. This sentiment is also validated in the various explanations offered by respondents thus:

Firstly, I am a true Yoruba person; that comes before my Nigerian identity (Demi, Male, 26).

Or:

My state of origin is important to me because I am a true Igbo man (Obina, Male, 24.)

Or:

Where I come from, as a proud Hausa woman, my first loyalty is to my tribe; then my religion (Islam) and my local government (State) and finally the country. That's how most Nigerians see themselves, isn't it? (Aisha, Female, 33).

Further, Alubo (2333; 2004), Kabeer (2005) and Adebani (2009) indicated that, based on the strong feelings of ethnic affiliations by citizens, political elites and leaders from different ethnic communities leverage enormous capital from this perilous situation, which is also exacerbated by poverty, to play the 'the politics of the belly' (Kabeer, 2005, p. 13), which means the 'exclusion of minorities from representation in government and hence from an avenue for material accumulation and the location of economic and social facilities' (Alubo, 2000; 2003; cited by Kabeer, 2005; p.13). Consequently, Kabeer (2005; p.13) quoting Abah and Okwori (2005), asserts that:

it is not clear whether the problem that Nigerians face today is that of a state without citizen – because there is no real basis for a common Nigerian identity – or that of citizens without a state, in that the possibility of a common identity is thwarted by powerful sections of the elite who benefit from reinforcing ethnic divisions.

The tensions generated from the lack of a common identity and the inequalities existing amongst the various tribes and ethnic groups in Nigeria has not only caused unending conflicts and instability, but they are also responsible for energising the agitations by separate groups and individuals for 'social confirmation of identity' (Honohan, 2002; p.250). The quest for citizenship, after all, is a quest for belonging, hence, 'social confirmation of identity' is critical to the prosperity of citizens and wellbeing of any society. But, as demonstrated in classical liberal theory, such agitations for recognition can be contradictory to basic principles of democracy (Adebanwi, 2009; Lija, 2011). This is because by acknowledging the status quo, past injustices are ignored, which can have debilitating effects on power relations; the consequence of which can make the minorities and other vulnerable citizens to be worse off than the rest of the citizenry.

However, the point must be stressed that national identity, based on the examples of advanced welfare capitalist countries, is not, in itself, a necessary and sufficient condition for the sustainability of redistribution, or the development of a welfare state and social solidarity. This is because national identity is a constructed and 'imagined' identity which can also be re-constructed to adapt to changing realities (Sandelind, 2015). Miller's (1995, p.128) definition of identity as 'always in flux, moulded and shaped by the various sub-cultures existing within (a) particular society' is also instructive. Moreover, for developing countries to attain strong solidarity and an inclusive society, the quest for national identity must be weighed against other drivers/forces that can weaken solidarity such as changing demographics, social change, innovation, economic inequities, migration, power, and political contestations. To build an inclusive and social cohesive society, therefore, requires a combination, not just of having a strong sense of civic or ethnic identity, but also the presence of a more pluralistic conception of national identity that takes advantage of the cultural diversity within developing societies. But more than being an entry point for affirming social inclusion, is a far greater connection existing between social policy, social rights/social justice, and citizenship. Social policy, according to Marshall (1950, p.11), potentially affords the route for activating 'social citizenship' by which citizens can enjoy 'the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society'. Citizenship, as envisioned by Marshall, has social democratic implications. These implications derive from Marshall's

conceptualisation of citizenship as ‘a status bestowed on all those who are full members of a community’ (Marshall, 1950; p.10) which is at odds with concept of citizenship anchored on unmerited inequalities and efforts made to lessen them. As mentioned earlier, there is sparse literature on how social policies such as conditional cash transfers affect citizenship.

9.5. Citizenship and statehood at the intersection of informality

However, the journey to statehood and inclusive membership for citizens in many African continues to be challenged by other factors. As the case of Nigeria illustrates, the prevalence and magnitude of informality, compounds the problem. The informal economy drives economic activities in many African countries, accounting in some cases for up to 65% of labour market occupation and employment (Medina et al., 2017). Moreover, the majority of CCTs’ beneficiaries reside in rural communities and in poor households and they have, traditionally, been generally excluded from the provision of social services (Adato, 2000; Oduro, 2015). For many rural dwellers, whose only source of livelihood is informal work in the agricultural sector, the limited formal social security arrangements that exists causes them to be excluded. Only citizens engaged in the formal public employment (e.g., civil servants, and public sector workers) benefit from these formal social security (Hall & Midgley, 2004; Oduro, 2015). Consequently, many citizens, as this study found, are still excluded from state social protection, and feel seriously betrayed by the State which they see as the custodian of their rights and entitlements to social welfare provisions.

One respondent captured this feeling of exclusion thus:

The government does not care about ordinary people in this country. Its everybody for themselves and nobody for the masses (Mosun, Female, 35).

This sense of betrayal in turn has implication for the quality of State-citizen relations and the state’s political legitimacy (Oduro, 2015). Indeed, Kabeer (2005) asserts that excluding groups or communities within a country or polity from social provisions implies that they have been relegated to the status of ‘lesser citizens’ or ‘non-citizens’ (Kabeer, 2005, p.23). Nevertheless, with the introduction of CCTs, its philosophy as an enhancer of citizens’ social status and affirmer of the rights of the marginalised has been highlighted (Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2004; Oduro, 2015; Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2017). Consequently, scholars and practitioners advocated the implementation of a rights-based framework of

social assistance provision that is expansively deployed as a social justice mechanism imbued with the fundamental goal of strengthening families and safeguarding citizens' rights (Bryant, 2009). The implicit assumption is that cash transfers can foster a strong sense of citizenship and state legitimacy among excluded communities or population groups. However, despite the theoretical conjectures, it is not possible to empirically affirm that cash transfers can promote citizenship among rural and impoverished populations (Oduro, 2015, Farrington et al., 2007). The fact that many cash transfer programmes are still 'conditioned' implies that doubts and uncertainties persist as to whether CCTs can trigger or induce a sense of citizenship among the citizens; and enhance the status and rights of beneficiaries of SP. This is particularly instructive especially as the manner in which SP programmes are implemented is critical both for their success in meeting their explicit programme objectives and also, perhaps more importantly, for the value placed on the programmes by the beneficiaries and how they inform citizens' trust in their governments (Tendler, 1997). But then it is generally known that cash transfers carry with them a strong stigma which can be demeaning and disparaging of beneficiaries as conditionalities attached to transfers are seen as 'impositions' on the poor and vulnerable of which does not take account of their choices or preferences (Oduro, 2015). Therefore, the perceptions of programme by beneficiaries as well as their interactions, engagements and associations with the institutions and actors is crucial in fostering a positive and healthy state-citizen relationship (Eyben, 2006; Oduro, 2015).

States are continually evolving, and the process of nationhood and civic participation is an ongoing one. As confirmed from the findings of this study, having an aspirational view of the nation state that is cohesive, inclusive and one that is imbued with a strong sense of solidarity is not entirely a utopian view. However, whilst a nation might never attain perfection when it comes to this ideal, it is pertinent, however, that leaders/elites/politicians or policymakers do not cease from the pursuit of this ideal or ignore its relevance in nation building. What must be acknowledged in the global South is that social rights of citizenship, as an issue, could no longer be taken for granted or completely ignored. As reported by respondents, the implementation of CCTs have reignited the claims of citizens and their rights to entitlements. These entitlements, in the view of Deveruex and Sabates-Wheeler (2007), is a step beyond 'welfarist handouts' that

is anchored not on philanthropy or enlightened self-interest but on citizenship (Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2007).

9.6. The salience of social referents in shaping public perceptions in development contexts

From the data analysis, it is evident that as far as collective norms and public (citizens) perceptions go, there is the persistent acceptance of SP interventions programmes by beneficiaries and the wider citizenry in Nigeria, which, as confirmed by the respondents, is a product of collective norms of the people (Paluck, 2012). This insight is not at all surprising although given that targeted CCT programmes do not benefit everyone and are inherently imbued with the stigmatisation of recipients. However, it is important that, based on collective norms, the effect of stigmatisation and the feelings of undeservingness no longer hold. As reflected in the following words of some respondents even citizens in fragile and conflict-affected contexts, are unashamed nor feel underserving when they participate in CCT programmes:

'.....The (CCT) programme was really good' [Sola, Male, 33].

'The CCT programme made me happy....at least it kept me busy. I wasn't jobless for a while' [Chike, Male, 35].

'The programme was not bad because I gained something' [Timi, Male, 34].

They welcome the intervention of government and perceive CCTs as a necessity; a necessary government assistance to help them cope with livelihood crises. This change in the collective perceptions of citizens (beneficiaries) is explained through what is dubbed in social (psychological theories) sciences as the 'salience of social referents' (Paluck and Shepherd, 2012). The combination of the behaviours, actions of prominent (salient) individuals and public expressions constitute the raw materials that produce social cues. Citizens recognise social cues from these individuals that are employed as tools of forming opinions and from these social cues originate the sources of collective social norms. Therefore, to understand social cues is to understand the persistence of norms and behavioural patterns that govern collective behaviour within a society (Paluck and Shepherd, 2012). And in the logic of social psychology, the inferences drawn by citizens (individuals) from all the collective social norms that emanate from a host of cues, their

influences (social reference groups) and situational social interactions is what has been theorised as the 'salience of social referents'⁴⁸. Social referents (certain individuals or a group of individuals) within a society (community, nation) are the shapers of inferences about collective norms predominating within a community, society, or nation (Sherif, 1936; Sherif & Sherif, 1964; Prentice & Miller, 1996; Paluck & Shepherd, 2012). Paluck and Shepherd (2012, p.1) see the development of collective social norms as fluid and not static; predicated on certain patterns of, and motivations for social interactions within a group across time but are constantly reproduced and reshaped by interactions. They asserted that:

social referents exert their influence over peers' perceptions of collective norms through the mechanism of everyday social interaction, particularly interaction that is frequent and personally motivated, in contrast to interactions shaped by institutional channels like shared classes.

Every nation is the totality of the perceptions and attitudes of its citizens; citizens' attitudes and behaviours are influenced by perceptions rooted in collective social norms that are driven largely by social referents. Attitudes and perceptions assume a life of their own through broad endorsements of the citizens and when the perceptors (perceivers) genuinely feel a sense of connectedness to the community in which the behaviour occurs. However, this picture presumes that the public or the citizens' perceptions or collective norms are moderated by social referents whose behaviours provide inferences for individuals within a community based on continuous, repeated cues and other indications reinforced through the recognition, respect and relevance accorded such individuals. This of course raises the question of whether the citizens are driven not by their own rationality but the collective endorsements of particular types of people who are considered 'important' and 'worthy of respect' (opinion leaders) whose behaviours, worth, and positions reflect the collective interests of the community.

Consequently, as reported by all the respondents (stated earlier) in many communities in Nigeria, the roles played international NGOs like Save the Children and multilateral organisations like UNICEF, UNDP and civil society organisations helped to keep participants well-informed about the CCTs programmes. Their roles as partners also helped to change

participants' behaviour. These organisations provided resources to support programme implementation in places where government resources were woefully inept or inadequate. The role of these 'social referents' (transnational actors - multilateral institutions, international aid and development agencies, international nongovernmental organisations, including World Bank, ILO, UNICEF, UNDP, IMF, and the plethora of international organisations) supported by domestic elites, politicians, policymakers, and local civil society organisations, who collectively, through their influence as 'opinion shapers', 'influencers', 'epistemic communities' and 'global social referents', contributed to CCTs taking deep roots in Nigeria.

9.7. Social policy as an entry point for mapping citizenship

The focus now turns to the approach employed in this study to understand citizens' perceptions of CCTs. Understanding public perceptions to redistribution in developing contexts requires an understanding of the political dynamics and the politics underpinning and influencing policymaking itself. This is because the provisions of public goods and redistribution is essentially a political act and decision; entailing what Hickey et al (2018; p. 1) refers to as *negotiated politics*. Therefore, employing an adapted political settlement framework to unpack the nature of the 'negotiated' politics of 'who gets what and how' (Hickey et al., 2018) in the Nigerian public goods provision clarifies why citizens expressed preferences for redistribution. Social policy, as a dimension of public policy, is the domain, and the platform through which the political processes of redistribution occurs; therefore, it serves as the entry point, firstly, by affirming a state-citizen relationship pathway, through which citizens are enabled to exercise their social rights and articulate their preferences for redistribution; and, secondly, by serving as channels for meeting the social (and welfare) needs of citizens and for reaffirming social citizenship. As Roberts (2012) noted, social policy is one of the key platforms for fostering relations between a state and its citizens; consequently, social policy inexorably affects the quality of citizenship.

But as widely acknowledged in scholarship, citizenship is a highly contested concept: very sensitive and hotly debated. The diverse interpretations and meanings connected with citizenship continue to change and varies in different contexts, different countries and at different epochs. As a central concept therefore, citizenship is a political philosophy; a

framework for political democracy and individual liberties; it is also an intellectual endeavour, a political tradition that connects modernity with antiquity (Shafir, 1998). The fact that even advanced welfare states still persistently grapple with the issues of redistribution and the size of their welfare regimes is a pointer to the 'salience of social policy' and the relevance of the welfare state both as a policy domain and an arena for strengthening national identity and affirming popular conceptions of citizenship (Bussi and Dupuy, 2018). It is therefore imperative that policymakers and politicians in the global South take seriously the importance of the political impact of social policy reforms, which can create enduring but positive outcomes.

However, the point must be made that it is problematic to deal with the controversies embedded in the matter of citizenships and the citizens' interactions in the policymaking domain. The problem has to do with the demarcation of citizens as claimants without rights or as citizens who are entitled. This issue has been both a challenge and an opportunity to reflect upon in this study. But then, the question of where to start from or how to move forward also became an issue. Other pertinent question that should be pondered upon include the political consequences for beneficiaries of CCTs being the main targets of the changes in social policies. The reality though in many contexts is that social (redistributive) policies are often combative and contested; yet they remain important policy domain that significantly contributes to national identity and accepted notions of citizenship. Therefore, it is the contention of this study that political elites and policymakers cannot (and should not) ignore (underestimate) the political consequences of the reforms in social policymaking. The point is that there needs to be a reversal of the trend in policymaking in the Global South, which up till now, has been a reactionary endeavour informed by imprudent economic logic that subjugated social policy to the back burner buoyed by an ill-advised framing of developmental social policy as expensive and unnecessary (Adesina, 2009; 2011; Mkandawire, 2001; 2004; Walker and Wong, 2009). Therefore, social policy affords the critical entry point in developing societies for affirming citizens' inclusiveness, and social capital. This thesis therefore affirms the proposition that social policy contributes, (directly or indirectly), to economic production, wealth creation, human capital development and the attainment of sustainable development goals. Countless scholars and the EU have dubbed this as the '*the productive factor*' or *the social investment*

dimension of social policy (European Commission, 2000; Bonoli, George & Taylor-Gooby, 2000, p.122; Walker and Wong, 2009). However, there is a long way to go, in many African countries, before they can avoid persistent tendency of continually subordinating social policy to economic policy and portraying the former as a burden on the latter in welfare systems (Walker and Wong, 2009).

Most of the extant literature have almost exclusively focussed on CCTs and poverty (Oduro, 2015). Although, Sabates-Wheeler et al (2017) argued that SP can be provided by the State and accessed by the citizens in ways that indisputably addressed vulnerability, upholding social justice, and affirming social rights. Analysing SP through the lens of citizenship anchored on social justice and social accountability as Sabates-Wheeler and her co-authors suggests, casts social protection as a mechanism presenting citizens with three modalities (*citizens as passive consumers; citizens as shakers and makers; citizens as users and choosers*) through which they should be engaged with the state (Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2017). The conclusion reached by Sabates-Wheeler et al., of which this research study concurs is that SP should be grounded as a rights-based programme reaffirming the notion of social justice where the State is the duty-bearer obligated to ensure that citizens' rights, (entitlements) are safeguarded and affords citizens the opportunity to participate as productive actors and agents in all the aspects of the society (Ulriksen and Plageron, 2014; Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2017). Unfortunately, the transformative vision envisaged by the authors is still a mirage in the global South. This is not helped by the extant narrow focus and miniaturised volume of literature that continues to present a one-sided (biased) perspective of social protection that has only permitted limited understanding of the impact of CCTs in developing contexts (Oduro, 2015). Therefore, this research by investigating the citizenship implications of cash transfers within the Nigerian context, has modestly but significantly contributed to literature.

9. 8. Policymaking: administrative burdens in citizens' interactions with State

Generally, citizens' experience of government is mediated through the burdens they encounter in their interactions with the State (Moynihan et al., 2015). Administrative burdens as an important aspect of governance determine (influence) citizens' access to, and engagement with services (getting what they want) and also the extent to which public

(social) policies succeed (whether a programme or intervention reach the targeted population); and finally, citizens' perceptions of government (the feelings and sense of fairness and dignity citizens or beneficiaries experience in the engagement with government programmes) (Moynihan et al., 2015). Administrative burden is defined as an 'individual's experience of policy implementation as onerous' (Burden et al, 2012; p.742; cited from Heinrich, 2016, p.403). Since beneficiaries are a politically vulnerable group, their everyday lives, and participation in public life, are concretely impacted by the public programmes. Thus, they bear the brunt of 'administrative burdens.' Therefore, political sociologists are concerned with 'policy feedback effects'³ which measure the impact of redistributive programmes on the formation of citizens' perspectives and political agency (Bussi and Dupuy, 2018). However, policy feedback effects derive from the design of the policy programme and its features.

Policy feedback effects as demonstrated in literature, can contribute to shaping the opinions and perceptions of citizens and their support for policies including their democratic engagement principally by two means: first, through changing (altering) the resources available to citizens and by communicating messages of citizenship inclusiveness and worth to the beneficiaries (Bussi and Dupuy, 2018). For instance, Campbell (2003) pointed out that beneficiaries are empowered by generous welfare support which they perceive as a means of legitimising (affirming) their civic engagement as worthy citizens. On the other hand, beneficiaries of sparsely funded, mean-tested programmes (CCTs) are more likely to be deterred from full participation in political engagement. But beneficiaries must contend with issues like stigma, which is sanctioned or tacitly supported by the state: beneficiaries can feel entitled and be uninspired to participate in the democratic process to make their voices heard. Watson affirmed that recipients of CCTs programme, may likely have their feelings of stigma intensified as well as feeling undeserved, all combining to undermine their political agency.

³ There is a vast literature, since the 1990s, on the intellectual origins of policy feedback particularly in historical institutionalism, including the three major strands of policy feedback research namely, policy feedback and political behaviour: the relationship between public and private policies, and, the role of ideational and symbolic policy legacies. Daniel Beland's article titled "Reconsidering policy feedbacks – how policy affect politics", demonstrates the historical and political impact of policy feedbacks on social policy (See Beland, D. 2010).

This study has also shown that citizens experience difficulties in navigating and comprehending social assistance when it is far from their daily experiences. Bussi and Dupuy (2018) observed that when citizens are unaware of 'submerged' support, citizens experience exclusion and feel unsupported. Also, the interactions between beneficiaries and street-level bureaucrats are a crucial dynamic because it is one of the ways that can influence how citizens assess (evaluate) government's assistance. Bruch et al., (2010) asserts that citizens evaluate their capacities for influencing public actions based on their direct experiences with policy which was demonstrated in the case studies three targeted programmes in the United States, where their findings demonstrate that recipients find social workers' behaviours intrusive, patronising, paternalistic and roundly upsetting in many cases. Bussi and Dupuy's (2008) conclusions demonstrate that welfare recipients' interactions and dealings with public officials in CCT programmes demonstrate a statistically significant effect on their civic and political participation in democratic processes (Bussi and Dupuy 2018).

Politicians and policymakers, when implementing redistributive programmes, must also recognise that acknowledging the benefits of the social citizenship which reinforces citizens' social rights, not only energises an active citizenry, but also stimulates social accountability especially when anchored in a robust policy feedback mechanism that places the citizens as the centre of policymaking. This process must remain a crucial part of development progress as well as a major driver of social policy innovation in many countries. An acknowledgement of the transformative potential of social protection (social policy) (Mkandawire, 2004; Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux, 2008; Adesina, 2009; 2011) will enable policymakers and politicians to be fully primed and be able to anticipate 'what policies entail for citizens' agency, particularly in times when democratic institutions are deeply distrusted by voters across a variety of national contexts' (Bussi and Dupuy, 2018; p.1). The implementation of sound social policy programmes in a society has been shown to generate positive policy feedback effects that can (a) produce a strong solidarity within a state and (b) lead to enhanced civic participation and, (c) a heightened sense of citizen political activism which is ultimately useful in combating democratic disaffection and disillusionment in extremely fragile, complex, multi-ethnic and highly polarised societies like Nigeria (Bussi and Dupuy, 2018).

9.9. Recipe for successful policy implementation

Implementing new social policy programme often involves more than executing a set of instructions connected to a policy strategy or connected to a set of outlined standard operating procedures (Campos & Reich 2019; Gilson, 2016; Roberts et al, 2004). Policy implementation in any context entails complexities and difficult aggregation of disparate actions involving numerous individuals and personalities, all acting from a self-perpetuating position, and interests. Also, policy implementation requires that actors understand how and why their actions must be consistently reproduced by, and reinforced by their behaviour (Lipsky, 1980). However, given that one major challenge of policy implementation requires that the responsibility for ensuring success of social policy programmes for instance, means vesting powers upon different set of government actors other than those who designed the policy, heightening the risks of poor results or policy failure (Campos & Reich, 2019). Thus, it is customary for policy framers to struggle with interpreting and understanding the perspectives of the policy/programme implementers. Understandably, to successfully implement any policy entails that all stakeholders are collaboratively working together in a manner that permits the communication of policy objectives, the availability of resources to support implementation and, achievement of the ownership of the policy, which must also involve the delicate balance between management of conflict, sustaining cooperation and policy changes that must keep the process flowing smoothly.

In a fragile setting like Nigeria, other factors like the nature of the political settlements often influence the implementation of a new policy. This is usually due to the necessity of assuring political elites that their collective interests will not be threatened by new policy and that a new political settlement will not upset the political balance of power and undermine their privileged positions, access to power and influence. Prior to the introduction of the national SP programme, the organised labour movements including the trade unions and other (activist) movements in Nigeria alongside pressure groups, civil society organisations and so forth, set aside their differences to collectively push the adoption of SP agenda both as a response to tackling poverty and also as an act of political survival and relevance. The decision therefore to adopt SP as a major policy project by the two main political parties prior to the 2015 election was an implicit acceptance of the need

to restructure and redress the imbalance in the Nigerian body politic. However, the subsequent adoption of the SP policy by the ruling party after assuming power did not take cognisance of the difficulties of implementing such a monumental policy in national contexts, or indeed, the realities that confronted them upon assuming power.

Policy implementations requires persistence, discipline, and rigour on the part of the executive for new policies to have any chance of success. As observed by Ramani, Sivakami and Gislou (2019), in their study of the implementation of the primary healthcare in India, that policy implementations processes are shaped by the complex interactions between actors, processes and contexts (see also Walt and Gilson, 1994; Pawson and Tilley, 1997). Context refers to the interplay of factors that are beyond the policy process which also have distinct dimensions: structural, situational, cultural, and external. Context could also act as a source of power that reinforces policy makers' choices. Policymakers and their executive political class must make difficult decisions regarding the operational, technical, and administrative dimensions of the social policy programme, while also managing the delicate relationships with all stakeholders to make policy implementation happen and benefit the citizens.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

10.1. Introduction

This research study investigated the perceptions and lived experiences of beneficiaries of SURE-P and COPE, to understand the operation of Nigerian CCTs, which in many ways are unique. Nigeria is an important site in which contested processes of redistributive social politics, the Nigerian political settlement, are being played out by political elites and other stakeholders in the context of social development and nation-building. However, in SP programming generally, and as gleaned from numerous development discourses, the voices and views of citizens have often been ignored; consequently, scant studies capturing citizens' voices and views exist. Investigating the beneficiaries' experiences of SP programmes is helpful for informing and improving programme's performance. Thus, understanding and creating that knowledge, as one of the principal objectives of this research, has been very important. However, as Haraway (1991) pinpointed, knowledge, is not always objective given that it is situational and contextual.

Therefore, the experiences of the citizens captured in this research represented a glimpse into the 'alternative realities', or what Smith (1996, p.5) denoted as the 'lived experiences situated in actualities of the social'. The research's premise, capturing the oft-ignored 'other narratives of realities' (Baillie-Smith and Jenkins, 2016) of marginalised people of the global south not only challenged existing paradigms about citizens' engagement with SP programmes but importantly highlighted their agency, fears, aspirations and insecurities as they eke out their livelihoods in precarious, unpredictable environments. This concluding chapter is structured as follows: the first part summarises the main themes of the study, followed by a synopsis of the key findings that emerged from the research. The chapter makes a case for the 'salience of the social' and closes with a declaration of the study's contributions to knowledge, its limitations, policy recommendations and future research direction.

10.2. Summarising the research objective

To summarise, the focus of this project has been about presenting the ‘truth as it is’; truth produced and evoked from the ‘actualities of the social’: or the lived experiences of the people studied during this research project (Smith, 1996). Despite coping with the challenges of working within the strictures of a doctoral programme, it is at least comforting that the endeavour has been a fulfilling and enriching one, affording an opportunity to uncover the (raw) materials that might be useful in executing a thoroughly exhaustive research work at a future date. However, the experience also afforded the understanding of the limitations, challenges, risks, and opportunities that the research process entails.

10.3. Addressing the research questions

This section presents the main empirical findings which are premised on the conceptual analytical framework adopted in the study which guided data collection and data analysis. The conceptual framework is linked with the two of the research questions: a) *what participants do (beneficiaries and officials) perceive as the main advantages of the CCTs;* and b) *what are the main factors driving these perceptions.* The first of these two research questions aimed to understand the impact of the CCT programmes on households and the officials, who as implementers and administrators, were saddled with operating the schemes.

Globally, SP is offered as a solution to resolving precarious employment, livelihood risks, vulnerabilities, and uncertainties. In this study, SP was framed as a compelling imperative that countries in the global south can no longer ignore. By exploring the experiences, and perceptions of the beneficiaries, administrators and government officials involved in implementing CCT programmes in Nigeria, the study sought to better understand how social protection operates in fragile contexts. However, rather than achieve only these objectives, the research unexpectedly uncovered refreshing insights. The question of who ‘owns’ SP programmes in developing contexts was one of the particularly novel issues explored. Also, the Nigerian ‘informal welfare regime’ or ‘the distributional regime of informal welfare arrangements sparsed with minimal, residual, formal social security provisions’ was characterised based on the various frameworks discussed in the study. This

finding accords with the principle espoused by Esping-Andersen (1987, p.7) that, 'each nation exhibits its own unique regime characteristics...therefore the social policy of any nation is distinctive'. Thus, a welfare regime typology is nothing but an 'ideal-typical' case that cannot provide exhaustive comparisons across time or societies (Esping-Andersen, 1987); but the welfare regime characterisation is simply an 'identifier' of a distinctive national social policy that is assessed in terms of its relationship between politics and markets and between the state and the economy (Aspalter, 2017). Therefore, this thesis offers a synthesised explanation of the 'Nigerian welfare regime' as analysed through the lens of the adapted political settlements framework (Abdulai, 2019), which goes beyond the local reckonings of the elites and stakeholders to encapsulate ideational and transnational actors, institutions and other non-state stakeholders, whose combined influencing and 'holding power', results in a new political settlement or what is dubbed the 'new welfarist' Nigerian welfare regime, which as indicated earlier is engendered by lower-class mobilisation, which first produced an agrarian transition that is now shaping up to a 'redistributive-welfarist state' (Heller, 1995).

Furthermore, the interrogation of social citizenship rights of citizens opened new vistas regarding the desirability of redistributive programmes throwing new questions about the twin issues of trust in government and the electoral consequences of implementing SP programmes in contexts where clientelism and prebendalism predominates. In this study, the predominant view seems to be that of 'mediation', or rather 'a politics of negotiation and bargaining' by citizens' representatives, which argues for recognising the significance of the 'informal politics of the third-party representation of citizens', as a distinct movement (on its own terms), different from the contentious politics and popular mobilisation of social movements (Piper and von Lieres, 2015).

The expanding literature on SP in development pays scant attention to contextual dynamics and patterns of in-country unique welfare arrangements. Through the analyses of the disparate discourses on the welfare state development in western contexts, an attempt was made in this study to unpack the global spread of SP particularly in Nigeria (Africa) to better understand the forces driving the process. Whilst several patterns were discerned, it was however noted that SP is an invaluable tool for not only addressing the issues of

poverty and vulnerability but also fostering social inclusion and the achievement of human capital outcomes. One of the consequences of the spread of SP has been in the political arena; how politics intersects with stakeholders' interests, ideas, institutions, and transnational actors and how this has implications for redefining state-society relations and social contract in the global south (Hickey, 2010). Based on the patterns of the diffusion of SP, the evidence suggests that the forces and actors at play will continue to occupy the various spaces and remain vociferous in pushing the frontiers of SP in Africa, more so now that the significance of SP as a vital development policy tool has been validated by two critical international instruments: The United Nations SDGs (Leave No One Behind) and the ILO's Recommendations 202 espousing and mandating Social Protection Floors (SPF). Thus, as SP programmes are extensively streamlined across Africa, and as their instruments take firm roots, the issue will no longer be whether there should be welfare states in Africa but what type of 'welfare regimes' or 'varieties of welfare capitalism' will evolve in Africa. In anticipation of this promising reality, this research sought to characterise the Nigerian distinctive 'welfare regime' as consisting of a mishmash of informal welfare arrangements which extensively operates at communal, and household levels. Also, this study recognised that although there is no formal 'welfare state architecture' or apparatuses in Nigeria, there is no indication that a robust albeit challenging endeavour could not be undertaken to tease out the features of Nigeria's distinctive 'distributional regime' (Seekings and Natrass, 2005; 2015) or Nigeria's 'informal security welfare regime' (Gough, 2013; Gough, Wood et al, 2004). This research contended that the welfare regime typology originally espoused by Esping-Andersen (1990) could be operationalised within the context of developing countries, and specifically to the Nigeria's emerging or evolving welfare 'distributional regime' or 'informal security welfare regimes'.

Whilst a well-established concept, the welfare state is, however, still completely absent in developing countries (Seekings and Natrass, 2015). Although, scholars like Seekings and Natrass (2005; 2015) Leubolt (2013), Gough (2013) Mkandawire (2010), Fine (2010) and Gough, Wood et al., (2004) all argued that a discernible pattern of a sort of 'welfare regime' that could be teased out in many developing countries of the Global South, yet scholarly disagreements persists. Nevertheless, as this study determined, operationalising the

welfare regime concept, is not only a methodological issue but one of dialecticism, which as Gough (2013, p.222) posits:

the very idea of welfare states and welfare regimes entails the conscious imposition by public actors of collective values and choices on unplanned market outcomes. Thus, it might be concluded, that globalisation fatally undermines the prospects for further welfare regime development across the world.

However, this dystopian assertion must be firmly rejected: what is emerging in the developing countries of Africa, of which many are now becoming interesting sites of social policy researches, is the acknowledgment that social policies will increasingly become relevant and become 'sites of contestations' by all actors (Kaasch, 2013, 2015). Secondly, states will remain guardians of social policies, and will continue to play important roles (as actors) in the redistributive contestations of resource allocation amongst competing factions and constellations within a polity, hence underscoring the salience of political settlements which is the conceptual framework underpinning this research study. Thirdly, it makes no sense to apply a 'one-size-fits-all' model to the analysis of social policy in development contexts as contextual variations and distinctiveness matters, or to use the hackneyed phrase: *context matter*'. To be sure, any type of welfare regime, in this case a 'distributional welfare regime' (Seekings and Natrass, 2015, p15-16; Leubolt, 2013) or an 'informal welfare security regime' (Gough and Wood et al., 2004) are part of a continuum, *the continuities of public policy*, which are the mechanisms through which the overall package of public policies shaping/influencing the (re)distribution of public goods in society are delivered (Seekings & Natrass, 2015, p.16). Admittedly welfare regimes in developed countries possess distinctive characteristics, which should be studied on their own merits.

10.4. Summarising findings

10.4.1. How social protection (cash transfer programmes) operate in Nigeria

The first research question of *how social protection operates in Nigeria*, was fully unpacked by this research and by its major contribution of pinpointing Nigeria's 'unique distributional regime', which is distinguished as a mishmash of informal and formal welfare arrangements

underpinned by certain norms like social solidarity and communalism but having only very minimal role for the state. It also possessed a humanist philosophy. The dissection of this unique social policy markers resulted in what this thesis typified as an 'evolving Nigerian welfare regime' (Chapter Three). In realising the goal of understanding the operational dynamics of Nigerian social protection, and by exploring in detail the mechanics of the how the CCTs were implemented, the study contributed to, and advanced our understanding of how the Nigerian CCTs and SP operated.

This understanding is crucial, since we know from the SP literature that the salience of contexts and the imperative of cultural and other intrinsic forces, do impact the peculiar form of social welfare provisions within a polity. Using the lens of the stakeholders, namely beneficiaries as citizens and users; and, also by investigating the roles of the programme administrators and implementers, this study provided a glimpse, into the operation of Nigerian conditional cash transfers and specifically the major achievements and limitations of the SP programmes arising from the implementation of the CCTs as played out within the Nigerian context.

10.4.2. What did participants (beneficiaries and officials) perceive as the main advantages of the CCTs?

The goal of this research question was to understand the impacts of CCTs on participants. CCTs are designed to assist individuals and households cope with livelihood shocks, vulnerabilities, and risks; the goal of the research question was to delve into the preventive aspects/features of the CCTs and how it helped poor households and individuals cope with vulnerabilities. Empirical findings demonstrated that SURE-P and COPE helped the beneficiaries to smooth consumption and acquire assets which helped them tide over the crises and the shocks they were exposed to. Whilst the CCTs programmes performed other important roles, findings from the study suggested that beneficiaries' consumption smoothing strategies were not only supported but also enhanced at least in the short-term. In addition, beneficiaries' economic assets were indirectly safeguarded which meant that households were prevented, through the CCT, from being impoverished. In all communities, households and individuals demonstrated resilience to cope with, and prepare for shocks. It was also discovered that through a moral economy, communities

exhibited a strong sense of solidarity, which acted as a protective buffer that kept families from falling into destitution. This capacity enabled communities and families to better anticipate risks and be prepared for shocks. As the CCTs were predictably regular, the scheme became a vehicle through which beneficiaries' resilience was strengthened. CCTs intrinsically performed a preventive function which fundamentally stabilises beneficiaries during periods of uncertainties: yet it must be recognised that the protective and preventive dimensions of CCTs are themselves insufficient in and of themselves to principally enhance families' absorptive capacity. CCTs are incapable of addressing the restrictions and limitations forced on the citizens by the structural deficiencies in the polity including the barriers hindering upward mobility and those diminishing inequality like access to markets and services, land and property rights, women rights, and other cultural barriers critical to absorptive capacity. Social protection cannot substitute for these functions even if the barriers were eliminated, as they will still be inadequate (insufficient) to guarantee the preventive and protective functions of a credible CCT programme.

Regarding the officials, the findings revealed that they expressed satisfactory, positive views on the operations of the schemes despite having to function under some of the most oppressive conditions and resource-constrained environments. Overwhelmingly the evidence suggests that most countries in the global south lack the capacity and resources to implement SP programmes. Empirical findings from this study affirmed the salience of 'street-level bureaucrats' as critical touchstones through which citizens interact with the state. Overwhelmingly all the public officials interviewed felt that the Nigerian CCTs had a positive impact on beneficiaries' lives. Also, most officials acknowledged how their roles made implementation easier despite having to cope with political challenges and pressures from political elites. The fact that the healthcare component of the CCTs greatly eased the burdens of families and helped to address the gender imbalance, was according to many of the public officials and as empirical findings from the study showed, one of the major reasons why the Nigerian CCT was effective. Despite the largely overwhelming positive impressions of the administrators, many of them bemoaned the glaring absence of the national legal framework as a major drawback of the Nigerian SP programme. The absence of a formal legislation to anchor social protection is still hampering effective coordination. Although it must be acknowledged that since the conclusion of data collection, the Nigerian

government has since created the *Federal Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Social Protection* and have launched the Nigerian National Social Protection Policy. The legal instrument to formalise and institutionalise SP in its concluding stages in the Nigerian Parliament.

10.4.3. What were the main factors driving perceptions of CCTs in Nigeria?

The intention of this research question was to understand how ordinary citizens made sense of their lived experiences; how they constructed meanings about their precarious situations. Sensemaking and construction and (deconstruction) of meanings by citizens is helpful for scholars to study because as Weick (1995) asserted individuals possess the capacity to conceive of their environment as a social and mental construct. Therefore, sensemaking could be deployed to gain a nuanced understanding of the role of the individual factor as a critical lever in the nation-building process. Sensemaking is central to citizens' (beneficiaries') perceptions of realities because it is the primary site where meanings materialise and where *EVERYTHING* that materialises informs and constrains identities and actions. Nigeria is considered a borderline fragile state; a fractured nation bedeviled with a clientelistic political system. The implication is that the citizens are sidelined by repressive and unequal redistributive public goods provisioning. Yet, the Nigerian nation 'continues to muddle through' its development. Thus, with the aid of the conceptual framework of adapted political settlement, the study showed how the distinctive Nigerian political settlement influenced social policy development, particularly in the last decade. The conceptual linkage permitted the study to critically address the research question. Empirical findings from this study demonstrated that the commitment by the Nigerian elites to make SP a top priority was driven more by domestic political imperatives rather than external pressures.

The resolution to push SP in Nigeria emerged from the groundswell of persistent demands by citizens, civil society organisations, labour unions and the organised activist groups which altered the power dynamics and energised the policy space to push SP to the top of the agenda. Based on empirical findings and sampled data from this study, it appears that there is overwhelming support amongst Nigerians for social protection. However, this finding needs to be triangulated with data from *Afrobarometer* and *World Values Survey* to

fully test its validity. Nevertheless, based on the views of majority of the participants in this study, there appears to a desire by some citizens for the CCT programmes to be enlarged and expanded beyond its current scope. It is important to understand that in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society like Nigeria, the complexities and tensions produced by intense contestations and agitations by the different ethnic groups, also play out in the inevitable battles for control of state resources by different stakeholders. Social protection, therefore, provides a unifying platform and offers a leeway for all the stakeholders in this 'zero-sum contest' to address inequities and quell agitations for secession by ethnic groups who feel unfairly treated and dominated. Besides, the prevalence of multidimensional poverty and inequality in Nigeria makes the adoption of SP imperative. Hence, with the reconfiguration of the Nigerian political settlement since 1999 when civilian democracy was restored, the Nigerian state continues to evolve in its quest to resolve the 'national question'.

This thesis points to the need to understand the drivers behind the adoption of SP in multicultural, multiethnic, and fragile contexts. Understanding the experiences of embracing redistributive programmes and the pathways trodden by countries is crucial. Every country navigates and takes a different path to social policymaking. This thesis unpacked the political economy drivers underpinning the introduction of SP in the Nigerian context. The thesis is also about understanding the process of citizen-state relations in a developing context, especially in a multi-ethnic and multicultural society like Nigeria. The drivers of the adoption of CCTs were driven by a combination of factors four of which are important namely: the salience of egalitarian and redistributive ideas amongst the elites and the stakeholders, the need to utilise the resources from oil in a manner that appeased the citizens, the pressure from domestic actors, and lastly the influence of transnational institutions. As observed in the literature, resource rich LMICs have channeled the rent from their natural resources through fiscal capture, to promote or expand SP (Aston, 2019). The fiscal capture of rent from natural resources often provided the impetus to invest in ambitious programmes. Nevertheless, fiscal provision through natural resources rent alone is inadequate to support the introduction of comprehensive social welfare system. This study contends that the sustainability of SP requires the influence of domestic actors, ideas, and the adaption to contextual realities. However, this study did not find any evidence to suggest that the introduction of CCT programmes represented a broad-based acceptance

of the judicious use of the nation's wealth. There is hardly anything empirically to assert that the introduction of CCT also represented the strengthening of citizen-state interaction given that many beneficiaries do not consider that their rights were enhanced or that their perceptions of trust in the government significantly improved. So, it is also likely that rather than enhance citizen-state relationships, the introduction of CCT largely reinforced clientelistic relations.

10.5. Additional findings from the study

10.5.1. Citizens attitudes and perceptions emerge from social norms and are forceful in moderating social policy programmes

As this study focussed mainly on the perspectives of beneficiaries, one assertion is that collective norms underpin and frame public perceptions. The widespread acceptance of SP programmes by recipients (beneficiaries) and the wider citizenry in Nigeria, as this study concludes, is a product of the collective norms of the people (Paluck, 2012). However, given that CCT programmes did not benefit everyone they were inherently imbued with the risk of stigmatising recipients, however, it was interesting to discover that on the basis of collective norms, the effect of stigmatisation and the feelings of undeserving recipients did not hold with reference to Nigerian SP programme beneficiaries. It therefore seems that Nigerian citizens, and perhaps citizens in fragile and conflict-affected contexts, are not ashamed nor feel underserving when they participate in CCT programmes. As this study showed, citizens happily welcomed redistributive programmes, which they perceived as a *necessity*; a necessary government assistance which was indispensable in helping vulnerable citizens to cope with livelihood crises. As highlighted in this study, the collective perceptions of citizens (beneficiaries) is explained through what Paluck and Shepherd (2012) refers to as the 'salience of social referents.' Social norms collectively drive citizens perceptions, values, opinions, and attitudes. It is the totality of these social norms that ultimately shape, moderate, and inform (drive) the patterns of behaviour and cognition across and over time. To understand the means by which citizens internalise collective social norms in the process of their (lived) experiences, is to understand the social cues that citizens employ to rationalise, simplify, and reorganise their social world in which they daily are deluged with large amounts of information, events, and situations, which ultimately informs and shapes their livelihood experiences.

Every country is the sum of its citizens' perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes. This maxim was vociferously re-affirmed in this study. Citizens' attitudes (behaviours) matters because they are shaped by their beliefs which are rooted in collective social norms; also informed by social referents. Attitudes and perceptions assume a life of their own through broad endorsements of the citizens particularly when citizens genuinely feel a sense of connectedness, or a sense of belonging to the community. However, this picture presumes that citizens' perceptions emanate from recurrent cues and signals reinforced by powerful agents. In other words, citizens lack the capacity of independently making up their own minds. This, of course, raises the question of whether the citizens are driven not by their own rationality but by the validations of 'important' people' or 'opinion leaders' whose views or actions represent the collective interests of the community. But with social policymaking, as demonstrated in the spread of SP in Africa, the influence of transnational actors and elites was crucial in enlarging, legitimising, and institutionalising SP.

10.6. The need to understand and incorporate the unique social politics of Nigeria

As I come to the end of this chapter, I will propose an acceleration of the notion of Nigerian social politics which is not widely discussed within the discourse on Nigerian social policy. Social politics, according to Lee and Kim (2017; p. 1) is construed as a triangular relationship between civic advocacy groups, trade unions, and political leaders. Social politics as envisioned in this study, broadly encompasses the utilitarian value and the relative strengths and weaknesses of civil society groups, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and many other non-state civic advocacy groups in Nigeria. If the current reform agenda and the impassioned push for the adoption of SP policies must be sustained, there is need to refocus attention on the study of social politics in Nigeria, which as explained above, will help to deepen our understanding of, and our appreciation for the influence and the roles played respectively by nonstate actors (civic advocacy groups, NGOs etc), who by holding the States and governments to account have sustained the push for the adoption of social policies/SP programmes. The study of social politics provides an analytical forte for scholars studying the evolution of welfare regimes in Nigeria to better understand and effectively highlight specific country variations in social welfare politics. It might therefore be necessary to review and revise political economy frameworks in political sociology to

incorporate the best of the elements of the political settlements and the power resources framework and complement them with the incorporation on the salient roles performed by the many nonstate actors in mobilising, sensitizing and energising citizens in developing countries to demand redistributive programmes (Lee and Kim, 2017). The political underpinnings of social politics, as the driver, and the influencer of the forces of the citizens, and nonstate actors, as demonstrated in the example of Western welfare societies, can no longer be ignored in developing contexts. As Korpi (1983) and Esping-Andersen (1999) demonstrated in their studies, how the organisational, and the political power of these associations merged with the activism of democratic political parties jostling for power creating a tangible difference in how a welfare regime evolves, remain relevant.

10.7. Significance and contributions to knowledge

By exploring the lived experiences of beneficiaries of CCTs in Nigeria, this research study has made a scholarly contribution to the literature on SP systems in the global south and has done so in several unique ways. This is the first study of CCTs in Nigeria; thus, the novelty of the research makes it to fill a major lacuna that should, hopefully, engender further research. It is also the second of such doctoral research undertaken on the study of SP in Nigeria. However, the study's significance is in offering a more nuanced, systematised understanding of the operation of SP in Nigeria and the varied ways that CCT programmes impacted the lives of the beneficiaries and other stakeholders. Also, since 2010, at the advent of Nigeria's social development reform agenda, the role that policy learning and knowledge transfer played in the social policymaking was affirmed, just like it happened in other developing countries, where national debates on SP were shaped by transnational actors, ideas, and domestic actors mostly civil society organisations. Whilst several studies analysed the diffusion processes of social policy (especially in Latin America), there are limited empirical studies that have investigated policy diffusion in Nigeria. The absence of such studies creates a research gap which this research study attempted to fill.

Several studies explored perceptions and attitudes of citizens on CTs in Yemen, Palestine, and Middle eastern countries/contexts (Samuels et al, 2013) and in SSA countries (Fisher et al., 2017); Burkina Faso (Tonguet-Papucci et al., 2017), Mozambique (Selvester et al., 2012; Schubert & Slater, 2016; Davis et. al, 2012); and in Uganda (Bukuluki & Watson.,

2012); Ecuador (Schady et al., 2008), Argentina (Rabinovich & Diepeveen 2015) and Turkey (Yildirim et al., 2014) but none of these studies used Nigeria as a case study nor explored the experiences of Nigerian beneficiaries of CCTs. Before this research study, limited understanding of the perceptions of CCTs beneficiaries (or how those perspectives are shaped) existed. No other study explored the lived experiences of Nigerians citizens that participated in SP programmes, therefore there is lack of attention to the role of context in the shaping of perceptions and beliefs of individuals about redistributive programmes in Nigeria, specifically. By addressing gaps and oversights in the literature and by providing a more nuanced explanation of the complexities of citizens' perceptions (beliefs) and the development of attitudes towards social policy programmes in development, this study made a significant contribution. Rather than focusing on operational issues about programming effectiveness or about technical aspects of policies, this study instead focused on the lived experiences of the beneficiaries to understand and obtain insight into the impacts of CCT programmes on their lives. Hence, administrators and implementers can learn about how to improve programme effectiveness. This research also contributes to knowledge on the operation of SP programmes in multicultural and fragile contexts where policy implementation is challenged by a myriad of factors.

The interpretative and analytical focus of this research on SP discourses in the global south offers a considerable attention to the role of ideas, elites, and other actors in the policymaking of SP in Nigeria. Within the broader discourse of African SP, focus on Nigerian SP is underrated and undervalued. There is therefore room to accommodate the emerging discourse on Nigerian SP in the growing scholarship on SP in Africa. Moreover, this research study identifies critical gaps in our knowledge of SP in fragile and multicultural settings. It also reveals important gaps in the linkages between what is referred as the 'actualities of the social' (social citizenship, solidarity, moral economy, and social quality), and policy design, implementation, and administration all of which are critical in validating the legitimacy of SP programmes.

Furthermore, the focus on the influence of the social, cultural, environmental, and institutional contexts on the beneficiaries' construction of beliefs (meanings) about their life experiences and trajectories makes this study's contribution to knowledge about '*the situated nature of ordinary citizen*' who participate in SP (CCT programmes) relevant.

Through the findings, this research study provided a glimpse, into what shapes the beliefs of ordinary citizens about redistribution, trust in government and citizenship rights and entitlements. Importantly, we understand from the empirical findings that beliefs and perceptions are not static but fluid, being continuously shaped and reshaped over the lifecourse(lifecycle) due to the vagaries and risks of livelihoods. Conclusively, the empirical findings from this study demonstrated the salience of contextualised influences and its role in actively moderating beliefs, perspectives, perceptions, and attitudes. Although, the research study focused on the individual and was able to identify personal beliefs and attitudes, it however, did so within the influential role of the societal interactions, relationships, and contexts of the research participants.

The methodological strategy employed enabled detailed and in-depth inquiry into beneficiaries' experiences and situations. The study contributed to our understanding of how to navigate the methodological challenges of researching social policy development in a developing country context where policies are beleaguered by numerous challenges leading to somersaults in implementation. By affording us a glimpse into the political economy drivers of SP (CCTs) expansion in Nigeria, we are enriched by the knowledge of how the execution and administration of the programme was influenced (and shaped) by the engagement and interaction of all stakeholders. We also gained understanding of how peculiar, context-specific challenges encountered during the implementation of the programmes were creatively and courageously resolved despite poor resourcing, operational/technical and other intimidating bottlenecks.

10.8. Policy pointers and implications

The findings in this study have policy implications and point to future research directions that could trigger new research endeavours. Based on the increasing focus on SP expansion in SSA, and Nigeria in particular, there is need for further research to uncover the dynamics and benefits of new SP programmes currently being implemented in Nigeria which grew from SURE-P and COPE (now extinct) and to determine the potential impacts of these programmes on the economy. As a multicultural, multi-ethnic diverse country, the role of CTPs as part of social policy programmes represents a real attempt at recalibrating the structure of the state and affirming the centrality of redistribution: this requires further

exploration. While emphasis continues to be placed on the role of the elites, actors (domestic, transnational), ideas and interests, it will also be interesting to explore further via quantitative or mixed methods study how the critical roles of societal values and beliefs in the construction of egalitarian and redistributive policies evolve. Whilst the perception data from beneficiaries affirms the view of CCTs as necessary to support families to better cope with livelihood risks and vulnerabilities, there might need to explore a mixed methods or quantitative research study to ascertain further the validity of these claims. Also, it would be useful to explore comparative insights from cross-national contexts, especially in cases where similar frameworks have been applied. This might permit us the benefit of aligning in a more explicit manner citizens' perceptions of government programmes and their likelihood of supporting governments (Pribble, 2013; Jones et al., 2013; 2016). There is the tendency by citizens to view programmes as political where electoral reciprocity is expected or as entitlements (rightful allocation), but it is difficult to fully achieve this within the strict limitation of a doctoral study. Hence it might be important for an extended commissioned study that considers these implications and emerging trends that will permit policymakers and scholars to have a more informed and grounded understanding of this area of scholarship. Also, for policymakers, it is hoped that the insights and findings from this study will help inform SP policy design, implementation, and effectiveness. As the Nigerian government recently received financial assistance and technical support from the World Bank to institutionalise SP programmes thereby increasing the prospect for embedding social accountability mechanisms in SP programmes thereby fostering enhanced responsibility from the Federal government whilst also, potentially increasing citizens' trust in government; it should be possible for instance, to undertake further study on the impacts of new programmes. The prospect of further enquiry appears very promising and should enrich our understanding of social development and SP programming in developing countries.

Having considered the factors including fiscal, ideational, political, and cultural that can influence the political economy of SP adoption and expansion in developing countries, this study argued that whilst SP is a necessity and is affordable even only minimally, however, it was noted that the contexts of individual countries matters as capacity for public provision of redistributive programmes varies greatly across contexts and space. In fragile

or conflict affected contexts, it is important to pay attention to issues of state capacity and ability to extract revenue for financing SP. As established in the study, the nature of political institutions to shape commitment to SP has been extensively reviewed in SP literature however, scant attention has been paid to the issue of crises and how they potentially could recalibrate political incentives that inform the appeal to marginalised groups. This is crucial for citizen-state linkages and the strategies for generating mass support for expansion of SP. Consequently, understanding the political settlements variety of each country is critical as it is a much helpful predictor of policy choices which could also have implications for the political settlement categories too. This study affirmed the evidence of citizens' perceptions and the importance of social accountability that is forged through citizen-state interface, and the necessity of entrenching social citizenship through legal guarantees which fosters inclusion and support for SP. Ultimately, citizens have a critical role to play in entrenching SP given that the citizen-state interface is hugely important in SP programming as the depth and the nature of the different forms of interaction will determine or moderate citizens perceptions of SP programmes (Adato et al. 2016; Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2017; Ayliffe et al., 2018). Accountability schemes can enhance citizens trust in the state including service providers and local authorities. Whilst there was limited role in in policy design for civil society organisations, the implication is that citizens accountability mechanisms that could have guaranteed increased citizen oversight of CTPs which could have enhanced social citizenship and participation by beneficiaries did not materialise. Hence, government did not fully prepare for engaging with citizens and the civil society organisation as there was weaknesses in the feedback mechanisms.

Despite positive findings, beneficiaries were still wary of the intentions of politicians; therefore, the perceptions persist of CTs as instruments of political patronage or for exacting electoral reciprocity. Sometimes, there is the tendency to view CCTs as gifts, 'dividends of democracies' or some generous acts or assistance granted by a benevolent, conscientious and compassionate leader rather than seeing it as entitlements (rights). However, with the involvement of civil society organisations who have been actively mobilising the citizens, the uptake and upscale of SP in Nigeria is progressive and slow. A lot more work is required to translate the gains made to institutionalise rights-based SP which could be guaranteed when CCTs are citizen-led and have accountability mechanisms

embedded into them. However, in the case of Nigeria, this study found evidence of strong solidarity amongst beneficiaries and citizens in general.

Methodologically, this study affirmed the salience of perception-based evidence garnered from citizens through interview data is helpful to underpin the sensemaking claims of programme beneficiaries and administrators which in turn is crucial in understanding and enhancing citizen-state interactions and relations for programme effectiveness. It is often debated that CT portends improved citizen-state relations, but this can be seriously impeded when strong clientelistic and patronage tendencies by the State and elites subsists (Ferguson, 2015; Hickey, 2008, 2009, 2011). Securing a strong political commitment for SP thus becomes a lever for reinforcing the social contract between the State and the citizens which also guarantees that the poorest sections of the society are not excluded from SP provisions. Therefore, this study's evidence of the linkages between the elites and citizens, 'the state-citizen linkages' are important for moving the discourse on SP beyond just palliative programmes designed to placate happy recipients instead of social programmes anchored on rightful ownership, social justice and redistribution that affirm social citizenship. The point being made is that citizens' perceptions of CTs are endangered if they are driven by more affective associations with strong leaders or political actors than if they were anchored or attached with broadened formalised rules and institutions. On their own, CTs foster beneficiaries' or citizens' expectation from the government and perceptions of deservingness, equity, and redistributive social justice, however they should be channeled through a larger prism of promoting social inclusiveness and equality for all. Nigerian beneficiaries and citizens must not only able to view CTs as gifts that flow from the hands of politicians but can also understand them as is their 'rightful allocation due to a rightful owner' (Ferguson, 2015, p.178).

10.9. Gaps, personal reflections: further research?

The shortcomings of utilizing a qualitative approach for executing the research agenda could have been overcome by adopting a mixed method approach entailing the use of surveys and other quantitative research tools that could have enhanced the study. I strongly believe that if there had more resources, and more time, this research study could have been undertaken differently. It would not only have benefitted from a different

methodology but also more resources, time and could have also incorporated the new SP programmes being implemented by the current administration. However, there is a limit to what can be crammed into a doctoral research. Going forward, room exists for the exercise of social citizenship and for more social accountability in CCT programming. The Nigerian state also needs to strengthen accountability mechanisms so that it supports citizen-state relations, enhancing citizen trust in the state. The findings in this study have greater implications for the political economy of CTs in fragile, conflict affected and multicultural contexts especially in relation to resource constraints, resource mobilisation, domestic ideas, political linkages, and the significance of programmes. Greater focus must be placed on the role of domestic ideas and actors in fully comprehending the implementation and expansion of CTPs particularly in multicultural contexts. As demonstrated by Lavers (2016a, 2016b), paradigmatic normative ideas are important not only within the context of aspirational development alliances or groups but alongside other stakeholders with the explicit interest to promote nationalistic values. The fact that protests, citizen agitation and mass mobilisation by the civil society and labour union spurred the expansion of SP under the current government suggest that there might be less emphasis on the politics of patronage and increased focus on the politics of rights. Putting the emphasis back on the rights of citizens will reinforce what Ferguson (2015, p.52) describes as the realisation of citizens claims for 'rightful shares' particularly as Nigeria is a resource-rich country. There should be continued emphasis on strengthening the components in CCT programmes having the potential of strengthening citizens' rights and claims and helping beneficiaries to better understand their rights and obligations. This study demonstrated the role played by civil society organisations and organised labour in the adoption and expansion of CCTs. Social mobilisation and collective action was spurred nationally with civil society organisations and organised labour playing active roles to push for more SP.

However, there is a need to further explore the areas and debates around the influence of civil society organisations and the perceptions of government officials and elites and, it is hoped that through the dissemination of the findings from this research those areas and others will trigger further studies and research. One of the major contributions of this study, which sits outside academia relates to the influence that the research has had on

the resurgence of social protection scholarship in Nigeria and SP policy and delivery in Nigeria. Through my involvement with other stakeholders, and following discussions, the *Centre for Social Protection and Policy Studies*⁴ was established at the University of Lagos, Nigeria. Based on the Centre's involvement with the Nigerian government, a veritable platform for continual engagement with policymakers and administrators as influential stakeholders, has been created. This is good for mainstreaming SP expertise and knowledge in Nigeria especially now that there is a desire by the government of the day to institutionalise social protection in Nigeria. One of the objectives of the Centre is to undertake comprehensive training and workshops on SP for government functionaries.

Nigeria, it would seem, appears currently caught in a vortex. Although, there is some unanimity that severe poverty targets should be pursued, and that redistributive social policies are paramount. Thus, social pensions, CCTs, public investment in childcare, educational and child developmental programmes, food subsidies and affirmative activation schemes are all part of the improved all-inclusive social policy arsenal (Barrientos & Hulme, 2008; Mahon, 2010; Hulme et al., 2012). The OECD-DAC Forum on Network on Poverty Reduction (POVNET) highlights this new-fangled consensus by affirming that speedy and sustainable poverty alleviation/mitigation require pro-poor programmes and social policies has a commanding role to play in stimulating growth, most importantly in reducing vulnerabilities and enhancing human capital outcomes which could no longer be ignored (OECD, 2009). Hopefully, the political elites and policymakers will no longer ignore the crucial role of the state in social policy development and welfare production. As Evans (2010) observed the notion of developmental state places forceful, adept public institutions at the hub of the development matrix. Regrettably, challenges of transforming these fundamental insights into concrete construction of effective state institutions is challenging and somewhat problematic. Despite all of these, the challenges of nation building cannot be jettisoned. Therefore, I conclude by emphasising that what needs to be reinforced above all else is that there is no fixed, universal model of constructing a welfare state: nations must borrow from the experiences of other nations and their unique historical epochs

⁴ Centre for Social Protection and Policy Studies, Lagos, Nigeria can be found at: www.socialprotectionng.com

combined with universal theories of development to navigate a distinctive trajectory. Successful construction of a developmental welfare state or a distinctive welfare regime must continually be reflexive, a 'learning by doing' process that is flexible, creative, dynamic, and suitable to the local institutional contexts. Finally, an attempt to sidestep the normative arguments for or against the expansion of social policies considering the current social reform agenda has hopefully been presented. Despite what appears like a perennial malaise, Nigeria's resilience in the face of its challenges and its people determination to craft a new charter following recent political development potentially, portends brighter days ahead. As I consider Nigeria, I cannot help but think if the 'powers that be' somehow, perhaps consciously realised the inherent advantages of CCT in calming public dissent and in providing palliative solutions that keeps the political leaders and the elite in power.

10.10. Final words

As this thesis wraps up, the arguments being made based on the findings of the research is that it is important, in designing public and social policies in any society, for policymakers to have what I would like to refer to as the '*understanding of the social*' (social policies, social citizenship, social quality, social politics). Every society, as we all know, is built on alliances. The strength of such alliances sustains social capital, social cohesion, and social quality. The absences of these vital ingredients in any society leads to inequality and exacerbates social tensions. For developing countries like Nigeria, the acknowledgement that social protection (and social policies) has come to stay must be aligned with the understanding and appreciation of the critical and salient '*understanding of the social*'. That understanding, must be informed by the elevations of the society and its needs, including the needs of citizens, being sacrosanct, and more important than anything, leading to the emergence of a better society with a strong state-citizens social contract. To highlight this, I will draw on the inspiration of Esping-Andersen, who in his rejection of the power resources model, emphasised the salience of coalitional formations alongside the different partisan configurations, alignments, and cleavages (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Hence, an urgent imperative in development must centre on the necessity for heightened social solidarity amongst the divergent groups in developing contexts; coming together to contribute to the sustenance and strengthening of social policies. This, according to

Baldwin (1990) is how the Nordic welfare states were enriched through the roles of the 'influencers' in the policymaking process (Pekkanen et al., 2014) and is also the way in which welfare development was strongly influenced in South Korea and Japan, as demonstrated by Lee and Kim (2019) in their study. The same pattern could be re-enacted in developing countries, and, judging by current developments, that reality might yet become the norm. The 'understanding of the social' therefore permits focussing attention and emphasis on the importance of creating alliances (coalitions) between different classes, social movements, and other citizenship-oriented groups enabling the long-term sustainability of pro-poor, all-inclusive social policies that can lift many out of poverty, significantly improving positive livelihood outcomes.

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APPENDICES

Schedule of semi-structured in-depth interviewees – Appendix 1

No.	Position	Date
1.	Nigerian social protection expert	October 2017
2.	Nigerian social (public policy) analyst	October 2017
3.	Expert on Nigerian political economy	October 2017
4.	Nigerian Presidential Adviser	October 2017
5.	Presidential appointee and senior official in the Presidency	February 2018
6.	Nigerian public servant (Director, Ministry of Budget and National Planning)	February 2018
7.	Nigerian Public servant (Director, Ministry of Finance)	February 2018
8.	Nigerian Public servant (Director, Ministry of Women Affairs)	February 2018
9.	Nigerian Public servant (Director, Ministry of Health)	February 2018
10.	Nigerian Public Servant (Director, Ministry of Education)	February 2018
11.	World Bank Expert on Nigeria	March 2018
12.	UNDP Expert on Nigeria	March 2018
13.	DFID Expert on Nigeria	March 2018
14.	UNICEF expert on Nigeria	April 2018
15.	ILO/UNRISD Expert on Nigeria	April 2018

Sample Letter and Email inviting research participants - Appendix 2

Dear Sir/Madam

Good day. My name is Gbenga Shadare and I am currently a final year PhD student/Doctoral researcher at the University of Sheffield.

I am investigating Social protection in Nigeria - specifically conditional cash transfers with a focus of previous programmes tagged In Care of the Poor (COPE) and SURE-P (Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Programme). I would like to invite you as an 'expert' to gain your perspectives on how you think the programme was implemented. I will also be happy to have your insights on the new National Social Investment programme (the National Social protection of Nigeria) especially regarding some of the components of the programme.

Ethical approval has been given by the University of Sheffield for this project.

Kindly find attached a letter requesting official permission from the University.

Gbenga Akinlolu Shadare
Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield
Elmfield Building, Northumberland Road.
Sheffield S10 2TU, UK.

Mr xxxxxxxxxxxx

Dear xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Project Title: Citizens' perceptions and attitudes towards conditional cash transfer programmes in Nigeria: Request for Permission to conduct one-to-one interview

I am Gbenga Akinlolu Shadare, a PhD student in Sociology at the University of Sheffield, United Kingdom. I am writing to request permission to interview you to conduct research as part of my doctoral degree in the Department of Sociological Studies at the University of Sheffield, under the joint supervision of Professor Alan C. Walker (a.c.walker@sheffield.ac.uk) and Professor Sue White (sue.white@sheffield.ac.uk). My research broadly aims to contribute to an understanding of public perceptions, views, and attitudes of towards social transfers schemes in Nigeria using COPE and SURE-P as case studies. It is my hope that this project will help in the understanding of how the effectiveness of poverty reduction interventions might be enhanced by designing social protection programmes that can transform the social relations that underpin and exacerbate poverty, vulnerability, and social exclusion. This will require that I conduct an in-depth interview with you (and some of your colleagues). The interview will not last more than 1 hour, and it will be at a suitably arranged time with you and the officers you recommend or those who voluntarily offer to do so. In your role at your organisation, I will be most grateful if you could kindly facilitate the introduction of myself as a researcher to your other colleagues. Participants must know that they are free to make their own decisions whether or not to take part, and that they need not supply any reason for their decision. If they decide to take part in this voluntary exercise, they can withdraw from this research at any time. Furthermore, with the permission of participants, the interview will be tape-recorded to facilitate the collection of information and later transcribed for analysis. You will have access to the finished thesis, in which every effort will be made to ensure you and other participants remain anonymous. All responses will be coded and anonymised so that participants cannot be identified. All information you provide is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission, anonymous quotations may be used. The collected data will be kept securely in my office at the University of Sheffield. My supervisors and I are the only people who will have access to those data. The interview sheets and recorded data will be destroyed in December 2018 after the analysis and interpretation of the information collected. I will like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Research Ethics Review Board at the University of Sheffield. Please, find attached copies of the following; approval letter/letter of introduction, letter of invitation, information sheet, consent form and reply sheet as samples of documents that I will be using.

I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Gbenga Akinlolu Shadare
Doctoral Researcher
gashadare1@sheffield.ac.uk
+234 7066404930, +447776235163

Some Focus Group participants – Appendix 3



CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS:

Citizens' Perceptions and attitudes towards conditional cash transfer programmes in Nigeria

Please initial the boxes where you agree with the statements. N.B. You do not need to agree to all of these conditions to participate in the research. Please only initial the boxes that you are comfortable with.

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated _____ explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.
3. I give permission for members of the project team to have access to my responses and to use anonymised quotes in any report related to the research. I understand that I will not be identified in any reports or other outputs of the research.
4. I understand that the research outputs from this project may be made available to audiences outside the University, for example, via websites, conference presentations, journal articles.
5. I consent to the interview being recorded [specify audio/video recording]. I understand that the recordings will be destroyed at the end of the research project.
6. I agree that reference may be made to my position (e.g., as a participant in the research undertaken by a student in the Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield) in any report that results from the research provided it does not enable me to be identified as an individual.
7. I agree that the project team may contact me with any follow-up questions until the end of the research project.
8. I agree to take part in the above research project.

Participant	Date	Signature
Researcher	Date	Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Copies

Once this has been signed by all parties, the participant will receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form and the information sheet. A copy of the signed and dated consent form will be placed in the project's main record, which will be kept in a secure location.

Researcher: Gbenga Akinlolu Shadare **Email:** gashadare1@sheffield.ac.uk **Tel:** +234 7066404930/+447776235163

Research supervisor: Professor Alan C. Walker

Tel: +44114 2226402 **Email:** a.c.walker@sheffield.ac.uk



Downloaded: 05/10/2017

Approved: 02/10/2017

Gbenga Shadare
Registration number: 140253212
Sociological Studies
Programme: PhD Sociological Studies

Dear Gbenga

PROJECT TITLE: Citizens' perceptions and attitudes towards conditional cash transfer programmes in Nigeria

APPLICATION: Reference Number 013769

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 02/10/2017 the above-named project was **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following documentation that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form 013769 (dated 13/09/2017).
- Participant information sheet 1029686 version 3 (29/08/2017).
- Participant information sheet 1029687 version 3 (29/08/2017).
- Participant information sheet 1029688 version 3 (29/08/2017).
- Participant consent form 1029690 version 2 (29/08/2017).

The following optional amendments were suggested:

Overall, the majority of compulsory amendments have been made and I am willing to approve the application. However, there are still a number of points to be flagged and changes that are highly recommended: SECTION C2 This section is much clearer. Nevertheless, numbers of interviewees still don't quite add up: e.g. the proposed number of KI/EIs appears to come to at least 24 (rather than the claimed 20). More importantly, given the total number of proposed one-to-one interviews, plus focus groups, a fieldwork trip of only 4-6 weeks seems highly ambitious. It will require the planning and securing of interviews in advance of arriving in Nigeria, and tight timetabling throughout the fieldwork period, with no room for cancellations or other unexpected circumstances. Though I am aware that time remaining for fieldwork activities is now reduced, I suggest revising the period to a more realistic duration.

INFORMATION SHEETS i) The information sheet for KIs has been revised but, the wording is still presumptuous and clumsy: "However, this may not be necessarily so as the findings from this study might suggest otherwise which could perhaps provide a justification for a review of existing CCT schemes and programmes." Suggested wording is as follows: Potential benefits of your participation This study hopes to provide empirical data on how the public perceives and views social protection policy through the lens of the CCT programmes. This will offer an important contribution to the evaluation of political and public support for social protection programmes and the effectiveness of poverty reduction interventions. ii) The Info sheet for Participants (Programme Beneficiaries) taking part in focus group discussions reads (3rd para, p1): "...the University of Sheffield feels that it is important to discuss your perspectives of the programme..." The sentiment should not be ascribed to the institution as such. iii) All information sheets now inform participants that should they feel a complaint has not been handled to their satisfaction, they can contact the Head of Department, who will then escalate the complaint through the appropriate channels. However, the Head of Department's name and contact details are missing and need to be provided.

Questions

1. How did you hear or get to know about the SURE-P programme?
2. And what year was this?
3. Can you tell us a little bit about yourself and how you were recruited?
4. How much were you given?
5. Was the amount sufficient?
6. How regular was the amount? Was it monthly, quarterly or bi-annually?
7. Did you have to travel far to collect the money?
8. When you arrived the collection point, did you have to wait for long to be paid?
9. How was the money paid or transferred to you? By cash, or through your account?
Or was it through mobile banking?
10. How did you find the whole experience?
11. Did you consider the process helpful? Convenient or otherwise?
12. Tell us in your own words, your experience with the officials or administrators of the programme? How was their attitude? Were they friendly? Were they nice or otherwise?
13. For how long did you participate in the programme?
14. If given the opportunity again, will you participate in the programme again?
15. What advice do you have for the government on how to improve the programme?

Information Sheets for Key Informants – Appendix 7

Information Sheet for Participants (Key Informant Interviews)

Project Title: *Citizens' perceptions and attitudes towards conditional cash transfer programmes in Nigeria.*

Introduction

I am Gbenga Akinlolu Shadare, a PhD student in Sociology at the University of Sheffield, United Kingdom. I wish to invite you to participate in the above-named study. To help you decide whether you will like to do so or not, please find detailed information about the study; why it is being carried out, what your participation will involve and what we will be doing with the information you give us below.

Purpose of the study

The objectives of the study are to: (1) identify, understand and explain community attitudes and beneficiaries' perspectives of, and views about conditional cash transfers (CCT) programmes currently in operation in Nigeria namely: 'In Care of the Poor' (COPE) and 'Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Programme' (SURE-P); (2) understand in what ways the use of the cash transfers has affected lives of beneficiaries, and whether they are effective as poverty reduction strategies (3) explore the nature of the public discourse around public attitudes and perceptions towards social protection, CCTs and poverty reduction. These issues are critical in understanding whether social cash transfers (conditional cash transfers) schemes are meeting their intended objectives. Also, by understanding beneficiaries and communities' views/perceptions, monitoring and evaluation processes of current CCTs could be enhanced. Significantly, a case study of existing conditional cash transfers (CCTs) in Nigeria will enrich our knowledge of the views, and attitudes of those whom social transfers schemes were designed to assist. It is my desire to contribute to literature on enhancing the effectiveness of CCTs as poverty reduction intervention programmes.

Why I need your assistance

I feel it is important to gather the views of beneficiaries of CCTs and community members who play a major role in the design and delivery of CCT schemes including those who are involved in the legislative or policy-making process. Therefore, I need your help. Also, I am interested in understanding your views of, and reactions to, COPE and SURE-P CCT programmes in Nigeria. I want to know your views/opinions on the nature of the discourse on social protection, and social transfers schemes and their impacts on poverty reduction. If you wish to assist me, then kindly contact me on (+2348033008400 or gashadare1@sheffield.ac.uk) to provide me with your details and when you will be available to be interviewed.

What your participation will involve

You will be asked to participate in an interview, lasting no longer than one hour. Your consent will be required for a digital voice recorder to be used to record the interview. The recording is intended to help me capture everything you say correctly. All information you provide is considered absolutely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study; however, with your permission, anonymous quotations may be used. Any information you provide shall be securely and confidentially stored on an encrypted USB storage device. The data will be deleted after the relevant information has been extracted. Should you not wish for your voice to be recorded, kindly inform the researcher at the start of the interview and this will duly be complied with.

Potential risks or inconveniences in taking part in the study

Taking part should bear no disadvantages or risks.

Potential benefits of your participation

This study will provide the empirical evidence on how the public perceives and views social protection programmes using the lens of the CCT programmes. This is particularly important as there is the assumption that social protection programmes enjoy considerable political and public support. However, this may not be necessarily so as the evidence provided from this study will help provide a basis to challenge this assumption and provide a justification for a review of existing CCT schemes and programmes.

Results of the study

The results of the study will be published in a doctoral thesis. A summary of the key findings and recommendations of the thesis will be distributed electronically to relevant senior civil servants and policymakers in Nigeria as well as local development agencies in Nigeria, and international NGOs. At the policy level, it is intended that the findings from study will complement and contribute the knowledge base of Nigerian policy makers and a presentation will be made to the Presidency and National Agency of Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) on completion of the study. Summary of the findings from the study will be distributed to participating organisations and participants via posters or leaflets.

What to do if you have concern(s) about the study?

I encourage you to raise any concerns that you have about the study itself, my conduct as a researcher or any other matters pertaining to this study. I will endeavour to address any issues raised.

Do I have to continue to the end once I have taken part in the project?

You are free to withdraw your offer to participate at any time of your choosing. You do not have to give a reason for this. You will be asked if the information you have already provided can be used or if you want it to be destroyed. Your withdrawal will not have any negative consequences.

Funding and authorizing organisations

The study is privately funded by the independent PhD researcher undertaking the study. I hope that the above provides you with adequate information to help you make up your mind. If you require further clarification, please do not hesitate to contact me at:

Contact details:

1. **PhD Researcher** - Mr Gbenga Akinlolu Shadare - Phone; +234 (0)8033008400;

Email address: gashadare1@sheffield.ac.uk

2. **Project Supervisor** – Prof Alan. C. Walker, Professor of Social Policy, Sociological Studies
Department, Elmfield, Northumberland Road, University of Sheffield. Sheffield S10 2TU. Email
address: a.c.walker@sheffield.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this!

Letter to NAPEP – Appendix 8

Gbenga Akinlolu Shadare
Department of Sociological Studies, The University of Sheffield.
Elmfield Building, Northumberland Road.
Sheffield S10 2TU, UK.

The Executive in Charge
Office of the Special Assistant President/National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP)
Office of The Senior Special Assistant to the President, NAPEP
4th Floor, C Block, Federal Secretariat Phase 2,
Abuja,
Nigeria

Dear Sir or Madam:

Project Title: *Citizens' perceptions and attitudes towards conditional cash transfer programmes in Nigeria: Request for Permission.*

I am Gbenga Akinlolu Shadare, a PhD student in Sociology at the University of Sheffield, United Kingdom. I am writing to request permission to interview some of your officers and also to have access to your office premises to conduct research as part of my doctoral degree in the Department of Sociological Studies at the University of Sheffield, under the joint supervision of Prof Alan C Walker (a.c.walker@sheffield.ac.uk) and Prof Sue White (sue.white@sheffield.ac.uk). My research broadly aims to contribute to an understanding of public perceptions, views, and attitudes of towards social transfers schemes in Nigeria using COPE and SURE-P as case studies. It is my hope that this project will help in the understanding of how the effectiveness of poverty reduction interventions might be enhanced by designing social protection programmes that can transform the social relations that underpin and exacerbate poverty, vulnerability, and social exclusion.

This will require that I conduct an in-depth interview with you (and some of your colleagues). The interview will not last more than 1 hour, and it will be at a suitably arranged time with you and the officers you recommend or those who voluntarily offer to do so. In your role as CEO of the organisation, I will be most grateful if you could kindly facilitate the introduction of myself as a researcher to your other colleagues. Participants must know that they are free to make their own decisions whether or not to take part, and that they need not supply any reason for their decision. If they decide to take part in this voluntary exercise, they can withdraw from this research at any time. Furthermore, with the permission of participants, the interview will be tape-recorded to facilitate the collection of information and later transcribed for analysis. You will have access to the finished thesis, in which every effort will be made to ensure you and other participants remain anonymous. All responses will be coded and anonymised so that participants cannot be identified. All information you provide is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission, anonymous quotations may be used.

The collected data will be kept securely in my office at the University of Sheffield. My supervisors and I are the only people who will have access to those data. The interview sheets and recorded data will be destroyed in December 2018 after the analysis and interpretation of the information collected. I will like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Research Ethics Review Board at the University of Sheffield. Please, find attached copies of the following: approval letter/letter of introduction, letter of invitation, information sheet, consent form and reply sheet as samples of documents that I will be using. I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Gbenga Akinlolu Shadare
Doctoral Researcher
gashadare1@sheffield.ac.uk

Information Sheet – FGD (Beneficiaries) – Appendix 9

Information Sheet for Participants (For Programme Beneficiaries) taking part in focus group discussions

Project Title: *Citizens' perceptions and attitudes towards conditional cash transfer programmes in Nigeria*

Introduction

Hello! My name is Gbenga Shadare and I am a student at the University of Sheffield in the United Kingdom. I am here to find out your views and perspectives on the conditional cash transfer programmes: “In Care of the Poor” (COPE)/Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Programme (SURE-P) in the last few years.

Why am I conducting this research?

This is an important study because, yet no one knows your views or opinions about Nigerian conditional cash transfer programmes and how you feel as a beneficiary. Your views will help to clarify attitudes of the Nigerian citizens towards the programme and towards social protection in particular- whether the programme was able to accomplish its intended objectives. I am also interested in understanding what influenced people's views and perceptions towards these programmes. This study will help to ascertain the success/impact of the schemes and how this could benefit future programme changes. Consequently, the University of Sheffield feels that it is important to discuss your perspectives of the programme. I hope that the findings of our study will provide the information necessary to demonstrate to public officials/policy makers and their international development partner organisations what people's attitudes towards conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes in Nigeria are and how this might affect future programming.

Why I need you to help me

I am asking if you would like to take part in this study because I think you may have some views and experiences to share on the matter since you are the direct recipients of the cash transfers programmes. As such, you are in a special position to talk about the programme. You do not have to say yes if you do not want to take part. It is up to you and there will be no problem at all for you if you say no. However, if you would like to help me, then kindly contact me through the mobile telephone number provided below so I can meet you and provide information on how the focus group discussion will operate and other relevant details. You can still change your mind about taking part even after the focus group discussion starts. Again, this will not cause any problems for you at all. You have the choice to say no at any time you want.

What happens if you do agree to participate in the study?

If you decide to participate in this research, then I would like to invite you to take part in a group discussion which will involve you and other beneficiaries. These people will all come from your locality or community. I will not ask you any personal questions during this group discussion. The activities will last roughly 60 minutes and if you agree, it will be recorded with a voice recorder. The recording is supposed to help me capture what you have told me correctly. The recording will be securely and confidentially stored on an encrypted USB storage device and any details which will allow someone to identify you will be removed as soon as possible after the discussion. Once I have written up the details of the group discussion, I will delete the recording. If you do not wish to be recorded, then let me know.

Is it possible that your involvement in this study could put you in danger?

Taking part should not put you in danger and I will take some steps to make sure this does not happen. I will keep the information you provide me private. This means that I will not tell anyone (family members/relatives/friends/clansmen/women!) of anything that you have said during the discussion. I will also encourage you not to share personal experiences during the group discussion so that others do not share it outside the group. Also, your name will be changed in the report for the project so that no one will be able to identify you or your community when they read the report.

What are the benefits of getting involved in this study?

The views you share in this study will be fed back to policymakers. I hope that this will ensure that policies and programmes are designed to meet the needs of beneficiaries and can address the issue of poverty reduction. Understanding how conditional cash transfers affects human capital, wellbeing and their health, and the education of children is also important.

Results of the Study

At the end of the project, I will write a doctoral thesis. If you would like to have a copy of the report for yourself, I can give you one. Please contact me on the number below.

Is there any payment for your involvement?

Refreshments will be provided at the focus group discussion.

Who to go to if you have any worries about how the research is being undertaken?

If anything happens during the project that worries you or that you do not like, please let me know. I will answer any questions you may have. I hope the information in this leaflet will help you decide if you want to take part in the project or not. If you want any more information you can contact me on +234(0) 8033008400

Contact details:

If you require further details, you may contact the following:

1. PhD Researcher - Mr Gbenga Akinlolu Shadare - Phone; +234 (0)8033008400.

Email address: gashadare1@sheffield.ac.uk

2. Project Supervisor – Prof Alan. C. Walker, Professor of Social Policy, Sociological Studies Department, Elmfield, Northumberland Road, University of Sheffield. Sheffield S10 2TU. Email address: a.c.walker@sheffield.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this.

Information Sheet – Semi-structured Interviews (Programme Beneficiaries) -Appendix 9

Information Sheet for Participants (For Programme Beneficiaries)

Project Title: *Citizens' perceptions and attitudes towards conditional cash transfer programmes in Nigeria*

Introduction

Hello! My name is Gbenga Shadare and I am a student at the University of Sheffield in the United Kingdom. I am here to find out your views and perspectives on the conditional cash transfer programmes: “In Care of the Poor” (COPE)/Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Programme (SURE-P) in the last few years.

Why am I conducting this research?

This is an important study because no one knows your views or opinions about Nigerian conditional cash transfer programmes and how you feel as a beneficiary. Your views will clarify attitudes of the Nigerian citizens towards the programme and toward social protection in particular; whether the programmes was able to accomplish its intended objectives. I am also interested in understanding what influenced people's views and perceptions towards these programmes. This study will help to ascertain the success/impact of the schemes and how this could benefit future programme changes. Consequently, the University of Sheffield feels that it is important to discuss with you about your perspectives of the programme. I hope that the findings of our study will provide the information to demonstrate to public officials /policy makers and their international development partner organisations what people's attitudes towards conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes in Nigeria are and how this might affect future programming.

Why I need you to help me

I am asking if you would like to take part in this study because I think you may have some views and experiences to share on the matter since you are the direct recipients of the cash transfers programmes. As such, you are in a special position to talk about the programme. You do not have to say yes if you do not want to take part. It is up to you and there will be no problem at all for you if you say no. However, if you would like to help me, then kindly contact me through the mobile telephone number provided below so I can meet give you information on how the focus group discussion will operate and other relevant details. You can still change your mind about taking part even after the focus group discussion starts. Again, this will not cause any problems for you at all. You have the choice to say no at any time you want.

What happens if you do agree to participate in the study?

If you decide to help me, then I would like to invite you to take part in a group discussion which will involve you and other beneficiaries. These people will all come from your locality or community. I will not ask you any personal questions during this group discussion. The activities will last roughly 60 minutes and if you agree, it will be recorded with a voice recorder. The recording is supposed to help me capture what you have told me correctly. The recording will be securely and confidentially stored on an encrypted USB storage device and any details which will allow someone to identify you will be removed as soon as possible after the discussion. Once I have written up the details of the group discussion, I will delete the recording. If you do not wish to be recorded, then let me know. Also, I will be giving you a little diary for the entire term in order that you record your daily experiences on the school feeding programme for the term.

Is it possible that your involvement in this study could put you in danger?

Taking part should not put you in danger and I will take some steps to make sure this does not happen. I will keep the information you provide me private. This means that I will not tell anyone (family members/relatives/friends/clansmen/women!) of anything that you have said during the discussion. I will also encourage you not to share personal experiences during the group discussion so that others do not share it outside the group. Also, your name will be changed in the report for the project so that no one will be able to identify you or your community when they read the report.

What are the benefits of getting involved in this study?

The views you share in this study will be fed back to policymakers. I hope that this will ensure that policies and programmes are designed to meet the needs of beneficiaries and can address the issue of poverty reduction. Understanding how conditional cash transfers affects human capital, wellbeing and their health, and the education of children is also important.

Results of the Study

At the end of the project, I will write a doctoral thesis. If you would like to have a copy of the report for yourself, I can give you one. Please contact me on the number below.

Is there any payment for your involvement?

Refreshments will be provided at the focus group discussion.

Who to go to if you have any worries about how the research is being undertaken?

If anything happens during the project that worries you or that you do not like, please let me know. I will answer any questions you may have. I hope the information in this leaflet will help you decide if you want to take part in the project or not. If you want any more information you can contact me on: +234(0) 8033008400.

Contact details:

If you require further details you may contact the following:

1. PhD Researcher - Mr Gbenga Akinlolu Shadare - Phone; +234 (0)8033008400.

Email address: gashadare1@sheffield.ac.uk

2. Project Supervisor – Prof Alan. C. Walker, Professor of Social Policy, Sociological Studies
Department, Elmfield, Northumberland Road, University of Sheffield. Sheffield S10 2TU. Email
address: a.c.walker@sheffield.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this.

Information Sheet for Participants (For Programme Beneficiaries) taking part in direct in-depth, face-to-face Interviews

Project Title: *Citizens' perceptions and attitudes towards conditional cash transfer programmes in Nigeria*

Introduction

Hello! My name is Gbenga Shadare and I am a doctoral student (PhD) of the University of Sheffield in the United Kingdom. I am here to find out your views and perspectives on the conditional cash transfer programmes: "In Care of the Poor" (COPE)/Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Programme (SURE-P) in the last few years.

Why am I conducting this research?

This is an important study because no one knows your views or opinions about Nigerian conditional cash transfer programmes and how you feel as a beneficiary. Your views will clarify attitudes of the Nigerian citizens towards the programme and towards social protection in particular-whether the programme was able to accomplish its intended objectives. I am also interested in understanding what influenced people's views and perceptions towards these programmes. This study will help to ascertain the success/impact of the schemes and how this could benefit future programme changes. Consequently, the University of Sheffield feels that it is important to discuss your perspectives of the programme. I hope that the findings of our study will provide the information necessary to demonstrate to public officials/policy makers and their international development partner organisations what people's attitudes towards conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes in Nigeria are and how this might affect future programming.

Why I need you to help me

I am asking if you would like to take part in this study because I think you may have some views and experiences to share on the matter since you are the direct recipients of the cash transfers programmes. As such, you are in a special position to talk about the programme. You do not have to say yes if you do not want to take part. It is up to you and there will be no problem at all for you if you say no. However, if you would like to help me, then kindly contact me through the mobile telephone number provided below so I can meet you at a location to be agreed upon, and on a date that is convenient to provide information in a direct face-to-face interview that will give you the opportunity to provide your perspectives, views, insights, and experiences with the programme. You can still change your mind about taking part even after the interview starts. Again, this will not cause any problems for you at all. You have the choice to say no at any time you want.

What happens if you do agree to participate in the study?

If you decide to participate in this research, then I would like to invite you to take part in a direct, face-to-face, in-depth interview specifically with you and other beneficiaries. I have chosen you because you come from your locality/community and because I am aware that you participated in the CCT programme. During my interview, I will not ask you any personal questions; only questions that relate to your participation in the programme. The interview will last roughly 60 minutes and if you agree, it will be recorded with a voice recorder. The recording is supposed to help me capture what you have told me correctly. The recording will be securely and confidentially stored on an encrypted USB storage device and any details which will allow someone to identify you will be removed as soon as possible after the discussion. Once I have written up the details of our interview, I will destroy the recording. If you do not wish to be recorded, then let me know.

Is it possible that your involvement in this study could put you in danger?

Taking part should not put you in danger and I will take some steps to make sure this does not happen. I will keep the information you provide me confidential. This means that I will not tell anyone (family members/relatives/friends/tribespeople) of anything that you have said during the discussion. I will also

encourage you not to share personal experiences during the group discussion so that others do not share it outside the group. Also, your name will be changed in the report for the project so that no one will be able to identify you or your community when they read the report.

What are the benefits of getting involved in this study?

The views you share in this study will be fed back to policymakers. I hope that this will ensure that policies and programmes are designed to meet the needs of beneficiaries and can address the issue of poverty reduction. Understanding how conditional cash transfers affect human capital, wellbeing and their health, and the education of children is also important.

Results of the Study

At the end of the project, I will write a doctoral thesis. If you would like to have a copy of the report for yourself, I can give you one. Please contact me on the number below.

Is there any payment for your involvement?

You may be given some little cash to help with your transport/travel cost to the venue of the interview.

Who to go to if you have any worries about how the research is being undertaken?

If anything happens during the project that worries you or that you do not like, please let me know. I will answer any questions you may have. I hope the information in this leaflet will help you decide if you want to take part in the project or not. If you want any more information you can contact me on: +234(0) 8033008400

Contact details:

If you require further details you may contact the following:

1. **PhD Researcher** - Mr Gbenga Akinlolu Shadare - Phone; +234 (0)8033008400

Email address: gashadare1@sheffield.ac.uk

2. **Project Supervisor** – Prof Alan. C. Walker, Professor of Social Policy, Sociological Studies Department, Elmfield, Northumberland Road, University of Sheffield. Sheffield S10 2TU. Email address: a.c.walker@sheffield.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this.

ENDNOTES

¹ City of Jos, Plateau State is one of the most geographically attractive locations in Nigeria on account of its unique geology, making it one of the coolest places in Nigeria as the city is located on the Jos Plateau at over 4,100 feet above sea level. It enjoys a semi-temperate weather all year round.

² Our financial services company was a government-licensed firm that engaged in asset management, investment and corporate finance, stockbroking, wealth management and project finance and in a few short years, we built up an impressive resume and reputation which came with huge rewards in business turnovers, profitability, and influence.

³ Nigerian Vision 2020 was a visioning project established by the late dictator, General Sani Abacha. The project aimed at transforming Nigeria into one of the Top 20 World Economies by the year 2020, hence the name. The project was also the foundation of other similar projects that envisioned transformation of Nigeria into one of the top 20 economies in terms of GDP size.

⁴ Following up on my decision, I co-founded the ***Centre for Social Protection and Policy Studies*** (www.socialprotectionng.com) at the University of Lagos in 2018 to promote and mainstream the knowledge of social policy and social protection in Nigeria and West Africa. The Centre has been commissioned to undertake some studies on social protection in the West African region.

⁵ Although it was actually Richard Titmuss (1958) that was the first known scholar to identify the three ideal types of welfare states namely: 'the residual', the 'functional' and the 'institutional-redistributive'; however, it was the Danish Esping-Andersen who redefined the concept of 'welfare state regime' or 'welfare state typologies' with his 'magnum opus' book: *'The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism'*.

⁶ Although Boko Haram is the more well-known militancy (terrorists) organisation in Nigeria, there still exists a pocket of militancy groups domiciled mostly in the different regions and espousing largely ethno-centric form of nationalism.

⁷ The adequacy of a social protection programme is its potential to accomplish its goal of consumption smoothening and preserve access to basic services, but this must be in the context of a well-designed and implemented social protection systems whose programmes, to be effective, must be timely, targeted and temporary (see Marzo and Mori, 2012).

⁸ The concept of elite capture has been variously used to explain the corruptive nature of politics in Africa competitive clientelistic democracies. In its basic meaning, the concept espouses a form of corruption in which public resources are utilised for the benefits of the elites to the detriment of the general population (see Alatas et al, 2013; 2019; Dutta, 2009 and Lucas, 2016).

⁹ Boko Haram loosely translated mean "No to Western Values". This organisation, which has links to Al-Qaeda, is an extremist Islamic fundamentalist sect that has terrorised and destroyed lives and properties and wreaked untold havoc mostly in the Northern parts of Nigeria.

¹⁰ Some commentators described the election of 2015, which gave President Buhari and his party, APC a second term, as affirmation that citizens' demands for redistribution and social protection has been legitimated.

¹¹ The historic election of 2015 in Nigeria marked the beginning of a peaceful transfer of power from one civilian regime to another. In the specific case of 2015, the incumbent President lost the election that he was not expected to lose (and which traditionally should never have been lost based on Nigeria's history of flawed elections) to the opposition, which brought the current President, Muhammadu Buhari, to power.

¹² In 2013, the Nigerian economy was rebased from \$270 billion to \$510 making it become the largest African economy, surpassing South Africa.

¹³ Boko Haram terrorists kidnapped 276 female students from a secondary school in the town of Chibok, Borno State, North eastern region of Nigeria on the 14th of April 2014. Since their abduction, only 107 girls have either been released, escaped, or found alive. 112 Chibok girls are still missing.

¹⁴ The resource curse, also known as the ‘paradox of plenty’, refers to the long-established notion popular in development discourse that asserts that countries endowed with natural resources do not perform well economically compared to countries that are less endowed. Thus, their natural resources, rather than being a blessing, becomes an ‘economic curse’ (see Murshed, 2018).

¹⁵ The Transformation Agenda was launched in 2011 and was the lynchpin of President Jonathan’s socio-economic policy. The centrepiece of the key policy programme was economic growth through focus on agriculture, industrial rejuvenation, and small businesses’ recalibration. According to Gyong (2012), the transformation agenda in addition to stimulating economic growth also focussed on infrastructural development, good governance, protection of lives and property, enthronement of rule of law, pursuit of anti-corruption policies and public service reform and promotion of human development objectives.

¹⁶ Gentilini (2015) boldly asserts ‘there is little doubt that (conditional) cash transfers are the most rigorously-evaluated interventions in development’ (2015: 137). Whilst this is contestable, however the vast literature on CCTs appear to validate this claim.

¹⁷ Published research considering the effects CCTs has grown steadily in recent years (Fenwick, 2009; Gupta, 2012; Hall, 2008; Seekings, 2012). The focus of these works ranges broadly, but general themes include poverty reduction (Fiszbein & Schady, 2009; Handa & Davis, 2006; Soares, Ribas, & Osório, 2010), gender equality (Corboz, 2013; Molyneux, 2007; Molyneux & Thomson, 2011), education and child welfare (Hanlon, Barrientos, & Hulme, 2010; Hossain, 2010; Leroy, Ruel, & Verhofstadt, 2009), and the political economic repercussions of CCT ‘conditionalities’ (Ballard, 2013; Hall, 2013; Taylor, 2009). In line with studies that examine the biopolitical implications of social spending programs in developing countries (Hickey, 2010; Li, 2007, 2009; Miller & Rose, 2008), researchers have also focused on the ways CCTs intertwine with neoliberal development strategies to create more ‘productive,’ market-savvy citizen- subjects (Ferguson, 2010; Peck, 2011; Peck & Theodore, 2010). Notes Tania Li, although the benefits of large-scale development projects should not be overlooked in the Global South (viz., reducing hunger, especially in rural areas), they are overwrought with neoliberal governance. She critically unpacks technocratic initiatives aimed at promoting development and environmental conservation in Southeast Asia, connecting them to Foucauldian notions of governmentality: highly technocratic methods of governance where specific interventions are made to improve the productive capacities of the population, finely tuning their practices “to achieve optimal [productive] results” (Li, 2007, p. 6). (see Garmany, 2015)

¹⁸ Social policy is commonly theorised as a domain of state action that is designed to secure, in its broadest sense, social reproduction. Most definitions identify social policy with the state practices and institutional forms that directly influence the welfare and security of the citizens of a particular society. However, defining the state as the central locus of social welfare practices is, as is being increasingly recognized, both historical and normative. Within the scholarly debates on social policy, “statist” conceptions of welfare provision have tended to prevail in a debate whose contours were influenced by the experience of the welfare regimes of state socialism and Western Europe (see Molyneux, 2007)

¹⁹ Social transfers reduce the impact of shocks on livelihoods nationally by stimulating overall economic activity, and they protect households by reducing the impact of shocks on productive assets (Samson et al, 2006)

²⁰ Camacho's (2014) study finds that CCTs can create unintended consequences in the areas of citizens' social engagement and trust in governmental and political institutions

²¹Unconditional social transfers are regular non-contributory payments of money provided without active conditionalities by government (or non-governmental organisations) to individuals or households, with the objective of decreasing chronic or shock-induced poverty, providing social protection, addressing social risk, or reducing economic vulnerability. "Without active conditionalities" means that no one in the household of the recipient is expected to undertake an activity (like work, school attendance, etc.) in exchange for the transfers (See Samuel et al, 2006).

²² Some critics might argue that this rather an objective rather than an outcome

²³ According to Gavrilovic et al. (2011), the recent Triple F crisis had a number of effects on the poor which have exacerbated existing patterns of poverty and vulnerability. These include reduced employment opportunities, decreases in the real value of wages, more people seeking informal work and a reduction in household income through the devaluation of the naira. The costs of staple food items have increased owing to fuel prices rises mainly in terms of increased transport costs, with both net food consumers and producers negatively affected.

²⁴ See Blattman and Niehaus (2014)

²⁵ See Saad-Filho (2015; 2016) – the deserving destitute is a concept that attempts to link or associate CCT (as a social policy tool) with neoliberalism, prompting the suggestion of an alternative model which is pro-poor and pro-growth, which in the view of its proponents can lead to faster improvements in living conditions, expand citizenship and break the reproduction of poverty and inequality under neoliberalism.

²⁶ Saad-Filho offers an interesting political economy critique of CCT as a modality of social policy. The thrust of Saad-Filho's argument is that CCT constitute part of a strategy of moderation of inequality, poverty management and containment of dissent, which in the short-term can improve the circumstances of the poorest, but in the longer term also subsidizes low wages and support reproduction of poverty.

²⁷ Ghosh (2011:69) suggest that poor people tend to prefer public provision of goods and services rather than cash transfers; in contrast the cash transfers tend to be preferred by the better-off

²⁸ Indeed, this point was made by some of the 'experts' interviewed, and it was discussed in other parts of the thesis.

²⁹ VVF is an abnormal opening between the bladder and the vagina that results in continuous and unremitting urinary incontinence. It is considered one of the most distressing complications in the medical field of gynaecology and obstetrics clinical procedures (Stamatakos, 2014).

³⁰ According to Liu et al., (2019), Nigeria together with India, Democratic Republic of Congo, Pakistan and China account for half of under-five child mortality worldwide

³¹ Unlike COPE, the SURE-P MCH, employed geographical targeting for selecting participants; beneficiaries were selected based on their location in the rural areas or otherwise undeserved communities.

³² Pseudonym not real name.

³³ The total amount paid was 5000naira or \$30 in total which was pro-rated according to fulfilment of co-responsibilities usually over the period of the pregnancy which could be up to four times as

contained in the operational guideline of the CCT programme, however, payments sometimes took up to five or six times per pregnant beneficiary. (See Table)

³⁴ Beneficiaries only receive money after their attendance of each service has been logged and verified. This was aimed at increasing public trust in the programme (See Table)

³⁵ The naira amounts were converted to British Pounds Sterling at the then prevailing official exchange rate of £1 to 250 Naira.

³⁶ Human capital according to World Bank (2018a) consists of the skills, health, knowledge, and resilience that people accumulate over their lives which enables them to realise their potential as productive members of society (p.14). Improvements and investments in human capital makes people productive, flexible, and innovative. Investments in human capital is critical for many developing countries if the future workforce must be fully equipped for the challenges ahead. Children in developing countries are struggling to learn in school thus they are vulnerable to poor cognitive development that further hampers their development to learn. This is even more critical when it is considered that half of the world's population are not covered by essential services, and 80 percent of poor people in low-income countries lack social protection or a social safety net (World Bank, 2018a; World Bank 2018b; World Bank, 2018c)

³⁷ Community agents were appointed members of the CSACs, employed to work in the selection process and the monitoring and evaluation of beneficiaries' performances at the local levels. Many of them had political affiliations to the political party in power and also were registered members of parties although they hailed from the communities they represented.

³⁸ Most beneficiaries interviewed believed community agents were political office holders

³⁹ Semi-structured in-depth interview with a Key Informant MGF, conducted in Abuja, FCT Nigeria

⁴⁰ The rights-based approach to social protection treats social protection as a basic human right and advocates universal coverage and access to social protection. This approach emphasises "universal benefits' for specific demographic groups considered to be vulnerable such as children, the aged/elderly and the disabled, regardless of household income level (Kentikelenis, Stubbs and King, 2016).

⁴¹ This was how one of the officials interviewed described the community agents

⁴² Comments extracted from interview transcripts

⁴³ Some of the beneficiaries (and non-beneficiaries in particular) interviewed used this phrase to describe community agents

⁴⁴ PTF – Petroleum Trust Fund was an intervention agency set up by Gen. Sanni Abacha to manage excess crude oil funds, deploying it to finance infrastructural and social development projects across Nigeria.

⁴⁵ Ironically, the PTF, an intervention development agency created by the late dictator, General Sani Abacha in 1994 was headed by the current President, Buhari between 1994 and 1999. Under the leadership of Buhari, PTF was praised for its leadership and the transparent manner it prudently managed the intervention funds for improving the lives of many communities through the establishments of several social projects like hospitals/healthcare centres, road, schools etc that were constructed in many localities in Nigeria

⁴⁶ Based on the NAPEP guidelines each beneficiary receives a basic income guarantee per child of up to \$33 (5000 Naira) for a maximum of four children or more children per month.

⁴⁷ Monthly transfers are made to beneficiaries on the conditions that children attain 80% school attendance and also take part in the government sponsored immunisation and health check-up programmes.

⁴⁸ For further study, see Paluck and Shepherd's field experiment and their study on the salience of social referents (2012)