

A Gendered Analysis of Conditional Cash Based Transfers:
A Case Study of Puntland Technical Vocational Skills Training Programme,
Somalia

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RUMBIDZAI CHITOMBI

14C8678

Supervisor: Prof Kirk Helliker

Department of Sociology

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This thesis is dedicated to the loving memory of my father, my hero, Salatiel Chitombi

ABSTRACT

As part of the worldwide development system, conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes have become an increasingly popular policy and development approach in seeking to address poverty, especially in developing countries. Under the CCT programmes, beneficiaries are given assistance in the form of either cash or cash vouchers after fulfilling certain obligations of the development programme, such as attending training, enacting proper health care, or ensuring regular school attendance of children. The programmes have been described as a ‘double-edged sword’ since they aim to address poverty and, at the same time, reduce reliance on government largesse. In this regard, they are seen as potentially effective, and more empowering, alternatives to more traditional social assistance programmes whereby poor people receive welfare assistance in the form of ‘in kind’ and ‘unconditional’ assistance, receiving this as either food or shelter commodities, and without having to meet any conditions in doing so. This ‘traditional’ way of assisting poor people has largely been criticised for creating a dependency syndrome amongst the beneficiaries.

In certain cases, CCT programmes focus specifically on women, either in receiving the cash transfer or in meeting the conditions attached to the programme, or both. In this context, considerable debate exists in the scholarly literature about the effects of such CCT programmes on the situation and status of women, specifically in terms of possibly empowering women. While some scholars claim that these programmes enhance the human and financial assets of women, others argue that focusing specifically on women, and as care-givers within households, tends to reproduce gender-based inequalities and subordination. Since gender equality and female empowerment are now key issues in global development spheres, and at national levels, this thesis aims to contribute to literature on the effects of CCTs on gender and women’s empowerment.

This is pursued by way of a gendered perspective on CCTs as a development methodology for empowering women with reference to Somalia, using the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills Training programme as a case study. This programme focused, in the main, on internally-displaced people in Somalia, with a particular emphasis on women in meeting the programme conditions (i.e. participating in a training programme) and in being the cash recipients. The study used both quantitative and qualitative approaches for data collection and analysis, focusing on sixty selected

beneficiaries who participated in the Puntland Technical Vocational skills training programme in Somalia from 2013.

The thesis examines the prevailing structures (including cultural dynamics and socio-economic factors) in Somalia which lead to women's subordination, notably in the light of significant internal displacement because of war and conflict and the emergence of internally-displaced camps. On this basis, from a gendered perspective, there is a critical appraisal of the manner in which the Puntland CCT programme affected women's subordinate status, including how it may have led to the restructuring of gendered relations at both household and community levels. In offering this appraisal with reference to the Puntland programme, the thesis argues that women's subordination and, by extension, women's empowerment, is multi-faceted, and that continuity and change along the dimensions of subordination is often uneven and contradictory. Further, as also demonstrated in the Puntland case study, women's subordination (as a social totality) is not a totalising system, such that women regularly make use of gaps in the system as opportunities to enhance their well-being without confronting the totality of the system.

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you proud.

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ACRONYMS

ABE	Alternative Basic Education
AMISOM	African Union Mission to Somalia
CCT	Conditional Cash transfer
CWG	Cash Working Group
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
FSNAU	Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit
GII	Gender Inequality Index
GPI	Gender Parity Index
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
JRES	Joint Review of the Education Sector
MEB	Minimum Expenditure Basket
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOWDAFA	Ministry of Women Development and Family Affairs
NFE	Non Formal Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
SMS	Short Message System
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
TNG	Transitional National Government
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UCT	Unconditional Cash Transfer
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UN-INSTRAW	United Nations - International Research Institute for the Advancement of Women
UN OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNWFP	United Nations World Food Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
YEP	Youth Educational Package

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to critically analyse conditional Cash Transfer Programmes (CCTs) as a development methodology for empowering women, examining in particular, as a case study, a (cash) voucher-for-training CCT programme in the Puntland region of Somalia, implemented by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) from 2013 to 2015. The training programme was undertaken in three Government of Puntland Technical Vocational Skills training centres (the Galkayo, Bossaso and Garowe Vocational Training Centres), managed by the Puntland Ministry of Education. This programme was implemented as part of the Ministry's efforts to realise educational rights for both Puntland citizens and internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Somalia more broadly, who had missed out on the opportunity to attend formal education for various reasons such as displacement, poverty, cultural biases of educating boy children over girl children, and early marriages. The main objective of this programme was to offer alternative education (outside of the standard educational system) to these marginalised categories of people, in particular internally displaced people and, even more specifically, women. In large part, the IDPs came from southern and central Somalia as a result of armed conflict that led to the deaths of numerous people as well as the destruction of infrastructure such as schools (hence, forcing young people to withdraw from schooling). The conflict was detrimental in particular to women, many of whom became widows as they lost their spouses to the war, which then compelled them to become the primary income earners for their families (Dini 2013). Because of this, people migrated from southern and central Somalia to other countries as well as to other regions within Somalia which were regarded as being 'safer', such as Puntland and Somaliland.

The training programme was implemented in three urban districts (Galkayo, Garowe and Bossaso), which are the capitals, respectively, of the regions of Mudug, Nugal and Bari in Puntland. This geographical focus of the programme arose because these three urban centres have large concentrations of IDPs. Proportionally, the programme sought to ensure that about eighty percent of beneficiaries were IDPs and that the other twenty percent would be from the most vulnerable households in the local host community (i.e. the three urban districts), as a way of trying to facilitate some degree of harmony between the IDPs and the host community. The programme

also deliberately targeted more women (sixty percent or more) than men because of the fact that females were mostly affected in terms of dropping out of school, or not even having a chance to be educated due to poverty and cultural biases that favoured the boy child over the girl child in Islam, the Somalia religion. Those women who had also lost their spouses due to armed conflict had to become their households' main income earners (without any income generating skills) and this, in addition, resulted in most of the children in these women-headed households dropping out of school in order to help their mothers to provide for their families. The families were therefore trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty (NRC 2012). Overall, then, the training programme was largely targeted towards vulnerable households (amongst the IDPs and host communities) in order to provide this marginalised grouping of people with a chance to access alternative training and education, and hopefully empower them by providing these households with new options for being self-reliant in the future.

The programme falls under the Puntland Ministry of Education's Non Formal Education (NFE) Sector and targeted people who are fifteen years and above and had lost the opportunity to attend formal schooling. Under this programme, the selected participants were trained in vocational skills (learning a trade), and foundational skills (numeracy and literacy) for a period of between one year and eighteen months. During the period of this training, the participants also received an incentive in the form of a cash voucher, which was meant to encourage them to stay focused on their training without the worry of having to look for other income-generating opportunities to be able to provide for their families (since most of them came from very poor families). The provision of the cash voucher incentive was on condition that the participants attended at least eighty percent of the training classes on a monthly basis – hence, this entails a 'conditional cash transfer programme'. During the training period, the participants would also be linked to potential employers by obtaining a chance to go for an internship of three months. At the end of the programme, after successfully graduating, the participants would receive an 'exit' package in the form of either cash (to be used as start-up capital) or equipment (related to their chosen course) that they could use in their post-exit trades and business ventures.

The programme received support from international humanitarian and aid organisations such as the Danish Refugee Council, Save the Children, Norwegian Refugee Council, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), United

Nations World Food Programme (WFP), the European Union and United States Agency for International Development. Most central to the programme, though, was the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC). The international community complemented the efforts of the Puntland Government in setting up of the Non- Formal Education sectoral initiative and by assisting the Ministry of Education in the establishment of a Non -Formal Education curriculum. It also provided supplementary funds for building the vocational skills training centres in Puntland as well as for the required training and exit package equipment and start-up capital. The supplementary funds were also used for training of vocational skills instructors and for the incentives in the form of the cash vouchers (i.e. the conditionality).

1.2 Research Context

Conditional cash transfers (CCTs) are defined as social assistance programmes that provide assistance to selected poor people in the form of cash or vouchers on condition that these project ‘recipients’ fulfil certain obligations such as attending health care or training, or ensuring regular school attendance by children (World Bank 2008). In ensuring that children regularly receive health services, for example, the CCTs are supposed to facilitate the reduction of malnutrition rates and diseases (Grosh et al. 2008, Rawlings & Rubio 2005, Mos 2012). According to the World Bank (2014), CCTs are expanding at a fast pace, with more than fifty countries implementing them, which is more than twice the number from 2008. While, in the 1990s, these were largely a Latin American phenomenon, today many countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia have at least piloted a conditional cash transfer programme. Governments in Africa, Latin America and Asia recognise that CCTs may reduce poverty while, simultaneously, ensuring that vulnerable citizens become less reliant on the national fiscus for their welfare and well-being. Poverty reduction is expected to take place in the short-term by distributing cash benefits to CCT recipients during the duration of the programme, and longer-term poverty reduction and citizen-driven livelihood strategies are to occur by way of building the human capital base of citizens through the upgrading of skills-sets and start-up capital (Rawlings 2004). Independent of government largesse, CCT beneficiaries are expected to have the capacity to support and sustain themselves after exiting from the programme.

The popularity and relative novelty of the conditional cash transfer programmes have

resulted in a significant number of studies (cited later), many of which have focused on their positive contribution to the development of human capital. Some debate, as will be shown, also exists in the literature about the effects of conditional cash transfers on gender and women's empowerment, but this topic has not yet received sufficient attention. In part, this arises from the challenges of defining empowerment and measuring the often intangible relational changes embodied in it. Studies of gender and conditional cash transfers have been done mostly by humanitarian practitioners with reference to Latin American countries, with only a few being done in Africa. This thesis thus aims to contribute to the literature on the relationship between conditional cash transfer programmes and gender restructuring and women's empowerment, and specifically in Africa.

Guided by an empowerment analytical framework (chapter two), the thesis examines and assesses the form and extent of restructuring of gendered power relations within households and in communities at large as a result of CCTs, with specific reference to the Puntland case study. In doing so, it also considers the cultural and socio-economic factors which might be inhibiting such changes. In this regard, the empowerment framework adopted emphasises that choice is constrained by social circumstances, which are often embedded in 'tradition' and cultural arrangements that are so deeply rooted historically that people perceive them as an immutable part of social reality (Alsop, Bertelsen & Holland 2006, DAWN 1988). The main focus of the thesis, however, is on agency and the ways in which women may be able to enhance their live-chances even within – or despite – the context of significant constraining structural factors (including patriarchy). In this respect, a prerequisite for effective agency is an array of opportunities that allows women to carve out spaces (within structures) and make new and possibly transformative choices based on for instance an enhanced asset base, equitable rules and expanded entitlements (Brook & Holland 2006, Moser 1998, Moser 2007, Nussbaum 2000).

The thesis takes into consideration the fact that CCTs have been propagated and pursued by many government and developmental agencies as one of the most appropriate and effective methodologies for addressing issues of poverty and social exclusion – issues that are usually mostly faced and experienced by women. These agencies typically speak positively about the inclusive effects of CCTs for women. In particular, as the main objective of CCTs is 'human capital' promotion, CCTs are often depicted as having an empowering effect. Owing to the specific

focus on giving assistance to women, many of the proponents of CCTs claim that they improve women's economic situation and their bargaining position within households, and empower them through their management and use of the (conditional) cash assistance (Barrientos & DeJong 2004, Rawlings 2004, Rawlings & de la Briere 2006). With respect to the 'human capital formation' objective, defenders of CCT programmes posit that poor women leave the programme as empowered and equipped to lift themselves out of poverty through, for example, gaining valuable educational skills and knowledge that they can then use for generating income for themselves and their families. This would, in turn, increase women's status and power within the household and wider community.

However, the significance of CCTs for gender transformation is not without its critics (Tabbush 2010). In drawing upon an empowerment framework, feminist work on intra-household power relations argues that giving cash or vouchers to women does not mean that they necessarily control their use (Chant 2006, Chant 2007, Bradshaw 2008). There are concerns, therefore, that women are less likely to be able to control the use of cash or vouchers within households when compared to certain types of in-kind assistance (for example, food), and that men may divert the cash meant for enhancing household food security to 'anti-social' expenditures which do not benefit the household. This would put households at greater risk of vulnerability, and possibly reinforce gender-based household conflicts and further entrench gender-based violence (Chant 2006). These feminist voices also argue that CCTs appeal to poor women by drawing upon "deeply conservative notions of womanhood" (Cornwall, Harrison & Whitehead 2007:11) such that CCTs reinforce, rather than challenge, women's traditional domestic, household caring and roles. Because women are responsible for domestic food consumption, they are seen as the best recipients for cash transfers; but this, as the argument goes, solidifies the roles of women in reproductive labour (Brady 2011). Any supposed 'success' of CCTs in empowering women thus seems dependent upon normalising the responsibilities of motherhood (Molyneux 2007). This is described as the "feminization of responsibility and obligation for managing poverty with women being made to do more to ensure household survival, when men are increasingly doing less" (Chant 2006: 24).

The 'conditionalities' attached to CCT programmes form the core of gender critiques. In this regard, women are not called upon as workers or citizens, but instead are "offered

participation” and, most of the time, the terms and conditions of participation in the CCTs simply invoke their maternal responsibilities and position them as “conduits of policy” (Molyneux 2008:8). This means that, although women acquire a key role in generating social protection, the satisfaction of their individual needs per se is not part, directly, of the programmatic objectives. Overall, while the general terms and conditions of CCTs may view women as intermediaries of policy objectives, in practice CCTs take on distinctive forms under different national initiatives. From a gendered perspective, then, further empirical evidence is needed regarding the specific consequences of gender constructs (as embedded in CCTs) in different country settings, as well as on the incidence and character of gender equality concerns in each initiative.

The Puntland Technical Vocational Skills Training programme in Somalia is chosen as a case study for this research for three main reasons. Firstly, Somalia has one of the world’s highest gender inequality indices. According to UNDP (2012), the Gender Inequality Index for Somalia is 0.776 (with a maximum of 1 denoting complete inequality), placing Somalia at the fourth highest position globally. Since scholarly literature points towards the importance of promoting gender issues in socio-economic development, policies and programmes that could enhance female empowerment should be particularly relevant in the Somali setting where a large part of the population is poor, and where gender inequality is very high.

Secondly, Somalia is a politically complicated state, currently divided into different semi-autonomous regions, with Puntland region being one of them. Puntland region has been relatively politically stable in recent years, but it has received significant numbers of internally displaced people (IDPs), most of them fleeing conflict and coming from the southern part of the country (from Mogadishu and south-central Somalia). IDPs are people “who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized border” (OHCHR 1996:6). These IDPs face many challenges due to displacement, and many Somali IDPs have lost chances of attending formal education due to this; hence, they have a high level of illiteracy. The Puntland Vocational Skills training programme, as indicated, is targeted primarily at this group of IDPs, mostly women, with the objective of empowering them with vocational skills that they can use after training for income generation purposes, so that they

can be able to provide for their families.

Thirdly, humanitarian assistance in Somalia has mainly been delivered unconditionally (i.e. without conditions placed on beneficiaries) and in-kind (i.e. not by way of cash), with humanitarian agencies delivering assistance to vulnerable populations in the form of actual food or shelter or other items. Unconditional, and in-kind, assistance, especially food aid, has been criticised for promoting a dependency syndrome, and for discouraging the development of local commodity markets (Roberts 2008:112). For a long time, in-kind humanitarian assistance in Somalia was the preferred option due to uncertainty around market functionality and the market's capacity to satisfy the needs of a cash-based transfer operation without inflating prices in Somalia. This uncertainty arises from the fact that traders in Somalia tend to operate on a small-scale with considerable fluctuation in the volume of goods available. In addition to this, humanitarian assistance has been for the most part unconditional due to the prolonged conflicts and frequent droughts which have left significant numbers of people very vulnerable and in need of immediate humanitarian assistance, making it difficult for humanitarian organisations to implement 'conditional' assistance programmes.

Widespread unconditional cash-based transfers were first implemented in the country in 2003 by the Cash Consortium¹, and evidence from this operation shows that cash-based programmes are feasible in Somalia. The relative novelty of attaching 'conditions' to a humanitarian assistance programme, and using cash transfers in the form of vouchers, makes the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills Training programme an appropriate and useful case study for analysis in relation to gender-based empowerment, and an analysis of it will hopefully bring to the fore many lessons to be used by humanitarian and development actors.

1.3 Thesis Objectives

The overall objective of the thesis is to *critically understand and explain the relationship between conditional cash transfers and women's empowerment based on a case study of the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills training programme in Somalia*. The subsidiary objectives are as

¹ The Cash Consortium is a group of four NGOs (Action Contre la Faim, Adeso, Danish Refugee Council and Save the Children) that came together to coordinate their cash assistance response to the huge humanitarian needs in south-central Somalia.

follows:

- 1) Investigate the cultural dynamics and socio-economic factors conditioning women's subordination;
- 2) Examine the importance of attaching conditions to cash transfer programmes in facilitating women's empowerment; and
- 3) Assess the restructuring of gendered power relations within households, and in the wider community, as a result of the CCT.

1.4 Research Methodology

The study for this thesis is based on a case study research design, focusing on the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills Training programme in three urban districts of Puntland region in Somalia (namely Garowe, Bossaso and Galkayo). The case study design is pursued within the context of an interpretive sociological methodology.

A qualitative methodological approach focuses on understanding the meanings, values, perspectives and practices of human subjects as conditioned by the historically-generated social relationships within which they are located. The basic premise of this methodology is that humans are active agents in the construction of the world in which they live and exist (i.e. their world), and that the ways in which they define and give meaning to situations are the basis on which they act out their lives (David 2000). Within an interpretive methodology, therefore, sociologists seek to understand people's subjective (and inter-subjective) experiences and their interpretation of these experiences, i.e. how people actively construct the reality of their everyday lives through imputing meaning and pursuing meaning-infused practices. While all this implies a strong emphasis on agency, the version of interpretive sociology which frames this thesis recognises the complex interplay between structure and agency. More specifically, human subjects act within social situations that are not necessarily of their own choosing, and these situations are both enabling and disabling in the context of power differentials. Structuring processes do not cause human practices but rather condition them or set limits to them, as the effects of these processes are mediated by everyday subjective meanings and interpretations of human subjects.

Using this methodology, the overall objective of the thesis can be fruitfully pursued, including investigating the cultural dynamics and socio-economic factors (i.e. structure) which

impinge upon the conditional cash transfer programme in Puntland and affect the possibilities of empowering trajectories (for women) arising from the programme. Two points are worth mentioning at this time. First of all, social systems (though infused with power differentials) are not totalising systems which simply imprison human subjects. What subjects do, and how they do them, cannot be read from an analysis of the system. Invariably, there are cracks and crevices in systems which subjects may open up and use to pursue their lives. For instance, despite an all-embracing system of patriarchy in Somalia in general, and Puntland in particular, women may use possibilities existing in the interstices of patriarchal structures and practices to enhance their lives. Secondly, and related to the first point, empowerment is not an all-or-nothing process. Even though the CCTs may not empower women (as generally argued by feminists), women may still be able to alter and improve (if only in minor ways) their conditions of existence within patriarchy – i.e. despite patriarchy – without going beyond it.

1.4.1 Research Design

A case study research design, and one founded on an interpretive methodology, facilitates the exploration and examination of social phenomena within their ‘natural’ context. This regularly includes using a variety of data sources, such that different research lenses are able to capture the multiple facets of phenomena (Hancock & Algozzine 2006). Thus, a qualitative research design allows for in-depth, detailed and intensive understandings of social processes in ‘messy’ real-world settings marked by complex, fluid and fluctuating social interactions and patterns (Robson 2001). Also of particular importance to this thesis is the fact that this case study design permits close collaboration between the researcher and the participants, while enabling participants to tell their stories (Crabtree & Miller 1999). Through these stories, the participants are able to describe their views of reality and this enables the researcher to better understand the participants’ actions (Lather 1992, Robottom & Hart 1993). Due to the complexity of the subject under research (women’s empowerment), there was a need for the researcher to use this approach in order to let the participants describe their experiences during the training, their views about empowerment, and how they understood the effects of this conditional cash transfer programme on their lives.

Yin (2003), McDonough and McDonough (1997) and Stakes (1995) outline different types of case studies. Yin (2003) categorises case studies as exploratory, descriptive or explanatory.

Exploratory case studies are aimed at defining the questions and hypotheses for a subsequent study or at determining the feasibility of the desired research. After the data collection is done, the researcher then tries to make sense of it. These studies are often considered as a prelude to other social research projects, hence are considered “exploratory.” Descriptive case studies set out to describe the real-world phenomena which occur within the data-set collected. While the goal of the researcher is to present a complete description of the phenomenon (addressing the ‘what?’ question) within its broader context, if only in a narrative form (McDonough and McDonough 1997), this often requires a theoretical framework, as description is not necessarily theory-neutral. Explanatory case studies, in relying upon – quite explicitly – a theoretical framing, examine the data closely and deeply in order to offer an analysis of the phenomena under study (Zaidah 2003). In doing so, they tend to address not only the ‘what?’ question, but also the ‘how?’ and ‘why?’ questions. Explanation at times takes a causal form but, as indicated, this thesis speaks rather of conditions in the interplay between structure and agency.

Stakes (1995) identifies case studies as intrinsic, instrumental, or collective. In an intrinsic case study, a researcher examines the case for its own sake. In this instance, the researcher seeks to clearly understand the specificities of a phenomenon under investigation (for example, the Puntland CCT programme), without necessarily identifying its unique and common attributes or qualities relative to other similar phenomenon. In an instrumental case study, the researcher investigates a particular phenomenon (as in instance from a class of phenomenon) with the intention of comparative analysis and making generalisations in relation to the class of phenomenon (for instance, CCT programmes in Africa). Lastly, in a collective case study, the researcher collects data from several different cases (for example, several CCT programmes in Somalia) with the same objective as the instrumental case study approach – for comparison and generalisation.

Since the objective of this thesis is to understand the effects of a conditional cash transfer programme in Puntland on gender and women’s empowerment, the researcher used a combination of the above-mentioned case study approaches, in particular, the explanatory and instrumental approaches. Because research already exists on CCT programmes, an exploratory case study would be unsuitable. For this reason, and in drawing upon an empowerment analytical framework, the thesis seeks to describe and understand (as an interpretive form of explanation) the relationship

between the CCT programme in Puntland and women's empowerment. Further, in contextualising the study of the CCT programme in Puntland with reference to the existing literature on CCT programmes globally, the thesis compares the Puntland case to other cases implemented elsewhere. At the same time, however, the thesis provides insights into the specificities of this Puntland programme.

1.4.2 Research Methods

In the context of the case study research design based on interpretive sociology, I drew upon qualitative research methods in pursuing the fieldwork for the thesis. These methods included structured interviews and focus group discussions with beneficiaries of the CCT programme, and key informant interviews with different stakeholders. Besides this, I also used observation techniques as I had a chance to interact with both the beneficiaries and different stakeholders, formally and informally, during my stay in Somalia for a period of three and half years (as a United Nations staff member), as will be discussed later. There was no specific sequencing of the research methods, such that they were in large part pursued concurrently.

Before conducting fieldwork, I firstly grounded myself in the available scholarly literature about the political and economic history of Somalia (including the history of systems of patriarchy), and how the different political regimes handled gender issues and possibly pursued gender-sensitive policy processes. The literature focused on Somalia broadly and the Puntland region more specifically. Apart from reviewing this literature, I also considered and studied the literature on cash transfers in general as well as specifically on conditional cash transfers in and outside Somalia. Besides scholarly work, this also included grey literature and primary documents, including project evaluation reports by humanitarian assistance organisations, government reports and newspaper articles. The grey literature and primary documents provided both basic and detailed information on education and gender, gender violence, and Somali and Puntland policy processes and strategies relevant to the thesis topic. Studying and reviewing these two sets of literature offered important perspectives and insights into the social context for the case study field-site, as well as guidelines about themes which should be pursued in any useful study of CCT programmes in Somalia which focuses on gender. In addition to this, I also paid considerable attention to programmatic documents relevant in particular to the Puntland Technical Vocational

Skills Training programme, including monitoring and progress reports which were prepared by project staff involved in this programme.

Besides the use of documents, I engaged in non-participatory observation. I spent more than three years in the Puntland region of Somalia, as I was working with a humanitarian organisation there from March 2012 to September 2015 (in large part, the time period for the CCT programme under study). Because of this, I had a chance of visiting the three vocational training centres in the three districts, and interacted with the students and the teaching staff. During these visits, I observed the way in which the trainees were conducting their lessons. Further, I discussed with them (through informal conversations) a range of pertinent issues, such as how they were selected, how they felt about the courses they were undertaking, and also how they thought they would use these skills after exiting the programme. The informal conversations, interactions and observations during these visits helped me to develop a better understanding of the Somali culture in general, and how Somalians understand gender dynamics.

In the office where I worked, there were some Somalia national staff, and hence I interacted with these colleagues on a daily basis, observing their behaviour and also having informal discussions about their political history, culture and religion. As a result of these interactions, I was able to understand the deep significance of Islam to them in their daily lives. Additionally, I interacted with the staff during social gatherings such as ‘get togethers’ and farewell parties of international staff who were leaving Somalia after being reassigned to other duty stations. During these functions, we would prepare food together, contribute money to buy gifts for the colleagues and have farewell speeches. These occasions provided me with an opportunity to observe daily behaviours, especially in terms of gender roles. I noticed that women were primarily responsible for preparing food, cleaning up places and washing of dishes, while men were responsible for organising the farewell gift contributions, buying the gifts and giving the farewell speeches. During these parties, men and women would sit on opposite sides of the room, as it was ‘*haram*’ (i.e. unacceptable) for them to sit together. Further, women would only start eating after the men had finished, and they would eat in a separate enclosed room. All these seemingly mundane practices in Somalia led to ‘cultural surprises’ for me as an outsider coming from a predominantly Christian country (Zimbabwe), and hence they gave me ‘a feel’ for (or practical experience of) the socio-cultural dynamics which would likely prevail in the field-site. Staying in Somalia for an extended

period also enabled me to interact with government officials and staff from other humanitarian organisations who were either directly or indirectly involved in gender policy formulation and implementation, cash transfer programmes generally or vocational skills training programmes in particular. I met these different stakeholders both formally and informally on different occasions during my stay. These interactions facilitated the mapping of key stakeholders (as key informants) to be interviewed for the purposes of this research.

I also made use of structured interviews for the beneficiaries of the programme (i.e. the selected participants who were trained under this programme). The interviews were administered through a questionnaire that included both closed and open ended questions to enable the respondents to freely outline their pertinent views about the CCT programme. The questionnaire included themes such as the beneficiaries' socio economic profiles before and after the training, intra-household gender relations, subjective understandings of empowerment, access to and control over the cash transfer, decisions over the use of resources in the household, and the influence of the training programme on the community dynamics (see Appendix 1). The questionnaires for the beneficiaries were administered between December 2014 and January 2015. Though the questionnaire was not designed to offer a sophisticated quantitative overview and analysis, the standardisation embodied in this structured format did allow for basic aggregation of evidence across the beneficiaries and hence for comparative analyses (Lindlof & Taylor 2002).

The structured interviews were carried out in the Somali language. As I am not conversant with this language, I had to depend upon research assistants to conduct the structured interviews. By standardising the questions through the questionnaire format, across the respondents in the three different districts, I was more easily able to ensure uniformity between the research assistants in the evidence that they collected amongst the beneficiaries. Likewise, this facilitated the possibility of aggregating data across the three districts. I trained and used six research assistants. They undertook the structured interviews in pairs, with two research assistants (working together) assigned to each of the three districts. While the interview questionnaire was in English, the Somali language – as indicated – was used during these structured interviews and the responses were written in English. The research assistants filled in the responses of the beneficiaries on the questionnaire (in English), but I also provided notebooks in case there was need for more space.

The research assistants were fluent in both English and the Somali language, and their capacity to interpret between the two languages was excellent.

In addition to the structured interviews with the selected sample of beneficiaries of the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills Training programme, focus group discussions were also conducted within the same period (between December 2014 and January 2015), with groups of between six and ten beneficiaries. Two focus group discussions (one for male and one for female beneficiaries) were conducted per each district, bringing to a total of six focus group discussions. Focus group discussions provide insights into how a group thinks about an issue through the interplay of ideas, and they also identify different opinions amongst group members (Morgan 1998). The separate discussions allowed women to air their views in the absence of men, which is of significance given the dominance of men in public spaces. As well, the focus groups more broadly were able to identify insights into the different experiences and interpretations of men and women in relation to the CCT programme. An open-ended interview schedule (see Annex 2) was developed for use in the focus group discussion. While the discussions permitted participants some leeway in the issues raised, the research assistants ensured that common issues were raised in the all the groups, to allow for standardisation and comparison across the group discussions. Like the structured interviews, the focus group guideline was in English but the discussions conducted in the Somali language.

For the key informants, I interviewed the different stakeholders as most of them could speak English; and I also had had the opportunity to meet them formally or informally beforehand (during coordination meetings) and hence had developed rapport with them. The interviews were conducted during the period between December 2014 and January 2015, although informal interactions with some of these stakeholders started before this period, and continued afterwards. I took notes during the interviews. However, I also sought help from two of my Somali work colleagues (one male, one female) for assistance with interpretations when needed, especially with government local authorities. The colleagues guided me (during these interviews), especially concerning the Somali culture, in order not to offend the respondents unknowingly, since I was an ‘outsider’. The key informants were involved either directly or indirectly in the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills Training programme. They included: Puntland Ministry of Education (non-formal education sector, including the director); Vocational Training Centre administration staff

from the three centres; Puntland Ministry of Women; Norwegian Refugee Council staff involved in the implementation of the CCT programme; and staff from donors agencies which fund the programme. There was a different interview schedule used for the various key informants (see Annex 3), and a list of the key informants who were interviewed appears in Annex 4. In using different schedules, guiding questions were tailored for each key informant, depending on his or her roles and responsibilities in the implementation of the CCT programme. For example, the Ministry of Education staff had mainly advisory roles and did not interact with the training participants on a daily basis, while the vocational training centre staff were responsible for managing the programme and interacting with the participants daily.

In formulating the different research methods instruments, I focused on two main themes relevant to the thesis objectives and which seemed to be of great importance in critically analysing CCT programmes in relation to women's empowerment. One theme was the design of the CCT programme, looking at levels of beneficiary and stakeholder participation and consultation in programme design (including in relation to men and women), targeting criteria used for selection of beneficiaries, training courses' selection/enrolment and resource allocation for men and women, perception of the conditions attached to the programme, and child care arrangements for women beneficiaries. The other theme involved the impact of the CCT programme on gender and empowerment, in particular identifying the beneficiaries' situation before and after the implementation of the programme. What themes were covered and emphasised in the use of particular research methods depended in large part on the category of person being interviewed: broadly, either beneficiaries or other stakeholders.

Each research method instrument had a section for 'other comments'. In the case of the questionnaires, respondents at times raised issues of significance to them but these were not fully covered in the questionnaire schedule – the research assistant would note down these comments. As well, the assistants used the 'other comments' section to detail information about the context of the structured interview. In the case of the focus group discussions, the assistants would make comments about how they felt the group discussion went in terms of levels of participation (including if they felt that there was differences in emphases regarding certain ideas amongst the respondents, or documenting any non-verbal gestures that they noticed during the discussions). Such extra information was sometimes of value as it brought about clarity especially with regards

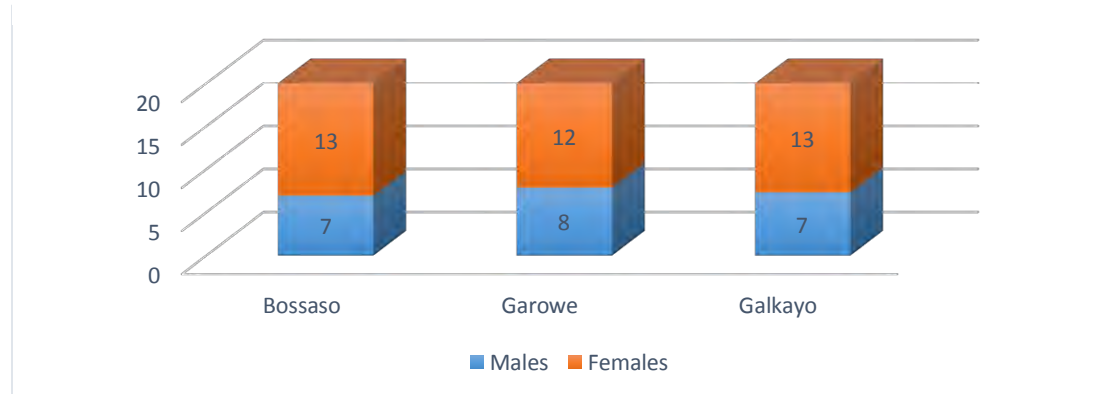
to sensitive questions around gender-based violence, which beneficiaries at times would not freely discuss orally, but could be noted in their non-verbal gestures.

1.4.3 Sampling

In terms of sampling of programme beneficiaries, the identification of the respondents for the structured interviews (questionnaires) was done through the use of the Vocational Training centre registers, as each training centre had a register of the trainees. In each of the three districts, a total of one hundred and fifty trainees were trained under this programme, which means that a total of four hundred and fifty participants were trained for the programme. Amongst these trainees, thirty-seven percent were male whilst sixty-three percent were females (this involved one hundred and sixty-six males and two hundred and eighty-four females). However, each of the centres had varying percentages of males and females. In order to ensure representativeness of both groups (male and female) per each training centre, I used a stratified random sampling technique whereby a proportionally representative sample from each of the two groups was selected for the structured interviews. In total, twenty respondents from each centre were interviewed, making a total of sixty respondents. This consisted of twenty-two males and thirty-eight female respondents. Table 1 shows the distribution of interviewed males and females for each training centre.

For the focus group discussions, convenience sampling was used. The research assistants requested support from the Vocational Training centre authorities in seeking to communicate with beneficiaries of the training programmes who lived close to the centre. The communication was explicit that the discussions were strictly voluntary, so that the beneficiaries were to come to a focus group discussion only if they were free during the proposed time of the set focus group discussion period, and were also willing to share their experiences about the programme with the research assistants.

Table 1: Sampled Respondents per Training Centre



Source: Fieldwork.

Purposive sampling was used for the key informant interview respondents, as I had to select stakeholders who were knowledgeable about the programme and the issues that I was researching about. In engaging with key informants, my interest was to understand the latest developments in Puntland region regarding gender issues and conditional cash transfers, and also the government's position about non-formal education, under which the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills Training programme fell. Through the different interactions I had with various stakeholders while I was working for a humanitarian organisation (as noted earlier), I managed to map the most important stakeholders for my key informant interviews for this study. During these interviews, I was informed about other stakeholders who I had initially not set to interview; this led to using the snowball sampling technique to identify and interview other key informants. Initially I had planned to hold key informant interviews with the administrative and teaching staff at the three vocational training centres, the NRC staff involved in the programme and the government representatives from the ministries of women and Education. Interviews with these stakeholders embodied constant references to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as having played an instrumental role in the Puntland gender policy process; and hence interviewed UNDP staff. I also attended Cash Working Group meetings, at which most organisations implementing cash transfer programmes met to give each other updates on their programming and also to work together to discuss any policy issues regarding cash transfer programming in Somalia. Although this group

was not very active in 2014 and 2015, attending some of these meetings helped me to meet with different partners and learn from their different CCT programmes.

1.4.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted using in particular qualitative analysis tools, though I also used quantitative data analysis with reference to the structured interviews. Data from the closed questions in the structured interviews conducted with the beneficiary respondents was analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS), while thematic analysis was undertaken for focus group discussions, the open-ended questions in the structured interviews, and the key informant interviews.

Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data (Braun & Clarke 1996). It is concerned with meanings, intentions, consequences and context, and offers a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of the data. It involves the search for, and identification of, common threads that extend across an entire interview or set of interviews (DeSantis & Ugarriza 2000). Through thematic analysis, it is possible to distil verbal constructions into theme-related categories (Cavanagh 1997).

The process of thematic analysis is categorised into six main phases, namely: familiarisation with data, generating initial codes, searching for themes among codes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the final report (Braun & Clarke 1996). The familiarisation phase starts with selecting the unit of analysis, which can be a word, sentence or portion of pages. The researcher is guided by the objectives of the study in choosing the contents they analyse (Robson 1993) and, in doing so, she or he strives to make sense of the data and to learn ‘what is going on’ (Morse & Field 1995). This is done by reading through the data several times in order for the researcher to become completely familiar with the data, paying specific attention to patterns that occur.

Under the second phase, the researcher generates the initial codes by documenting where and how patterns occur. This happens through data reduction where the researcher collapses data into labels in order to create categories or codes for a more efficient analysis. This also involves the researcher making inferences about what the codes mean. As a result of this, the researcher will have a list of comprehensive codes that show how the data addresses the research objectives.

In phase three, the researcher combines codes into overarching themes that accurately depict the data. At this point, the researcher will have developed a list of themes and begun to focus on broader patterns in the data, combining coded data with proposed themes. The difference between coding (which is done in phase two) and the defining of themes in phase three is that themes describe the outcome of combining codes for analytic reflection (Braun & Clarke 1996).

In the fourth phase, reviewing of themes is done. The researcher may search for data that supports or refutes the theory used for the study – though, for this thesis, a theoretical framework (rather than a theory as such) is used for pursuing the study. Some existing themes may collapse into each other while others may need to be condensed into smaller units (Greg, MacQueen & Namey 2012). During this phase, the researcher also identifies if themes form coherent patterns or not. If themes do not form clear patterns, it is important to either rework the theme or identify new themes during this phase. It is therefore important at this stage to read and re-read the data to determine if current themes relate back to the data set, and then develop a potential thematic map. By the end of this phase, therefore, the researcher will have an idea of the key relevant themes and how they fit together so that they convey a story about the data set.

The fifth phase consists of defining and naming themes. This would involve, for instance, considering what the current themes consist of, and being able to explain each theme in a few sentences in order, in the end, to give the reader a full sense of the theme and its importance. The sixth and final phase is the report writing phase where the researcher should use the selected themes in making a meaningful contribution to addressing the research objectives. The goal of this phase is to provide the thematic analysis in order to convey the complicated story of the data in a manner that convinces the reader of the validity and merit of the researcher's analysis. A clear, concise, and straightforward coherent account of the story within and across themes is important for readers to understand the final report (Guest, MacQueen and Namey 2012).

Of course, in a research project (like this thesis) which is not merely exploratory, there exist codes, categories and themes relevant to the study of the phenomenon under investigation (in this case, cash transfer programmes). This is indicated by the two main themes (noted in section 4.1.2) which structured loosely the collection of evidence through the various research methods used. However, once the evidence is collected, it is important to bracket these pre-existing themes (i.e. to put them aside) and to allow the evidence to breathe and thereby speak to the researcher –

rather than being filtered by a way of a pre-existing thematic template. This I sought to do in drawing upon the six stages of qualitative data analysis outlined above. At the same time, these six steps tend to overlap and are not entirely sequential, and the researcher may at times move back and forth between the stages.

Nevertheless, as much as possible, I followed the different phases of the thematic analysis approach for analysing the responses from the open-ended questions from the structured interviews, the key informant interviews and the focus group discussions. After collecting together the completed questionnaires from the research assistants, I started off by firstly familiarising myself with the data by reading through the different responses given by the respondents, and noting the main ideas that were coming out. After obtaining this general overview of the responses, I then held debriefing sessions with the research assistants in order to acquire their own views on how the interviews went, and the main themes that they felt the respondents were emphasising. After this, I went back to review the questionnaires in more detail, and also triangulated this with the feedback received from the research assistants. Individual responses from the open-ended questions in the structured interview questionnaire were also triangulated with focus group discussion responses and the key informant interviews.

I noticed that, at times, the same basic ideas were reoccurring across the questionnaires, and across the questionnaires and focus group discussions. In addition to this, some responses from the open ended questions could be grouped into categories, such that I used these categories to develop a more quantitative understanding. More specifically, the answers to the questions falling within these categories were entered into SPSS. For example, responses from open ended questions regarding the beneficiaries' views about conditionality and their definition of empowerment were coded after reading the different responses given by beneficiaries, and identifying the main responses. These responses were then grouped and entered into SPSS for analysis.

The main themes that came out of the data analysis form the basis for the empirical chapters (stage six of the thematic process) which follow later in the thesis. As well, later I indicate how these themes relate back to the thesis' main and subsidiary objectives, to ensure that the reader fully understands how the evidence speaks to the thesis objectives.

1.4.5 Research Limitations

Although the research for the thesis was carefully planned and prepared, there were some unavoidable limitations. First of all, due to the challenging security situation in one of the locations chosen for this case study (Galkayo district), I only managed to visit the district once during the period I was working in Puntland in meeting and discussing with trainees informally. The security situation in this district limits movement for international donor staff as it requires significant logistical arrangements to conduct visits outside the organisational compounds. As a result of this, I had to mainly depend on the interviews conducted by the research assistants. In the other two locations, I was able to visit the training centres more often as I was based in the two districts (Bossaso and Garowe) during my work assignment in Somalia; this was possible, despite the fact that the security situation in these locations was also not stable. Most of the evidence I present from the informal discussions and observations are mainly from these two districts.

Secondly, the sample size for the structured interviews was sixty beneficiaries of the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills Training programme. Despite the fact that a systematic sampling strategy was used to select the interviewed respondents, the results might not be representative of the effects of conditional cash transfers on women's empowerment in Somalia generally – this is due to the fact that the country is divided into many different regions that have diverse characteristics especially regarding their progress in terms of gender issues. Though the Puntland findings cannot be generalised in any statistical sense to a wider universe of conditional cash transfers programmes, it seems likely that the findings speak to themes and dynamics which reoccur in other areas (in Somalia and beyond). After all, as will be seen in the later literature review, the issues that were raised by the respondents resonate with tendencies identified in cash transfer programmes elsewhere.

Thirdly, as a researcher who was working with the United Nations (UN) during the period of study, and meeting with some respondents (especially the key informants) who also identified me as such (i.e. as UN staff), some certain degree of subjectivity was unavoidable. There is a probability that some of the key informants responded to questions regarding women's empowerment in the way that they thought the researcher 'wanted to hear', in an attempt to reflect and represent their organisations in a positive way. In addition to this, as a researcher, I was also mindful of the fact that there is some subjectivity inherent in the work we produce through our

fieldwork and writing. This relates to the fact that, after having stayed and worked for an extended period in Puntland, and learning about Somalia through observations, social interactions and informal discussions. I tried my best to be objective and continuously reminded myself about the norms that I had learnt from my colleagues – in particular, with regards to ‘acceptable’ dress and taking heed of the prayer times when planning any meetings with the respondents. As Pryke, Rose and Whatmore (2003:120) note, it is important to “cultivate the faculty of good judgement in the course of doing research. It is ... necessary to continuously ask the question: how do you write on the life of others and to what extent may you distance yourself?” Throughout the course of this research, I kept this in mind, trying to maintain my critical distance, but also trying to do the ‘right thing’ culturally. However, this is a difficult process when it brings discomfort to the researcher, including when handling sensitive research issues on gender, notably in the Somali context where religion plays a very important role in the everyday lives of the respondents.

Finally, because of ongoing work commitments (including extensive travelling) and personal challenges, there was a considerable delay between the completion of the fieldwork for the thesis and the actual writing of the thesis. This at times led to significant disruptions in seeking to work consistently throughout the thesis programme. In the end, perseverance was necessary in order to finalise the thesis.

1.4.6 Ethical Considerations

With regard to ethics, I kept in mind the ethical standards in social research and the ethical guidelines set out by Rhodes University, and ensured that these standards were met at all times during the thesis process. Permission for the fieldwork was obtained from the Puntland region’s Government Ministry of Interior, the authority responsible for approving research in Puntland. I also sought approval from the Somali management of the Norwegian Refugee Council as this case study was based on the programme that NRC was implementing in the three districts of Puntland region. Besides this, verbal consent was sought before the interviews with the different respondents for the structured interviews, focus group discussions and key informant interviews, after briefing them openly about the purpose of this research. Individuals for the structured and key informant interviews were also requested to sign to confirm their consent, and space was available on the schedules for this purpose (see Annex 1 and 3).

Having learnt from my Somali colleagues about the culture and religion in the country, I also – as noted – took into considerations such issues as dress during (and timing of) the interviews with the different Ministries to respect their prayer times and cultural dressing. Further, since my thesis touches on issues of gender, which could potentially result in sensitive issues being discussed with respondents (such as gender based violence or clan authority), I ensured anonymity of the respondents when requested to do so. I also came to know, during my stay in Somalia, that gender is a delicate topic within Islam, and I had to be sensitive and considerate if the respondents felt uneasy to talk about this issue. During my training of the research assistants, I also emphasised this point.

1.5 Thesis Outline

The thesis consists of seven chapters, including this introductory chapter. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 are contextual chapters, chapters 5 and 6 are empirical chapters, and chapter 7 is the concluding chapter.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framing for the study of the Puntland conditional cash transfer programme, and it focuses on the notion of patriarchy from a feminist perspective, with a particular emphasis on women in the worldwide development system. Chapter 3 offers an overview of cash transfer programmes from a global perspective but then narrows the discussion to a consideration of conditional cash transfer programmes in particular, given that this type of programme was implemented in Puntland. Chapter 4, broadly speaking, examines the political economy of Somalia, tracing political developments from the colonial period up until the current period and the position of women in Somalia. Reference is also made to cash transfers in Somalia. Chapter 5, as the first empirical chapter, discusses the formation of Puntland and the status of women in Puntland, as well as the Puntland CCT programme with specific reference to the camps for internally-displaced people (as the programme centres on these people and women in particular). Chapter 6 offers a detailed examination and analysis of the Puntland CCT programme in relation to empowering women, including the gendered relations between men and women in the context of the programme. The final chapter (chapter 7) shows the manner in which the Puntland study addresses the objectives of the thesis, and revisits theoretical points in the process.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMING

2.1 Introduction

The objective of this thesis is to examine the possible restructuring of gender relations including women's empowerment in the context of conditional cash transfers (CCTs), with specific reference to a case study in Puntland, Somalia. In seeking to address this objective analytically, this chapter draws upon feminist and other literature which addresses questions of women's subordination and empowerment with specific reference to the worldwide development system. In this regard, in examining approaches to women and development, it is necessary to draw attention to conceptual and analytical approaches, as well as forms of development interventions and practices, which seek to establish relationships between gender inequality, women's experiences and possible empowering processes for women. This specific focus on women and development is thus framed more broadly within notions of empowerment and women's empowerment, which often speaks to the relationship between structure and agency, a theme central to sociological reasoning (Giddens 1984).

Though the chapter does not delve into the full complexities of the structure-agency debate, its key points are important. In particular, the chapter shows that 'structures' (including patriarchal structures) condition 'agency' rather than determine it in any strict (causal) sense. This means that any existing structured social totality is not a totalising system which simply pre-determines agency. Further, within any social totality, there are opportunity structures or spaces within which subordinated groupings (like women) are able to successfully enhance their well-being without necessarily restructuring the totality. This might appear to imply the absence of empowerment for subordinated groupings, as structures remain untransformed. However, empowerment is a multi-dimensional process which often entails a chipping-away at structures of subordination.

The first section of the chapter (2.2) sets out a broad analytical context about power, patriarchy and women's empowerment, including the ways in which women are disempowered and may be empowered. In the following section (2.3), there is a more specific focus on the worldwide development system and the different development programmes – pertaining to women and gender – which have arisen historically. These programmatic approaches include Women in

Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD), amongst others. These approaches, which are broadly based on different forms of feminist thought, build upon each other, and hence there is some overlap between them. Further, in these approaches, a disjuncture sometimes exists between programmatic intentions around women and programmatic practices. A critical appraisal of these different development approaches is offered. In the penultimate section (2.4) of the chapter, there is an attempt to locate – tentatively – the case study in Puntland (which has a focus on women) within this broader analytical and development context.

2.2 Power, Patriarchy and Women's Empowerment

The term “empowerment” is widely used in international development discourse, as empowerment is now seen as a key objective of development interventions and of progressive social change more broadly. Historically, within development circles, empowerment became associated with alternative development thinking and strategies involving the local, bottom-up participatory methodologies of NGOs and a corresponding disenchantment with mainstream, state-led development practices (Parpart et al. 2002). However, the term does not have a universally agreed-upon definition, and remains subject to varying interpretations (Kabeer 2001, Ahmad et al. 2009, Nussbaum 2000, Stern, Dehier & Roger 2005, Narayan 2002, Sen 1999, Clark 2006, Robeyns 2003, Alsop, Bertelsen & Holland 2006, North 1990, Manuere 2018). This is a point which feminists have made at times in referring to it as a ‘fuzzy’ concept (Kabeer 1999). This may derive in part from the fact that the term derives from the notion of ‘power’, which itself is marked by differing understandings (Batliwala 1994).

Nevertheless, the significance of empowering women derives from pervasive existence of systems of patriarchy which vary across time and space, and which include structures, practices and discourses (Sen & Grown 1988). Patriarchy has social, cultural, spiritual, economic, political and ideological dimensions, which regularly leads to the subordinate position of women being ‘naturalised’ (or seen as embodied in their inherent, natural characteristics). Women themselves may also internalise, in their subjectivity, this naturalised condition or state of existence. In this context, empowerment of women is understood as necessarily entailing a challenge to systems of patriarchy, through women becoming aware of their subordinate position (as socially-constructed) and developing agential capacity to overcome patriarchy.

In this regard, as noted, the notion of power becomes important. Power is often linked to the power-to-dominate, or the (coercive and ideological) power held by ‘those in power’ which subordinates certain groups in society (including women) and constrains their agency. However, those without formal positions of power in society also enact power which, for them, is an enabling power. In relation to the worldwide development system, a distinction has been made between positive power and negative power (FRIDE 2006), and this distinction has wider applicability. On the one hand, negative power (or power in direct opposition to ‘those in power’) entails the capacity to bring about deep-rooted change and in a way that confronts ‘those in power’. In this sense, any meaningful and significant change can only be achieved if the existing patterns of power or structured totality (such as patriarchy) are challenged explicitly and directly. On the other hand, positive power involves capacities and practices which operate within the confines of the totality but nevertheless express a form of agency which promotes well-being (Wieringa 1995). It is the latter form of power (positive power) which is often stimulated and enhanced in the development programmes of NGOs through participatory methodologies, as NGOs frequently avoid confronting directly the fundamental power structures of society (Sohail 2014). Given that empowerment is a process, it may be that this positive power, which often involves creative and critical elements, leads to more far-reaching changes.

On this basis, Kabeer (2001) uses the term ‘disempowered’ (as a negative condition of constrained human choices) to highlight the process of empowerment by which human agency may at times undercut power differentials. Since social relationships are infused with power relations, power is relational rather than a ‘thing’ that is wielded or used merely by ‘those in power’; and empowerment is a multi-dimensional process which, ultimately, entails the levelling of power differentials (Page 1999). This means that subordinated groups are never ‘without power’, with negative power invariably arising out of positive power. In a similar vein, Rowlands (1995) distinguishes between four types of power: ‘power over’, ‘power to’, ‘power with’ and ‘power from within’. Out of these four types of power, ‘power over’ is system-sustaining and is performed by formal power-holders in society. The other three forms of power are all positive, augmentative and cumulative. They are all life-affirming for subordinate groups (Kabeer 2001) and become embodied in processes of empowerment. In this light, Moser (1989, 1993) underlines the significance for women of developing internal strength and self-esteem (‘power within’), the

capacity to come together in collectives ('power with') and 'power to': either to chip away at patriarchal structures or to bring about fundamental changes in undercutting power differentials.

The importance of women's empowerment derives from the fact that power relations are embedded in social relationships between men and women. Empowering women thus, ultimately, implies a shift in those power relations in favour of women (Sen & Grown 1988, Parpart et al. 2002). There is a vast amount of literature examining the concept of women's empowerment and many different ways of defining it (Malhotra & Schuler 2005). The thesis adopts the definition used by UN Women (2011), in which women's empowerment has five components: women's sense of self-worth; their right to have and to determine choices; their right to have access to opportunities and resources; their right to have the power to control their own lives, both within and outside the home; and their ability to influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order, nationally and internationally. Intrinsic to this definition is the different forms of power (power within, power with and power to), the multi-faceted character of empowerment and the fact that empowerment is processual. One of key points highlighted by the definition is the prevalence of patriarchy in both the public and domestic spheres, with the presence and practices of women regularly being linked to the domestic sphere, while men are seen as occupying the public sphere (Adato et al. 2000). Empowering women through development is discussed more fully in section 2.3.

2.3 Women and the Worldwide Development System

The idea of bringing women into the development process, and of focusing on their role within the worldwide development system, emerged in the early 1970s with the Women in Development approach (Koczberski 1998). At that point, several (mainly female) development practitioners and researchers noticed that women were ignored in the development efforts of major aid donors, such as the United Nations, the World Bank and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and that the economic, political and social situation of women had not improved significantly on a global basis. Because of this, there began a push for greater representation of women in mainstream development agencies, and a demand that women be taken into account in those agencies' aid and development programmes. Tasli (2007), in her work of the role and status of women in the development process, gives a historical overview of the different

approaches and discourses pertaining to women and development, going back to the 1950s. These approaches are: Welfare; Women in Development (WID); Women and Development (WAD), Gender and Development (GAD); and Empowerment.

2.3.1 Welfare Approach

The welfare approach is the earliest approach in the development discourse and is rooted in the social welfare model of the Western colonial and post war development agencies in the 20th century. This approach was concerned with improving the lives of those people who had been affected by the Second World War, by offering them assistance mostly in the form of free delivery of goods and services such as food aid, shelter and health (Razavi & Miller 1995). Under this approach, poverty was defined as the absence of a public good, and proponents argued that welfare programmes should ensure universal entitlement to all. This approach continues to be very popular and is used by many humanitarian agencies in countries where conflict continues (including Somalia), and also in countries that have suffered the effects of HIV and AIDS.

With regards to women, this approach focused on social welfare concerns aimed at relieving suffering and meeting women's 'practical needs' within existing gender roles and patriarchy more broadly. Practical needs are the immediate necessities of women such as adequate living conditions in respect of water, food, shelter and healthcare (Moser 1993). In the early years of international development programming in the 1950s, the prevailing assumption was that the benefits of economic development would 'trickle down' to households through the male breadwinner – and that the impact of development was in effect gender neutral (World Bank 2000).

In failing to address patriarchal arrangements, the welfare approach is criticised on the grounds of reproducing 'power-over', as it constructs women (and men) as objects of charity, and reproduces (if not reinforces) structures of patriarchy based upon – amongst other implicit claims – wealth 'trickling-down' from men to women as dependents. Women's confinement to the domestic sphere, and their role in social reproduction as mothers and wives, is not questioned (Moser 1993) let alone challenged (Vijayamohanan, Asalatha & Ponnuswamy 2009). This is seen for instance in development programmes, for women, which focus on nutritional education and home economics. Overall, women are conceptualised as passive recipients of development rather than as active participants in the process of their own development (Moser 1993, Razavi & Miller

1995). The top-down character of welfare-development initiatives have only succeeded in creating dependency rather than in assisting women to become more independent and empowered (Wallace and March 1991). Notions of power-to, power-with and power-within are absent from this approach.

The development approaches focusing more explicitly on women and gender are discussed below.

2.3.2 Women in Development (WID) Approach

The Women in Development (WID) approach first came to prominence in the early 1970s as a basis for including women in development. This was subsequent to the criticisms of the welfare approach, including its assumption of the ‘trickle down’ effect of development through male breadwinners to women (Tinker 1990). Prevailing evidence (Boserup 1970, Elliott 1999) indicated ongoing conditions of poverty and disadvantages specifically for women, yet women (as women) were in large part invisible in the development process. Development was not gender-neutral: it tended to benefit males over females, concentrated on women’s reproductive roles, ignored the sexual division of labour and segmentation of women in the labour market, and overlooked the meaningful productive role of women in society (including by way of subsistence- and market-based production). The WID perspective therefore “gave primacy to women’s productive role and their integration into the economy as a means of improving their status” (Tinker 1990:6). In mainstreaming women in development programmes, development agencies would be able to ‘invest’ in women as untapped resources in the overall development process. In facilitating this, the WID approach made women more visible in both development theory and practice (Young 1993).

As a result, in 1972, the United Nations designated 1975 as the International Women’s Year, highlighting the need to involve women in development practices. Likewise, the 1973 Percy Amendment to the United States Foreign Assistance Act required that USAID “give particular attention to those programmes, projects and activities which integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort” (Tasli 2007: 13). In 1975, the United Nations also organised the first global conference on women, in Mexico. The conference sought to address nations’ role in fighting gender inequalities

and supporting women's rights. Following this conference, the United Nations declared the UN Decade for Women (1976-1985). During this period, the term 'WID' became particularly popular as the approach became institutionalised in the United Nations system as well as in governments, development agencies and NGOs. Resources became available for WID activities and, by 1980, many countries and agencies had set up special offices as the focal point of these concerns.

The WID approach also underwent many changes throughout the 1970s and 1980s. There was a shift in focus, for instance, from formal measures of gender equity to more substantive conditions of poverty amongst women. This involved advocating for the formulation, pursuit and implementation of development programmes which placed attention on the many adverse impacts of women's exclusion from development (Cornwall and Edwards 2014, Rogers 1980), and advocating for 'women only' anti-poverty programmes as well as involving women in the planning processes of development programmes. Through this process, the WID perspective sought to bring to the fore the importance of 'what women could do for development', rather than 'what development could do for women'. This entailed creating "space and provided impetus (as well as modest resources) for innovative strategies that put productive resources, such as revolving loan funds and micro-lending, into the hands of women." (Tasli, 2007:13). This would enhance the status of women in households and increase their intra-household bargaining power vis-à-vis men.

In large part, the WID approach, at least in its early stages, derived from liberal feminist ideas that women's disadvantages stemmed from stereotyped expectations held by men and internalised by women, and promoted through various agencies of socialisation (Connell 1987:34). In pursuing gender equity, WID advocates postulated that women's disadvantages can, in principle, be eliminated by breaking down these stereotypes: for example, by giving girls better training, introducing equal employment opportunities for women and anti-discrimination legislation, or by freeing up labour markets for women. Particular attention was paid to women's productive labour rather than reproductive concerns. This focus on women's productive labour was part of a strategy aimed at reformulating women's identities and enhancing women's integration, involvement and status in the public sphere, including the political sphere. Admittedly, WID did focus on decreasing women's reproductive workload by, for example, lightening their household responsibilities through better access to water and fuel. But this was designed to enhance their production capacity outside of the domestic sphere, while also linking women to

domestic care.

Major criticisms emerged around the WID framework. The WID concept was “non-confrontational” as it put its main emphasis on how women could be better “integrated” into ongoing development initiatives, without challenging the existing structures of patriarchy (or power-over) in which the sources of women’s subordination and oppression are embedded (Rathbeger 1990:491-492). Critical issues of power, and the manner in which women’s position can only be properly understood in relational terms (men-women relationships), were left unaddressed. Further, the WID approach tended to ignore issues around race and class, and therefore was insensitive to social differentiations within the category of women (as was the welfare approach); additionally, like the welfare approach as well, it promoted a world view based on Western thinking (Braidott et al. 1994, Guijt & Shah 1998, Kabeer 1994, Barriteaus 2000, Sen & Grown 1988).

Instead of questioning existing development strategies, the WID approach focused on how women could be better integrated into these development initiatives, thereby avoiding questioning the foundation of women’s oppression (Young 1993). Post-WID approaches argued that women were already integrated into development processes but on unequal terms. The issue was not, for critics, a matter of exclusion but rather inclusion in-and-through practices subordinating women. Development projects increased the demands on women without increasing access to resources or decision-making power and, in effect, worked against women’s interests. As well, the ‘naturalised’ connection between women, femininity and reproductive labour was not subjected to vigorous criticism, as the focus was on incorporating women into the public sphere. In criticising the anti-poverty approach under WID, Buvinic (1986) argued that, as the approach seeks to increase employment and income-generation opportunities for women, it recognises the productive role of women while ignoring their reproductive role, thereby failing to understand the gendered dynamics of the ‘private sphere’. This therefore implied an increase in the workload for women, which is referred to by Moser (1993:69) as a ‘triple burden’ (reproductive, productive and community work).

The WID perspective increasingly focused on women’s productive roles in economy and society and, in doing so, relied heavily on an elastic concept of women’s time (thereby, downplaying their unpaid domestic load). In this way, the ‘practical’ gender needs of women

would be met at the cost – for women – of longer working hours and increased unpaid work. This, for Rowlands (1997), tends to instrumentalise women, as they are seen as a mere resource for addressing broader development goals. It amounts to a ‘productivist’ position (sometimes called an ‘efficiency’ position) in which women in effect become an (economic) input factor for generating economic growth which would, in time, facilitate the emergence of inclusive socio-economic development. Ultimately, this was based on neo-liberal principles (Cornia et al. 2004, Abdullah & Fofana-Ibrahim 2010) involving market-driven growth. In this light, Molyneux and Razavi (2006) argue that markets are “powerful drivers of inequality, social exclusion and discrimination against women, whose unpaid care work held the social fabric together without recognition or reward”. Similarly, Wichterich (2000:18) points out that “rather than liberating women into the workplace, a new underclass of low paid or unpaid women workers was bred instead.”

WID anti-poverty programmes assumed that women have ‘free-time’, and development programmes often ‘extended’ their working day. Unless the anti-poverty projects have an in-built mechanism to lighten the burden of domestic and child care duties, they may fail even to meet women’s ‘practical’ needs to earn an income. Even then, the employment and income-generation projects were typically located in the informal economy and involved informal micro-credit schemes (Snyder & Tadesse 1995), thereby generating limited resources for women which might have minimal capacity to alter the balance of power between married couples. These projects also were related to activities (for example, dress-making) traditionally linked to femininity and undertaken by women. More strategic gender needs, which address patriarchal arrangements and reshape gendered relationships, were not forthcoming under WID.

2.3.3 Women and Development (WAD) Approach

The Women and Development (WAD) approach arose in the second half of the 1970s, and criticised the WID approach for its focus on ways to better integrate women into development initiatives while simultaneously avoiding questioning the source of women’s oppression. Broadly speaking, the WAD approach draws on neo-Marxist feminism and dependency theories, and it highlights the relationship between women and the process of capitalist development in terms of the material conditions that contribute to the exploitation of women (Rathgeber 1994). Women’s

participation in development processes has been adversely affected by the structures of class inequality embedded within global structures of capitalism. For this reason, economic empowerment for women becomes central, and by way of transforming fundamentally the prevailing international class-based system (Cornwall and Edwards 2014).

Not only women, but also men in the global South, have been subjected to processes of adverse incorporation into the global capitalist order (Moyoyetta 2004), though in differentiated ways. Because of this, men in the global South may occupy a class position lower than women in the global North. The key social differences for WAD proponents are class-based differences which exist within the categories of women and men (and which take the form for instance of ethnic, racial and national dimensions), rather than differences between the categories of men and women. Due to this position, class takes precedence over gender in terms of analytical significance, and a sustained understanding of patriarchy is not provided, including the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women's subordination, exploitation and oppression (Shepherd et al. 2014). This also means, as Kabeer (1994) argues, that WAD gives scant attention to the sphere of reproduction and household-level relations between men and women (where patriarchy is often lived and experienced). In this sense, and despite crucial differences, there are parallels between WID and WAD in their 'productivist' stances. Both emphasise the productive role of women at the expense of their reproductive one, and the social relations between men and women (which constitute patriarchy) do not receive adequate scrutiny (Rathgeber 1990).

2.3.4 Gender and Development Approach (GAD)

The weaknesses of both WID and WAD led to the emergence of the Gender and Development (GAD) approach in the 1980s. In particular, the WID approach was mainly criticised for simply incorporating women into 'male-stream' development initiatives without addressing male domination (or patriarchy), and for also giving primacy to women's productive role in the public sphere at the expense of their reproductive role in the domestic sphere (Rathgeber 1990). Likewise, WAD focused on the productive role of women; further, its almost exclusive consideration of social class failed to address gender relations and patriarchy more generally. Resultantly, in development practices, there was lack of progress in changing women's lives. The GAD approach

focuses on both the public and private lives of women, and in a manner which is sensitive to the patriarchal structures of the public and domestic spheres. Simultaneously, it considers class distinctions within the category of women. In large part, GAD draws upon both Marxist feminism and radical feminism (to produce a socialist feminism) and recognises, respectively, the exploitative structures of capitalism and the oppressive structures of patriarchy. The radical feminism strand comes out clearly in GAD's willingness to consider women in the domestic sphere.

Further, as with radical feminism, GAD focuses on men-women relationships. Both WID and WAD, in considering women almost in isolation from men, undercuts any analysis of gender (rather than women) as a socially-constructed phenomenon (Ostergaard 1992). Under GAD, there is a focus on gender. To posit development in relation to 'women' (as WID and WAD do) at times comes across as positing 'women' as the problem, without addressing relationships of power between men and women including men's power-over women – both in the public and domestic spheres. In fact, men can constrain and enable the agency and life-courses of women. Hence, GAD is concerned about the social, economic, political and cultural forces that determine how men and women participate in, benefit from, and control project resources and activities differently, in relation to development programmes (Razavi & Miller 1995, CEDPA 1996).

With GAD, the rationale for pursuing development programmes in relation to women shifted from issues pertaining to efficiency/productivity and equity, to empowerment. The approach promotes a development process that transforms gender relations in order to enable women to participate on an equal basis with men in determining their common future. The emphasis shifted more to the 'strategic' (and not simply 'practical') needs of women, which are delimited by Moser (1998) as those needs that arise from women's subordinate position in society, including around legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages, or women's control over their bodies (Whitehead 1979). The strategic needs of women, in overcoming subordination, arise because of a person's position in a network of kinship and affinity ('ascribed relations') or through a person's involvement in socio-economic and political life ('achieved relations'). Both ascribed and achieved gendered relations interact in a complex matrix under the influence of a variety of factors such as class, race, and religion. In the end, gender relations closely correlate with the socio-economic and political distribution of power as well as the distribution of resources and

wealth.

Proponents of GAD argue that a gender-and-development perspective does not lead only to development interventions and affirmative action strategies to ensure that women are more fully integrated into socio-economic development. Rather, GAD leads to a fundamental re-examination of social structures and institutions and, ultimately, of the power of entrenched elites, which also affect men. It demands a deep commitment to structural change and power shifts (Rathgeber 1990), by ensuring that women build and embrace power-within, power-with and power-to despite the entrenched systems of capitalism and patriarchy. In this context, GAD conceives women as agents of change rather than as passive recipients of development efforts.

In development programmes, the GAD approach introduced 'gender mainstreaming' as a strategy aimed at increasing gender awareness in all areas and all levels of life (Tasli 2007). Previously, integrating of women into development was often taken to mean only increasing women's participation in development agendas already decided upon by others (often men) without taking their contributions, knowledge, priorities and needs into consideration. Gender mainstreaming involves a process of assessing the implications for men and women of any development intervention, ensuring that women's concerns and experiences are an integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development policies and programmes (Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, 1997, UN 1999: ix). Mainstream development agencies have taken this on board, though regularly detached from the analytical roots from which gender mainstreaming arose.

Gender mainstreaming processes are not without their challenges, as are any substantive efforts to bring about the empowerment of women. First of all, to its credit, GAD suggests that the state can play an important facilitating role with respect to women's empowerment (Tasli 2007). However, women are normally inadequately represented in terms of decision-making powers in the state apparatus, both at national and local levels. Male dominance and resistance, along with bureaucratic inertia, often inhibits institutional changes within the state (Townsend et al. 1999). States, of course, are not without internal tensions and contradictions, yet they are also institutions where male privileges are deeply embedded and entrenched (Arnfred 2001).

Secondly, gender mainstreaming specifically is difficult to pursue (Goetz 1997) as, like the state, other institutional spaces (including the domestic sphere and the labour market) are deeply

entrenched spaces. As well, the vigour at which states and development agencies pursue gender mainstreaming is open to questioning. Rao (2001) argues that UN Decade for Women and the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 unleashed a flurry of feminist activism and women's organisations which encouraged states to sign on to gender equality commitments, without subsequently pursuing gender transformation in any meaningful manner. Gender mainstreaming has often involved merely adopting a gender policy, creating a gender unit to work on organisational programmes, mandatory gender training, and increasing the number of women staff and managers (Baden & Goetz 1998).

Because of this, feminist and associated analytical visions regarding gender mainstreaming as a mechanism for changing gender power relations does not match the reality of institutional development practices, or are not meaningfully embedded in these practices. If anything, gender mainstreaming occurs at the expense of social transformation. O'Neil, Domingo and Valters (2014), in the same vein, also argue that 'gender mainstreaming', the most prominent legacy at the Beijing conference, has become a technocratic exercise that prevents engagement with the issues of power and politics that lie at the heart of women's empowerment. In practice, donors have relegated substantive gender issues to their social development sections and paid insufficient attention to the gender dimensions of other areas of development, particularly at the macro level. Despite its good intentions of politicising women's issues in development, GAD therefore may have had the opposite effect. In the context of development discourse, gender has become an issue of checklists, planning and "political correctness". Women's issues soon became depoliticised and GAD lost its critical edge (Arnfred 2001: 76, Abdullah & Fofana-Ibrahim 2010). In most cases, gender mainstreaming merely becomes an add-on to programmes based on WID and WAD.

Thirdly, GAD (like WID and WAD) has been accused of ethnocentrism by many scholars and activists in the global South. Thus, as a top-down development discourse, it reflects the preoccupations and assumptions of Western feminists rather than the women they purport to be representing and assisting. For instance, White (1992) argues that GAD homogenises all women in the global South and treats them as victims of their own (patriarchal-based) cultural arrangements. On this basis, these women are in need of saviours (from the global North) and their programmatic interventions to alter their subordinate status; this, in turn, negates and undermines the voice and agency of women of colour (in the global South) and hence feeds into colonial

stereotypes. Ethnocentric assumptions are posited about the character and content of relations between men and women in Africa and elsewhere, seeing these relations as inevitably marked by exploitation, subordination and conflict; whereas, while recognising these possible dimensions in their gendered relations, the women in question might also place emphasis on cooperation and accommodation, and the security and status (for women) marking these relations.

2.3.5 Third World Feminist Approach

The Third World feminist approach (or African feminism more specifically) to development emerged in the mid-1980s as an alternative to the other approaches (Moser 1993) and, more recently, is labelled (in the African context) as African feminism. Unlike all the approaches discussed above, this approach arose less from the scholarly work of feminists in the global North and more from scholars with a significant footprint in the global South. All other feminist-inspired development approaches about women are ethnocentric, as they treat the particular experiences of women in the global North as the universal experiences of women around the world, including in the global South. The Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) – a network of activists, researchers and policy makers from the global South – was at the forefront in formulating and championing this alternative approach (Snyder & Tadessa 1995) in what became known, at least temporarily, as Third World feminism. According to DAWN,

It is the experiences lived by poor women throughout the Third World [global South] in their struggles to ensure the basic survival of their families and themselves that provide the clearest lens for an understanding of development processes. And it is their aspirations and struggles for a future free of the multiple oppressions of gender, class, race, and nation that can form the basis for the new visions and strategies that the new world now needs (Sen & Grown 1988: 9-10).

The approach, like GAD, points to the existing structures in societies as sources of women's subordination, and puts a strong emphasis on the necessity of challenging them in all areas and at all levels. However, in contrast to GAD and in unpacking the notion of 'women', it does not view the issue of gender subordination only from a gender (or class) perspective, as it also foregrounds questions of race and ethnicity and how women of colour experience gendered subordination from the perspective of racial (and ethnic) identities. This means that feminism cannot be monolithic in its issues, goals and strategies, since it constitutes the analytical and political expression of the

concerns and interests of women from different regions, classes, nationalities, and racial and ethnic backgrounds. In this respect, the approach combines the feminist struggle with the struggle against other forms of oppression (DAWN 1988). On this basis, women's empowerment is not just about changing hierarchically-configured gender relations but to change all hierarchical relations in society, be they class, racial or ethnic (Bhasin 1995). Sen (1999), by way of his capability approach, argues along the same lines, and goes further to argue about the significance of differences between women in terms of culture, age and the marital status of women, as these may also act as 'informal' barriers to women's empowerment.

2.4 Empowerment, Women and Development

Clearly, there is a diverse array of approaches to development with reference to women, which have arisen over a number of decades. All these approaches remain in existence, and are adopted by various development agencies under a diversity of temporal and spatial circumstances. All of them, except perhaps the welfare approach, seek to incorporate women into development processes and practices in a participatory manner. However, the form in which, and the extent to which, this is accomplished varies dramatically, including in relation to the various stages in any development programme, from conceptualisation and planning, to implementation and monitoring (and evaluation).

From the perspective of the development agencies involved in the conceptualisation and implementation of the Puntland cash transfer programme, the programme is not explicitly framed within any particular development approach to women and gender, nor is it grounded within any particular feminist theory about patriarchy. In the end, in examining the Puntland case study in this thesis, the main focus is not on the explicit framing of the programme (its objectives and intentions) but on its practical effects for women. In this sense, the Puntland programme – in relation to women, gender and development – may have elements linked to different approaches, including forms of gender mainstreaming. Certainly, though, the Puntland programme goes beyond the welfare approach by seeking to empower women by enhancing their status as economic agents beyond the household. One of the key questions around the programme is whether it overcomes the gendered link between women and the domestic sphere. This is done for instance by: examining the character and content of the training programmes for women (in relation to 'traditional'

activities undertaken by women in Somali society); considering the amounts of cash received and income generated by the women beneficiaries during and after the training, and the implications of this for intra-household gender dynamics; and how, or if, the programme addressed challenges pertaining to the ‘triple burden’ on women. Thus, the ways in which the Puntland programme handles the subordinate position of women in both the productive and reproductive spheres is of considerable significance, including any participatory methodologies used to facilitate agency and capabilities amongst women.

The disjuncture between objectives around women in development agencies and programmes, and actual development practices and outcomes must always be foregrounded. In this respect, development agencies are ‘patriarchal cooking pots’ (Longwe 1997) often filled with patriarchal biases, implicit in their values, ideologies, development theories, and organisational systems and procedures. As a result of this, gender objectives in the worldwide development system have a strange tendency to ‘evaporate’ within development agencies (Parpart 2002). In part, this arises because of the many constraints and barriers which impinge upon the noble intentions of development agencies, including local systems of patriarchy which are deeply embedded in the lives and livelihoods of ‘ordinary people’, both men and women.

Women’s gender subordination, as GAD and Third World feminism for instance argue forcefully, is deeply rooted not only in existing structures of patriarchy, but also in the minds of both women and men who then view gender differences as a natural corollary of the biological differences between them. In this way, women contribute to their own subordination, and often quite willingly. This is reinforced through religious beliefs, cultural practices and educational systems (both ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’) that assigns women lesser status, dignity and power. These not only contribute to producing women’s gender subordination, but also strengthen and protect it through socio-cultural norms. The result is the pervasiveness of so-called “false consciousness” in which socially-constructed phenomena are understood and even experienced as naturally-determined. This means that women’s choices and capacities are constrained by social circumstances and social rules, that are so often embedded deeply in ‘tradition’ and culture that people perceive them as unchangeable and natural, and thus as an immutable part of reality (Alsop, Bertelsen & Holland 2006). Undoing patriarchal constraints, and reconfiguring forms of consciousness for purposes of women’s empowerment is not an easy task (Nussbaum 2000,

Townsend et al. 1999), as this study seeks to show (including in relation to religion).

Ultimately, this means that development programmes around women and gender may simply reinforce rather than undo patriarchy. However, as intimated earlier in this chapter, it is not an either/or scenario: either the perpetuation or the end of patriarchy. Often, development programmes may – whether intentionally or not – reconfigure patriarchy in a manner which opens up spaces for women to enact agency, with signs of women’s empowerment (at least along certain dimensions) appearing as sometimes unintended consequences of such programmes. Even what appears to be a totalising system of patriarchy may have gaps and spaces within which women can (and do) manoeuvre to enhance their well-being – acting within patriarchy, without necessarily acting against and beyond it. This is an issue pertinent to the study of the Puntland programme.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to provide a theoretical framing for the thesis. Given the focus of the study, namely, examining the possible empowerment of women in the context of a development intervention within the worldwide development system, the chapter has considered the notion of patriarchy from a feminist perspective. This entailed a focus on different feminist scholarly efforts (from different theoretical perspectives) to understand the manner in which women are subjected to forms of subordination and inequality, and the ways in which development interventions may or may not address these structural challenges for women. It was highlighted that patriarchy is not a totalising system and that, as well, it is multi-dimensional. Because of this, addressing the subordination and inequality might take place along certain lines but not others, and might involve chipping away at the edges of patriarchy without undermining it as such. The next chapter offers an overview of cash transfer programmes, including CCT programmes.

CHAPTER 3: OVERVIEW OF CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of cash transfer programmes, and specifically conditional cash transfer programmes, including their historical emergence and critical appraisals. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section (section 3.2) considers the advantages and disadvantages of cash transfer programmes vis-à-vis non-cash (or in-kind) transfer programmes, raising questions about efficiency and empowerment and about the significance of the conditionalities embedded in conditional cash transfers. In setting the stage for the case study of Somalia, Section 3.3 offers a historical understanding of the development of cash transfers globally and then focuses on Africa in particular and the peculiarities of cash transfers on the continent. The last substantive section (section 3.4) examines the vexed question of gender, women and empowerment with reference to conditional cash transfer programmes, as this is the central theme for this thesis. Where significant, reference is also made to Somalia-based studies, though these are discussed more fully later in the thesis. Combined, these sections (and thus the chapter more broadly) set the social, historical and analytical context for pursuing a critical understanding of cash transfer programmes in Somalia (and Puntland in particular) in the chapters that follow.

3.2 Cash Transfers: Pros and Cons

This section provides an overview of cash transfer programmes, including a definition of cash transfers and a literature review of cash transfer programmes. There is a relatively broad literature about cash transfer programmes, which at times also provides a comparative analysis of these programmes in relation to in-kind humanitarian assistance, and the advantages and disadvantages of both. Some of the key themes in the cash transfer literature are: the effects of cash transfers on food security indicators such as food consumption and dietary diversity; the significance of cash transfers for social protection and coping strategies; analyses about cash transfers in relation to gender; and evaluations of the effectiveness of cash transfer programmes in different social settings such as conflict and post-conflict situations. Also of significance are comparative studies of conditional and unconditional cash transfers, including the pros and cons of these two forms of

cash transfers. Of particular relevance to this study are conditional cash transfer programmes and the question of gender and empowerment, and hence this chapter will hone in on this particular theme. It is notable that a significant portion of the literature on cash transfer programmes emerges out of the donor and NGO community.

In this regard, the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DfID) defines cash transfers as direct, regular and predictable non-contributory monetary payments to households designed to reduce poverty and vulnerability (DfID 2011). These transfers are often targeted at disaster-affected people, the poorest households, or sections of the population that are regarded as particularly vulnerable (for example, people with disabilities). Cash transfers are therefore considered as a form of social protection. The Global Humanitarian Assistance Group (2012) points out that cash transfers were originally used as a social protection strategy in middle-income countries but, in recent years, they have been adopted and expanded by governments in low-income countries, and by international and national humanitarian agencies operating in these countries.

Cash transfers encompass a range of instruments (such as social pensions, child grants or public works programmes) and a spectrum of design, implementation and financing options (DfID 2011). The programmes transfer resources to the targeted people in two main ways; by providing them directly with cash or by giving vouchers. The vouchers can be in the form of paper, token or electronic vouchers (with a denominated cash value). Through the use of vouchers, beneficiaries receive cash through a 'value' voucher. Vouchers can be exchanged for goods or services of an equivalent monetary cost with selected service providers such as local traders or vendors (Cash Learning Partnership 2010). Cash can be in the form of physical cash (direct cash delivery) or electronic transfers. Thus, cash is distributed through different delivery options such as: direct cash delivery, the use of banking systems (either over the counter or from automated teller machines), or through mobile technology via telecommunication company services. Options for direct cash delivery include the distribution of cash in hand or in envelopes, where the delivery agencies usually use the support of local security companies to transport the cash to the distribution locations and provide security during distributions. Cash delivery may also involve the use of financial service providers such as local money agents, post offices or micro finance companies, and it may be delivered using debit cards, prepaid cards and point of sale devices. The decision to

choose a specific delivery mechanism and service provider(s) depends on the social, economic and political context, as different delivery mechanisms, or a combination of more than one mechanism, will be appropriate for a particular context. For designers of cash transfer programmes, this implies a thorough context-specific analysis before any programme is implemented (Harvey et al. 2010).

The main difference between cash and vouchers is that cash may not be restricted in terms of its use, such that beneficiaries are possibly free to spend it according to their choice. The use of vouchers for particular purposes (i.e. purchases) tends to be more restricted. Besides the context, then, the programmatic decision to make use of vouchers or cash depends on the objective of the programme. If, for example, the cash transfer programme objective is to ensure that beneficiaries purchase and consume particular food or non-food items, the use of vouchers instead of cash may be more appropriate. However, if the programme objective is to ensure that beneficiaries access both food and non-food items of their choice (from the local market where these are readily available), and the delivery infrastructure for cash is also available, cash may be more appropriate.

The Puntland programme that is being used as a case study in this thesis is a cash transfer programme through the use of vouchers. Beneficiaries in Puntland received assistance through paper vouchers at the beginning of the programme, and were later transferred to electronic vouchers in early 2015. The beneficiaries received a value voucher on a monthly basis, and these vouchers were redeemable at certain selected local traders' shops in the three different districts (Garowe, Galkayo and Bossaso). The vouchers were restricted to food commodities only, as the programme had a food security objective to ensure access to food for the beneficiaries.

3.2.1 Arguments for Cash Transfers rather than In-kind Assistance

Over a number of years, a 'quiet revolution' has taken place in which governments in the developing world are investing in cash transfer programmes rather than in in-kind assistance. These are now estimated to reach between 750 million and 1 billion people. Thus, while this expansion began in middle-income countries (MICs), governments in low-income countries (LICs) have also started to develop cash transfer programmes. This rapid expansion has taken place for a variety of reasons (DfID 2011). In this respect, Devereux (2006) states that the relative merits of cash transfers as compared to in-kind transfers have been vigorously debated, particularly in the context of developing countries. It is also important to note that, despite arguments in support

of cash transfer programmes, in-kind assistance continues to be relevant depending on context. This is because certain pre-conditions, as discussed later, need to be in place for cash transfer programmes to be implemented, such as market functionality and the presence of delivery infrastructure. Therefore, both in-kind and cash transfers continue to be equally important transfer modality options. However, proponents of cash transfers argue that cash transfers are more advantageous than in-kind assistance, mainly in terms of programmatic efficiency and empowerment for the targeted beneficiaries.

3.2.1.1 Efficiency of Cash Transfers

In the context of development aid, the World Food Programme (WFP) defines efficiency as the costs of implementing a programme as well as the timeliness of the programme in delivering assistance to the intended beneficiaries (WFP 2014). Bailey et al. (2008) argue that donors are increasingly recognising that, in certain contexts, cash transfers are more efficient than in-kind assistance, particularly in social environments characterised by minimal administrative challenges and the certainty of adequate market responses to the demand for food. The use of cash transfers in comparison to in-kind assistance reduces the logistical costs of transporting and storing goods. This is supported by WFP (2011), after analysis of its operations in food emergencies in 2011. The results from its analysis showed that replacing in-kind interventions with cash transfer programmes could result in a significant reduction in operational costs (Egeland, Harmer & Stoddard 2011, WFP 2011). This is because in-kind interventions require packaging and transportation, and hence are more logistically complex and time-consuming. The average overhead costs of handling, transporting, storing and distributing food can range from 30 to 50 per cent of the total aid provided (Peppiatt 2001).

In addition to this, Levine and Chastre (2004) allude to the fact that in-kind assistance programmes have generally been questioned as to whether they address a documented need or are instead used as a set of '*passe-partout*'² standard responses in emergencies. This is because in-kind assistance, especially food aid, is often linked to surpluses in Northern donor countries. These Northern countries fund food aid programmes and are also the source of the food that is procured

² A master key that opens all the locks in a set, even though each lock has its own different key.

for purposes of distribution. This raises questions about who ultimately benefits, or benefits the most, from in-kind assistance programmes. Certainly, the procured food aid is often in very large quantities and hence the donor countries benefit from the economic transaction. Besides this, the service providers (for example, for the transportation and insurance of the food) are regularly located in these countries, and they charge exorbitant prices (relative to the value of the food delivered, as noted earlier).

Cash transfers are described as more efficient as the transaction is much quicker and cash can be distributed at a lower cost (Bailey 2008). Ali et al. (2005) support this in providing an evaluation of the Emergency Cash Relief Programme (ECRP) in 2003 in Somalia. The results of this programme were characterised as overwhelmingly positive mainly due to the cost efficiency. For every hundred (United States) dollars of funding that was distributed to the beneficiaries targeted under this programme, only seventeen dollars went to overhead costs, as compared to other existing in-kind interventions which had between twenty-five and thirty-five dollars' overhead costs. The International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) also offers another example of the cost efficiency of cash transfers, compared to in-kind assistance, after carrying out a study in several urban and peri-urban northern Ecuadorian communities from 2010 to 2013 (IFPRI 2013). Besides the question of impact, the study compared cost-effectiveness of cash, voucher and in-kind food programmes. Significant differences were found in the cost of implementing all three programmes. The marginal cost of each programme was \$US11.50 for food, \$US3.03 for cash, and \$US3.30 for voucher programmes. In considering the costs as well as impacts, the study concluded that in-kind food transfers were the least cost-efficient way of improving food consumption levels and dietary diversity. The report also found that, in addition to being the cheapest means of providing assistance, cash transfer programmes are also generally preferred by recipients. This is due to the increased freedom felt by recipients of cash transfers, as well as the potential for cash transfers to generate household savings and improve overall welfare.

Rawlings and Rubio (2005) further argue that cash transfers are efficient as they contribute to the avoidance of secondary market creation and price distortions. In this light, cash transfer programming reflects a growing policy emphasis on the use of 'market-oriented, demand-side' interventions for poverty reduction. In-kind food assistance does not consider market functionality, and it discourages local food production. As food aid is usually sourced from donor agencies'

home countries, in-kind assistance does not consider the potential of local markets to provide the needed commodities, and therefore does not encourage market growth. Because the food aid also normally comes in large quantities, vulnerable people who receive it may end up selling the 'excess' food on local markets, thereby creating secondary markets. This undercuts local production and negatively impacts traders in local markets, who could have benefited from selling goods (and services) to the vulnerable people if a cash transfer programme had been implemented instead. Due to the flooding of food (via in-kind transfers) into local markets, price distortions arise on a regular basis. Peppiatt et al. (2001) thus note that cash transfers increase market demand, thereby enticing food suppliers to enter or re-enter the market. In addition to this, local markets tend to recover quickly from disasters and other emergencies. Therefore, instead of sourcing food from far away countries, which usually takes a long time to arrive due to the logistical issues involved, providing vulnerable and poor people with cash facilitates their purchase of food as well as other goods and services through local markets in a short space of time. (Bailey et al. 2008). This enhances the sheer efficiency of cash transfer programmes.

Metz et al. (2012) provide an example of an evaluation of a public works programme in South Sudan supported by a German organisation called 'Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit' (GIZ), to show the efficiency of cash transfers in terms of timeliness of delivery as compared to in-kind assistance programmes. Under this programme, both food and cash were used, where some beneficiaries were given food while others received cash. A comparison was done of the two transfer modalities, and it was noted that the public works programme which used food as a transfer modality suffered significant problems in the timely delivery of food rations, whereas cash payments were on time or faced minor delays. In addition, some rations were incomplete and recipients reported quality problems, such as food being old and infested by insects. The beneficiaries who received food complained about shortfalls in the quantity of food received, and the implementing agency staff claimed that this was due to 'natural' losses during handling and storage. Similar problems are generally characteristic of most in-kind assistance programmes due to the complex logistical processes involved. Most of the times, the food is in fact procured from a variety of countries, and it needs to be transported to the destination areas through different routes. Cash transfers can circumvent some of the well-known challenges of procuring, storing, transporting and delivering in-kind assistance. In this context, Rawlings (2004)

points out that the emphasis on cash transfers is based on the recognition that the cash economy and the commodification of social life are very pervasive, even in rural spaces. More traditional in-kind programmes, which are mainly in the form of food aid, fail to appreciate the marketisation of rural economies and the importance of cash, particularly for women, in pursuing livelihood activities, a point which relates to the question of empowerment.

3.2.1.2 Empowerment Arguments

Besides considering arguments about efficiency, discussions exist in the literature about the potential for empowering beneficiaries (including women) through cash transfers, when compared to in-kind transfers.

Roberts (2008) argues that in-kind food aid has a ‘disempowering’ effect on the people who receive it, as it is humiliating for any adult to be given food handouts, as people want to be proud and self-reliant when it comes to food: “People do not mind someone paying more taxes to educate their children or cover their unemployment insurance, but it cuts deep to depend on charity for food” (Roberts 2008:25). Dependence on any in-kind transfer is resented, but especially food transfers, with beneficiaries having no choice whatsoever over what kind of food they are given, as this is dependent entirely upon the donor. On the contrary, cash transfer programmes are said to have an empowering effect on beneficiaries as it gives them the flexibility to choose how they want to use the money given to them. It hence ‘empowers’ them to make their own independent household-based livelihood decisions. Cash transfers are also potentially attractive for individual donors because they allow the recipients to choose how to spend the funds allocated to them, and in a manner which enhances overall well-being: “Provided that local markets can supply it, if the recipients feel that they need food, they can use their cash to purchase it; if they need medical care, they can buy it; if they have a business, they can invest in it” (Give well 2012: 22). In the same vein, Holmes (2009) claims that, unlike in-kind assistance, cash transfer programmes are valuable in the promotion of recipients’ sense of agency by allowing for the use of funds based upon individual needs. In this sense, beneficiaries are in some measure able to take control of the relief themselves (Mattinen & Ogden 2005) and act out their lives in a more dignified manner.

The Global Humanitarian Assistance Group (2012) indicates that cash transfers enhance livelihood possibilities by allowing the targeted vulnerable people to subsist in times of financial

difficulty without having to sell off assets or take on debt. The funds transferred can then be applied towards expenses such as education, production capital and credit. In this way, the implementation of cash transfer programmes is seen as a means of preventing household destitution as well as an investment in long-term economic development. DfID (2011) echoes the same argument, pointing out that, over time, income from cash transfers can help poor households to build human capital by investing in their children's nutrition and education, as well as to accumulate savings to buy productive assets and obtain access to credit on better terms. Cash transfers are therefore increasingly considered to be a basis for promoting resilience, thereby empowering poor households to rebuild their livelihoods in the aftermath of crisis, and preventing destitution in future years. As well, as Levy (2006) brings to the fore, economists argue that poverty creates risk aversion, and that a regular income from cash transfers provides safer conditions to take the risks needed; for example, to start businesses as a basis for self-reliance and empowerment.

The significance of cash transfer programmes, for food security, is demonstrated from an evaluation of the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) implemented in Ethiopia (WFP 2012). Established in 2005, PSNP is aimed at enabling the rural poor facing chronic food insecurity to resist shocks, create assets and become food self-sufficient. It provides multi-annual predictable transfers to help chronically food insecure people survive food deficit periods and avoid depleting their productive assets while attempting to meet their basic food requirements. The programme is reported to have improved food security for 7.8 million people. Three quarters of the beneficiaries of this programme reported that they were now consuming a higher quantity and quality of food compared to previous years when they were not benefiting from this programme. Importantly, 60 per cent of the beneficiaries reported that they avoided selling off their productive assets to buy food, as they did prior to the programme.

Mattinen and Ogden (2005) also provide evidence from a cash-for-work programme implemented by Action Contre La Faim (ACF) in the southern part of Somalia (in Wajid district) in 2004. The findings showed that, prior to the programme, there were signs of significant risk aversion by people and a heavy reliance on debt given the high levels of poverty – with a pronounced inability to pay back debts. Under the programme, risk aversion and debt levels decreased. In the period before the cash transfer programme, the ratio between debt reimbursed and debt contracted was less than one (0.82). In contrast, during the programme period, the same

ratio stood at 1.70, showing that the cash beneficiaries had more access to credit and were more willing to take the risk (of a debt load) as they could afford to pay back. Besides this, a comparison of the effects of the cash transfer programme was also made, between beneficiary villages and adjacent non-beneficiary villages. In this respect, villages that received cash were able to plant crops on 25.8 per cent more land and were able to harvest more (by 21.6 per cent) than villages that did not benefit from the intervention. Households that were part of the cash-for-work project were able as well to purchase more seeds and tools for agricultural purposes.

A study by Martinez (2005) shows similar results, with evidence coming from Bolivia's *Bono Solidario* (BONOSOL) programme, which was first implemented in 1997 and targets people over the age of sixty years who were not benefiting from state pensions, mainly from poor rural areas. The evaluation of this programme showed that the recipients experienced an increase in food consumption (of almost 165 per cent of the value of the transfer), which was achieved mainly through the investment of part of the cash transfers in agricultural inputs. By investing in these inputs, the poor households were empowered to produce for themselves and therefore inhibit further deterioration of their socio-economic conditions.

Apart from the above arguments, Moore (2003) presents another argument on the advantages of cash transfers (over in-kind transfers) with regards to 'empowerment' – not only of beneficiaries but of local communities through their effects on local markets. Cash transfer systems have the potential to stimulate local market activity, enhance the position of local traders, and restore market equilibrium. As noted earlier, food aid has been criticised for destroying local markets, as food aid simply displaces what would otherwise have been purchased locally. This is also echoed by Schultz (1960), who argues that food aid depresses local prices and reduces the returns to local production. Cash transfer programmes promote local sales and, in post-crisis situations in particular, these programmes can serve to inject money into struggling local economic systems and stimulate recovery. This relates as well to the fact that cash transfers may facilitate the establishment of informal businesses by programme beneficiaries, as they invest the cash received. In this way, as Hanlon et al. (2010) argue, cash transfers may provide micro-capital, or leverage for micro-finance, to establish new enterprises. Already-established businesses (notably traders) become more viable because of enhanced local demand, while programme beneficiaries

are also able to draw upon the cash transfer and enter the market and establish their own enterprises.

So far, the overview of cash transfer programmes has yet to consider the question of gender, as this is addressed fully later in the chapter. In the meantime, it is important to examine the preconditions and risks in relation to the implementation of cash transfer programmes.

3.2.2 Preconditions and Risks for Implementation of Cash Transfers

Although cash transfers have generally been advocated by many governments and humanitarian agencies due to their relative advantages over in-kind assistance programmes, not every situation is suited necessarily to cash transfer programmes. WFP (2011) therefore stresses that choosing the right transfer modality should be based on appropriateness, i.e. on its comparative advantages in meeting beneficiary needs and achieving programme objectives in a cost-efficient and effective manner.

A fundamental problem, particularly from a political economy perspective, is that the use of cash transfers presents a risk of intensifying – not reducing – inequalities in society. In this light, Saad-Filho (2016) argues that the emphasis on cash transfers stems from a neo-liberal approach, which presumes that poverty is caused by exclusion from labour or commodity markets because of limitations to voluntary access and exchange, and that market-led growth almost spontaneously tends to reduce poverty and inequality. Market integration, from the perspective of neo-liberalism, is the driving force of economic growth and development; for example, through entrepreneurship, employment or consumption, as funded by profits, wages or cash transfers. Thus, from the perspective of neo-liberalism, cash transfers will generate capacity amongst poor people (or enhance their human capital) so as to express and pursue self-initiative in improving their livelihoods. In contrast, the political economy perspective suggests that market-based growth strategies tend to intensify the asymmetries that create poverty and inequality even as the economy expands. As Corragio (2007:17) argues, and as discussed at times later:

Neoliberalism has created its own social policies: they are essentially the outcome of the displacement of the matrix of universal social rights towards welfaristic policies, targeting only extreme poverty. These policies provide very limited and inconsistent compensation for inequality, and fail to change the structural features of social injustice.

Marxist political economy, as well as post-Keynesian schools of thought, argue that the neo-liberal approach is misleading because, by focusing on deficiencies in human capital, it decontextualizes poverty, vulnerability and inequality, and obscures their sources and structures of reproduction. This means that cash transfers, no less than in-kind transfers, may not be addressing the deeper structural causes and conditions of poverty. While broad questions of social inequality in relation to cash transfer programmes are significant, the main focus for this thesis is on gender.

Further, for cash transfer programmes to be feasible, there are certain preconditions that need to be in place. These include that implementing institutions must have the administrative capacity to carry out the cash transfer programmes, and commodity markets must be able to withstand, or accommodate, the cash inputs while still supporting the needs of the (non-beneficiary) community. Since cash transfers are largely reliant on the functionality of markets, one of the greatest risks of using this transfer modality is the fact that they could cause inflation in local markets. This could lead to a subsequent devaluation of cash transfer funds that would clearly disadvantage beneficiaries and the broader community (Bailey et al. 2008, Peppiatt et al. 2001). In addition to this, if the markets are not robust enough, they will not be able to respond to the increased demand for commodities, and this could result in programme failure as beneficiaries will face commodity access challenges. It is therefore important to conduct detailed market assessments to assess the capacity of the markets and any associated risks before the implementation of cash transfer programmes. Continuous monitoring of prices is also important in order to check for sudden changes that could lead to inflation. WFP (2014) also asserts the importance of supply chain assessments to check on the capacity of the markets to absorb increased demand and reliably transfer and supply large quantities of both food and non-food commodities resulting from cash transfers at scale. These assessments would measure the reliability of a region's commercial retail supply chain from source to distributors, wholesalers and retailers against three indicators, namely: volumes and flows (from sources to markets, diversity of supply, and competition); enabling environment (logistical infrastructure and services, and regulatory restrictions); and agility (the ability to respond to shocks and sudden changes in demand).

A key concern or risk with specific reference to cash transfer programmes is the fear that cash will be used for anti-social purposes (such as drugs and alcohol) which do not address basic household needs and that go contrary to the fundamental purpose of these programmes (Peppiatt

et al. 2001). Several studies have been conducted to assess this risk, and results have however generally shown that this is usually not the case, as households prioritise basic needs instead. Roman (2010) provides an example of the Zimbabwe Emergency Cash Transfer (ZECT) Pilot Programme implemented between 2009 and 2010, and concluded that 70 per cent of cash assistance provided to the beneficiaries was used for food items, and that less than 0.5 per cent was used on less favourable items such as tobacco and alcohol, refuting beliefs that funds would be used inappropriately. This matter also has a gendered dimension to it, as discussed later.

There have also been other concerns, particularly around security risks, with regard to cash transfers, especially the distribution of cash through ‘direct delivery’ – where cash has to be transported to local communities through the use of vehicles in order to be distributed to the beneficiaries. The transportation of large volumes of cash is risky as it attracts attention, though transportation companies often use the services of local security companies. The attractiveness of cash, rather than vouchers, may therefore create risks both for staff transporting cash and for recipients once they have received it. Under these circumstances, as noted earlier, other delivery mechanisms such as mobile money and bank transfers are recommended. For example, donors used the *Hawala* system in southern Somalia in response to the 2003/4 drought to disburse cash to the beneficiaries, which was a more discreet mechanism given widespread security concerns in the area of operation (Ali et al. 2005).

The use of cash may also attract diversion of funds, for example through ‘taxing’ by local authorities, or by way of increased social expectations for beneficiary households to contribute to community functions such as weddings or funerals. In Somalia, for example, benefiting households are usually asked to pay a certain amount to the community leadership as a token of appreciation for being selected for humanitarian assistance, since this community leadership is usually responsible for selecting the beneficiary households, especially in Internally Displaced People’s (IDP) communities. This therefore results in these households getting less than what they are entitled to, which might lead to negative coping strategies as the (lowered) cash assistance would not be adequate to cover basic household needs.

However, despite acknowledging these two risks (security and diversion), Harvey (2007) argues that they are not peculiar to cash transfers alone, but also apply to in-kind assistance programmes. He goes on to point out that the dispersal of cash, for instance, could actually be safer

than in-kind commodity distributions because cash distributions are done less openly. In this respect, commodity distributions are normally public affairs if not spectacles. They draw considerable attention and hence are prone to security risks. As well, beneficiaries for both cash and in-kind distributions are often targets for ‘taxing’ by local community leadership.

Overall, the appropriateness and effectiveness of cash transfers depends on the context and objectives of the intervention, and decisions on the use of this transfer modality must consider the cost of achieving outcomes, as well as other factors – such as risks, the preference of beneficiaries and potential trade-offs. However, generally, cash transfers have more advantages than in-kind programmes, especially in terms of efficiency, flexibility and empowerment of both beneficiaries and local markets and communities.

3.2.3 From Unconditional to Conditional Cash Transfers

Cash transfer programmes show diversity in their objectives, targeting, and design and level of institutionalisation, due to the different social, political and economic environments in the countries where they have been implemented (DfID 2011). Due to this, two main forms of cash transfer programmes exist – namely conditional and unconditional cash transfer programmes. This section outlines these two different forms of cash transfer programmes, and the main arguments for implementation of these in different contexts. It should be noted that the Puntland case study involves a conditional cash transfer.

Unconditional cash transfer programmes (UCTs) are programmes that distribute cash or vouchers to beneficiaries, without any conditions attached. This means that beneficiaries are not expected to fulfil any obligations before they receive the cash/voucher benefit. Alternatively, conditional cash transfer programmes (CCTs) impose requirements on beneficiaries, which can either be labour/training, or behavioural conditions, depending on context (Hoddinott et al. 2008). Labour/training conditions are attached to programmes whereby the beneficiaries are required to provide labour in a development project, or attend training in order to receive the transfer, while behavioural conditions might include adhering to health treatment or keeping children enrolled in school. The cash transfer is given after recipients have performed some task or activity as a qualifying condition of receiving the assistance (WFP 2014).

The conditions typically relate to the actions or obligations that the beneficiaries are supposed to undertake or meet in order for them to receive the assistance, such that they do not necessarily specify how beneficiaries use the assistance once they receive it (Fizbein & Shady 2009). The conditions for the beneficiaries in CCTs are meant to promote improvement in the status of beneficiaries particularly along the lines of their human capital. For instance, poor households may be given regular, fixed cash benefits in return for particular actions intended to improve their children's life chances. These actions may include making sure that the children attend school regularly, or that the children receive specified health and nutrition care. Results for children will include higher school enrolment and attendance, more balanced and nutritious diets, and less illness. The Puntland scheme focused on vocational training of beneficiaries, to improve their human capital and their post-programme livelihood options.

Hanlon et al. (2010) provide the main arguments for the implementation of either unconditional or conditional cash transfers. The main argument for unconditional cash transfers is that the key constraint for poor people is simply lack of money (for example, because of credit constraints), and that they are best equipped to decide what to do with the cash transfer. Therefore, attaching conditions to the programme does not make it more effective; rather, cash in the hand of vulnerable groups is sufficient. Bailey (2011) argues, though, that UCTs are most appropriate in crises or emergencies (such as natural disasters) that result in people abruptly losing their livelihood sources and urgently need to get assistance to cope with the situation; or, when the beneficiaries are not able to participate for instance in a labour-based project, either due to their socio-economic status or physical characteristics (in the case of elderly and ill people). Thus, UCTs tend to focus on short-term relief for beneficiaries, while CCTs have longer-term developmental goals.

The implementation of conditional cash transfers is based on two main points. The first argument is that the behaviour of households is not – inherently – privately and socially optimal, which means that people tend to act in ways that are inconsistent with future goals (Rowe 2011). A poor family benefiting from an unconditional cash transfer programme, for example, may choose not to invest the cash assistance in their children's education, but decide to 'squander' the resources on short-term gains which bear no impact on human capital accumulation. As a result of this, the poor family will only have access to resources for the period of the unconditional cash

transfer programme, and will most likely return to their pre-UCT condition as no investments in the future were forthcoming. Secondly, and despite the earlier criticism from a political economy perspective, CCTs are more consistent with neo-liberal claims about the need for co-responsibilities (both donors and beneficiaries) rather than mere dependencies. This entails placing responsibilities (i.e. conditions) on CCT beneficiaries, based on the notion of giving a ‘hand-up’ rather than a ‘handout’ (Handa & Davis 2006). By putting conditions, such as labour contributions or vocational training enrolment), the CCTs encourage (as per the neoliberal mantra) poor people to ‘work’ for themselves. This is more likely to result in household sustainability as the poor people contribute to their well-being, rather than just receiving handouts without any effort on their part. This also implies that CCTs are more likely to empower their beneficiaries (Tasli 2007).

As well, CCTs have certain important features that distinguish them from UCTs. For instance, CCTs have eligibility requirements which usually hinge on the basis of being ‘poor’ (Loureiro 2012). This means that the target group for CCTs must be vulnerable and poor social groups, such that a universalistic ethic does not underpin CCTs. The selection process of beneficiaries entails the use of context-specific socio-economic evidence in defining a poverty threshold. Adato and Hoddinott (2010) indicate two main economic principles for the justification of targeting. The first is that the social returns for a given level of transfers are higher for poor households at the lower end of the income distribution than for those at the higher end and therefore maximising the welfare impact for a given population means targeting the poorest. Secondly, targeting is cost efficient as it saves resources, giving these to the poorest, who need them most. Universal programmes can be extremely costly and may make these unaffordable, especially for low and middle income countries which often do not have the capacity to fund such programmes (Lavinas 2013, del Ninno & Mills 2015). UCTs are usually universal, targeting all individuals/households in a given area. However, they may also be means-tested at the individual or household level through eligibility requirements based on poverty just like the CCTs.

Bastagli (2009) argues that this emphasis on ‘targeting’ has been criticised for shifting away from universalistic policies (as in the pre-neoliberal period) towards more liberal, residual interventions. The issue of targeting has been justified for a variety of reasons, including resource limitations and optimising resource allocation, but even in order to align incentives with the requirements of ‘economic efficiency’ (i.e., neoliberalism), and to compensate the poor for the

asymmetric impact of neoliberal reforms, such as unemployment and loss of earnings. Given that neoliberalism is often said to have deepened poverty and inequality by doing away with universalistic principles, CCTs seek to do the impossible from a political economy perspective, as if trying to square the circle (by, unrealistically, solving its own problems).

Targeting of a portion of the population only, particularly evident in CCTs, has also been criticised as undermining social cohesion. By targeting the extremely poor, and excluding the non-poor, CCTs may alienate the latter, which might result in their resentment while exacerbating tensions and aggravation towards the poor, viewing them as ‘parasitical destitute’. Thus, CCTs in Latin America were found to lead to envy and resentment on the part of non-beneficiaries, and stigmatisation of beneficiaries. The *Oportunidades* CCT programme in Mexico, for example, targets the poorest 25 percent of households, and has increased access to basic services and opportunities for these marginalised groups. However, by focusing on households rather than communities, it has been accused of creating divisions between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (Slater 2011).

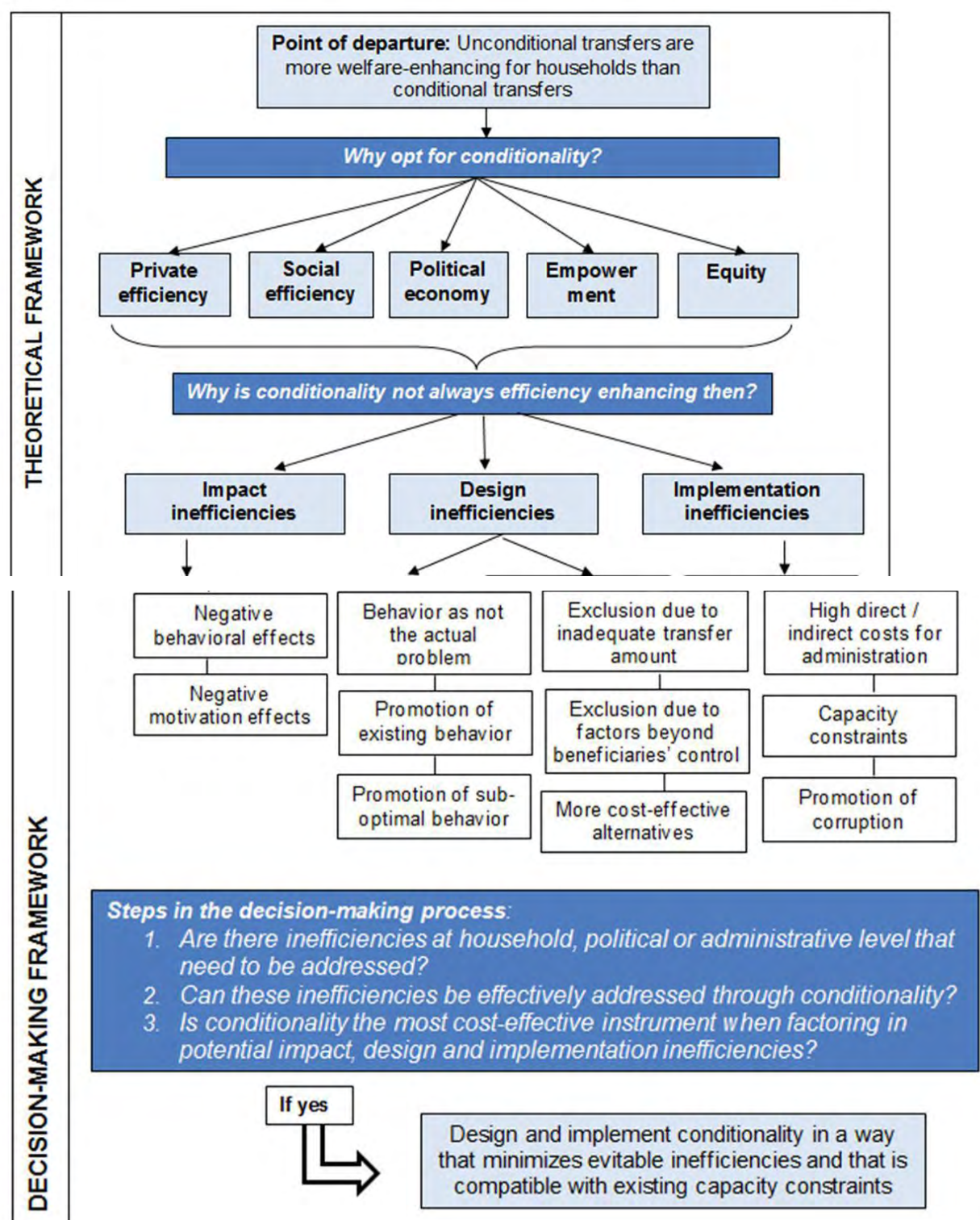
Literature also shows that targeting a section of the population has raised questions of accountability and transparency, with some programmes even seemingly excluding the ‘poor’ that they are purported to be targeted. Handa and Davis (2006) argue that, due to institutional challenges that governments face (such as administrative capacity constraints), the selection of beneficiaries for the CCTs have been decentralised to sub-national levels, or at times even community levels. This has led in some cases to political patronage, corruption and diversion of assistance that would have been meant for the poor. Because of electoral pressure, for instance, government officials at these sub-national levels take advantage of the fact that they are responsible for selecting the beneficiaries of the CCTs, and hence they use this ‘power’ to further their own political interests, resulting in the selection of those people who would vote for them. Cecchini and Madriaga (2011) argue in the same vein, pointing out, as noted earlier, that officials may take advantage of potential beneficiaries and make them pay some token of appreciation for their incorporation into a CCT programme. As a result, the targeting of the poor may only exist ‘in theory’, while in practice this is far from being the case, implying that poverty is no guarantee of falling under a social safety net (de Britto 2005).

Another issue related specifically to CCTs is the attached conditionalities which, as Janvry and Sadoulet (2004) highlight, must be met in order to receive assistance. Failure to do so results in the loss of cash benefits and even suspension from the CCT programme. This is seen as crucial given the point raised earlier – that the use of conditions reflect a move away from the idea of a rights-based welfare entitlement (as in pre-neoliberal times) towards the concept of obligation and collaboration on the part of beneficiaries to work for their benefits (i.e. work-fare) (Barrientos & Hulme, 2008, 2009, Cecchini & Madariaga, 2011, Cecchini & Martinez 2012). Due to the attaching of conditions, CCTs require constant monitoring and follow-up of the beneficiaries to ensure that they are adhering to the set conditions of the programme, and this makes them costly to administer. Compared to CCTs, UCTs are less costly to administer because they do not require the selected beneficiaries to make any contributions in order to receive the cash transfer, and therefore do not require ongoing monitoring. Despite being less costly to administer, however, unconditional cash transfers, as noted, might have negative effects as people may be less inclined to spend the assistance more responsibly or on productive investments (Adato & Hoddinott, 2010).

Literature has shown that both unconditional and conditional cash transfers are important and each of them may be more suitable than the other, depending on context. Evidence on the impact of both forms of cash transfers show solid outcomes with respect to, for instance, food consumption, school enrolment, school attendance and medical clinic attendances. For example, Baird et al. (2010) refer to an evaluation of a combination of unconditional and conditional cash transfer programmes in Malawi. Under the CCT, the programme set out conditions for families to ensure that adolescent girls attend school for them to receive the cash transfer, while the UCT did not have any conditions. The evaluation results from this programme showed that the CCT had positive results as it improved school attendance by girls, and improved overall enrolment, attendance and test scores in Malawi. At the same time, the unconditional transfers in the same programme decreased early marriage and pregnancy among girls who had already dropped out of school.

In this regard, Schüring (2010) considers arguments for and against UCTs and CCTs, and provides a template (see Figure 3.1) for designers of cash transfer programmes to consider when planning and pursuing a particular modality of intervention – either with or without conditions.

Figure 1: Decision making steps for cash transfer programme conditionality



Source: Schuring (2010).

Despite any criticisms of CCTs, these cash transfer programmes tend to be hailed by both donors and governments, including in Latin America where they were first pioneered (Janvry & Sadoulet 2004), as one of the most significant recent innovations in promoting social and economic development – it is claimed that they facilitate the graduation of the poor out of poverty (Avila 2012). Nancy Birdshall, president of the Centre for Global Development, was quoted in the *New York Times* of January 3, 2004, as saying, “I think these programmes are as close as you can come to a magic bullet in development. They are creating an incentive for families to invest in their own children’s futures”. Conditional cash transfer programmes posit that, as beneficiaries leave the programme, they should be “empowered”, hence equipped with the necessary tools to lift themselves out of the cycle of poverty (Fizbein and Shady 2009, Grosh et al. 2008, Rawlings & Rubio 2005, Mos 2012).

3.2.3.1 Putting the Conditions in CCTs

It is necessary to consider more fully and specifically the advantages and disadvantages of setting conditions, and debates around them. According to Standing (2011:8), conditions are attached to social assistance programmes (either by governments or donors) based on the assumption that the targeted beneficiaries are not rational agents who behave in a way to benefit themselves. Hence, there is a need to steer them to act in a way that is beneficial to them and society as a whole (Thaler & Sunstein 2002), with conditionalities apparently providing the ‘key’ that unlocks rational actions. The poor in effect do not know what is best for themselves; rather, others do, thereby imposing their choices on the beneficiaries and not giving them the freedom to choose what is best for themselves. This is seen by some critics (Hanlon et al. 2010) as deeply paternalistic and undercuts the fact that poor people, knowing their conditions of existence in an intimate way, are fully capable of making rational choices. In limiting the choices for beneficiaries, conditions restrict freedom and, in the end, disempower people. Conditions also transfer the burden of reducing poverty, from the state to individual households (Ballard 2012).

Despite this, as Berham, Gavin and Szekely (2011) argue, this should not distract from the ‘positive’ freedoms that result from these conditionalities, especially in the long term, in that they act as enabling conditions for the pursuit of viable livelihoods – through self-improvement – after leaving a CCT programme. For example, the conditions imposed on parents (such as ensuring their

children's school attendance or regular health check-ups help in securing a better future for their children). In fact, conditions related to children are seen as particularly important. In developing countries, many inequalities are passed on from generation to generation, and hence investing in the human capital of children becomes critical. Thus, CCTs help in breaking the intergenerational poverty cycle by putting 'conditions' on the beneficiaries in seeking to level the playing-field when it comes to future life-courses. Rawlings (2004) and McKee and Todd (2011) support this notion by pointing out that CCTs encourage measures of (rational) future-thinking amongst beneficiaries. Simultaneously, as per neoliberalism, this 'rewards' the deserving beneficiaries who are making an earnest effort by investing in their own or their children's future, hence discouraging a dependency syndrome.

This entails a social (mutually-binding) contract, between beneficiaries and either government or donors. For governments in Asia, Africa and Latin America in particular, and that are engaging in state-funded social protection programmes, the conditions have an economic rationale as well, as CCTs are less of a drain on the national fiscus (Bastagli 2009). Beyond this, the notion of a social contract, involving co-responsibility, has been central to the CCT programmes in Latin America (Fiszbein & Schady 2009). In this sense, the conditionalities imposed on households partaking in CCTs mirror the macro-economic conditionalities imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank during structural adjustment programmes. Nevertheless, as in the case of Brazil, the conditionalities – in focusing on human capital formation – may play a political role in enhancing the legitimacy of CCTs in public debate (Lindert & Vincencini 2009), as they reduce concerns about '*assistencialismo*' (i.e. welfare dependency) and seek to generate micro-entrepreneurship after CCT programme graduation. As well, the beneficiaries themselves may also feel that they are 'contributing' something, instead of simply receiving handouts. This might seem to entail the internalisation of neo-liberal values, but it may also have positive implications for beneficiaries' self-esteem, thereby possibly instilling an empowering process within CCT programmes.

Two further themes remain to be addressed in this chapter. Besides the specific question of women and empowerment in cash transfer programmes (section 3.4), it is necessary to provide an historical overview of the emergence of specifically CCTs globally, to set the stage for the discussion (in later chapters) of the Puntland CCT programme in Somalia. The next section first

looks at Latin America and then examines the introduction of CCTs in Africa.

3.3 Historical Overview of Cash Transfer Programmes

This section provides a historical overview of cash transfer programmes, to give a sense of CCTs in action and the shift towards this modality of cash transfers. This includes looking at the reasons behind the interest in cash transfer programming more broadly, looking at both unconditional and conditional cash transfers, as well as a consideration of the political and economic environments in which cash transfers were introduced in different countries. Both unconditional and conditional cash-based responses have a long history and are not a new phenomenon – particularly as pursued and implemented by governments, as opposed to donors (Bailey 2013).

Unconditional cash transfers started around the 1870s, where cash relief was given to the affected populations following the Franco – Prussian war of 1870-71. A similar response was also undertaken after the Galveston floods in Texas in 1900. In 1948, the British colonial administration in Sudan distributed cash to famine-affected people. In late nineteenth century India, famine responses also included conditional cash transfer programmes in the form of cash for work programmes. Millions of people in India were also employed in Cash for Work projects in the early 1970s. Large-scale Cash for Work programmes were also implemented in Botswana in the 1980s. Most cash transfers involved the unconditional modality, due to the fact that they were responses to emergencies which needed universal targeting, and also did not require extra costs and capacity for monitoring adherence to conditions, as would be needed under CCTs.

Despite having started in the 19th century, significant interest in the potential for cash transfers became a more important issue for the humanitarian and donor community around the 1990s, following their implementation in Latin American countries. By the late 2000s, according to Yablonski and O'Donnell (2009), following their implementation in Latin America, cash transfer programmes were already covering between 750 million and 1 billion people in the developing world. The heightened interest in cash transfer programmes arose from continued efforts by governments, donors and humanitarian agencies to find the best and most effective ways of responding to the needs of people suffering the effects of disasters and war, and transferring resources to them (DfID 2011). For decades, the response to such emergencies had been through in-kind assistance (such as food, shelter and agricultural inputs), or free or subsidised access to

goods and services (for example, exemptions from health or education user fees). For reasons detailed earlier, the growing body of experience with cash transfer programming, through the provision of cash or vouchers as alternatives or as complements to in-kind assistance, cash transfers are now considered to be more appropriate in most contexts (Harvey and Bailey 2011). Bailey (2013) also points out that, as experience with using cash transfers developed, it became increasingly clear that cash can play a key part in assisting people after emergencies across a range of sectors. It can support access to food, help to rebuild or protect livelihoods, assist in meeting people's need for shelter and non-food items, and support refugees and facilitate return and reintegration processes.

Peppiatt et al. (2001) also argues that the reasoning behind recent cash transfer programmes has been rooted in Armatya Sen's investigation into the extent to which an individual's purchasing power can affect the flow of, and access to, goods. Based on his own experience of famine in Bengal in the 1940s, and his later study of African and South Asian famines, Sen concluded that the problem was not the absence of food but lack of access to food, i.e. the 'access challenge' for vulnerable and poor people (Pressman 2000, Devereaux 2007). Thus, in his writings on poverty and famines, Sen (1981) explains that most food shortages are a result of restricted purchasing power and limited access to food; rather than a lack of food supply (Bailey, Savage & O'Callaghan 2008, Devereaux, 2007, Peppiatt, Mitchell & Holzmam 2001). As Walker (1989) notes more broadly about Sen's perspective, crises situations (including war and famine) involve "a socioeconomic process which causes the accelerated destitution of the most vulnerable, marginal, and least powerful groups in the community, to a point where they can no longer, as a group, maintain a sustainable livelihood" (Walker 1989:143). As a result of Sen's findings, there has been a shift from traditional food distribution to a more appropriate economic response in the form of cash transfers: direct cash transfers increase the market demand for food commodities, which entices food suppliers to enter or re-enter the market (Peppiatt et al. 2001). Because markets tend to recover quickly from disasters, conflicts and other emergencies, providing those in need with cash can give them the means (or the capacity) to purchase food (as well as other goods and services they require) (Bailey et al. 2008). Central then was the significance of the market and its dynamism. This of course tied in with the concurrent reconfiguration of the world order along neo-liberal lines; in particular, though, neo-liberalism tended to ensure more focused attention on

conditional rather than unconditional cash transfers.

3.3.1 Conditional Cash Transfers in Latin America

The decision to implement conditional cash transfer programmes in Latin America came from the severe fiscal and economic crises of the 1980s (Lavinás 2013). As a result of high interest rates on massive debt to the United States and international financial institutions by the late 1970s, there were significant economic challenges being faced. The Latin American governments made efforts to remedy the situation by introducing structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), as advised by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which mainly meant elimination of subsidies and free basic services to the public, and the promotion of privatisation of these services (liberalisation). However, instead of improving the situation, SAPs aggravated the situation, deepening levels of destitution and extreme poverty rates. There was therefore clearly an urgent need for some sort of cushion against the consequences of liberalisation.

After 1990, Latin American countries sought not to reverse the whole idea of liberalisation, but to modify it or at least to soften its blow. This involved the introduction of conditional cash transfer programmes. While privatisation continued, support was given to the poor through the provision of cash transfers to enable them to use the ‘privatised’ systems. These CCT programmes were part of the new Social Policy approach that originated in the 1990s, as state-led approaches (based on a universalising ethic) continued to fail to reduce poverty (Molyneux 2006). In order to increase efficiencies and cost-sharing, international development agencies like the World Bank started to formulate and support social policies in which beneficiaries bear some of the costs of development. Cost recovery, co-financing, co-management schemes and various other types of arrangements, all entailing some sort of community work, became popular mechanisms in the shift away from welfare towards a work-fare model of state (and increasingly donor) support.

The implementation of CCT programmes were seen as having the prospect of “killing several developmental birds with one stone” (Lavinás 2013:5), namely, the development of human capital without compromising the functionality of markets or the state fiscus. This would entail rectifying “underinvestment in human capital” without imposing the kind of fiscal burdens that universal welfare provision would involve (Lavinás 2013: 7). Meanwhile, in framing poor citizens as consumers (with available cash), CCTs would strengthen and fortify local and national markets.

It thus seemed possible, simultaneously, to foster the development of markets, reduce chronic poverty and decrease reliance on the largesse of the state.

In some countries in Latin America, CCTs soon became the largest social assistance programme, covering millions of poor households (Bates 2004). The PROGRESA (later renamed *Oportunidades*) cash transfer programme of Mexico and the *Bolsa Escola* Programme of Brazil (later renamed *Bolsa Familia*) could be considered the pioneers of these CCT programmes. After the success of these two programmes, CCTs were expanded to other countries all over Latin America such as Chile, Nicaragua, Argentina, Peru and Bolivia (Moore 2009). The programmes were designed to address the building of human capital through three key elements: education, health and nutrition. According to Lomeli (2008), the programme evaluations and academic analyses conducted about these programmes, by such institutions as the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and the World Bank, generally pointed to their positive results, thereby labelling them as model programmes. The World Bank in fact praised these CCT programmes as being nothing short of ‘a magic bullet in development’ (Adato & Hoddinott 2007).

The PROGRESA (*Oportunidades*) Programme was introduced in Mexico by the government as an anti-poverty programme in 1997 – at a time when the country was recovering from an economic crisis, which had led to significant growth in the levels of extreme poverty. One-fifth of Mexicans lived in extreme poverty, of which 40 per cent were children (Levy 2008, Levy & Rodríguez 2005). The available policy instruments to fight poverty (mainly food subsidies) were considered inefficient and the economic crisis limited the available resources for social spending. As a CCT programme, the PROGRESA-*Oportunidades* was targeted at those living in extreme poverty, and it served 20 percent of all households in both rural and urban areas of Mexico. The conditionalities related to ensuring regular school attendance and health check-ups for children. In contrast to previous anti-poverty programmes in Mexico, PROGRESA-*Oportunidades* focused on women as key beneficiaries. This was justified in terms of women being more responsible, compared to men, in handling household finances and caring for the welfare of their families, and specifically children (Haddad 1999). By making them the direct recipients of the cash transfer, the programme sought simultaneously to empower women by increasing their bargaining power and control over resources in the household (Adato et al. 2000).

The *Bolsa Familia* Programme in Brazil emerged as a result of combining pre-existing

CCTs that began at local government level in 1995 (Hemio 2014). The implementation of these pre-existing programmes generally reflected the widespread values ingrained in Brazilian government policy that society is indebted to the poor (Lindert et al. 2007). Because of this, support for the poor was based on universalistic principles, including proposals for a minimum income to allow poor families to, for instance, keep their children enrolled in school. Local level CCTs, though, initially targeted poor households with children under the age of fifteen years, with regular school attendance being a key condition for participation. As numerous CCTs were launched in cities throughout Brazil, the Federal Government in 1998 began to assist less-endowed municipalities through a programme called *Bolsa Crianca Cidadã* (Soares 2012). Other programmes followed over the next few years, with conditions often attached. For instance, the Federal government implemented *Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil* to eradicate child labour (targeting school aged children from households below a predetermined income level), with school attendance again being a condition. Another CCT programme called *Bolsa Alimentação* had health and nutrition objectives for children under six years of age, and pregnant and lactating women, with participation contingent on medical check-ups for pregnant women and breastfeeding mothers as well as immunisation of young children. However, other programmes such *Cartão Alimentação* and *Auxílio Gás* were unconditional cash transfers.

The *Bolsa Família* programme was created in 2003, and it merged all these programmes into one as a national CCT programme. Combined, the objectives of the programme were to eradicate child labour, improve school attendance, immunise children and ensure regular health check-ups for vulnerable women (Menio 2004). Like the programme in Mexico, women were the main beneficiaries. The programme provided a monthly cash transfer to poor households through the use of bank debit cards. The compliance to conditions by beneficiaries was monitored at the municipal level, where information was then passed on to the different line ministries, the banks, and the *Bolsa Família* Programme administration (Fiszbein & Schady 2009).

The two ‘pioneer’ programme (namely PROGRESA and the *Bolsa Família* programmes) inspired the expansion of the CCT concept across the whole of Latin America, and have also now expanded to other continents such as Africa.

3.3.2 Cash Transfers in Africa

A number of African countries began implementing cash transfer programmes as a result of the apparently inspiring evidence of these programmes' effects in Latin American countries. Overall, the programmes had demonstrated success through improvements in access to health and education for female adults and children (DfID 2011). In this context, in 2006, the African Union spearheaded "The Livingstone Call for Action", which brought together senior government officials from thirteen African countries to discuss the role of cash transfers. The meeting firmly established cash transfers as a viable and promising social protection strategy for Africa (Skovdal et al. 2013). Because of this, many African countries made efforts to improve their institutional infrastructure to enable the effective use of cash transfers, such as developing the banking system and putting in place measures to ensure safe transfers of money – since, without this infrastructure, implementation of cash transfer programmes would be challenging. Kenya, for example, was able to introduce cash transfer systems through the use of mobile phones. Many financial institutions also established local offices in county and district capitals and initiated other mechanisms to ensure the further development of a cash economy and secure transfers of money (Piek 2010).

Hoddinott (2004) also argues that cash transfers in sub-Saharan Africa arose partly as recognition grew that other types of aid were not effectively achieving their goals. For example, emergency food aid was responding to famines, but it was failing to contribute to food security and stability due to the 'dependency syndrome' amongst the chronically poor in relation to food aid. This trend became a major concern in countries such as Ethiopia, whose emergency food aid cost an annual average of US\$265 million from 1997 through 2002, reaching more than 5 million people each year. Other sub-Saharan African countries like Malawi also faced the same problems, and had turned to cash transfers; as a result, a significant reduction in operational costs occurred.

Besides this, Africa had a diverse array of complex crises involving vulnerability and poverty, social exclusion, insecure property rights and landlessness, and environmental degradation. Addressing these issues, which affected people in a multiplicity of ways across the continent, was simply beyond the scope of national governments because of massive fiscal constraints. At the same time, 'traditional' local social safety nets (mainly provided by family support systems) were no longer able to adequately protect individuals faced with adverse shocks (European Institute 2010). The shocks arose because of ethnic and political conflicts, civil wars,

high migration levels and forced displacements (within and across countries) and an increase in HIV and AIDS rates, leading in turn to a rising number of elderly-headed and child-headed households who are particularly vulnerable and in need of social protection (Kakwani & Subbarao 2005). Displacements and their turbulent effects on household-based social support networks are intrinsic to Somalia's recent history.

As a result of these challenges, African countries' policy makers soon showed an interest in adopting different methods to address persistent and often deepening vulnerabilities (Garcia & Moore 2012). Noting the success of cash transfers in other parts of the world, such as Latin America, they increasingly sought to pilot cash transfer programmes to identify if these could address the complex challenges present in sub-Saharan Africa. Most of the pilot programmes were deemed a success, including Malawi's and Zambia's cash transfer programmes in terms of impacts on household food consumption, and South Africa's Child Support Grant with regard to improving children's nutrition and education. Cash transfers in Africa, however, have some common unique characteristics that distinguish them from those implemented in Latin America.

Most African countries started implementing unconditional cash transfer programmes, instead of conditional cash transfers (that had been implemented in Latin America) due to their different context (Garcia & Moore 2012). In Latin America, cash transfer programmes sought to link efforts of responding to current income poverty to efforts of tackling the underlying causes of 'future' poverty by way of human capital development objectives related to health, education and child labour. This took place in the context of the devastating effects of neoliberal (structural adjustment) restructuring in the 1980s, and the neo-liberal emphasis on co-responsibilities (and hence conditionalities). In Africa, structural adjustment programme also existed. But, in contrast to Latin America, numerous humanitarian crises (often in the context of local wars and conflicts) reverberated across the African continent, with famines deepening the crises. This led to a humanitarian focus on addressing households' immediate and fundamental needs (such as food security, shelter and sheer survival) under situations of extreme and urgent emergencies. This meant that unconditional cash transfers were more appropriate and, as such, were implemented (Harvey & Bailey 2011).

Therefore, cash transfer programmes in Africa have typically been more welfaristic in approach, and having a strong focus on addressing life cycle risks (age related and orphan hood),

chronic poverty, food insecurity, and the rising incidences of HIV and AIDS, as these are the most significant challenges faced on the continent (Yablonski & O'Donnell 2009). The sub-Saharan Africa region for example faces challenges of massive poverty resulting from the effects of the HIV and AIDS pandemic and the death of many-able bodied adults, leading to the disruption in extended family networks and to single and double orphans cared for by grandparents (UNAIDS 2004, UNAIDS & WHO 2008). In addition, caring for, and treatment for, the HIV-infected have often drained household income and assets, with orphans not accessing health and education because of this. Unconditional cash transfer programmes were recommended as the best response in this context, particularly given that it is difficult to implement CCT programmes requiring able-bodied people to meet 'conditions' (such as participating in labour activities).

For instance, in Kenya, the Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children Project was created to systematically support and prevent the institutionalisation of children who had become orphaned or vulnerable due to the effects of HIV and AIDS (World Bank 2009). Other, similar, programmes exist in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique. In the case of Zimbabwe, in response to the challenge of orphaned and vulnerable children (OVC), the Government's Ministry of Labour and Social Services, through support from UNICEF, implemented a Harmonised Social Cash Transfer programme in 2011 under the National Action Plan for OVC (NAP). This programme's objectives were to strengthen the purchasing power of ultra-poor and labour-constrained households through unconditional cash transfers. This would enable beneficiary households to increase their consumption to a level above the food poverty line, help them to avoid risky coping strategies such as child labour and early marriage and, in the long term, contribute to a reduction of the number of ultra-poor households in the country.

In recent years, however, conditional cash transfers have been on the rise in African countries, and are also said to have proven to be successful by producing positive impacts (Standing 2011). The conditions attached to these CCTs have mainly focused on the different challenges in the region (such as HIV and AIDS) and tying conditions to sexual behaviour, and education for girls or women due to cultural biases. According to De Walque et al. (2011), for example, a conditional cash transfer in Tanzania, which had the objective of influencing sexual behaviour, prevented many adults from contracting sexually-transmitted diseases, thereby pointing to the potential of conditional cash transfers in addressing the risks of HIV.

Scarlato and D'Agostino (2016) argue that, despite the rise of CCTs in Africa, the conditions are not as rigidly monitored or enforced for compliance as those in most Latin American countries. In fact, many CCTs in Africa use soft conditions that impose no penalties for non-compliance, or use flexible conditions – such as applying conditions only to beneficiaries that are capable of fulfilling the set conditions instead of universally applying conditions to all beneficiaries. Other soft conditions include simply attending sensitisation campaigns which encourage access to social services and relevant training, to promote positive behavioural changes. Conditions are often monitored less frequently than they are in other regions due to difficulties faced by many institutions implementing such programmes in terms of monitoring capacity. Some programmes also decentralise the monitoring of compliance to community level (Davis et al. 2012), as a form of self-monitoring, including in Mali, Malawi, Kenya, Ghana and Burkina Faso. Insofar as penalties for non-compliance exist, these are only enacted or applied after many considerations as well as several follow-ups to find out why the beneficiaries are not complying with the set conditions. This hesitancy to apply cut-and-dried conditions reflects the African context regarding concerns about beneficiaries' ability to fulfil conditions, and the different institutional capacities to monitor compliance with the conditions.

Cash transfers implemented in Latin America have normally taken the form of long-term programmes, which are usually managed by government institutions and domestically funded through taxpayer funds. These programmes have gradually emerged through clear political support and are embedded in legislation. Due to their long-term character, they tend to be relatively stable over time. Conversely, most African countries have a more limited fiscal base and regularly are unable to collect taxes properly, such that they have limited room for extended redistributive policies and social protection strategies. Indeed, many of the government ministries in charge of social protection in the region are weak, politically, institutionally and technically (Coudouel et al. 2002, Niño-Zarazua et al. 2012). Such weakness is evident in governments' limited budget allocations for social protection, which rarely exceed one per cent.

Countries in Africa implement short term cash transfer programmes, which are often aimed, as indicated, at providing emergency responses to natural disasters or extreme poverty conditions (del Ninno & Mills 2015). Further, these interventions are typically non-government programmes partially or fully funded by donors with a weak national political commitment and

precarious long-term sustainability (Garcia & Moore 2012; Niño-Zarazúa et al. 2012). In this regard, almost half of the sub-Saharan African programmes are located outside of government institutions, and 50 per cent of these were funded entirely by non-governmental funds (Scarlato and D’Agostino 2016). Because of the significant financial support coming from donors, CCT programmes remain subject to the whims of donors and short funding cycles. They also face challenges of balancing domestic and external priorities. This is because programmes that remain outside of the ambit of national governments fail to develop capacities within government institutions, and they do not capitalise on potential economies of scale needed for cost-effective implementation of targeting, registration, monitoring, and evaluation systems. However, there is a growing tendency towards greater institutionalisation and domestic funding of cash transfer programmes in Africa. Programmes in Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Rwanda, and other countries enjoy strong domestic support and leadership, and they may reap the benefits of more cost-effective programmes. However, many programmes continue to need external financing and support, with development partners (donors and non-government organisations) seeking increasingly to embed CCT programmes in government structures in order to build long-term, coordinated approaches to enhance capacity building and technical support for cash transfers (Garcia and Moore 2012). It is this context that CCT programmes emerged in Somalia and more specifically in Puntland.

The cash transfers, both UCTs and CCTs, detailed historically in this section are subject to the many concerns and debates discussed in section 3.2. Hence, though not offering a critical appraisal of them in this section, they were and are not without the many challenges outlined earlier. The next section of this chapter, before concluding, addresses a more specific theme about CCTs, and one which is central to this thesis – namely, women and empowerment.

3.4 CCTs – Women and Empowerment

In contrast to many other cash transfer programmes around the world, especially those in Latin America, a number of programmes in sub-Saharan Africa do not have any strict preference for the recipient of the cash benefit, and so do not necessarily specify that a female should be the recipient of cash transfers. This is mainly because most of these programmes have involved unconditional cash transfers, whereby the recipient of the assistance is usually the head of household, regardless of sex. However, even in the case of unconditional cash transfer programmes in Africa, Garcia and

Moore (2012) point out that only 1 in 10 of these UCT programmes specified that the cash transfer be distributed specifically to females. The reasons behind no strict gender preference are still not fully understood and it is still not clear if this programmatic modality (the head as recipient) is a first-best approach.

However, early empirical evidence across multiple cultures and regions, including Africa, generally demonstrated that making women recipients of cash benefits often results in positive outcomes for households (Duflo 2003). For instance, Quisumbing and Maluccio (2000) found qualified evidence of such benefits in South Africa and Ethiopia. At the same time, in maximising cash transfer benefits, simply assuming that all recipients in African households should be women could be unfounded and naïve (Garcia & Moore 2012). Even if women receive cash, questions arise as to whether they in practice have control over the transfer, or whether control rests with the senior male in the household, whether the husband or not. Nevertheless, with the rise of conditional cash transfers in Africa, a stricter focus on women as recipients is on the rise. This led to pilot programmes, in order to evaluate how results may differ when transfers are distributed to women rather than men.

In the ensuing discussion, I examine literature on CCTs and women's empowerment, giving examples of such programmes in both Latin America and Africa. Literature on CCT performance and effects with reference to women's empowerment has generally grown – especially evaluations conducted of programmes in Latin America. However, the overwhelming majority of initial CCT appraisals focused on children (the girl-child and boy-child) and, therefore, they were not designed to evaluate the gender impacts for all female household members. In this respect, over a decade ago, detailed evidence was “far from sufficient to make any accurate estimate of the programmes' overall effect on women” (Molyneux 2006: 127). This is despite that, Rawlings (2004) argued that CCTs are an innovative tool for empowering women, by giving them the voice and power to raise their socio-economic status within the household and the community at large, ultimately promoting gender equality.

The significance of empowering women relates to the pervasive existence of patriarchal systems, practices and discourses both within and outside the household, which vary across time and space. Targeting women in particular, by ensuring that they receive (and hopefully control) the cash transfer while also being responsible for complying with the conditions set against the

transfer, is meant to empower women and also contribute more effectively to the care and future of the household – on the grounds that women are more likely than men to use the cash for the good of the household, including any children. Clearly, though, embedded in patriarchal arrangements are social relations, between men and women. This means that empowering women entails shifting the existing (gendered) relations between men and women which disempower women in diverse ways.

For purposes of this thesis, empowerment of women entails five dimensions (UN Women 2011). These interrelated dimensions refer to: women's sense of self-worth; their right to have and to determine choices; their right to have access to opportunities and resources; their right to have the power to control their own lives, both within and outside the home; and their ability to influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order in society. This definition emphasises that empowerment is a continuous process rather than a mere outcome. In what follows, I simply give a schematic sense of the relationship between CCTs and the empowering of women, as discussed in the existing literature, based on proxy measures or indirect measurements of empowerment (van den Bold, Quisumbing & Gillespie 2013, Malhotra, Schuler, & Boender 2002).

Before considering CCTs with regard to adult women, it is first important to highlight that CCTs also place emphasis on the girl-child (Adato et al. 2000), in order to facilitate inter-generational effects around gender. In many countries in Africa, parents often prioritise the education of the boy-child over the girl-child due to educational costs and cultural biases against females. Because of this, one condition often, but not always, found in CCTs in Africa is school attendance. By putting conditions on school enrolment for all children regardless of sex, and by insisting that these children must attain a certain level of educational achievement in order for the cash transfers to be disbursed over time, CCTs may help overcome some of the gender biases in society, and hence improve the future lives of the girl-child. In fact, some CCTs take this matter one step further, by increasing the incentives for the girl-child specifically to stay in school. Under the PROGRESA programme in Mexico and Malawi's conditional cash transfer programmes, for example, the incentives provided for teenage girls to stay in school were considered fifteen per cent more than those for teenage boys. An evaluation of Malawi's CCT programme concluded that insisting on school attendance decreased adolescent girls' likelihood of initiating sexual activity,

marrying early or becoming pregnant (Cepal 2002), thus also reducing exposure to HIV.

However, many researchers examining the CCT programmes from the standpoint of their effects on adult women, when they are recipients of the cash benefit and are the ones who need to comply with the conditionalities (including perhaps ensuring that their children attend school or receive regular health-checks), raise deep concerns. To reiterate, the focus on targeting women in particular in CCTs is regularly based on an implicit (sometimes explicit) acceptance that women are more ‘responsible’ than men in terms of concern for household well-being (Thomas 1990, Hoddinott & Haddad 1995, Haddad, Hoddinott & Alderman 1997). It is also based on the recognition that men tend to control money and other resources in many societies, so that cash transfers (to men) could increase gender disparity and threats to women’s livelihoods. Targeting women specifically as principal beneficiaries is meant to enhance their control of household finances. This focus on women beneficiaries also exists in unconditional cash transfers, such as the programme by Concern Worldwide and Oxfam in Zimbabwe in 2010 (Brady 2011), and the one in Somalia during the 2011-2012 drought. Further, in the case of conditional cash transfers, conditionalities pertaining to children are more pronounced in Latin America than in Africa. In the Puntland case study, these conditionalities do not exist.

Nevertheless, the argument made about CCTs which select women as beneficiaries is an argument about how these CCTs fit into, and thereby reproduce, a patriarchal mould. When women are the cash recipients, and the conditionalities (for women) focus on the education and health of children, this does “little to help women secure sustainable livelihoods” or develop a broader conception of their role in society. Though such programmes aim to help the next generation live better lives than their parents, they do not reduce the women’s own “risk for remaining in poverty for the rest of their lives” (Molyneux 2006: 127). As Molyneux (2006:127) puts it, mothers (and not fathers) become “the key to securing improvements in the life chances of their children”. Assigning no responsibilities to men, for instance for children’s school attendance and regular health check-ups, gives official sanction to the notion that childcare is an exclusively feminine activity. Thus, enhancing social investments in the future of households is to be accomplished via women.

Further, even when these particular conditions are not put in place, depicting women as more responsible than men (though it may have an empirical basis) ties women (as wives and

mothers) into ‘traditional’, limiting and specifically domestic and maternal roles; instead of encouraging other possible endeavours that could expand women’s own opportunities beyond the household. A study by Care International (2011) of the *Juntos*, *Bono Juana Azurduy* and *Bono Desarrollo Humano* cash transfer programmes (in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador respectively) concluded that they were all attaching household caring responsibilities to women and reinforcing a maternal model of care which affected their participation in wider economic and political activity and limited their ability to develop their own resilience to poverty and become empowered and active citizens. In similar fashion, Cornwall (2008:2) argues that CCTs appeal to poor women by drawing on “deeply conservative notions of womanhood” such that they reinforce rather than challenge women’s ‘traditional’ household and social roles.

Because women are responsible for domestic affairs (including food consumption), they are seen as the best recipients for cash transfers; and this further reproduces the role of women in unpaid reproductive labour (Brady 2011). Hence, any supposed ‘success’ of CCTs in empowering women is dependent upon normalising the responsibilities of motherhood (Molyneux, 2007). This is described as a maternalistic narrative, involving the “feminization of responsibility and obligation for managing poverty with women being made to do more to ensure household survival, when men are increasingly doing less” (Chant 2006: 24). It also tends to treat women in an instrumentalist manner as mere ‘conduits of policy’ (Molyneux, 2007). However, given that the Puntland CCT is linked to conditionalities focusing on training and human capital formation for women, its capacity to enhance women’s status outside of the domestic sphere may be more significant than these sweeping claims admit.

At the same time, the decision to target women, as part of CCTs, is done without the consultation or involvement of women, as this forms part of the conceptualisation and design process before the stage of implementation. While this goes contrary to any notion of deep participatory (i.e. empowering) methodologies, about which donors and non-governmental organisations wax eloquently about (discursively), men are also not consulted in the CCT planning stage. Further, in the worldwide development system, a disjuncture between discourse and practice regularly exists.

Even without any involvement of women or men in the targeting criteria, it is regularly the case – certainly in many parts of Africa – that both men and women accept differentiated practices

along gender lines, because of the internalisation of gendered discourses and ideologies. Thus, it is not unusual for both men and women to view women as household (or domestic) ‘managers’ and to assume that women are more responsible than men in caring for households (including children). As an example, a gender impact analysis of unconditional cash transfers in south-central Somalia conducted by the Somalia Cash Consortium in 2012 showed that targeting female beneficiaries was overwhelmingly accepted by the community (men and women) as women were seen as the ‘rightful’ beneficiaries – this was closely linked to conceptions of women as household managers and to binary distinctions between ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ spending (Wasilkowska 2012).

Depending though on the cash value of the transfer, placing cash into the hands of women may lead to resentment on the part of men, particularly if women control significant cash expenditures and able to enhance their role in household decision-making process on this basis. In fact, some studies raise concerns that the purposeful targeting of women can result in men being – or at least feeling – marginalised, thereby increasing the risk of negative outcomes through domestic power struggles and even abuse. For example, the study of emergency-based (unconditional) cash transfer programmes in Zimbabwe and Kenya implemented by Oxfam and Concern Worldwide in 2010 noted that men questioned why the implementers ‘preferred’ women and did not want to work with them. The study results therefore caution that “the marginalisation of men is a serious obstacle to programmes seeking to take steps towards gender equality and sustainable social change” (Brady 2011:18).

3.4.1 Intra-Household Bargaining Power

Given the centrality of the domestic sphere to the constructions of genders and gender relations, a specific focus on intra-household relations is of some value. According to Soares and Silva (2010), CCTs in effect empower women economically, with the household, by making them the recipients of the cash benefit. Being the recipient of the cash benefit thus contributes to women feeling more in control of the situation at household level, and obtaining more bargaining power in the household, which may in turn develop into higher perceived status of women. This is in line with Sen’s (2000) arguments in the ‘intra-household bargaining model’ that women’s well-being, and their overall voice and agency, is strongly influenced by their ability to earn an independent income

– in this case, initially a cash transfer and perhaps, later, the pursuit of income-generating livelihood activities. Sen argues that this contributes as well to women's inner power (referred to as 'power within' by Rowlands 1997). In supporting this general argument, Kabeer et al. (2011) provide an empirical analysis of a Bangladesh CCT programme, where it was found that the opportunity of having some form of income not only helped to mitigate humiliations in women's lives, but also enhanced their influence within the household and expanded their choice-making abilities. Access to financial resources therefore created capabilities for women for positive change in their lives.

Nevertheless, Antman (2012), in her study on female bargaining power and household decision making in Mexico's PROGRESA – *Oportunidades* programme, also confirms the bargaining power hypothesis, pointing to a positive causal relationship between women's income levels and household decision making, suggesting therefore that increasing economic opportunities for women can indeed have far-reaching effects in terms of decision making within the household. A study by Care International (2007) of Peru's *Juntos* CCT programme and Bolivia's programme also showed the same results, with women appreciating the increased autonomy due to the CCTs, reporting that they now had greater power at home to negotiate and decide on priorities for spending the cash benefit because they receive the transfer directly.

All this implies, of course, that financial power necessarily translates into political power, with may not be the case in all circumstances. Thus, Molyneux (2008), in her evaluation of the same PROGRESA – *Oportunidades* programme, noted that although women generally experienced greater self-esteem, well-being and autonomy as a result of the CCT programme, this did not alter gender relations in the household, but simply substituted money previously earned by the husbands. Haque and Chhachhi (2008), in their evaluation of the Bangladesh CCT programme, also noted that, even though women gained economically, there was no corresponding improvement in their household bargaining power. Likewise, Khattak (2002), in her study in Pakistan, argues that the ability to earn does not automatically mean the relaxation of patriarchal control. Molyneux (2008) therefore argues that control over cash is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for empowerment, and hence there is need for improved 'potentials and capabilities' of women to negotiate gender relations at household level. This means that, although the cash benefits received by women generally increase their domestic purchasing power, they do this without

altering the fundamental bases of women's social and economic subservience vis-à-vis men – which is rooted, fundamentally, in socio-cultural arrangements of patriarchy. Age, marital status, religion and culture in fact may all directly impact on the level of women's assertiveness and autonomy in terms of intra-household dynamics.

In this sense, any empowering process for women may require changing forms of consciousness and the disposition on the part of women to make purposive transformational choices and enact agency on this basis (Alsop, Bertelsen & Holland 2006). This might entail, as a study from South Africa shows, conditionalities in cash transfer programmes which involve women (and men) in training programmes around gender, patriarchy and violence (Govender 2006). Meanwhile, any consciousness raising for women in CCT programmes normally revolves around information pertaining to the health of children, where such a conditionality exists. Under CCTs linked to health, where women as mothers are required to comply with conditions of ensuring regular health check-ups and immunisations for their children, the women themselves are often required to attend health and nutrition informational sessions to be trained on health issues together with other women. The opportunity to leave home and to meet regularly with other women and discuss issues of common concern may add a new dimension to many women's lives, as well as new skills in enunciating needs and organising action.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a wide-ranging discussion of cash transfer programmes, particularly conditional cash transfers. In doing so, it examined the history of these programmes, the conditions attached to them, their advantages and disadvantages, and the gendered component to many of them. The chapter thus sets the stage for the ensuing analysis of the Puntland case study. Before pursuing this, two points are worth highlighting. First of all, as mentioned, cash transfer programmes differ, including in relation to the conditionalities. In the case of the Puntland scheme, which focuses on women and internally-displaced people, there is no condition linked to the health and education of children. Rather, the condition focuses on training and the post-CCT benefits this will have for the future life-courses of the beneficiaries. This means that any critical analysis of a particular CCT programme must take into consideration its specificities. Secondly, even though CCT programmes may not bring about any significant changes to patriarchal arrangements, and

may seemingly reinforce them, it may be that the programmes offer women some space within which to manoeuvre to better their lives. Thus, the process of empowerment may not involve grand and dramatic shifts in patriarchy, but a chipping-away at its edges as women enact agency within but not beyond patriarchy.

CHAPTER 4: SOMALIA POLITICAL ECONOMY AND TRANSFER PROGRAMMES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the political and economic history of Somalia, and its impact on women's access to and control of resources, education and employment opportunities. More specifically, it presents and analyses the political, social and economic transformations in the country looking at different political regimes, starting from the colonial period of the 19th century and including the independence era, in which the Siad Barre and post Siad Barre periods are of particular significance. In addition to this, the chapter focuses on the traditional Somali cultural arrangements and clan structure, and considers the degree to which patriarchal structures and associated ideas and discourses have contributed to restrictions on, or improvements to, women's opportunities during the different political periods. In this context, the chapter then provides an historical overview of humanitarian aid in Somalia, focussing on both in kind and cash transfer programmes, as well as examining the successes and challenges faced in Somalia in using these different aid modalities.

4.2 History of Somalia

Somalia was created in 1960, when two territories comprised of a former British protectorate and an Italian colony, merged (Metz 1993). Before this period, it was known as the Somali Democratic Republic, and was an important centre of commerce with the rest of the ancient world, particularly its coastline regions that were visited by foreigners mainly from Arabia and Persia for trade purposes.

The colonial interest in Somalia by Europe developed in the 19th century, around 1839 (Bradbury and Healey 1996). This started with the British who began to use Aden, on the south coast of Arabia, as a coaling station for ships on route to India. France and Italy also developed interests in Somalia and, in requiring similar coaling facilities for their own ships, established stations in the northern Somali regions. Around 1880, through a succession of treaties promising protection for the chieftains of various Somali clans, the British and Italians formally gained

control of parts of the coasts, and established British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland respectively. The French took control of the now Djibouti. When the European scramble for Africa began in the 1880s, these three powers competed for Somali territory, and were later on joined by Ethiopia, when Menelik II became the emperor in 1889. Ethiopia and Italy had a dispute over the largest part of Somalia, and Ethiopia then took control of the Ogaden region of Somalia (now Eritrea), after the treaty of Ucciali with Italy in 1889.

Figure 2: Map of Somalia



Source: https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/cia11/somalia_sm_2011.gif

The agreed upon geographical spread and control of the four powers in Somalia continued until the 1920s, when this arrangement was upset by the aggressive energies of Fascist Italy. In 1920, an upheaval against the British colonialists in British Somaliland occurred, resulting in the overthrow of the British Empire. In 1923, Italy acquired full control of the north-eastern, central and southern parts of Somalia, after successfully waging a campaign against the Sultanates. This

era of conflict in Somalia began with the arrival of the first governor in Italy, appointed by Mussolini, newly in power as the Italian fascist dictator. A vigorous policy was adopted to develop and extend Italian imperial interests, culminating in the defeat and annexation of Ethiopia in 1936. This control of Somalia by Italy lasted until 1941, when the British forces managed to recover certain areas from the Italians. Between 1948 and 1950, the situation reverted to the colonial boundaries as agreed in the beginning in 1889. The north-western region would remain a protectorate, while north-eastern, central and southern Somalia – which was under Italian control – became a United Nations Trusteeship on April 1 1950, with a commitment to independence after 10 years. On July 1 1960, the two regions of British and Italian Somaliland united as planned to form the independent Somali Republic under a civilian government (see Figure 4.1). The French colony also later on achieved independent in 1977, becoming the present-day Djibouti.

4.2.1 Pre-Colonial Somalia

As pointed out earlier, prior to colonialism, Somalia was a popular transit point due to its coastline regions that were a centre of trade. Besides trade in the coastline areas, Somalia was largely a pastoral economy where land and livestock represented the family's wealth. This wealth has traditionally been the property of men, although women often managed the sale and exchange of livestock products such as milk and ghee. Pastoralism in fact was the main livelihood for the people living in the northern semi-arid parts of the country, which occupies more than one-half of Somalia's territory (Samatar 2008). This pastoralism was largely subsistence-oriented, but commercial relations existed with the commercial entrepreneurs in the towns of the coast and the grain producing areas in the west and south of the country. There was interdependency between these different groups, as they exchanged their products through bartering, for example, exchanging meat and animal products for crops. Due to the semi-aridness of the northern area, the pastoralists used to move from one place to the other during different seasons in search of better pastures for their livestock.

Prior to colonisation, there was no written law in Somalia, and there was no institutionalised social and economic hierarchy in that the *society of men* was a largely egalitarian society (Lewis 1998). Traditionally, councils of men made decisions in an egalitarian manner, although age, lineage seniority and wealth could have an influence. Customary law that had

evolved from a combination of religion (Islamic Sharia law) and traditional civil codes regulated relations between people (men and women). The body of principles and procedures that set standards for social behaviour, and through which conflicts would be resolved, was called Xeer (Kapteijns 1995). The Xeer can be understood as a social contract or informal code of customary law. During pre-colonial Somalia, cultural constructions of ‘power’ and ‘authority’ were based on the Xeer alongside Islamic principles.

Two principles of the Xeer were crucial (Kapteijns 1995). Firstly, only men who were autonomous producers and thereby owned livestock could exercise political authority. Males dependent on others could not be trusted to exercise sound and impartial judgement. Secondly, and more importantly, women were excluded from the exercise of political authority, and were therefore only represented by men: fathers, husbands, sons; brothers and so on. This is because gender inequality was entrenched in religious and traditional clan perceptions of women. Certain religious and political positions and privileges were reserved exclusively for men, such as Sultan, Imams and clan-chieftains. At the same time, although Islamic principles and the Xeer were framed and interpreted so as to deny women access to decision making, certain laws protected women and could also be used to assert women’s rights. For example, Islamic law neither forbade women from seeking gainful work outside of the household, nor from maintaining property. Furthermore, in her maiden family, a Somali woman had significant power as a daughter or sister and could ask for assistance from her family at any time. It is said that a brother would often risk his life or sacrifice obligations to his wife and children if his sister was in distress (Badaw 2000).

Somalia has a deep clan-based culture and, during the pre-colonial period, clan issues structured access to the means of production and were important as well for political authority (Kaplan 2013). A clan is a group of people who define themselves in terms of common descent or along kinship lines. Clans are patrilineal and are typically divided into sub-clans, sometimes with many further sub-divisions. Through the Xeer, the clan leaders (called *suldaan*, *ugaas* or *issim*) and elders (*oday*) served governmental roles in pre-colonial rural Somali communities. Clan leaders’ roles were mainly judicial while elders regulated access to shared resources and were involved in conflict resolution. Somalia is divided into four major clans and a number of minority groups. The four major clans are traditionally classed as ‘noble’ clans, referring to the belief that they share a common unadulterated Somali ancestry, whereas the minority clans are believed to

have mixed parentage. The ‘noble’ clan families trace their origin back to a mythical common ancestor called Samaal, who is said to have descended from the Prophet Mohamed. The four noble clans are Darod, Dir, Hawiye and Isaaq. These major clans were generally geographically dispersed across the different regions of Somalia, and each of the major clan leaders governed a particular geographical location where they wielded power. This tended to prevent conflict amongst the clans. The Xeer regulated the relationships between the major and minority clans, but it did not always provide the same level of protection to minorities as majority clans (Kaplan 2013: 34).

Despite the existence of cooperation and accommodation arising from the enforcement of Xeer, competition of resources between the clans often led to conflict and warfare amongst the Somali pastoralist community (Kapteijns 1995). Intermarriage, however, was also another important mechanism for the creation of political harmony and mutual economic support between the clans. On a regular basis, women were intermarried between clans with the explicit aim of ensuring peaceful conflict resolution or resource sharing between clans. This means that women could be intermarried for the purpose of preventing a conflict, or for paying ‘off’ another clan after an act of wrongdoing or injustice. By the exchange of women between clans, a clan maintained its territorial boundaries but, simultaneously, developed reciprocal and cooperative relationships. In this context, the authority to choose a marriage partner for women was in the hands of men, since such a choice affected the broader inter-clan political relations. At the family level, married women were bearers of social capital as they represented the rights and duties of reciprocal-sharing between themselves, their own family and that of their husband.

Women exchanged through marriage were excluded from formal inheritance in their communities of birth, but they could ask for assistance from their families at any time, as they remained daughters (*Inan*) forever (Badaw 2000). At the same time, they could not inherit anything in the families into which they married. They did not have any decision-making power at household level, as the Xeer prescribed that a woman should be obedient to her husband, focus on providing labour and bear him children (Kapteijns 1995: 21). Hence, decision-making rested with the male head, who served as both the arbiter in disputes and the custodian of family properties. While the woman was to try to prevent divorce by being a perfectly obedient wife, she was also supposed to take into account this eventuality. Because of this, she was encouraged to invest as

much as possible in her children, particularly her sons; for, according to Somalia customary law, only sons could eventually provide her with economic support once divorced, as they were heirs to their fathers. By placing her hopes for security in her sons (rather than her daughters, who would come under the authority of another family once married), a mother would reproduce the gendered inequality prevailing in Somalia society. In this way, marriage was one of the central institutions where inequality and gender relations between men and women was enforced in pre-colonial pastoralist Somalia. For a young woman, marriage ultimately meant separation from her community of birth and an increase and intensification of her productive and reproductive labour in the service of her husband (Kapteijns 1995: 22).

In the largely pastoral society of Somalia, labour was a major factor of production for both subsistence and commercial purposes. There was a marked division of labour, mainly based on gender and age. Each gender and age group had its own specific labour tasks assigned to it, which allowed for some degree of specialisation and the acquisition of considerable skills. Badaw (2000) suggests that, since both men's and women's work was acknowledged to be crucial to the well-being and survival of society, it is debatable whether women's roles can be construed necessarily as a source of inequality. Nevertheless, young children, both male and female, took care of the newly born livestock, usually within view of adults. Girls and married women built and dismantled the mobile hut used by nomadic pastoralists (*aqal*). Further, they sought water and fuelwood for domestic needs, and curded sour milk and prepared ghee, occasionally selling these. Women were also responsible for taking care of the children, cooking for the family and tending the small livestock (sheep and goats). Undoubtedly, a Somali woman had a long and strenuous working day due to the multiple roles that were assigned to her (ILO 1989). Most of the time, the only activity performed by the men was camel and cattle rearing. Among the nomadic pastoralists, a camel has been always considered as a prestige animal and is believed to be very rough and beyond the 'capability' of women.

4.2.2 Colonial Period

The traditional economies of Somalia were disrupted when colonial powers took over. As explained above, before colonialism, Somalia was largely a subsistence oriented pastoral society, with some commercial relations with the coastline and the southern grain producing part of the

country. The commercial relations between different parts of pre-colonial Somalia meant that each part could depend on each other through barter trading for a range of different products. Somali tradition held that land was a sacred place of identity and belonging, with livestock ownership as a source of prestige. This changed with colonialism: “Land and its sacred identity of place was negated by the colonialists with propriety of ownership and production becoming the central concept.” (Murphy 2015: 56). This shift in societal principle led to a breakdown of economic relationships that existed between agriculturalists, pastoralists and the coastline people of Somalia during pre-colonial times. Overall, like elsewhere, colonialism fostered a relationship of dependency between the Somalis and the colonial administration.

This change in existing economic relations took place as a result of the British conquest of Aden and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1856, resulting in many Somali pastoralists beginning to export vast amounts of livestock and livestock skins to Arabia (Aden). As a result, they became inextricably linked to, and dependent upon, market exchange for their livelihoods. This new form of pastoralism was characterised by a commercialised system, involving production for the sake of exchange values in what has been described as ‘peripheral capitalism’ (Samatar 2008). Pastoral production soon became central to the emergence and reproduction of a larger social constellation dominated by the state and merchants. Colonialism thus led to the commodification of livestock, and to the development of a pastoralist–merchant-state relationship based on livestock trade. As argued by Swift and Aronson (2007): “The disintegration of the pre-capitalist Somali pastoral system under the tutelage of commercialization led to ecological degradation and increased pastoral vulnerability to the fluctuations of the semi-arid climatic regime. Somali pastoralists were therefore caught in an exploitative trap engineered by the state elite and the merchants” (Swift and Aronson 2007: 133). In other words, the commercialisation of pastoral life brought about the decomposition of traditional social relations.

The state interfered with the productive basis and processes of pastoral society, using a ‘divide and rule’ tactic through supporting individualism rather than the traditional communal way of living that was exercised by the pastoralists before colonialism (Kapteijns 1995). The state created reserved areas closed for grazing, by giving licenses for using pastoral land to private entrepreneurs. This meant that only those who could afford the licenses benefited, while there was increased pressure on the resources of traditional producers; and this led to deforestation due to

the increased livestock population given the limited land for the pastures. Those who had licenses therefore became petty capitalists and began hiring wage-labour. They also invested in permanent water wells for private use so that they would have to move from place to place in search of pastures during dry seasons, as was the case in pre-colonial pastoral society. Those who had licenses for grazing also found protection in the legal institutions of the state. Increasingly, ordinary pastoralists became more dependent on the state and the urban market for survival. As a result, this disempowered the traditional leaders, since their roles of resource allocation and conflict resolution became obsolete, as these functions were taken on by the colonial state.

The positive impact of colonialism on the Somalia economy was exceedingly limited (Laitin & Samatar 2007). This was because Somalia's value to the colonial powers was more strategic than economic. The British, for example, mainly used the country as a strategic supplier of meat to Aden for their own benefit. This disrupted the traditional economic relationships that existed before colonialism between the pastoralists and the agriculturalists of Somalia, but it did not contribute directly to the growth of the Somalia economy. Only the Italians attempted to pursue a programme of economic development for the country, through the establishment of plantations and irrigation systems in the southern part of the country, along the Shabelle River, for the production of bananas, sugar cane and cotton. This contributed to the economic development of Somalia as a country, as it laid the basis for profitable export-oriented agriculture. Initially, cotton was the most important export crop for Somalia but, in 1927, the world cotton market collapsed and then banana exports became significant. Although exports made some contribution to the Somali economy, there was a misfit between goods of first necessity for internal consumption and the commodities being prioritised for export (Strangio 2012). This was due to the fact there was an emphasis on producing export crops, at the expense of basic food crops for the Somalia people's consumption. The Somalia economy also relied heavily on foreign aid and subsidies as key resources for investment and development, which reinforced the status quo.

Somali crops never became internationally competitive, and the agricultural industry relied on the government's intervention for success (Murphy 2015). In 1927, for example, Somali bananas could not compete on the global market in terms of prices with those from the Canary Islands, and Italy, being a super power, passed laws imposing tariffs on imports of all non-Somali bananas, as a way of preventing cheaper bananas from entering the national market. By 1935, the

Italian government had constituted a Royal Banana Plantation Monopoly (*Regia Azienda Monopolio Banane - RAMB*) to organise banana exports under state authority. This intervention by Italy in the market was, however, a mixed blessing for the Somali banana sector. While it made possible the initial penetration by Somali bananas into the Italian market and contributed to the growth of the economy (constituting 59 percent of Somalia's total exports in 1957), it also eliminated incentives for Somali producers to become internationally competitive or to seek markets beyond Italy.

Besides cotton and bananas, sugarcane was also grown in the plantations. This was more successful than the other two crops, mainly because it was raised for both domestic consumption and commercial purposes (Murphy 2015). By 1957, production reached a total of 11,000 tonnes, which was sufficient to meet the domestic demand such that Italian Somaliland no longer imported sugar. However, all plantations faced labour shortages as most Somalis refused to work on farms for wage labour, with pastoralists in particular viewing this as degrading (Strangio 2012). The Italians ended up conscripting Bantu people who lived in the agricultural region, and later on paid wages to agricultural families to plant and harvest export crops, while permitting them to keep private gardens on some of the irrigated land. This strategy met with some success, but was not sustainable – and hence the failure of these plantations in the long-run.

Another economic effect of colonialism was the creation of a group of salaried employees (Putnam & Noor 1999). In the north, the British administration originally had concentrated on the coastal area for trading purposes, but it soon discovered that livestock to be traded came from the interior. Therefore, it was necessary to safeguard caravan routes and keep peace in port areas, and this required the development of police forces and other civil services. In British Somaliland, many of the pastoralists scorned European education and opposed the establishment of Christian missions. Consequently, only a small pool of literate Somalis was available to work for the British administration. In the south, however, Somalis sent children to colonial and mission schools, and the graduates found civil service positions in the police force and as customs agents, bookkeepers, medical personnel and teachers. These civil servants became a ready market for new retail businesses, restaurants and coffee shops. In later years, this group played an important role in the independence struggle as its members filled the ranks of the Somali nationalist movement after World War II.

Livestock commodification and the development of urban areas brought about major changes to gender roles and relations for the pastoralist community. The incorporation of an increasing number of Somalis into the livestock trade and export sector provided some opportunities for women in these new commercial activities, including in emerging urban centres (UNICEF 2012). At the same time, the increased level of urbanisation created the conditions for women's participation in the informal sectors of the urban economy and some significant progress in girls' education. These changes did not immediately result in an overall improvement in the lives of women, but they built the foundation for greater acceptance and gradual access of women into public life, through education and employment during the nine years of civilian rule after independence. Kapteijns (1995) highlights, though, that changes brought about by colonialism had differential effects on women, including very negative ones. Thus, the perceived opportunities available within the urban commercial sector alongside the shrinkages and decreasing flexibility in the pastoral economy resulted in the migration of large numbers of impoverished people to urban spaces. These people formed the new urban underclass (*masaakiin*) and were primarily, but not exclusively, women and children. Lower-class urban women engaged in petty commodity production and exchange (for example, making mats for sale, or selling pancakes to small restaurants and individuals), hired out their labour (for sorting bananas, coffee, and gum), or lived through the charity of kinship networks, fellow Muslims and the state.

The social relations of pastoral society were transformed as a result of the impact of commercial capital and state power (Oxfam 2012). There was a shift in the social values of young men in particular, as urban centres provided opportunities to escape the seeming rigidity of pastoral ties. There was also an increased embracing of Islamic law rather than the Xeer. Further, social relations in the towns were very different from those of pastoral society (Kapteijns 1995). In the towns, livestock, labour and bride wealth were commoditised, and accumulated wealth was stored, as money, in bank accounts, sometimes in another country. As a result, an individual's group identity as constituted by kinship ideologies and practices became less relevant to maintaining and increasing capital. The fact that labour was obtained through the payment of wages, and not by calling on the reciprocal rights and duties vested in kinship, set the townspeople further apart from their pastoralist kin.

Wives could also now be paid in money, the acquisition of which was not dependent on

the approval or assistance of close kin as was the case in pre-colonial times. As a result, therefore, a wife was no longer a valuable repository of social capital and a significant bearer of reciprocal rights and duties towards others as she had been in pastoral society. Furthermore, the commoditisation of bride wealth for women brought about competition and conflict for brides which resulted in significant confusion – as men could even pay for bride wealth for married women. The colonial government had to intervene to set limits to this free market, by setting a law (in 1927) called the “Natives Betrothal and Marriage Ordinance”. According to this law, young men were supposed to respect “tribal custom” by refraining from betrothing or marrying a girl who already was betrothed, and to respect kin-group authority over divorced women and widows. However, this law had a loophole that allowed individuals to by-pass the Xeer, as it permitted marriage in cases where the woman in question declared her earlier marriage undesired, or void. In not countering this legal loophole, the state cautiously supported the urban trend towards bourgeois marriages of individuals (Kapteijns 1995: 132).

In terms of political participation, in spite of its apparent support of women’s individual decisions with regard to betrothal and marriage, the colonial system never placed women’s interests high on the colonial agenda. It certainly did not open niches for women in the state bureaucracy (Lewis 1998). In the 1930s, almost fifty years after the establishment of the Protectorate in northern Somalia, there was only one woman listed on the government’s payroll published in the ‘Blue Books’: a female prison guard of the lowest rank. Women also only participated in municipal elections for the first time in 1958. In this sense, the state inhibited or contained the changes in women’s position that colonialism seemed to be bringing about. Educated Somali women contested the ongoing inferior status of women under colonialism through the formation of associations, notably the Somali Women’s Association (SWA 1959).

4.2.3 Early Independence Period 1960-1969

Independence for Somalia in 1960 brought about a level of national unity as well as democratic changes and, for the first nine years, the country had a civilian government with citizens enjoying a high level of political participation (Putman and Noor 1999). Politics was seen as a realm open to every Somali, regardless of background. During this period, clans and regional differences were worked out and resolved through democratic elections involving political parties. In the first

democratic election in 1960, Muhammed Egal of the Somali Youth League party became the first president of the independent Somalia.

In terms of the economy, the government articulated a five-year development plan in 1963 which focused on investment in infrastructure. This plan was based on the assumption that both the plantations in the southern part of the country, and the livestock exports in the northern parts, would develop further if there were better roads, transportation facilities, ports and irrigation works. Large investment was made in the establishment of state-run model farms to attract farmers from around the country, who would learn improved techniques to apply on their own farms. Model farms in three regions in the southern part of the country were established during this period. For the pastoral sector, the Livestock Development Agency was formed in 1965 and it emphasised veterinary services, the provision of water and holding grounds for cattle while they were undergoing inoculation and transportation. As a result of these and other initiatives, there were some notable successes among Somalia's early development programmes. The nation became nearly self-sufficient in sugar, and banana exports grew, albeit haltingly. Livestock exports also increased, as Somali pastoralists responded with enthusiasm to the prospects for wealth by increasing the number of livestock for export in the international market.

However, the major challenge faced by the new government was its overdependence on foreign assistance, and hence socio-economic developments were necessarily unsustainable. About thirty-one percent of the government's national budget was funded by British and Italian subsidies in the first three years of independence. As well, the five-year development plan of 1963 had a budget of more than US\$100 million in foreign grants and loans. On its own, the new state also lacked the administrative capacity to collect taxes from subsistence herders and farmers. It therefore relied on customs taxes from international trade, which were easier to collect, but these tariffs failed to meet the financial needs of a government with very ambitious development goals. This overdependence on foreign assistance soon resulted in the collapse of the development plan.

Further, the modern agricultural techniques of state farms had minimal influence on traditional farming practices (Strangio 2012) in that there was a bias towards the prioritisation of export crops (notably, bananas) over food crops for subsistence. The lives of farmers in the rural areas, especially in the southern part of the country, did not show any significant improvement, with migration to urban centres increasing alongside a reliance on food purchases. As this urban

population grew, the government had to import foreign grains, since the new farming techniques had little impact on the rural farmers who produced Somalia's subsistence crops. Due to a boom in the demands for livestock exports, the herds of livestock in the northern drier regions of Somalia almost doubled, and this became very detrimental to the rangelands (which became particularly pronounced troubling during the 1974 drought). As a result, the civilian government became increasingly unpopular with Somalis, and that they believed that the political incumbents were squandering the nation's economic resources for their private benefit. The president was assassinated in October 1969, resulting in the army commander, Siad Barre, seizing power.

No significant changes to gender roles took place during this period, with urbanisation and livestock commoditisation becoming more pronounced after the end of colonialism. Women continued to form most part of the urban poor, often involved in petty trading, as well as working as labourers in the plantations. In terms of political participation, the Somali Youth League party failed to ensure any political representation for women and the growing frustration of women continued. The Somali Women Association, formed in 1959, continued to exist and changed its name to Somali Women's Movement in 1960. The political and ideological objectives of the movement continued to focus on advocating for an improvement in women's socio-political and economic conditions. Significant changes in the situation of women arose during the Siad Barre era of political rule (UNDP 2011).

4.2.4 Siad Barre Political Rule (1969-1990)

After the assassination of the president of Somalia in October 1969, the country became under the military rule of Siad Barre, an army commander who seized power. The new president aligned himself with the Marxist-Leninism of the Soviet Union and declared Somalia a socialist state in 1970 (Lewis 1998). This was meant to ensure the eradication of a capitalist economy brought about through colonialism, and the breaking of the chains of a commoditised economy. This socialist revolution also included the liberation of women from both traditional and capitalist exploitation. A three-year plan (1971-1973) was put in place, and this plan emphasised the pursuit of a higher standard of living for every Somali, men and women alike, with employment for all. On this basis, a substantial proportion of the modern economy was placed under state control – such as banks, insurance companies, petroleum distribution firms, and the sugar-refining plant. Agricultural,

fishing and other cooperatives were established as the cornerstone for building a socialist economy.

In the first five years of the Siad Barre government, the “socialist” experiment that was put in place seemed to be effective, and the rural-based socialist programmes attracted funding from international development agencies such as the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development (KFAED), USAID and FAO. These agencies supported different developmental projects, which led to a positive economic growth rate until 1974, when most of these successes were undercut by the severe drought. The government sought relief aid from abroad through loans from different countries to supply food to the people. Through funding from the Soviet Union, the government also moved some drought-stricken pastoralists into areas where there were agricultural and fishing cooperatives. Due to the increased population in these areas, the government established more cooperatives, again with enormous financial support from international development agencies. However, many nomadic pastoralist men who had lost their livestock during the drought were not interested in crop farming, and they migrated to other areas in search of opportunities for replenishing their livestock, leaving women behind to fend for the children. The new cooperatives became safe havens for these women and children, though these cooperatives were not particularly productive (Dunn and Mike 2014).

Besides the drought, many government officials became corrupt, using their positions for personal gains, and this also negatively affected the economic progress that had been made in the first five years of Siad Barre’s rule (Little 1996). In addition to this, instead of placing focused attention on the economic goal of socialist transformation, the government concentrated more on channelling resources to strengthen the army with the political motive of liberating the ‘Ogaden’, thereby trying to reunite the Somali people who had become citizens of other countries after the colonial period (such as Djibouti, Eritrea and some parts of Ethiopia and Kenya). Related to this, as Lewis (1998) notes, the government increased its foreign debt to a point where the country could not manage to repay its loans, and resultantly could not attract any more foreign capital. The small industrial sector that was set up at the beginning of this period soon collapsed. By 1980, for example, the Somali sugar plant only produced 29,100 tonnes of sugar – compared to 47,000 tonnes that it produced in 1969. These, and other factors, resulted in the dissipation of the popular enthusiasm for the socialist revolution.

Somalia's socialist programme continued to worsen, and its alliance with the Soviet Union fell apart in the wake of the 1977-78 Ogaden War. A new crisis also hit the country in June 1983, when the Saudi Arabian government decided to stop importing Somali livestock, claiming that rinderpest had been detected in Somali livestock, making them unsafe. These fears proved to be unfounded, but the ban remained in effect and it contributed to creating a large budget deficit, and arrears on debt service – as indicated – began to accumulate. Due to the high amount of debt, the country turned to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and its Structural Adjustment Programmes, as did other countries that had faced similar debt crises. Somalia's Five-Year Plan for 1987-91 largely reflected the international pressures and incentives of the IMF. By 1988, the government had announced implementation of many standard structural adjustment policies. Despite some successes, the overall result of the adjustment programme was not encouraging, as manufacturing output declined and livestock exports decreased rapidly.

The economy deteriorated rapidly in 1989 and 1990 as a result of the civil war in many areas, given the rise of opposition armed movements to the government. Generally, in Somalia at this time, there arose tensions and contradictions between a centralised state authority, a fractious kinship system, warring clans fighting for resources and security, and the Somali pastoral culture in which power is diffused. The largest movement was the Somali National Movement (SNM), which was drawn principally from members of the Isaak clan in the north-western part of Somalia (now an autonomous state called Somaliland). The SNM insurgency developed amongst the Isaak clan in response to marginalisation and abuse by the state, including the purge of the Isaak from civil service posts, confiscation of their businesses, and arrests, detention and general violence against Isaak civilians (World Peace Foundation 2015). The Siad Barre government responded to the armed movements with military reprisals and mass executions. In 1988, Siad Barre gave orders to exterminate all members of the Isaak clan. Government military forces began aerial and artillery bombardment of the three cities in which the Isaak lived: Hargeisa, Berbera and Burao. They also attacked villages and nomadic encampments where tribe members lived. In retaliation, the SNM attacked government garrisons in Burao and Hargeisa in 1989, and this escalated into a full scale civil war. Because of this civil war, it is estimated that around one hundred thousand people were killed, most of them civilians. An estimated half a million fled to other countries, mostly Ethiopia, and became refugees.

Besides the civil war, recurrent droughts and the livestock ban by Saudi Arabia continued to place strain on the country's agro-based economy; in fact, livestock exports came to a virtual halt in 1989. Shortages of most commodities, including food, fuel, medicines and water, occurred virtually countrywide. The civil war disrupted farming in the southern part of the country, as the major or 'elite' clans forced the minor clans (such as the Bantu, Digil and Rahanywen) off the land they cultivated. When these major clans seized land in Somalia's "bread basket," they had no intention to continue cultivation. As a result, any existing trade between farmers and pastoralists broke down, because now pastoralists had nothing to exchange their livestock for since large tracts of fertile land were not producing crops. In this context, "The entire social fabric of the pastoralist economy was undone" (Chossudovsky 2000: 27).

Barre's 'Reign of Terror' against ongoing clan warfare, and increasingly against a very restless civilian population, did not ensure his control over a steadily fragmenting nation. In January 1991, fearing for his life, Barre fled Somalia and his regime was toppled. During the course of the civil war, women were often subject to extreme gender-based violence, by both Barre's regime and the warring clans. Indeed, the rape of women became a weapon of war. A specific trained unit of the military was encouraged to sexually harass women of all ages, including teenagers and elderly women, leaving the victims physically and psychologically traumatised. The civil war, more broadly, was detrimental to women, as many became widows as they lost their spouses to the war, thus forcing them to become the primary income earners for their families (Dini 2013).

At the start of the Barre government, it seemed that the status of women was to change radically. The Barre regime sought to advance the material conditions of women by providing them with government scholarships to study abroad and incorporated them more fully into the formal economy. Overall, women's access to education, paid employment, social benefits and political participation increased during this period. Other significant gender-neutral reforms included free compulsory primary education, the 1974-1975 literacy campaign, and the writing of the Somali language, which helped to advance literacy in Somalia. More girls went to school under Siad Barre's rule than ever before (Mohamed 2015: 3).

The promulgation of the 1978 Constitution established equal rights and duties for women and men. In 1972, a labour code that promoted the equality of women in the workplace was

established. In addition to this, in 1975, Law Number 173 was put in place. Under this Law, all land became the property of the state, and women gained the right to obtain land leases and inherit leaseholds. In terms of governance, the president appointed several women scholars from the Somali Women's Movement as ministers and ambassadors. However, despite these appointments, women continued to remain excluded from any real political power as men continued to control more than 70% of the political positions (Abdullahi 2010).

The Barre regime also established the Family Law of 1975, which has been described as the “most controversial law” in allowing for the significant advancement of women's rights (Mohamed 2015: 4). The law allowed women and men to inherit wealth equally following the death of a family member or divorce; restricted polygamy; and gave women the right to seek a divorce from their husbands. The Family Law was, however, opposed by religious leaders, who saw it as an affront to Islamic principles since, traditionally, gender roles were particularly stringent when it came to issues relating to the family and family-level decision-making. Women were expected to be docile, obedient wives and mothers, while men were expected to be protectors and providers of the family, thus making them the main decision-makers in the family. The Law was therefore viewed by religious leaders as undermining Islam, the national religion.

Barre executed ten religious leaders who openly opposed the Law and, as a result, a deep divide arose within Somali society between the state and religion. The state viewed religion as a guise through which dissidents could subvert and overthrow the state. Religious groups saw the state overturning hundreds of years of tradition and religious guidance. The granting of women's rights, thus, became closely associated with the regime's severe act of repression. In this context, “[w]omen therefore fell into the cracks of the divide between state and religion. As loyal supporters of the government, they were given certain benefits. However, by accepting the liberation that the state provided, it placed them in a position of confrontation with those who were defending the traditional status quo. The idea of gender equality was therefore permanently tainted” (Mohamed 2015: 5)

At the same time, the Family Law did not benefit all women. Women constituted the majority of the illiterate population, and these women did not have sufficient knowledge of the intricacies of the law or know how to navigate the ‘male dominated’ legal system – and hence they could not take full advantage of the Law (Dini 2010). Other women were afraid to be associated

with the anti-Islamic practices that the law connoted. The fact that the Law was designed for family issues such as divorce also contributed to its limited use. Many cases were never referred to state courts, as clan leaders continued to solve these through customary procedures, fearing that dealing with them publicly would bring shame to the family. Further, although the Family Law placed strong prohibitions on polygamy, this practice actually increased instead. Religious figures and even individuals aligned to the regime boycotted or ignored the Law by marrying multiple wives.

Abdullahi (2010) argues that, as well, the law led to increased levels of domestic violence and divorce. In this regard, due to the increased work opportunities brought into existence by the Barre regime, women were now financially capable of supporting their families. Therefore, they felt more empowered to openly challenge traditional patriarchal familial roles as they now had a legal right to take part in family decision-making. This was viewed as a direct threat to Islam, and many men retaliated by using domestic violence. By the 1980s, the Law was no longer sustainable in light of the strong societal reluctance to use it. Due to cumulative pressure, it was eventually revised with many of its radical clauses taken out.

4.2.5 Post Siad Barre period (1991-1999)

The overthrow and collapse of the Siad Barre regime in 1991 marked a turning point in Somali politics, economy and society (Lewis 1996). Following this collapse, many of the opposition groups that had been formed during the Barre regime subsequently began to compete for power, resulting in continuous inter-clan conflicts that exacerbated the civil wars. The period also saw the rise of regional warlords, who came into power and went to war with each other. The country was therefore divided into different regions, resulting in the disappearance of a functional centralised government. Some autonomous regions, including the Somaliland, Puntland and Galmudug administrations, emerged in the north in the ensuing process of decentralisation, and all of these administrations had their own ‘presidents’ and did not want to be associated with “Somalia”. This issue of regional administrations characterises Somalia today – and this thesis is focused on the implementation of a conditional cash transfer programme in one of the states (Puntland), which is in the north-eastern part of the country, and currently has its own independent administration.

The ongoing war resulted in a massive refugee problem, as up to one million Somalis fled to neighbouring countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti, while about half a million people

were displaced internally (OCHA 2014). The agrarian economy, particularly in the south, continued to be disrupted by conflict, while periods of drought exacerbated levels of poverty and malnutrition. At the same time, the state's collapse undermined basic service delivery, with serious consequences for human development outcomes. Further, as there was no longer a functional central government overseeing formal laws (like during the colonial and earlier independence periods), the people of Somalia reverted to local forms of conflict resolution, consisting of civil, religious and customary law, in a situation similar to the pre-colonial period.

This troubling context exacerbated gender inequalities, worsening the situation of women (UNDP 2012). Once again, women were viewed, in very forceful terms, as the subordinate sex. As a result, they did not have any rights to property, had no say or choice regarding their own marriages, and were married off to men from other clans for 'social' reasons (often at an age below eighteen). All the privileges they had gained, at least officially, during the Siad Barre period, such as equal education and employment opportunities, disappeared. Under the traditional or customary laws, gender based violence often went unpunished, particularly as traditional Somali society does not openly discuss these issues. The pre-eminence of customary clan-based systems and pervasive traditional practices such as polygamy, early and forced marriage, and the exclusion of women from education and employment opportunities, resulted in some of the worst gender equality indicators in the world (Abdullahi 2000).

The war and the collapse of the state also affected the models of masculinity and the range of options open for realisation of these models (Gardner & El Bushra 2016). This situation led to catastrophic levels of insecurity, violence, displacement and impoverishment of Somali men. The majority of men therefore lacked resources and, more crucially, the security to fulfil their gender specific expectations and responsibilities. Before 1991, Siad Barre's government was the major employer for most men. State employees gained not only income but also respect for being in a position of influence, especially in the case of senior government figures. The loss of jobs and the status linked to them was therefore a personal catastrophe for many men. At family level, the reality is that women and children often stepped in as income providers, representing a shift in gender roles. The Somali concept of 'manhood' (with a core set of exacting ideals), fundamental to which are male responsibilities for family well-being and the kinship based (clan) system of social organisation, was reversed due to the war. Traditionally, men and boys are described as the

fence of the family, i.e. the protection between it and the outside world. A man's reputation, status and power depend on how well he fulfils his obligations within his family and clan. In doing so, he also contributes not only to his status, but also to the collective power of his lineage group.

As explained earlier, in the absence of a functioning state, people fell back on traditional forms of clan organisation and leadership, where women were considered 'weak' as per the *Xeer*. Conversely, however, there was a disconnection between what is culturally and socially acceptable of men and what they could indeed deliver. This was because, in the context of a history of patriarchal domination, there occurred the shift in gender roles since many men had lost their jobs due to the war. This resulted in high levels of mental stress for men, who ended up having an addiction to *khat* (a mildly narcotic leaf) as a way of forgetting their sorrows. This addiction also contributed to a vicious cycle of impoverishment for men as it exacerbated mental illness, resulting in women having to care for the mentally ill male adults. UNDP (2012) also argues that this contributed to high levels of domestic violence, pointing out that existing evidence indicates strong linkages between conflicts, trauma, financial dependency on others and domestic violence, leading to family breakdown.

Men who became refugees or internally displaced due to the war also suffered disempowerment. Displacement resulted in many men being far from their clan territories and the support of their clan members, which was a source of security for them. In addition to this, in the IDP camps, the enforced idleness for men, and the humanitarian assistance from NGOs, which often overlooked male vulnerabilities, resulted in virtual emasculation. Dependency on such humanitarian organisations for food, shelter, children's education and healthcare undermined men's responsibility as decision makers and providers of the family (Elbushra & Gardner 2017).

Neighbouring countries, the African Union and the United Nations made efforts to intervene to stop the conflict in Somalia. In April 1992, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) adopted Resolution 751, which established the UN Mission in Somalia (UNISOM I). This Mission sought to address the growing humanitarian crisis in the country, but its operations were largely unsuccessful. Instead, the USA-led military Unified Task Force (UNITAF) alleviated the situation momentarily, with 'Operation Restore Hope' between December 1992 and May 1993. At the time of the Operation's withdrawal, UNISOM II was set up by UNSC Resolution 814 in order to establish a secure environment throughout the country, this time endowed with enforcement

powers under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Again, UNISOM II did not succeed in its aim and it suffered extreme losses (including the deaths of forty-two peacekeepers), resulting in its withdrawal of operations in 1995. Besides the casualties that they suffered, the mission was also known for the violence the peacekeepers themselves committed, namely rape, torture and abuse of civilians. After the international community left Somalia, fighting continued in south and central Somalia, whilst some stability was realised in the northern parts (in Puntland and Somaliland), which had declared themselves as autonomous regions.

In 1998, there was a Conference on National Reconciliation that was held in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), where women were officially recognised for the first time in the Somali peace process (UNINSTRAW 2000). This conference also included representatives from the Puntland autonomous region, but not the Somaliland region. This is because the Somaliland region regards itself as a totally independent state from Somalia, and seeks international recognition to be regarded as such, while the Puntland region advocates for a federal Somalia in which it would exist as an autonomous entity (UNDP 2012). The Transitional National Council, which was created at the Conference, required that one third of its regional delegations be composed of women. The agreement was based on power-sharing between the fighting faction, regional and clan leaders.

4.2.6 Post-2000 Somalia Era and the Situation of Women

In April 2000, the Transitional National Government (TNG) was established during a historic peace conference that was held in Djibouti. This conference recognised de facto regional autonomy and the existence of new autonomous regions in the north, namely Somaliland and Puntland. During this conference, Somali women also finally won a place, though to an insignificant extent, at the negotiating table. The TNG was formed according to a clan-based power-sharing scheme, called the “4.5 Formula.” (UNINSTRAW 2008). Since the clans are the traditional decision-making bodies of Somali society, it was believed that the formula would have a greater chance of success in finding a balancing point between the warring factions in the Somali conflict. The formula gave equal quotas for representation in government to the four major clans, and a half-point to be shared by the numerous minority clans, often called the “Fifth Clan.” This controversial formula provides the basis of current attempts to reconstruct Somali public institutions.

This formula however did not fully benefit women, as the peace negotiations were

characterised by almost exclusive male participation, as the clans are mostly led and represented by men. In response to this, some civic organisations fighting for the rights of women arose during this period. Of particular interest was a non-government organisation called Save Somali Women and Children (SSWC), which proposed that a “Sixth Clan” be formed and also be involved in these peace negotiations. This ad-hoc clan was made up exclusively of women from all the major clans, and its name symbolises the political act of women declaring their “clanlessness” by forming yet another clan beyond the four main ones and the smaller cluster of minority clans (Elmi 2010). As a result of this, the Somali women were finally given a fuller voice in the peace process, being granted twenty-five seats in the Transitional National Assembly, to be equally divided between the clans. For the first time, a Somali woman was also made a signatory to a peace agreement (in 2002).

O’Neil, Domingo and Valters (2014) point out that, historically, political power and control over resources have typically been gendered, and specifically biased in men’s favour. This discrimination has existed in terms of legal, socio-normative and actual access to power, resources and decision-making roles. Reflecting on such a change in the Somalia politics where women were included in political power, there is need to look at the changes in the socio-political, economic and socio-cultural conditions that enabled Somali women and their allies to persuade or force governing elites to alter the terms of the bargain in ways that are more favourable to women during this period. Castillejo (2011) argues that critical junctures such as post-conflict peace processes and democratic transitions like the one in Somalia (the TNG formation) have sometimes been significant opportunities for women’s empowerment, acting as a spur to psychological, social and political change.

A number of possible reasons are provided for such change processes. Firstly, women may be exposed to new ideas and social arrangements during war or conflict, which can challenge their own social norms and structures and contribute to a critical awareness of gender hierarchies. This exposure can be direct, as when women take on traditionally male roles to fill the void left by male combatants, or indirect, as when they come into contact with migrants who have customs or experiences that are different to their own (Justino et al. 2012, Wood 2008). Gardner (2003) supports this argument by pointing out that, in most post conflict situations like Somalia, many more women are now the family breadwinners than was previously the case, often with men as

their dependents. For some women, their family and community's survival, and concern with the longer-term consequences of continued violence and warfare, has led them to become peace activists.

Secondly, women's activities during conflict can increase their relative bargaining power vis-à-vis men or dominant groups (upper classes, etc.) during peace negotiations and in the post-conflict period. Asha Hagi Elmi Amin, the leader of the 'sixth clan', and first woman legislator in Somalia, confirms these arguments as she explains the reasons for forming the sixth clan as follows:

Our purpose was to create space for women in the peace process and to build a bridge to policy. The Sixth Clan was born out of frustration. Within our society, although victims of conflict we had no voice for the national solution. In a patriarchal society such as ours, women have no right to represent their clan, nor any responsibility for protecting the clan. A group of us had the idea to form our own clan, in addition to the five pre-existing clans. The Sixth Clan gave us the first political entry point for women as equal partners in decision making. (Rodríguez Natukunda-Togboa, 2005: 38-39)

Eyben (2011) also argues that the collective action by women during this period enabled this change. Women's organisations such as the SSWC have therefore been the central mechanism for processes of women's individual awakening and collective empowerment, enabling them to challenge and change gender hierarchies. This period thus confirms that, although social structures frame people's choices, they are not pre-determined in a fixed manner (Giddens 1984). Through their collective actions, women and men can alter the structures that lead to women's subordination and exclusion. At the same time, attempts to change gender norms are contested and tend to be protracted, precisely because they are about the distribution of power and resources.

Following the TNG, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was established in 2004, which was a result of the reconciliation of two main warring groups that were fighting in the southern part of the country. The TFG reigned for a period of five years until 2009, and re-established the national institutions such as the military. This TFG was supported by many Western governments, and therefore had different advisors and, at times, with different viewpoints. Besides the Western government stakeholders, Ethiopia and Islamic delegates were advisors to this government. During this period, a temporary constitution was adopted as a first step for governance and human rights protection in Somalia. The constitution-making process was

characterised by significant diplomatic bargaining, especially with regard to the number of seats for women in parliament (Elmi 2010). Article 12 of this constitution states that at least 12% of the parliamentary members shall be women, while the Islamic delegates involved in the constitutional negotiations had initially set a maximum limit of 6%. After long and intense talks, the delegates finally agreed upon 12%. However, even until the end of its mandate (in 2009), the TNG did not succeed in filling this quota, and only managed to have 8% women parliamentarians. This shows the conservative character of the government regarding women, given the ongoing importance of Islamic principles in Somalia. In fact, the Transitional Federal Charter adopted by the TFG spoke about the importance of “Islamic Sharia” as a source for national legislation.

As noted by Jama (2010), the fact that the TNG failed to succeed in filling the agreed quota of women for five years shows that dominant social norms and political culture may not match or support new formal entitlements and political rules of the game. As a result, there is always a gulf between women’s rights on paper (*de jure*) and in practice (*de facto*) following significant constitutional/legal reform. Nevertheless, the legal and constitutional protection of women’s rights remains an important political resource in women’s empowerment. The redefinition of the *de jure* terms of the political settlement provides new openings for women and their allies to win incremental gains that can, over time, give substance to formal access to resources and bring about *de facto* changes in power relations over the longer term (UN Women 2011). Sieder and Siera (2010) also argue that ensuring that women are – in practice – able to access and use new legal rights also requires longer-term processes of socialisation and transformation of wider social norms. This means that women and their allies need concrete strategies to negotiate and support change in the informal rules of the game that perpetuate gender inequalities, such as constructive engagement with male political or community leaders and heads of household that are potential sources of resistance to changing norms.

In 2006, another round of war broke out which weakened the position of the TFG. This involved armed conflict between the Islamic Courts Union (an alliance of Sharia courts) and the TFG’s military forces backed by the Ethiopian government. Supported by certain warlords, the Islamic Union was able to gain control of most of southern Somalia including the capital of Mogadishu. In seizing control of Mogadishu, governance structures were established guided by conservative Islamic principles, which again presented a threat to gender equality in Somalia

(Bryden & Steiner 2007). During the period in 2006 when the Islamic Courts were in control of Mogadishu, Sharia law was strictly applied, and women could only go outdoors in the company of a male relative. The Islamic Court militias harshly treated people who opposed the new rules, and the situation resembled that of a military regime. There was, however, some relative security in Mogadishu despite this military style of governance by the Islamic courts. Meanwhile, in the two autonomous regions of Somalia, in Puntland and Somaliland, there was progress towards improving the status of women. In Puntland, for example, a Ministry of Women Development and Family Affairs (MOWDAFA) was set up late 2006 and the Ministry published a gender policy framework with goals and strategies for achieving gender equality in Puntland, as will be discussed later in Chapter 6.

In 2007, the African Union and the United Nations approved the deployment of the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM) for peacekeeping purposes which, unfortunately, was a small force with extremely limited capacity. The Islamic Courts Union opposed the mission, as they did not want the deployment of any foreign forces in Somalia. Unrelenting violence and warfare, as well as drought, flooding and famine, continued to devastate Somalia during this period, with the Islamic Courts Union being defeated in early 2007. The period was also marked by many attacks by Al-Shabaab, a group that had ties with Al-Qaeda and generally opposed the TFG mainly because of the support it had from Western forces, and the assumed Western cultural influence this entailed. The violence, as a result of these attacks, continued to affect mostly civilians, who moved from Mogadishu to other parts of the region (and, within Somalia, to the northern parts). Women suffered immensely, as they were again used as weapons of conflict, while at the same time taking over breadwinner responsibilities after losing their husbands and fathers in the ongoing conflicts. In December 2008, the TFG president, Yusuf, who faced growing criticisms for his handling of the peace efforts, resigned as president (McKenna 2016). A moderate Islamist, Sheikh Sharif Ahmed, was elected president in January 2009. In 2009, the transitional parliament also agreed to adopt Sharia (Islamic law) for use throughout the country, a move viewed as an attempt to gather legitimacy amongst those who had supported the Islamic Courts Union. In parliament, most ministers resigned, and only one woman was left, being in charge of the Ministry of Women.

In January 2009, the transitional parliament had extended the TFG's mandate for another

two years, which was again extended until 2012. With the transitional administration's mandate set to expire in 2012, and against the backdrop of ongoing violence, Somalis worked towards forming the foundations of a new government. Starting at the end of 2011, a political road-map process providing clear benchmarks leading towards the establishment of permanent democratic institutions was launched. Within this framework, a new provisional constitution was passed in August 2012, which designates Somalia as a Federation. Following the end of the TFG's interim mandate in the same month, the Federal Government of Somalia, the first permanent government in the country since the start of the civil wars, was also formed. This is hailed as a genuine break with the past, and as the basis for bringing stability to the fragmented country. Despite these efforts, Somalia continues to be faced with complex challenges as even some 'small administrations' continue to be formed, and the conflicts continue. This means that the problems pertaining to internally displaced people remain, as do the problems for women in particular.

In relation to the position of women, the Gender Inequality Index for Somalia was recently listed as 0.776 (with a maximum of 1.0 denoting complete inequality), placing Somalia at the fourth highest position globally (UNDP 2012). The country also has extremely high gender based violence, along with high rates of maternal mortality, rape, female genital mutilation and child marriage. The 2006 Somalia Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey also shows that the adult literacy rate for women is estimated to be 26% (compared to 36% for men, and 31% overall) (UNDP 2012). The World Bank (2015) also reports that nearly 75% of females between 15-24 years are illiterate, one of the world's highest levels of gender disparity.

This is part of a broader crisis in the country. For instance, the 2012 Africa Human Development Report estimates per capita Gross Domestic Product at US\$284, against a sub-Saharan Africa average of US\$1,300 per capita. The poverty incidence is 73%; including 61% in urban centres and 80% in rural areas (UNDP 2012). In this context, many humanitarian organisations are currently making efforts to assist populations in Somalia suffering the effects of conflicts and famines. Indeed, as the political situation continues unresolved, there were constant reports of starving citizens on the world news, and this spurred the world to action in assisting starving people. Large supplies of food aid have been delivered to Somalia from countries such as the United States. However, at times, warlords and even administrators have claimed this food aid from the delivery vehicles before reached its intended destination.

4.3 Humanitarian Assistance in Somalia

As pointed out earlier, Somalia did not have a stable central government from 1991, after the overthrow of the Siad Barre government. Resultantly, lawlessness was rife, as many of the opposition groups that had been formed during the Barre regime subsequently began to compete for power, resulting in continuous inter-clan conflicts that exacerbated the civil wars. The period also saw the rise of regional warlords who came into power and went to war with each other. This fighting between clans and sub-clans also took place at a time of serious drought in Somalia, and this proved to be a complex disaster for the country, as the magnitude of suffering by the people was immense, especially amongst women and children (UNOSOM 1997). Already, by 1992, almost 4,5 million people, more than half the total number in the country, were threatened with starvation, severe malnutrition and related diseases. Overall, an estimated three hundred thousand (300,000) people, including many children, died by 1992. In addition to the effects of the drought, the war also resulted in massive displacements as people fled either to other countries or elsewhere within Somalia. By the same year (1992), an estimated one million Somalis became refugees in different countries, while more than half a million were internally displaced (OCHA 2014).

This worsening situation in Somalia was reported in the international media, and this spurred the world to action, to assist people facing a humanitarian crisis. The United Nations attempted to address the crisis by the provision of humanitarian assistance made possible through the United Nations Security Council via Resolution 751 in April 1992. The United Nations World Food Programme became the biggest supplier of humanitarian food assistance to Somalia from that time, with other organisations also joining hands to assist with this challenge (Save the Children 2014). Besides food assistance, the United Nations was also involved in conflict resolution attempts, through its other apparatuses such as the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM). The humanitarian assistance in Somalia was largely in-kind, through the provision of temporary shelter for the internally displaced people, and food aid to the drought stricken population. However, major challenges were faced with the implementation of the programme in this conflict torn country. Of particular significance were food diversion and high operational costs.

4.3.1 Challenges with In-Kind Food Aid in Somalia

According to UNOSOM (2014), most of the food aid that was delivered to the country with the objective of supporting the vulnerable people (who were facing starvation due to the drought) was diverted, and hence the intended beneficiaries did not receive it. This was because of the complex clan conflicts that continued in the country and the resulting rise of warlords. These warlords claimed large supplies of food from the delivery vehicles before they reached the hands of vulnerable and starving people. The United Nations made efforts to counteract this problem by deploying a peacekeeping force in 1992 to secure the supply lines for humanitarian aid delivery through the use of aid convoys, as well as by way of strict monitoring of the food aid distribution networks and processes by UN staff. However, although some improvements took place, there was a serious security risk for humanitarian aid workers, who were now targeted by the warlords and armed groups (such as the Al-Shabaab), with many aid workers being killed.

Al-Shabaab in fact accused humanitarian organisations of engaging in activities deemed hostile to Islam, the Somali people's religion. The group claimed that many of the American organisations, as well as UN organisations, which were delivering humanitarian assistance in the country, had a "Christian" agenda and did not pursue the best interests of the Somali people. Hence, Al-Shabaab ordered these organisations to close their operations in Somalia. In particular, the Al-Shabaab leadership targeted the UN World Food Programme (WFP), severely affecting its operations especially in the southern part of the country. In June 2009, these Islamic militants raided the United Nations offices in Baidoa in the Bay region and in Wajid in the Bakool region, and they also compelled the international NGO (CARE) and the International Medical Corps to close, on suspicion that the two organisations provided the intelligence leading to the successful American airstrike on former Al-Shabaab leader, Aden Hashi Ayro. By November 2009, the local Al-Shabaab administration in the Bay and Bakool regions required that humanitarian aid agencies abide to certain conditions, such as paying a registration fee, removing all official logos from vehicles, and banning all female employees of these organisations.

In addition to the above, piracy off the coast of Somalia became an additional obstacle to food delivery to the vulnerable people of Somalia. Since the World Food Programme was receiving food aid from different parts of the world, most of this food was being delivered by way of the sea to ports. Humanitarian aid vessels were at risk of the threat of piracy, and this led to both food

diversion and theft. In mid-2005, for example, a vessel named MV Semlow, carrying 850 metric tonnes of rice for 28,000 tsunami survivors in the Puntland region of Somalia, was hijacked; as a result, the WFP relief food on board at for more than 100 days in Somali coastal waters. In December of the same year, another vessel, the St Vincent and Grenadines-registered MV Miltzow, carrying 703 tonnes of maize, 108 tonnes of beans and 39 tonnes of vegetable oil, was hijacked in the process of being offloaded; and this forced the WFP to temporarily close its operations in Somalia for a number of weeks (Zimmerman 2011).

Besides the warlords, piracy and Al-Shabaab militants that ended up diverting humanitarian assistance to the country, Somalia was also characterised – as indicated – by an almost complete breakdown in the rule of law and corruption, all without a central government. Resultantly, lucrative contracts for transporting food aid were at risk of being awarded without proper due diligence, and such transporters could also divert the food aid for their own benefit. Even if properly contracted out, the monitoring of food aid transport and deliveries posed serious security risks for UN staff. A *New York Times* article (of 10 March 2010) spoke about a leaked UN report which indicated that up to half of the food aid, valued at approximately 485 million US dollars, had been diverted through a corrupt web of partners, contractors, local armed groups and even United Nations World Food Programme national staff. The report accused one of the transporters of staging hijackings of his own trucks and later selling the food, and referred to another transporter (from one of the armed groups) who likewise diverted food aid for personal benefit. Due to these allegations, and continuous attacks on the UN World Food Programme's offices and staff in Somalia, the organisation suspended its operations in the country in 2010. It reactivated its operations later, at least in parts of the country where the security situation had improved.

Beside food aid diversion, high operational costs (alongside major logistical challenges) marked the food aid humanitarian programmes in Somalia. Food aid delivered by the WFP was coming from large- and small-scale agricultural producers in Africa, North America, Latin America, Europe, Oceania and Asia, and hence high transport costs were incurred for the delivery of the food from these far-flung parts of the world (OCHA 2014). Because of procuring and shipping large amounts of food to Somalia when piracy was rife, there was also very significant insurance costs to bear in case a food shipment was hijacked and diverted. This of course

negatively affected vulnerable Somalians, as the amount and value of food shipped was reduced to cover these logistical costs (Cash Consortium 2014). In this context, operational transfer costs for in-kind programmes amounted to between twenty-five and thirty-five US dollars for 100 US dollars' worth of food aid (Ali et al. 2005).

4.3.2 Cash Transfers in Somalia

Due to the challenges of food aid delivery, as mentioned above, some humanitarian organisations started to pilot the use of alternative methods such as cash transfers to deliver aid to the vulnerable people of Somalia. As noted, this included the Emergency Cash Relief Programme (ECRP), started in 2003, which was one of the first such programmes (Bailey 2011). The Cash Consortium of Somalia, which consists of four non-governmental organisations, namely, Danish Refugee Council, Save the Children, Action Contre La Faim (ACF) and Adeso implemented the programme. UNICEF implemented another large-scale cash transfer programme through a cohort of NGOs, including the Cash Consortium, in response to the 2011 famine that also affected the whole Horn of Africa. This programme was on a vaster scale than the 2003 cash transfer programme because, by then, the UN World Food Programme (the largest organisation providing humanitarian food assistance in Somalia) had withdrawn its operations from south and central Somalia in 2010 for reasons outlined above. In this context, there were very few viable options available to the international humanitarian community in responding to famine, other than considering the use of cash transfers.

These cash transfer programmes in Somalia were implemented in south and central Somalia, and were unconditional cash transfer programmes because they were responding to emergencies (Longley, Dunn & Brewin 2012). UNICEF (UNICEF 2011) supports the implementation of these unconditional cash transfer programmes, as it argues that Somalia has a history of complex humanitarian emergencies, with a “perfect storm” of high food prices, crop failure and armed conflict all occurring at the same time. Due to this complex situation, unconditional rather than conditional cash transfer programmes are the best response option to assist vulnerable populations. To place expectations (or conditions) on these populations, in return for cash transfers, would only place further unnecessary burdens on them in a highly volatile and dynamic context.

Evaluations of these unconditional cash transfer programmes note positive impacts for both the beneficiaries themselves as well as for local markets in Somalia (ODI 2013). Cash enabled a more rapid recovery of food and nutrition security amongst beneficiaries and enabled them to pursue livelihood investments. At the same time, recipients of cash-based programmes were not cut off from existing credit systems. Traders also reported that the cash injection, from beneficiaries as consumers, helped to restore their businesses and lines of credit. According to UNICEF (2012), a market assessment conducted by the Food Security and Nutrition Unit of Somalia (FSNAU) in 2011 noted that Somali markets were highly integrated, and could continue to operate even during such emergency periods mainly because they relied on imported foods. As a result, in most parts of the country, food items were available in the market, and at reasonable prices. This functionality of markets therefore presented a solid opportunity for the implementation of cash based transfer programmes in Somalia.

In addition to this, Somali people made efforts to discover innovative ways of surviving in the absence of a central government, mainly by finding ways of sending or receiving money from relatives that had migrated to other countries. In the absence of a formal banking system in the country, an extensive network of money-transfer agents such as Dahabshil (known as the *Hawala* system) was developed and this provided an opportunity for those Somalis in the diaspora to send remittances to their relatives in Somalia. This *Hawala* system allows money to be transferred into and within Somalia, effectively reaching individuals even in the most remote areas, often within twenty-four hours. In comparison to the in-kind food assistance programme that needed significant numbers of contractors to transport the food, which was also at high risk of being looted or diverted, the use of the *Hawala* system means that money passes through fewer hands, potentially decreasing the risk of diversion, and it also reaches the beneficiaries in a short space of time (Longley, Dunn & Brewin 2012:3).

Following the successful implementation of these cash transfer programmes in south and central Somalia, more programmes were implemented in the northern parts of the country (in Puntland and Somaliland). Although many of these programmes have been unconditional cash transfer programmes, some conditional cash transfer programmes have emerged recently, mainly as a way of enhancing the resilience of the Somali people. This was particularly the case because of some notable progress in the political situation in the country through the 'New Deal'. The New

Deal is a mechanism in place which seeks to enhance Somalia's transition out of fragility and rebuild peace by strengthening country's governance systems, and thereby increase predictability in the outcome of aid transfers. On 16 September 2013, the Somalia New Deal Conference was co-hosted by the European Union and Somalia in Brussels, where the international community and Somalia endorsed the 'Somali Compact' and pledged joint support to enable its implementation through a recommitment to the Somali political process. Though there are signs of increasing stability in Somalia, many localised conflicts continue. Any re-institutionalisation of Somali state and society enhances the possibility of implemented conditional cash transfer programmes.

The conditional cash transfer programmes in Somalia mainly include cash for work, cash for assets and cash for training activities. Examples of such programmes include cash for work programmes implemented by the 'Building Resilient Communities in Somalia' (BRCiS) consortium and FAO, as well as the Norwegian Refugee Council in 2013 (also a cash for work programme). The cash for work programmes are generally implemented with the objectives of building resilience of communities to withstand shocks and enhancing short term access to food by food-insecure households, while also supporting the restoration of food production through the rehabilitation and construction of productive assets and rural infrastructure (water catchments, roads, river embankments and secondary canals), as well as infrastructure for the mitigation of the impact of floods and droughts (FAO 2015). There has been, however, only limited literature investigating these conditional cash transfer programmes in Somalia and their effects. This thesis therefore contributes to literature on conditional cash transfers in Somalia.

4.3.3 Appraising Cash Transfers in Somalia

This section discusses the available literature regarding cash transfers in Somalia, and specifically conditional cash transfers. For reasons outlined above, cash transfers (instead of in-kind transfers) are now the preferred option for Somalia.

Most of the available literature on cash transfers in Somalia consists mainly of evaluation reports of the unconditional cash transfer programmes that have been implemented (UNICEF 2012). This literature has looked primarily at the lessons to be learnt from the implementation of these unconditional programmes, as well as comparing their effectiveness with in-kind transfer programmes. It also focuses on the initial concerns about the possibility of pursuing in-cash

transfers, given the risks of inadequate supplies of goods by local traders and price inflation on these goods. Since cash transfer is relatively new in the country, there is not much literature around this. The Cash Consortium, as the most central international agency in implementing cash transfers (since 2003), has conducted some studies especially in light of the 2011-2012 drought response programme in the country. These studies focus on questions about the targeting of beneficiaries and commodity market capacity in Somalia, as well on the impact of unconditional cash transfers on gender relations. Literature on conditional cash transfers in Somalia, because of their newness, are only now emerging.

As with in-kind programmes, problems have been raised about the character and effectiveness of cash transfers programmes in Somalia – including diversion. UNICEF (2012) notes that humanitarian agencies had grown increasingly aware about the multiplicity of actors who may become involved in these (and in-kind) transfers and the multiple roles that this aid can and does play in Somalia. As noted with in-kind programmes, aid transfers may alleviate the suffering of the people of Somalia, but they also attracted power seekers and profiteers (from warlords and Islamic militants, to local authorities and transporters, to aid agency staff themselves). In this context, the risk of diversion has been raised as a concern for cash transfer programmes.

The evaluation of the unconditional cash transfer programme implemented in 2011 by UNICEF and its partners, for instance, shows some reports of misuse of funds, though not nearly on the scale of food diversions (UNICEF 2012). Diversion for cash transfers was mainly in the form of informal taxation of the beneficiaries by the local authorities and other powerful people whereby, on average, each household was requested to pay between ten and fifteen US dollars to these people on a monthly basis for the period they were receiving the assistance as cash or vouchers. This was about 18% of the total transfers received by the beneficiaries who were receiving, on average, a monthly transfer of 80US dollars per household for the period of the programme. In the case, though, of in-kind transfers where entire shipments of food aid can be diverted, resulting in no food at all receiving the intended beneficiaries, the cash transfer system (even with informal taxation taking place), at least ensures that beneficiaries receive most of the funds transferred. In addition, the diversion for in-kind assistance was in part the result of the ‘many hands’ involved in the operations. The cash transfer system, especially by way of the

Hawala mechanism, reduces the number of hands seeking to grab part of the aid, as the beneficiaries need to go physically themselves to receive the assistance from the money transfer agents.

A second problem for cash transfers, besides diversion, relates to the market price inflation possibly arising from the increased demand for goods due to the greater supply of cash available; and the unavailability of goods for purchase (or, at least, breaks in the supply of basic household commodities locally). As Somali traders generally operate on a small-scale, they might not have the capacity to meet the higher demand for commodities, or they might even take advantage of the ready supply of cash locally to increase their prices in order to profiteer from the cash transfer programme. The latter case would mean that the real value of cash received would decrease relative to the price of goods, thereby in effect reducing the nominal amount received. However, UNICEF (2012) claims that the combination of falling global food prices (commencing at almost the same time as the famine was declared in Somalia) and ongoing communication and collaboration with traders, mitigated the market-related risks. Markets responded well and beneficiaries were able to buy food and other items that they needed at reasonable prices. As well, ODI (2013) points out that the small retail business sector in Somalia is very competitive, and this ensured that unnecessary inflation was not forthcoming and the selling price of goods remained affordable.

Besides the falling of global prices and the competition between traders, people in Somalia were receiving regular remittance flows in the form of mobile money through *Hawala*. Due to these incoming remittances, traders had shown already their willingness and capacity to adjust and adapt to increased money supplies without inflating prices. Furthermore, in terms of the volume of cash coming into Somalia, the unconditional cash transfer programmes involved considerably less monetary value compared to the volume of regular remittance flows, which was at about 1.6 billion US dollars a year (ODI 2013). The local traders testified that the cash transfer programmes contributed positively to demand, but that they managed to supply the needed commodities as they had ongoing experience with such high demands (because of remittances). In doing so, they had made contacts with larger suppliers who supplied them goods on a credit basis, making it easier for them to stock large quantities as required, without having to increase prices for the local people.

A third problem for the implementation of cash transfer programmes is to do with the issue of cost efficiency, that is, the cost to deliver the cash transfer to the beneficiaries (UNICEF 2012).

As noted earlier, overhead transfer costs in the case of in-kind programmes are quite high, approximately one-third of the value of food transferred, because of transport, storage, and handling and security costs. An analysis done for the 2011 unconditional cash transfer programme showed that the delivery cost of transfers in the form of either cash or vouchers was on average twenty US dollars per beneficiary (UNICEF 2012). On average, 85% of the total programme budget was transferred to the beneficiaries under this cash transfer programme. This was in large because the *Hawala* costs were generally low at an average of 4%. Ali et al. (2005) evaluated the Somalia Emergency Cash Relief programme (ECRP) in 2003, and they point out that the results of this programme were overwhelmingly positive in terms of cost efficiency. Thus, for every one hundred US dollars of funding that was distributed to the beneficiaries targeted under this programme, only seventeen dollars went to overhead costs.

Efficiency is also measured in terms of the cost for beneficiaries in terms of time travelled to collect their cash transfer, and the transfer costs incurred in doing so. ODI (2013) argues that there was no significant difference between the time and costs of travel between cash transfer and in-kind programmes. In the end, all beneficiaries have to travel to either the nearest *Hawala* agent or food distribution point (to collect cash or food, respectively), and thereafter pay for the costs of transporting commodities they would have either purchased (with cash) or received in-kind. The amounts charged for these services for both modalities were almost similar.

4.3.4 Cash Transfer Programmes and Women

Available literature on cash transfer programmes in Somalia is primarily about the impacts of unconditional cash transfer programmes specifically. Evaluations by humanitarian agencies have focused on many issues such as household dietary diversity and access to credit.

A gender impact analysis of unconditional cash transfers was done, for instance, for the 2011-2012 drought response programme implemented in south-central Somalia (Somalia Consortium 2012). Like many other programmes, this particular programme had the deliberate objective of targeting women as the recipients of the cash transfers. This targeting was based on the claim that giving assistance directly to women improves their socio-economic situation as well as their bargaining position within households, and even empowers them through their management of the cash assistance (Barrientos & DeJong 2004, Rawlings 2004, Rawlings & Dela

Briere 2006). The aim of the impact study of this programme was to understand how gender relations at household and community levels have been affected in terms of decision-making, spending patterns, social cohesion and traditional coping mechanisms. The study looked therefore at two main areas, namely, the impact of cash transfers on gender relations within the household (considering, for example, gendered spending) and the impact of the programme on the wider community, including changes in gendered statuses.

The findings of the study showed that women beneficiaries had managed to control successfully the received transfers, unchallenged by male partners. The study also discovered that targeting female beneficiaries as principal recipients of cash transfers was overwhelmingly accepted by the community. But this was because women are perceived as care-givers and household managers when it comes to expenditure on basic household goods. This did not necessarily empower women to make decisions outside their normal jurisdictions, as it derived from the binary distinction between ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ duties in the household (Cash Consortium 2012). Further, since the cash assistance being distributed for this specific programme was generally viewed as a relatively small amount (around \$US80), the women were left to manage this to buy daily-needed household items, without interference. This, of course, raises the prospect that cash transfer programmes in Somalia may reinforce rather than challenge traditional gender-based household roles since they draw on deep conservative notions of ‘womanhood’ (Chant 2006). Thus women in Somalia (as elsewhere, as discussed earlier) may be only seen as the best recipients of cash transfers because women are responsible for domestic food consumption, thereby reproducing their roles in reproductive labour (Brady 2011), leading to the “feminization of responsibility” (Molyneux 2007) in the domestic sphere.

The literature on the gender impacts of cash transfer programmes in Somalia is of central interest to this thesis, as certainly some of its objectives of gender impact studies overlap with the objectives of the thesis, especially regarding the relationships between cash transfers and the status of women in both the private and public spheres. However, as shown, the available literature on Somalia (including on gender) focuses in the main on the south-central part of the country, as well as focusing on specifically unconditional cash transfer programmes. These unconditional cash transfer programmes are more likely to inhibit any possibilities for women’s empowerment, in part because they exacerbate the dependency syndrome of people living under conditions of severe

vulnerability. The focus of this thesis is on conditional cash transfer programmes, which may have greater potential to empower beneficiaries and women in particular through the emphasis on enhancing human capital. In addition to this, the thesis focuses on a different region in Somalia, namely Puntland, which has its own specific characteristics in terms of degree of political stability and the general progress made in relation to gender-based issues.

Therefore, it is hoped that the thesis will contribute to the available scant literature on cash transfers and gender in Somalia, while also contributing more broadly to the global literature.

4.4 Conclusion

Since the end of colonialism, Somalia has been marked by dramatic and traumatic political changes which have inhibited the capacity of the country to move along a consistent development path. Civil war and political violence more broadly have been hallmarks of Somalia's recent past and these conflicts have created conditions leading to national instability and fragmentation. In this context, large numbers of people have been displaced, moving either beyond Somalia's borders or within the country. Women in particular have suffered the effects of war but, additionally, the patriarchal character of Somali society alongside the prevalence of Islamic discourses and practices have subordinated women in both their private and public lives while also generating gender-based socio-economic inequalities. For these reasons, the cash transfers (as studied in this thesis) focus on groups of people in Somalia subject to significant forms of marginalisation, namely internally displaced peoples and women. Because of the complex situation in the country, including droughts and conflicts, most of these cash transfer programmes were implemented as unconditional programmes. However, some conditional cash transfer programmes have also recently been implemented due to notable improvements in the political environment as a result of efforts in rebuilding peace in the country. The manner in which a CCT programme affects the subordination of women is central to this thesis, given the Puntland CCT programme focused on in the following chapter and in the thesis more broadly.

CHAPTER 5: PUNTLAND'S IDP CAMPS AND CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of IDP camps in Puntland and the cash transfer programmes existing in this semi-autonomous region, including the case study for this thesis, i.e. the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills training programme. First, though, there is a brief history of Puntland as a semi-autonomous state, and an examination of the changes regarding gender in Puntland in the post Siad Barre period (section 5.2). A description of the IDP camps follows, including with reference to land and accommodation, women and children, camp authorities, and education (section 5.3). In section 5.4, I then discuss more specifically the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills training programme funded by the Norwegian Refugee Council, detailing the specific character of this conditional cash transfer programme. This section provides, amongst other details, information regarding the training programme conditionalities, reasons behind the conditionalities, and the amount of cash assistance that the beneficiaries targeted for this programme were receiving during the programme. This chapter draws upon the fieldwork for this research, quite extensively.

5.2 Puntland State and Women's Status

As explained earlier in chapter 4, after the collapse of the republic of Somalia in 1991 because of the fall of Siad Barre, the country moved towards forming semi-autonomous regions as the different clan leaders fought for power. Puntland state is one of the regions that was formed because of this. This north-eastern region was formed in 1998, following Somaliland's example, which became a semi-autonomous state in 1993. Unlike Somaliland, which has sought international recognition as an independent state from Somalia, Puntland does not seek international recognition, but advocates for a federal Somalia in which it would exist as an autonomous entity (UNDP 2012). The Puntland state formally endorses the transitional federal process, but has its own constitution, political institutions and armed forces, and conducts its own foreign and trade policies.

Puntland state, in the north-eastern part of Somalia, is bordered by the Somaliland state on

its west, Gulf of Aden along the north, Galmudug region to the south and the Guardafui Channel on its eastern side. The state is composed of Bari, Mudug, Nugal, Sool and Sanaag regions. The Sool and Sanaag regions, however, are contested between Puntland and Somaliland as they are at the borders of both of these autonomous states. Due to this, these two regions are often marked by conflict as the two states fight over control of the regions. The Bari, Nugal and Mudug regions are generally peaceful, although Mudug region was divided further into the Northern and Southern Mudug regions in 2006, after the formation of another semi-autonomous region called Galmudug. Because of this, the southern part of Mudug region became incorporated into Galmudug, while the northern part remained under Puntland state. Relations between Galmudug and the Puntland regions have historically been tense due to the division of Mudug region (UNDP 2012). Nevertheless, the two states gradually made strides toward strengthening inter-regional relations. To this end, representatives of the two autonomous administrations signed an accord in February 2011 wherein both governments officially agreed to cooperate on security, economic and social matters. Because the Bari, Mudug and Nugal regions of Puntland are generally more peaceful and stable, they have often been the ‘target destination’ areas of internally displaced people coming from the southern and central areas of Somalia, where conflict has continued to persist. Bossaso, Galkayo and Garowe districts are the capitals of the three regions, respectively. Garowe district is also the capital city of the Puntland state as a whole, while Bossaso district is the main commercial city because it is located at the port where most commercial activities take place.

Puntland’s overall population is estimated at 4.2 million people (Puntland Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation 2014). The growth rate in Puntland is quite high due to the influx of internally displaced persons (IDPs). The IDP population is approximately one hundred and forty thousand (140,000). In terms of the economy, the livestock sector dominates the economy of the Puntland regions, as 60% of the population are pastoralists. The livestock economy (and livestock exports) contributes approximately 80% to foreign exchange earnings, 40% to the GDP and 60% to employment opportunities. At the same time, despite the economic importance of the livestock sector, pastoralists survive in very difficult and fragile conditions characterised by the prevailing arid and semi-arid environments. The usual seasonal migratory patterns of nomadic pastoralists are complicated further by prolonged dry seasons and recurrent droughts. These droughts occur once every five years, causing water points to dry up and forcing nomads and their

livestock to migrate longer distances in extreme life-threatening situations. Besides livestock, Puntland has a coastline which is 1,600 kilometres long, abundant with fish and other natural marine resources. Additional economic products and activities include frankincense, myrrh, Arabic gum, manufacturing and crop-based agriculture.

Overall, compared to other regions in Somalia, Puntland is more developed. For example, Puntland has the lowest rate of poverty in the whole of Somalia (at 27%), compared to 50% in neighbouring Somaliland and 57% in Mogadishu (UNDP 2014). In nearly all important development indicators, including literacy rates, it is better off than other regions, even though it is still far below desirable levels of development. As well, despite its relative economic progress and political stability, Puntland experienced an upsurge in pirate attacks on international shipping in the Indian Ocean during the period between 2005 and 2012, which posed a major threat to its stability. International naval operations however managed to contain this threat in 2012.

The Puntland state inherited significant problems after the downfall of the regime of Siad Barre, including collapsed infrastructure and the inadequate provision of basic services to people. However, the new government made some progress towards establishing a peaceful environment, and made considerable political commitments to women's empowerment (UNDP 2012). In 2008, a Ministry of Women Development and Family Affairs (MOWDAFA), headed by a woman minister, was also formed with the objective of protecting and ensuring the rights of women as well as to alleviate poverty and improve the overall socio-economic conditions of women in Puntland. Further, a national gender policy was drafted in 2008, although it still has not come into effect. Government officials indicate that the main obstacle in finalising the policy is the use of the term 'gender equality' in the policy draft. This term is often seen as representing an agenda that promotes 'Western' systems, values and beliefs (UNDP 2012). In contrast to this, the gender policy is supposed to be based on Sharia law, culture and norms that promote Islamic values and the political history of Puntland. In large part, the draft gender policy does this.

The 2009 Puntland constitution states the principle of equality of all citizens, albeit with some reservations and exceptions. In particular, Article 35 of the constitution highlights that it is the duty of the government to protect and promote the rights of women, but in a way consistent with Islamic religious norms. A presidential decree (2007) exists which indicates the need for all public institutions to adhere to a thirty per cent representation of women in their employment, and

this affirmative action proposition is being undertaken and implemented by the Puntland Civil Service Commission. However, this proposed thirty per cent quota has not been incorporated into legislation. Some men argue that thirty per cent representation by women in public administration offices would result in unqualified women being recruited, thereby compromising the quality of service.

Insofar as this is true, it arises from the huge gender disparity in access to education in Puntland. According to statistics provided by the Puntland Ministry of Education in 2010, the Gender Parity Index (GPI) for primary schools is 0.6, meaning that for every one hundred boys enrolled in school, sixty girl students were enrolled. This figure drops further to 0.4 at secondary school level, thereby resulting in less qualified women when entering the labour market. Only 26% of women can read and write compared to 36% for men. As of 2014, women constituted only 19% of employees in Puntland's civil service (UNDP 2014). UNFPA (2012) also reports that literacy rates for females have seen a decline, with female students experiencing significant problems when in the higher grades, including domestic work, early marriage, timing of classes and economic constraints that force many girls to leave school early, leading to higher girl dropout rates. Child marriage is still an issue in Puntland, with 38% of women between the ages of 20 and 49 years married before the age of 18. Females from poorer households (especially from the rural areas) and IDP camps are more likely to be married at a younger age.

5.3 IDP Camps in Puntland

The declaration by Somaliland and Puntland of their semi-autonomous state, and the efforts by their governments in addressing people's basic needs, reducing gender disparities and developing a democratic political process, resulted in the two regions being more peaceful and secure compared to the rest of Somalia (Ellison and Smith 2011). As conflict continued in the south and central parts of the country, many people from these conflict-stricken areas started to move to the northern regions where there was more stability; in doing so, they became internally displaced people. Between 70 and 80% of these IDPs are women and children (UNHCR 2011). The majority of the displaced women are widows and heads of households with hardly any access to property, health care and education. Husbands or male relatives of these women may have either died or been recruited by armed groups during the course of the ongoing conflict. Families may have also

adopted a family-splitting strategy, migrating separately in search of livelihoods or economic opportunities. Most of these IDPs settled in Nugal, Bari and Mudug regions, and specifically in the main capitals of the three regions, namely Garowe in Nugal, Bossaso in Bari and Galkayo in Mudug region. Galkayo has twenty-one IDP settlements with an estimated total of 59,000 IDPs; Garowe has seventeen settlements with about 15,000 IDPs, while Bossaso (the main commercial city of Puntland) has the highest number of IDPs (at 66,000) with thirty-two IDP settlements (UNHCR 2011).

Displacement of these people led to significant violation of several rights. Families lost most if not all of their assets in their areas of origin, and moved to new areas where they were ‘outsiders’, and hence had no access to many basic needs including shelter, food, education, water, health and sanitation. Although Puntland has made some socio-economic progress since becoming an independent state, the IDPs who moved to this region still face challenges in accessing most of their basic needs (Drumtra 2014). The relatively new autonomous region still faces challenges of poverty and poor infrastructure, and the influx of high numbers of IDPs is overwhelming the region by putting local resources under severe strain, as the limited services available in Puntland now need to accommodate both IDP and host communities. UNHCR (2011) also supports this claim and points out that the most serious challenge faced specifically by IDPs is the issue of access to land. The IDPs settling in Puntland are doing so primarily in urban areas, where land is already a problem for host communities due to clan-based struggles for land.

5.3.1 Land and Accommodation

This forms part of a broader history of inter-ethnic and inter-clan conflicts in Somalia around land, given the significance of pastoralism and livestock to the lives of Somali people. In times of drought, for example, clans would fight over land with available pastures, and the winning clan would take over that land. Each clan tried to consolidate land and enlarge their power over a given territory at the expense of other clans. This process of land accumulation and consolidation continued especially after the post Siad Barre era when the country generally returned to an era of lawlessness and dependency on customary laws and clans for protection (Displacement Solutions 2016). In Puntland, most of the land (even in the urban areas) has ‘owners’ as a result of the historical accumulation of land by clans. At times, even the same land has many ‘different owners’

as a result of the historical fights, where one clan might have owned the land for a while, and then lost it later after fighting with and losing to another different clan. This therefore causes confusion in land allocation in Puntland, which the Puntland government would need to address in coming to terms with the presence of IDPs.

Puntland developed a draft IDP national policy (2012) which defines internally displaced persons (IDPs) as

Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of, or in order to avoid, the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border.

The draft policy affirms the rights of internally displaced people as citizens of Somalia to live permanently in Puntland. It states that IDPs are entitled to enjoy the same rights as the local host population, and this includes the right to have access to shelter, which needs land for construction purposes. The policy further endorses local integration as the state's preferred durable solution for its IDP communities. This endorsement recognises the protracted character of the IDP situation and the fact that many displaced people have been resident in Puntland for the past two decades. Because of this, the government has had to make efforts to allocate land to the IDP population, mainly through engagement with the historical owners of the land, and negotiating a series of five-year rent-free leases from willing landowners in order to provide land for the IDPs. However, most of the time, the agreements have repeatedly been broken, and this has negatively affected the situation of IDPs, who often find themselves being forcibly evicted from the land by these landowners. In fact, because of the historical struggles over land, it is difficult for the Puntland government to even identify and confirm the legitimate owners of particular tracts of land.

An additional problem with regard to land is its increasing market value (especially in the urban areas). Due to this, even those landowners who would have agreed in the beginning to lease the land for free to the government are subsequently realising the increased income potential from this land, and therefore end up forcibly evicting the IDPs in order to sell the land (Drumtra 2014). Some owners also force the IDPs to pay rentals of around fifty thousand Somali Shillings per month (equivalent to USD 86). Women-headed households are often at greater risk of eviction or hiked rentals by property owners, as they are viewed as easier targets than households where adult

men are present. Despite the fact that the government would have signed agreements for the five-year rent free leases with the land owners, the legal ambiguities in the tenancy agreements, corruption in the municipal administration and the IDPs' lack of local clan backing, make these agreements vulnerable to arbitrary annulment or the imposition of rent demands by the landowners. The result has been a cycle of increased poverty, evictions and repeated local displacement for the affected IDPs.

Due to the increased market value of the land and rapid urbanisation that has expanded city limits into IDP camps, which were originally located on the periphery of urban centres, IDPs in Puntland have endured a succession of local resettlements (NRC 2104). Therefore, most IDP camps have been relocated and are now situated in areas that are at the far outskirts of towns. In Garowe, for example, all seventeen IDP settlements were relocated in 2012. MOPIC (2014) points out that a focus group discussion conducted with IDPs by the Puntland Ministry on Interior in 2014 noted that most IDPs reported that land and poor shelter were their most pressing challenges in these relocated camps. As well, 70% continued to express fears of further eviction even in these relocated camps as landowners continue to take advantage of the vulnerable IDPs. Overall, 21% of the IDPs were still living in temporary shelters such as tents, iron and plastic sheet houses.

These shelters are prone to the risk of fire and other effects of harsh climatic conditions such as heavy rains and temperature fluctuations. In Bossaso district, for example, during the summer season between May and September, temperatures rise to more than forty degrees Celsius, making it very difficult for the IDPs who live in iron sheet houses, as these houses become very hot. During this season, many people from Bossaso relocate to other areas in the region where the weather is cooler, and usually stay with relatives from their own clans. However, many IDPs continue to stay in Bossaso even under these conditions, as they have no clan relatives in other nearby areas. During this season as well, many cases of child deaths are reported due to dehydration and other heat-related diseases. This season is also characterised by strong winds, which usually result in many cases of fire accidents in the IDP camps due to the shelter materials that are used (such as plastics) which easily catch fire.

Due to the continuous relocations, there is an exacerbation in the IDP camps of deficiencies of basic infrastructure and poor access to basic services such as water, education, health and sanitation. IDPs usually suffer strikingly high child malnutrition rates that are significantly higher

than the fifteen percent threshold that signals a nutritional emergency (Drumtra 2014). According to OCHA (2014), UN relief officials describe the basic humanitarian indicators for Somalia in general as “shocking” as the country has one of the world’s highest child mortality rates. Seventy percent of the population lack access to safe drinking water while more than three-quarters of Somalis live without adequate sanitation facilities. Health care, including basic vaccinations, is extremely limited or non-existent. Dire living conditions which are considered alarming and unacceptable in other countries tend to be regarded as acceptable in Somalia. The situation is even worse for the IDP population.

In 2014, the Puntland Ministry of Interior reported that 90% of the latrines in the IDP camps are communal (and are not segregated by sex). As well, some of these were out of use as they were either full or broken. In this regard, IDPs are also restricted from constructing their own latrines by the property owners. Garbage and waste are not usually collected from the camps and sent to designated city dumpsites, due to budgetary constraints on the part of the city councils. The garbage-designed areas are overcrowded, such that the IDPs end up burning their garbage within the camps, which causes air pollution. Concerning water, the IDPs mostly rely on piped water that is provided by the government, and usually funded by NGOs, with the provision of water being free for the IDPs. The water is however rationed, with each IDP household being allocated an average of 60 litres per day, which is usually not adequate to cater for their daily water needs. These water and sanitation challenges result in high morbidity rates in the camps which also do not have adequate health facilities to respond accordingly. In Garowe, for instance, there is only one health facility that serves all the seventeen camps.

5.3.2 Women and Children

UNHCR (2011) also points out the existence of many and security and safety issues that the IDPs face, namely, economic exploitation, gender-based violence, trafficking and discrimination against those IDPs who are members of minor clans or minorities. Child rights and protection are not guaranteed in IDP settlements mainly due to the prevalence of child labour, as many parents take their children out of school to help with income generation for their households (Welt 2011). In this respect, 20% of IDP children under the age of fifteen years were working in towns, providing services such as car cleaning and shoe polishing in order to raise income for their families (Ministry

of Interior Puntland 2014). These children are usually paid very small amounts, and they cannot complain or report any unfair treatment as the work is usually casual and the amounts paid depend on the generosity of those who receive the services. Besides children, even those IDPs who are above the age of fifteen years suffer similar economic exploitation.

Due to low literacy levels, IDPs more broadly usually rely on casual labour opportunities in the host communities such as being house cleaners and garbage collectors, where there are no standardised rates. The UNHCR protection strategy for 2013-2015, in seeking to counter such problems, notes that the IDPs' precarious position within a predatory environment has led to severe levels of exploitation in the labour market and widespread social exclusion (Drumtra 2014). The lives of IDPs thus become entrapped in a vicious cycle of poverty and destitution. The host communities take advantage of the IDP communities because of the fact that due to displacement, many of them have lost links with their clans who traditionally provided them with protection. The IDPs who are members of 'minor' clans such as the Rahanweyn and Bantu clans face extra vulnerabilities and protection threats. Clan membership and identity are thus predominant factors in the security and safety of the IDPs (UNHCR 2010). Women- and child-headed households are further at risk in terms of protection in the IDP communities, as these are viewed as easier targets in terms of issues like eviction or hiking of accommodation rentals by property owners, as well as in relation to unfair treatment by employers (UNDP 2012). Conditions confronting women and girls, who comprise a significant proportion of IDPs (of around 70 to 80%), are very precarious. Displacement from their areas of origin heightens their vulnerability to sexual- and gender-based violence on route to new areas. When they settle in the IDP camps, they face the same challenges primarily because of the fact that there are no electricity and streetlights in the IDP settlements, making it easier for perpetrators to take advantage of darkness to rape women (especially during the night); as well, the flimsy shelters for housing make it easy for perpetrators to break in.

Besides rape, arising due to conflict in the areas of origin, most men have either died leaving their wives as widows, or have been injured resulting in them having different kinds of disabilities. These effects of war have resulted in the reversal of the traditional roles of men and women in Somalia, with most IDP women taking over the responsibilities of raising income for the families, which is a traditional role of men. Such reversal of roles often results in men losing their confidence and, most times, they get frustrated and end up beating their wives, resulting in

increased numbers of domestic violence cases in the IDP camps. A study in Garowe IDP settlements showed that 19% of the women reported harassments, beatings and intimidation by their spouses (Puntland Ministry of Interior (2014). Sexual- and gender-based violence are higher in IDP settlements (than in host communities) but often it is underreported due to the cultural stigma related to these types of violence and, in some cases, due to intimidation by the perpetrators and lack of trust in the local authorities in seeking justice (IFRC 2014). In addition to this, IDPs are left almost in a legal vacuum, with almost no access to legal remedies, because Puntland's formal justice system is not established in the IDP camps. Hence, most women do not find any incentive to report cases of violence, which end up not being actioned accordingly. There are also limited medical, psychological and legal services available to the displaced communities.

5.3.3 Camp Authorities

The IDP camps in Somalia are characterised by 'gatekeepers' who control the camps and usually charge fees to households for the right to live in what are decrepit settlements (Drumta 2014). The Cash Consortium (2011) carried out a study on gatekeepers in 2011. The study noted that the term 'gatekeeper' is used generically to refer to various levels of actors and power structures applicable to the IDPs, which often exist informally. Gatekeepers exist at various levels, and can include landowners or businesspersons who control access to land used by IDPs, clan leaders, religious leaders or IDP committees. For the purposes of its study, the Cash Consortium (2011) defined 'gatekeepers' as individuals who are appointed officially to run the daily affairs of an IDP site by local authorities, most often by the district commissioners. The official gatekeepers are the overall IDP site leaders to whom other camp structures report. They are drawn often from the local community, mostly from the dominant local clan, but occasionally, in the older sites, they are also IDPs themselves. These gatekeepers are also intermediaries who serve as negotiators between IDPs and the humanitarian sector.

The concept of gatekeeping started in the 1990s when those from the host community made attempts to assist IDPs who had fallen on hard times, by providing them with services (given the significant gaps in service delivery by host governments). The services include assisting new IDP arrivals to settle in, resolving conflicts, assisting in emergency situations such as funerals, births or illnesses, and generally managing security within their areas of responsibility and negotiating

with the humanitarian assistance actors for assistance and services. In the beginning, the gatekeepers had a positive effect on the well-being of the IDPs as they were considered as an example of the private sector stepping in to provide a service. However, this concept has now evolved into a lucrative economic opportunity for these individuals as the gatekeepers try to maximise their positions in the IDP communities to benefit from the services they provide, through earning money, and also through diverting humanitarian assistance before or after it has reached the displaced people.

The fate of the displaced people is often, then, in the hands of these gatekeepers. By “hosting” IDPs, gatekeepers determine the location of settlements, the access of IDPs to these settlements and, often, their ability to access humanitarian assistance. They influence the targeting of beneficiaries, as they are the ones who select ‘who’ gets humanitarian assistance, often in exchange for some kind of payment such as cash or a portion of the assistance received by the IDPs (either by force or by negotiating with the humanitarian agencies). Even when the assistance safely reaches the designated IDP beneficiary, gatekeepers have also been known to ‘tax’ IDPs, by demanding or negotiating a percentage payment from IDPs. For some analysts, gatekeepers are therefore just another example of extraction and ‘extraversion’ by Somali elites, that is, the appropriation and redirection of foreign resources for personal accumulation (Hagmann 2016).

In Puntland, gatekeepers have existed for many years, ever since IDPs began settling in the region, in the late 1990s. However, unlike in other areas (including Mogadishu), where (as described above) the gatekeepers are usually businesspersons or landowners, the ‘gatekeepers’ in Puntland are mainly from official IDP committees, since the Puntland state has formalised most of its IDP settlements. Members of these IDP committees are mostly IDPs themselves since they have now stayed for lengthy periods in the IDP camps. In order to become a member of an IDP committee, individuals are selected publicly by the IDP communities. The selection is facilitated by district or local municipal town authorities, with those selected being typically representative of the different clans in the IDP camps. This usually makes the committee inclusive by ensuring that the different clans’ interests are represented in any discussions.

At the same time, the selection criteria for the IDP committee members are almost similar to the pre-colonial Somalia era, where independent men who were respected in the community were the ones joining the ‘council of elders’. Members of IDP committees are therefore also

selected based on the respect they command in their community, which is usually based on their ability to provide for their families and the religious rank they have in Islam. The IDP committees at camps in Puntland play a significant role in the governance of IDP camps. Any humanitarian agency wanting to implement programmes in these IDP camps have to interact with them in order to gain access. During this interaction, the gatekeepers might manipulate the targeting of beneficiaries by the humanitarian assistance actors, which usually results in forms of exclusion, especially for the already-disadvantaged groups in society such as women, children and those IDPs from minor clans. These gatekeepers, like elsewhere in Somalia, thus can take advantage of this 'weaker' position and demand payments or some kind of taxes from these groups in order for them to be included in the selection lists.

However, since humanitarian actors are aware of this potential risk, and they have devised different ways of working with IDP committees. Many NGOs have strengthened their monitoring systems in the IDP settlements, by having locally based staff who visit the camps often, and are usually present during the selection processes of beneficiaries for their programmes. These staff also carry out sensitisation meetings with both the IDP committees and the IDPs, detailing to the committees their roles and responsibilities, and the importance of transparency. Some NGOs have feedback mechanisms such as toll free hotline numbers or the short message system (SMS), whereby IDPs can report any challenges with regard to perceived biases against them. Despite these improvements, however, some IDPs are still afraid of reporting any problems due to the respect they have for the IDP committees. There are reports that these gatekeepers therefore continue to take advantage of the IDPs, especially the women, children and those from minor clans. Such issues remain a concern amongst IDP communities.

5.3.4 Education

Education has also been identified as one of the key challenges that IDP communities face. This is mainly because of the persistent conflict that resulted in almost every school in Somalia being destroyed or damaged, teachers and learners being displaced, and educational materials either burnt or looted (IDMC 2010). Because of this, people could not access schools in their areas of origin, while at the same time they were also forced to move to other areas, becoming IDPs. Some of these people therefore had their schooling interrupted, or even dropped out completely, whilst

others completely missed the opportunity of accessing education due to the protracted character of the conflicts and displacements that have been persistent for over twenty years. Overall, 60% of the IDP population in Somalia are children under the age of 18 years, and 76% of these are of school going age (UNHCR 2010, UNDP 2012).

The Puntland Ministry of Interior (2014) reports that IDPs face many barriers when it comes to accessing education. These barriers include, amongst others: economic challenges where parents cannot afford to pay for educational expenses, insufficient teachers (both qualified and unqualified), poor school infrastructure and limited oversight and outreach by the Ministry of Education. Despite efforts put in place by the Puntland government to address education challenges in the region, such as construction of classrooms for primary, secondary and tertiary education, engagement with humanitarian partners to provide some IDP primary schools that are free to attend, and training of teachers and the provision of educational materials, IDPs continue to face many challenges. According to the Somalia Education Cluster (2014), parents in IDP camps report that, even if they do not have to pay school fees in some primary schools in the camps, they still have other expenses that have to be met but which they cannot afford, such as books and stationery that is not provided by the government.

As well, due to high poverty levels faced by IDP families, IDP parents face the dilemma of having to choose between getting livelihoods through their children (as wage-earners), or sending them to attend school (Puntland Ministry of Interior 2014). Most of them choose to have their children drop out of school and engage in casual labour activities (such as washing cars) in the towns, where they earn on average of 3 US dollars a day. In addition to this, the persistent droughts in Puntland, that usually happen almost after every five years, led to increased school dropout rates as families are compelled to enlist their children to search for water and other food resources. This has therefore contributed to low levels of school enrolment amongst IDP communities, resulting in low literacy levels, which currently stands at 28%. Women and girls continue in particular to be most affected when it comes to education access.

As part of its efforts to address the education challenges for those that missed opportunities to attend formal education mainly because of displacements and poverty and have now surpassed the age of attending both formal primary and secondary education, the Puntland government introduced a Non Formal Education system through the assistance of humanitarian agencies. In

the IDP community, those children who have missed some years of primary education, but still qualify for this, are enrolled into a programme known as Accelerated Basic Education (ABE). Those who no longer qualify for primary education are enrolled into the Technical and Vocational Education Training (TVET) programme.

The ABE programme was introduced in 2006, and is mainly supported by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC). The programme targets children between the ages 9 and 14 years. It is an accelerated catch-up education programme, which aims to equip the ABE learners with the necessary skills to enter the upper primary formal education system. The TVET programme on the other hand targets people in the 15 to 49 years' age group. Due to the fact that the IDP community is more affected (compared to host communities) when it comes to the issue of missing education, the TVET programme targets mostly IDPs, although some host community members who have faced similar challenges are also part of the programme. In addition to this, as explained above, women have been affected more, and hence they comprise a larger portion of the number of participants in the TVET institutions. There are 17 TVET institutions in Puntland, and 71% of the participants in these institutions are women (MOE 2015). However, due to funding constraints for the government and the limited educational outreach of the Ministry of Education, the Non Formal Education Sector programmes are mainly supported by the humanitarian agencies (Somalia Education Cluster 2014), civil society and private institutions in large part outside the jurisdiction and control of the government.

The humanitarian funding structure is not designed, however, to fill this kind of long-term gap in the social services, such as education. Consequently, this raises many questions especially regarding sustainability. According to the Joint Review of the Puntland Education Sector (JRES), that was carried out in 2015, the TVET programme in Puntland is essentially short-term and 'project based' as humanitarian agencies work in cycles of between 6 months and 3 years (MOE 2015). As these projects are not long term, they usually fail to continue after the withdrawal of funding. In addition to this, there is also a challenge of qualified instructors for TVET. The Ministry of Education has however engaged and mobilised support from both the private and humanitarian sectors for funding of the training programmes for TVET instructors, and other incentives for the teachers in both formal and non-formal education since the government's capacity to provide salaries for these employees is still limited. In this context, I turn more

specifically to the case study for this thesis.

5.4 Puntland Technical and Vocational Skills Training Project Background

The case study focuses on the Puntland Technical and Vocational Voucher for Training programme, which was implemented by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) as a three-year ‘conditional cash transfer programme’ from 2013 to 2015. In this regard, I provide a historical overview of how the programme started, a brief profile of the target beneficiaries of the programme (who were mostly women IDPs), and the reasons behind the deliberate targeting for this specific group. I also outline the reasons for the implementation of this programme as a ‘conditional cash transfer programme’ by detailing the reasons behind the conditionalities, and the use of cash vouchers instead of other assistance modalities.

NRC (2013) describes the programme as being ‘developed to meet the learning needs of war and conflict affected people who, through displacement and lack of opportunities, have had little or no schooling’. The programme was designed to complement the efforts of the Puntland Ministry of Education to fulfil the educational rights of the many IDPs who had settled in the region because of war and conflict in the southern parts of Somalia. Due to this displacement, as indicated earlier, many of these women (and other internally displaced people) had missed opportunities of attending formal education as schools had been destroyed in their areas of origin. At the same time, they also lost many of their assets, and became poor and vulnerable displaced people who could not afford to provide for their families. These displaced people faced many challenges as they had lost their belongings and had to settle in new and often unfamiliar areas, which also did not have much capacity to cater for their basic services (Ahmed 2004). The Puntland Government thus introduced the TVET programme for the purposes of offering alternative education to this marginalised group. The TVET programme received support from many international humanitarian agencies such as the Danish Refugee Council, Save the Children and the Norwegian Refugee Council. The international community also assisted the government in the establishment of a non-formal education curriculum.

The TVET programme used as a case study for this thesis, as implemented by the Norwegian Refugee Council, was known as the ‘Youth Education Package’ (YEP). The programme was targeted at people aged fifteen years and above, who had lost all opportunity of

attending formal primary education due to conflict, early marriage or challenges of school fees. The programme was designed as a ‘conditional cash transfer programme’, as the participants of the programme were given a cash voucher at the end of every month on the condition that they attended at least 80% of the TVET classes monthly. The provision of cash vouchers was used as an incentive for the poor participants who could not have otherwise managed to attend school as they already had other financial commitments to provide for their families. Because of this, they would usually opt for prioritising and seeking casual labour opportunities in order to raise income for their families, rather than attending the training classes. The ‘conditionality’ of the programme was meant to ensure that the participants were committed to attending the classes as required, as absenteeism would result in failure to acquire the educational qualifications that would help the displaced people to get employment later in life, and sustainably raise income for their families.

NRC deliberately chose to use cash vouchers as the modality for this programme, mainly because of the positive effects of cash transfers that they had witnessed in their previous programmes. The organisation had implemented different food security programmes since 2011, both conditional and unconditional, in which they piloted the use of cash transfers in Somalia. In Somalia, NRC had utilised a range of different transfer modalities in the different regions in which it operated (namely Somaliland, South Central and Puntland regions), starting with the use of commodity vouchers (tied to specific items and specified traders/shops); it then progressed to using technology (where available) through using electronic transfers via mobile phones (Austen 2015). It also at times used money-transfer agents through *Hawala* (for example, *Dahabshil*) and cash given in envelopes.

In its food security programme in 2011, NRC assisted beneficiaries through commodity vouchers that had pre-defined food items. NRC had contracted suppliers for these food items, and beneficiaries would go to the supplier distribution site and exchange their vouchers for the food items. The objective in the use of commodity vouchers was to reduce beneficiaries’ expenditure on other non-food items and ensure that they managed to have access to food. Austen (2015) states that NRC moved away from this modality following recommendations from the evaluation of that response, which showed that beneficiaries incurred high transport costs from supplier distribution sites – as food was provided in bulk, and beneficiaries were expected to carry all of it at once. As a result of these costs, the financial benefit of the transfer was reduced, as the amounts that went

to transport costs were about 20% of the cost of the total food items that they were receiving. In addition to this, beneficiaries expressed concerns about the restriction of the voucher programme, as they also wanted to get some food items that were not on the list, which they deemed necessary for their everyday life (such as milk, salt and sugar) which were not included as part of the package.

In 2012, NRC changed from commodity vouchers, and provided unconditional cash to beneficiaries through mobile money, for accessing basic commodities after the 2011/2012 drought in the country. The beneficiaries hailed this programme as they felt empowered to be able to choose what to buy, and the programme resulted in positive impacts for the commodity market as it boosted local traders' profits. The mobile phone company with which NRC worked, also noted the positive impact of the programme, especially regarding phone literacy for women. However, one of the main challenges was that many displaced people did not own phones, so NRC had to purchase phones for the beneficiaries for the purposes of this pilot project. Based on this experience, NRC therefore preferred the use of direct cash to beneficiaries or vouchers through retail shops for its subsequent programmes, as these options did not require significant investment as in the case of the mobile money project. The use of cash vouchers for the case study for this thesis was also influenced by this experience.

As noted in chapter one, the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills programme mainly targeted IDPs (80%) and a few vulnerable households from the host community (20%). In addition to this, most of these targeted participants were women. This deliberate targeting of IDPs and of women more so than men, arose because of the fact that internally displaced people in particular were most affected by the Somali-wide conflict in terms of missed opportunities for attending formal education, and because of the cultural and social biases against women in accessing education. A study conducted in the Puntland IDP settlements by the Norwegian Refugee Council in 2011 indicated that education was one of the priority needs for the IDPs (NRC 2012). The study noted that, although the Puntland government allowed IDP children of school going age to be enrolled in any available school, many of these children could not attend or had to drop out of school due to poverty. Girls were noted to be more affected than boys, as most parents prioritised the boy child over the girl child when faced with this problem. In addition to this, due to the prolonged conflict in Somalia for over two decades, most women got married at tender ages before even having a chance to attend higher grades in formal school. A total of 52% of women between

15 and 49 years in the Puntland IDP communities had missed the opportunity to attend school mainly because of displacement, poverty and cultural prioritisation of boys over girls by parents. As well, the Puntland formal education system does not allow any women or girls who are married or have had children to attend formal school. These women therefore continue to be trapped in poverty, as most of them also became household heads at tender ages due to the conflict. Family breakdowns, separation or deaths of husbands left the young women as widows or single mothers who had to fend for their families without any education.

In order to reduce these gender disparities, which would likely continue to persist if no intervention was put in place, NRC implemented its programme with a deliberate target of the most affected groups (internally displaced women). Before the implementation of the programme, the proposed targeting criteria was discussed with key figures in the host community and the IDP committees for their feedback and approval before implementation. This was done in order to reduce or prevent potential risk of conflict between the host communities if no explanation was given why this assistance was mainly targeted at IDPs. In addition to consultations with these local leaders, and in order to ensure a harmonious process, the broader members of the host community as well as IDP communities were consulted and sensitised on these selection criteria. Furthermore, the targeting criteria were somewhat flexible to incorporate some members from the local host community into the programme, particularly those who had experienced similar challenges to the IDP communities in terms of marginalisation (hence, the 20% composition from the host community).

After completing the consultative process regarding the selection criteria, the final selection of the beneficiaries for the programme was done by the IDP committee, which was made up of the different selected ‘elders’ of the IDP camps. The elders would consult with members from their different camps and agree on the number of participants, as well as the actual participants, to be selected from each of these camps. The elders would then compile the final list and then share this with NRC. The elders from the different IDP camps were also responsible for consulting with both IDP and host community members during a public meeting, in order to select potential beneficiaries who met the targeting criteria that had been agreed upon. These community members would therefore contribute to the production of a tentative list that would then be shared with these elders, who would share with the IDP committee as a whole to discuss and finalise the

list of participants. Government officials from the Ministry of Education and representatives from NRC and other interested stakeholders were also welcome to attend these initial meetings, and monitor the selection process.

Overall, the process of selection of beneficiaries was therefore largely consultative as host community and IDP communities contributed to the production of the tentative list. However, the IDP committee was the one responsible for the final lists, and there was a potential risk of abuse of authority by this committee. They could, for instance, ‘tax’ the potential beneficiaries for them to be included in the final lists, by requesting some payments in cash or in kind especially from the vulnerable women who were desperate to get this kind of humanitarian assistance. Cognisant of this potential risk, the stakeholders for this programme (notably NRC) put in place further monitoring mechanisms to get feedback on any challenges that the IDP and host communities were encountering. NRC staff visited the IDP camps on a weekly basis for monitoring of the programme, and this monitoring was largely done through conducting focus group discussions. Staff from other donors of the programme as well as government officials would also conduct other monitoring activities as required. In addition to this, a different organisation, the Danish Refugee Council (DRC), was contracted to provide ‘special’ monitoring for the programme, by setting up of a short messaging system, whereby beneficiaries would send messages through their phones to a dedicated DRC line for free, providing feedback on how they felt the programme was being implemented, and also report any urgent challenges that they felt needed to be resolved. The feedback provided through this system would be analysed on a weekly basis and provided to the different stakeholders for their information and action.

The learners (beneficiaries) under this programme were trained in technical, vocational and educational skills with the aim of empowering them with the necessary practical skills that they could use to earn income and provide a livelihood for their families. The participants were enrolled in different technical programmes offered by the Government of Puntland TVET centres, such as automotive engineering, electricity, solar installation, baking and confectionery, mobile phone repair, office management, carpentry, tailoring, masonry, hotel and catering. Prior to being trained in these vocational skills, the participants would start with an intensive literacy course since most of them were illiterate, having not attended formal education at all, or had dropped out at tender ages.

The United Nations World Food Programme and UNICEF jointly funded the implementation of the YEP in 2013 by Norwegian Refugee Council. Under this partnership, UNICEF provided the learning materials needed such as books, training materials, computers, electrical gadgets and sewing machines while WFP provided cash vouchers for the beneficiaries. As explained earlier, the vouchers were provided for the purpose of providing an incentive for the participants to regularly attend the training programmes, and improve retention rates, given that most of the beneficiaries were household heads who were desperate to provide for their families and might otherwise miss classes in search of casual work. The cash vouchers, the receipt of which were conditional on meeting attendance requirements, were paper-based vouchers with a cash value, and would be redeemable in selected shops that had been contracted to serve the beneficiaries for this programme. For purpose of segregation of duties and transparency, the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) was also contracted to issue the paper vouchers to the beneficiaries, and to monitor the programme more broadly, as indicated earlier. During the registration process for the programme, the selected participants were requested to provide an ‘alternate’ recipient, who would have a right to receive the vouchers on behalf of the participant in case the participant was not present during the distribution day due to various reasons such as sickness. The participants were encouraged to select trustworthy alternates, preferably from their households, in order to reduce cases of theft or misuse of the cash assistance received.

Upon graduation, the participants would also receive ‘exit packages’, which comprised of either a cash lump sum (as start-up capital) or a resource kit designed to help graduates start their own businesses or provide them with the tools to work with others. For example, students who studied carpentry would receive a resource kit that included a saw, hammer, wood plane, chisels, clamps, gloves and a toolbox (NRC 2014). UNICEF and WFP jointly funded the provision of ‘exit’ packages for the students after the training. The NRC and the Ministry of Education also supported the students by linking them with potential employers through organising internships for a period of three months during the training period, through support from the Ministry of labour, which would link the participants with both private and public service organisations.

This programme targeted four hundred and fifty students at three government of Puntland TVET centres in Bossaso, Garowe and Galkayo districts. The three districts were chosen because they are the main urban centres or ‘capitals’ of the three Puntland regions that have a large urban

IDP concentration (Mudug, Nugal and Bari regions). Each of the three training centres had one hundred and fifty participants, and 80% of these were supposed to be from the IDP community, and at least 60% were also supposed to be women since the programme had a deliberate objective of targeting IDP women as the majority of their beneficiaries. The training programmes lasted between nine and eighteen months, depending on the chosen course. The students were enrolled into courses of their own choice, although at times there were some challenges where the students would be given an alternative course if their preferred course were not being offered at the training centre. The table below (Table 5.1) shows the disaggregation of the enrolled participants of the programme by sex for each of the three centres.

Table 2: Programme Participants Sex Disaggregation

Training centre Name	Number of male students	Number of Female Students	Total number of students	Percentage of Female Students
Bossaso	52	98	150	65%
Garowe	59	91	150	61%
Galkayo	55	95	150	63%
Total	166	284	450	63%

Source: Fieldwork.

The cash vouchers provided for the participants were restricted to the purchase of food commodities only. This was because of the restrictions placed on the use of the funds from the donor, which had a food security mandate, and hence could not provide assistance for any other purposes. The NRC contracted fifteen retailers in the three districts to serve the beneficiaries who had received these vouchers, with each district having five retailers. The contracted retailers were supposed to treat all the beneficiaries with respect, and sell their commodities at market prices, just like any other cash customers in the local community. The retailers were also supposed to display the prices outside their shops, so that beneficiaries could compare the different prices and then choose the best price. The beneficiaries in each district were free to choose any of these

contracted retailers, and purchase any food commodities of their choice with the exception of sugar and soda/soft-fizzy drinks. These two food commodities were removed from the food basket for health reasons. Retailers were not supposed to exchange the vouchers for cash or any other non-food items. Additionally, they were supposed to remind the beneficiaries about the restricted and non-restricted items, by displaying banners produced by NRC that displayed the requisite information. The contacts with the retailers were in fact clear on the issues of what they were to sell or not, and the repercussions of breaching the contracts, which was cancellation of their contracts.

The monetary value of the vouchers was calculated for an average family of six household members³, as per guidance from the Food Security and Nutrition Assessment Unit (FSNAU). The FSNAU is a research unit in Somalia that is responsible for providing evidence-based analysis of Somali food, nutrition and livelihood security to enable both short-term emergency responses and long-term strategic planning to promote food and livelihood security for Somali people. On a monthly basis, the research unit is mandated to provide guidance on minimum expenditure basket (MEB) values, estimating how much an average family in the different regions of Somalia needs in order to meet their needs in terms of both food and non-food items. These values are calculated using the latest prices on the markets, and are also revised on a monthly basis depending on any price changes. During the programme implementation period, the MEB values for the three districts were different as the districts were in different regions. The voucher values used ranged from 66USD to 118USD, with Galkayo district in Mudug region having the lowest value at 66USD and Garowe district in Nugal region had the highest value of 118USD. The respective amount for Bossaso district in Bari region had a value of 103USD. These values did not change during the programme implementation period, as the results from FSNAU showed a general stability in terms of prices. For purposes of the implementation of this cash based transfer programme, the stakeholders also agreed that the voucher values would only be revised when there were significant changes of ten or more percent compared with the previous month. No major changes in prices were noted during the period; hence, the values remained the same for the eighteen months' period.

On a monthly basis, the selected beneficiaries were expected to attend training in their

³ The average household size for Somalia is six, as per guidance from the FSNAU.

different chosen courses. The administrators of the Technical Vocational Training centres kept registers that were marked on a daily basis to track attendance. The updated registers were shared with the NRC on a monthly basis for purposes of planning for the cash voucher distributions to those that had successfully attended. The NRC would use these registers to check if there were any consistent absentees that required follow up to understand any challenges that they could be facing. Using information from the registers, NRC would then share a monthly distribution plan with DRC showing participants who were eligible for receiving the assistance during that period. Each month, when the vouchers were issued, participants were again sensitised about the use of the cash voucher, where they could redeem them and the restrictions of the assistance to food commodities. Further, they were encouraged to report to the DRC any challenges in using the vouchers, and to do so using the short messaging feedback system to ensure confidentiality. The feedback was analysed on a weekly basis, and then resolved accordingly.

5.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter considered, in broad outlines, the Puntland CCT programme in the context of women's status in the Puntland region and the establishment of camps for internally-displaced people, notably women. The character of these camps (including questions around land, accommodation and education) was detailed, as were the particular challenges faced by women (and children) in these camps. The Puntland CCT programme incorporates both host communities (within which IDP camps exist) and the internally-displaced people (mainly women) living in these camps. The chapter provided an overview of the Puntland programme, including planning and funding for the programme, the selection of programme beneficiaries, the programme's training courses, the nature of the cash transfer and the post-graduation phase of the programme. The extent to which the programme was participatory and consultative, as well as sensitive to the particular concerns of women, was also introduced. This latter issue, the relationship between the position of women and the Puntland CCT programme, forms the foundation for the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6: GENDERED ANALYSIS OF PUNTLAND CCT PROGRAMME

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a gendered analysis of the Puntland CCT programme. Section 6.2 provides a detailed analysis of the participatory character of the programme, including in relation to women, as participatory methodologies are seen regularly as entailing a process of empowerment. In the following section (section 6.3), I seek to show how programme beneficiaries, particularly women, understood the notion of empowerment and how this relates to their experiences of the programme. Section 6.4 offers specific ‘benchmarks’ around which a gendered analysis of the programme can be organised. The following sections (section 6.5 to 6.9) then go on to critically appraise the Puntland CCT programme in this context, including issues pertaining to self-reliance, access to and control of resources, social status and self-esteem, and intra-household gender-based relations. Typically, feminist perspectives would be deeply critical of the Puntland programme in failing to address the fundamental structures of women’s subordination and inequality. While such a sweeping critique has significant weight, the chapter tries to show how the programme possibly chipped away at the edges of patriarchy in a manner which empowered the women (at least from their perspective) in a meaningful way.

6.2 Women and the Participatory Character of the Training Programme

Burns and Taylor (2000) define community participation as a process of engagement of communities in decisions about important matters that affect their lives. This process involves the community initiating and taking responsibility for its development activities, and sharing in decision-making in the implementation of these activities, without the influence of external prescriptions imposed on it. In this way, community participation during planning and implementation of development projects and programmes is meant to empower communities by increasing their capacity to identify and address community needs, and make key livelihood decisions, thereby leading to project or programme ownership (Chamala 1995). Furthermore, community participation promotes equity, legitimises decision-making processes, builds and

strengthens self-determination and predisposes people towards development. In the same vein, Kelly (2001) argues that participation has an intrinsic value for communities and can become a catalyst for further community development. This may entail the use of valuable indigenous knowledge of local communities, which encourages a sense of responsibility by facilitating localised understandings of the causes of development deficits and what communities can do about these. Overall, then, effective community participation motivates people and frees them from being dependent upon others as they come to realise that they can (and should) play an important part in developing themselves in a sustainable manner.

In understanding the participatory character of the cash transfer programme in Puntland, I addressed the following issues: the extent to which participants were consulted about the programme before it started; the nature of participants' knowledge about the training programme's selection criteria; and who was involved in the selection of the participants for the programme. Additionally, I considered whether the participants felt that the selection process had been undertaken fairly, by asking them if they had been asked or requested to make any payments for before being admitted into the programme, and if there were any issues of favouritism based on clan, gender or any other factors. Further, the participants were asked if the selection criteria were consultatively discussed with the community beforehand, if they had been able to freely choose the training courses by themselves (or if the choice of programme was instead determined by the training centre authorities). Accountability mechanisms put in place for the programmes were examined as well. Besides addressing these issues with the programme participants, I also examined the extent to which other relevant stakeholders had been consulted and participated in the programme. These stakeholders included Ministry of Education staff, management from the three vocational training centres and representatives from donor agencies and other government ministries such as Ministry of Women, Development and Family Affairs (MOWDAFA).

Findings from the interviews with the beneficiaries of the programme indicate that ninety-six percent of the participants said the programme was largely consultative. The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) staff consulted widely about the selection criteria, initially through a study that they had conducted before implementing the programme (as explained earlier). The study noted the different and difficult challenges that the IDP communities in particular were facing, especially regarding educational opportunities for women, and it highlights similar problems for

some poor families in the host communities. The training programme was therefore specifically designed because of evidence-based findings from the communities and from a range of different stakeholders, including the government authorities in the three districts. The community leaders or committees in the IDPs as well as the beneficiaries confirmed that the NRC and Ministry of Education had visited the different camps to consult with them on their needs, and on the selection criteria for the programme.

Since the programme also targeted a small number of participants from the host communities, interviews were conducted by the researcher with a sample of individuals from host communities to acquire a view of how they felt about the participatory character of the programme. Overall, there was a general understanding of the objectives of the programme by host community members and, in particular, they understood why the programme targeted mostly IDPs. More than 90% attested to the fact that they had been sensitised about the programme before it started, and they participated in the selection process of the few beneficiaries from their communities. They considered the selection criteria and process undertaken as legitimate, noting that the programme successfully targeted the most disadvantaged households in these local communities. Due to the sensitisation of the communities prior to the beginning of the programme, there were no issues of conflict reported as a result of the selection of the beneficiaries for the programme, which is usually a major issue in similar settings if no proper sensitisation and consultation is done in advance. Mohamud Yusuf, one of the beneficiaries from the host community in Galkayo, had this to say, during a focus group discussion:

We want to thank NRC for coming and consulting us many times before this programme started, and also considering our views that even some of us in the host community are equally in need of support. We are very happy with the way this programme was conducted because it was inclusive (14 December 2014).

In the selection of the beneficiaries for the programme, respondents from the IDP communities reported that IDP committees selected the beneficiaries. More than 90% indicated that they had been involved in the consultations done by the IDP committees in coming up with the tentative lists of the potential beneficiaries, and they were knowledgeable about the different criteria used for being selected for the programme. Overall, 96% of the IDP respondents (all of whom were beneficiaries) were generally satisfied with the way in which the IDP committees had

conducted the selection process. However, given Somali culture in which respecting and not questioning community leaders is of great significance, there was a possibility that the respondents themselves were not prepared to freely raise and talk about any unfairness in the application of selection criteria by the IDP committees (which consisted of community elders). I therefore triangulated the information from the interviews with IDPs with other information that the Danish Refugee Council (DRC), the monitoring partner for this programme, collected as part of its monitoring exercise during the programme implementation period.

The organisation had set up a feedback system where the beneficiaries could send a message through the short message system (SMS) at no cost, to give feedback on how they viewed the programme, and report any challenges that they were facing. This system was put in place in order to encourage people to report in a confidential manner, without fear of victimisation. In accessing these messages, I came across reports from only eleven beneficiaries (out of a total possibility of 450 beneficiaries) which indicated some inconsistencies and problems with regards to the implementation of the selection process. For instance, it seems that some participants were requested to pay small amounts (of about 5US dollars) to facilitate their selection into the programme. These reports were received from one IDP community, in Garowe district. Following receiving such reports, the NRC went back into the specific community to discuss the matter with the community elders and to resolve it. Such feedback mechanisms likely heightened the general belief of the programme participants that the training programme was consultative, as it facilitated confidence in the way in which the humanitarian agencies resolved any challenges, by listening and then acting. This entailed a sense of being empowered, as they had opportunities to give voice with the knowledge that their concerns would receive a sympathetic response from different stakeholders.

All interviewed participants in Garowe and Bossaso expressed satisfaction with the values of the cash vouchers, which generally were adequate to enable them to buy enough food to last the whole month. They reported that the amounts that they received were generally in line with the prices on the market in terms of their purchasing power. However, those in Galkayo expressed concern with the low values that they were receiving, and reported that the prices on the market were higher and hence the vouchers did not meet their requirements. My discussions with the stakeholders who were responsible for setting the values for the different regions noted, though,

that these were in line with the recommendations of the Food Security and Nutrition Assessment Unit (FSNAU). However, FSNAU also admitted that the values for this region could have been compromised because of the methodology used to calculate them; this was because Galkayo district was divided into two, as a result of the formation of another autonomous region called Galmudug.

The formation of Galmudug state resulted in Galkayo district being shared between Puntland and Galmudug regions, with Galkayo North being under Puntland administration while Galkayo South was under Galmudug administration. Prices in Galkayo South were generally low due to its dependence on cereals produced by local farmers in the district. On the contrary, prices in Galkayo North were higher as this region relied on the Bossaso port in Puntland for most commodities and, due to the long distance from this port; prices were higher because of transport costs. The market prices collected by FSNAU were based on the main cereals and, for Galkayo, these were based on the cereals locally produced (sorghum) in Galkayo South and this disadvantaged beneficiaries in Galkayo North. This is because FSNAU provided prices for Galkayo as one district instead of two. After receiving these complaints from the beneficiaries and other stakeholders in Galkayo North district, where the TVET centre was located, there was a recommendation to revise the cash transfer values upwards. However, this change was only effected later, and only for new training participants that were not part of this case study. Despite this late effecting of the revised cash transfer values for Galkayo, the fact that the stakeholders took into consideration and acted on the feedback from the participants shows that the programme had a participatory element in this regard as well.

Despite being generally satisfied with the consultative process of the programme, especially during the selection process, the participants expressed concern about the restrictions on the use of the cash voucher, which was limited to food commodities only. They pointed out that they also needed certain non-food items such as soap for their daily use, and that the programme should account for such items. Thus, although food was a key priority, food alone would not address their other daily needs, including around health and hygiene. In fact, they had reported these issues during the needs assessment study done by NRC prior to programme implementation. They however acknowledged that NRC had given them feedback in that it had only managed to obtain funding for a food security and educational programme, and hence the restriction of the

cash vouchers to food commodities only. At the same time, participants believed that the donors that provided funding to NRC were supposed to have considered their needs more holistically. Many participants also requested for the provision of cash instead of vouchers, as cash would facilitate the use of the transfer to meet different household needs without any restrictions. There were also initial restrictions around the purchasing of sugar, and this was not well received by most of the participants, as they reported that this commodity was very important to their diet, despite health concerns raised by the donor agencies. Later on, during the implementation of the programme, sugar was included in the list of commodities that could be purchased using vouchers, thereby also showing that stakeholders were generally responsive to the suggestions that were made by the participants.

A major issue that directly affected the participants' security and presented challenges to their meeting the programme conditionality of attending classes was the fact that the programme did not consider transport allowances. Further, due to the restrictions on the use of the cash voucher they were receiving, they could not even exchange the voucher for some cash to use it for transport. Most of the participants, especially women, reported that they were walking long distances and spent an average of two hours just to go to the training centres. The training sessions were taking place until late in the afternoons. They usually found difficulties especially in the evenings, as it was not safe to walk after six o'clock due to high incidences of rape. At the same time, because of the gendered division of labour, they were supposed to return home and continue with the domestic duties of cooking, cleaning and taking care of the children; because of this, they had to depart for home before end of the class sessions. Further, they had to wake up early to prepare the house before leaving for the training centre. This brought about strain on the women and their households more generally. The women participants felt that the stakeholders did not consult them sufficiently about the timings and lengths of training sessions, to enable them to balance properly their domestic duties and training responsibilities. During a focus group discussion in Garowe, a group of women said this:

We appreciate this training opportunity. However, for us women, we have also found challenges especially because of the timetable for the classes. Most of us cannot manage to attend the afternoon classes because we have to go back home early and prepare food for the family. We are also afraid of walking in the evening because it is not safe. We requested the TVET authorities to consider this,

but they said that they wanted to consult with the donors first. We hope they will change in their future programmes for the benefit of other women because this was really difficult for us (16 December 2014).

Concerning the participation of other stakeholders, the study noted that there were different levels of participation by the different stakeholders. The Ministry of Education was involved in particular in the design of the programme, as this programme was directly under this specific ministry's jurisdiction. As a result, NRC consulted in the main with this Ministry compared to other ministries. The participation of the Ministry of Education included being involved in selecting the locations for the programme, working with different stakeholders on the curriculum, and generally monitoring the classes at the vocational training centres. The vocational training centres were under the authority of the government, such that the staff working at these institutions were government employees. Hence, the Ministry contributed to the success of the cash transfer programme by providing the necessary trainers for the different training programmes. Due to capacity issues, however, the Ministry did not have adequate resources to pay for the salaries of these trainers, and NRC paid for them, which generally raises issues of sustainability after the donor-funded programme ends.

Other government Ministries, such as the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Women, Development and Family Affairs (MOWDAFA), reported that they had also been somehow involved in the design of the programme, and therefore regarded it as participatory. The Ministry of Labour, for example, had been involved in the consultation process with NRC and Ministry of Education, and provided inputs in terms of training courses to be provided to the participants under this programme. The Ministry also later supported the programme participants by linking them with potential employers through work-related training opportunities during the training period. MOWDAFA had been involved mainly in the provision of statistics to NRC regarding the status of women in Puntland, and during the sensitisation stage with the communities in order to ensure that they understood why this programme was deliberately targeting more women than men. Consistent quarterly coordination meetings mainly between NRC and the different Ministries' representatives were held in order to provide updates on the progress of the programme. Due to this ongoing coordination, the programme managed to link the beneficiaries to potential employers in Puntland through support from the Ministry of Labour.

Issues regarding the reasons behind setting conditions for involvement in the programme were also of some significance with regard to the participatory character of the programme, and these issues were raised with both the programme designers and the beneficiaries themselves. The researcher wanted to establish the rationale for why conditional cash transfers (rather than unconditional ones) were the preferred programme in this context, when most of the programmes that had been implemented in Puntland and Somalia in general were mainly unconditional. The researcher also sought to find out whether conditioning of the programme resulted in empowerment of the beneficiaries or not.

Discussions with the government stakeholders noted that they preferred to put conditions for the beneficiaries in order to reduce any dependency syndrome. They pointed out that many humanitarian organisations had exacerbated this challenge of dependency amongst Somali people, and especially amongst IDPs, by providing ‘free aid’, and this was not providing an incentive for people to work for themselves. Despite the fact that there were few formal employment opportunities in the region, the stakeholders still argued that it was necessary for IDPs to acquire skills that would provide them opportunities equal to others when it came to looking for, and acquiring, employment and thereby provide for their families. Before implementing the programme, NRC consulted the government and noted this conviction, which was also in line with its programme design, as the programme intended to provide an opportunity for vulnerable IDPs to become self-reliant. Because of this, NRC chose the CCT programme as the most appropriate.

As well, before implementing the programme, NRC went to the IDP communities to explain how the programme was to be implemented, and that the targeted beneficiaries should be willing to meet the set conditions. Although the communities did not necessarily have the opportunity, of choosing whether they preferred CCTs or not, they were sensitised about the conditionalities before the programme was implemented and hence had a full understanding beforehand. One of the selection criteria set during the selection and registration of the targeted beneficiaries was their willingness to meet the conditions. The community was also generally satisfied with the set conditions, as these conditions (notably, training) were meant for their own benefit. The men who benefited from this programme reiterated the importance of their religion, which emphasised the need for men to provide for their families and not to be dependent on others, and therefore they hailed the CCT programme as one that provided an opportunity to facilitate

self-reliance. Hence, they expressed gratitude with the way in which the programme had given them a chance of contributing to their own development, rather than receiving assistance free. Due to this, their self-esteem improved, as they regarded the assistance (i.e. cash vouchers) they were receiving from NRC during the programme period as having ‘earned it’.

Many pointed out that if this ‘conditionality’ of attending the studies (for at least eighty percent in a month) was not in place, they would not have managed to graduate because they came from largely poor backgrounds where their labour was needed in order to provide food for their families. Before the implementation of this programme, both men and women from the IDP communities would have to find means of providing food, and this was mainly done through looking for casual labour opportunities or petty trading. By providing a voucher that the participants would use to purchase food for their families, the participants could now attend their classes and pursue their studies (hopefully, with heightened grades) without the worry of having to look for casual employment opportunities, as they had a guarantee that they would be able to provide food for their families at the end of every month.

6.3 Being Disempowered from the Perspective of Beneficiaries

Empowerment, translated as *awoodsinta* in the Somali language, was defined broadly by both male and female respondents in this study as having the ability and capacity to be self-reliant. Overall, the lives of IDPs were not marked by a condition of empowerment, as understood in terms of self-reliance. The respondents from the IDP communities, who formed the majority of this study’s respondents, pointed out that their displacement was the major cause of their disempowerment, as they lost their belongings and sources of income in the process. As a result, most of them could not afford to provide for themselves and their families. The issue of self-reliance was of particular significance to male IDPs because, according to Somali culture (Xeer), they were supposed to be providers for their families. Contrary to their culture and the notion of manhood in this culture, many men had lost their capacity to care for their families, because they had been incapacitated by conflict. In addition, this meant that many women took over the previous responsibilities of men (husbands and senior males). In terms of Somali culture, a man who cannot provide for his family is not counted as a man, and cannot be part of the clan leadership or exercise any political authority (Kapteijns 1995). As a result of displacement, therefore, men were deeply affected by changing

gender roles. Overall, the Somali men interviewed in this study highlighted that displacement made it difficult for them to fulfil traditional male roles in the family and wider society, and they hence felt ‘disempowered’.

Besides self-reliance, both men and women respondents defined empowerment as being recognised or respected by the community. By virtue of being displaced, and in belonging to various clans in the main not represented in Puntland, and having no choice but to stay in IDP camps, both men and women felt that they were being ‘left out’ and ‘stigmatised’ as poor and helpless people, who depended on both the government and humanitarian organisations for support. This was another source of disempowerment. The IDPs reported that the camps they were staying in had many challenges pertaining to basic services (including water access and health services), and this made them and their children susceptible to diseases. They pointed out that, if they were ‘empowered’ to have a say in how the camps were being administered, their lives would improve. In the meantime, due to their challenges, all the interviewed respondents (both men and women) wished to move away from the IDP camps to integrate with other Puntland citizens outside the camps, where they hoped to have access to improved living conditions and a more dignified life.

The respondents in Bossaso District specifically mentioned that, due to their deep levels of poverty, they could not move out of the district during the hot season (May to September). During this period, temperatures in Bossaso reached forty-five degrees Celsius, making it almost unbearable for people to live in the area. The port, which is the main source of income for Bossaso residents because of its commercial activities, also does not have significant market transactions during this period. Many Puntland citizens in the city move to their clan relatives in other districts within the region, where the weather is cooler. The IDPs, without any relatives in the region, and without financial resources, end up staying in the Bossaso IDP during the hot season. Simultaneously, because of the slowdown in the port’s commercial activities, opportunities for work are rare; and their lives are further complicated by a rise in the prices of basic commodities during this commercial off-season. The Bossaso IDPs also pointed out that the IDP camps are usually at risk of fires due to the excessive heat and inadequate shelter conditions; and, at times, this results in many households suffering losses of the limited assets they would have managed to buy. Health conditions especially for children worsen due to unavailability of water, resulting in

high incidents of diarrhoeal diseases during the period.

Major differences between men and women's definition of empowerment was mainly regarding religious authority and decision-making in the household. For men, religious authority was very important as it gave them an opportunity to join the other clan leaders to discuss and make decisions. Having the power to be the 'head of household', and thus to be in a position to make decisions within (and on behalf of) households, was also of crucial significance for men in signalling their empowerment. For women, however, due to the prevailing culture, decision-making in the household was not a necessity for empowerment. Most of the women indicated that, despite the fact that many women in IDP camps had become de facto household heads and breadwinners for their households (if only through casual labour activities), they did not believe that household decision-making derived necessarily from the extent to which the husband or wife contributed to household income. All the women interviewed in this study said that, as per their religion and culture, regardless of being married or unmarried, educated or not, empowerment did involve any quest on their part to overrule (or struggle against) spouses, fathers or brothers with regard to decisions made in the household; for them, gender roles at household level were clearly defined.

In this context, education was regarded by men as a crucial mechanism for re-empowering them, as it would facilitate their opportunities for employment, thereby generating earnings and income for furnishing livelihoods for their families. Women also considered education as crucial for enhancing self-reliance. For women, education was regarded as crucial because it would help to prevent early marriages, which is one of the challenges faced by Somali women especially in times of poverty. They pointed out that, due to high poverty levels in their households, mainly as a result of being displaced from their areas of origin, most parents prioritised educating the boy child, leaving the girl child uneducated, or arranging early marriages for them. Besides employment through education, women beneficiaries also felt empowered by just being able to read, write and communicate with other people, using the English language. Being able to read also gave them the power to be able to negotiate with traders at shops where they were buying food commodities – as they now could compare prices between the different traders and identify the best deals. This would not have been possible if they did not know how to read and write.

In general, then, both men and women considered self-reliance (alongside self-esteem) as

an important indicator of empowerment. This was important in their context, since they had lost many assets due to displacement, and believed that they were being stigmatised by better-off host community members for not being able to provide for themselves. In addition, for men, and because of the influence of religion and culture, religious authority and being providers for their households were also critical indicators of empowerment, as both brought a sense of respect for men. In terms of Islam, a man who is unable to provide for his family is unworthy to be counted as a man, in the fullest sense, as is unable to become a clan or political leader. For women, despite the changing gender roles in the IDP context, where most of them generally became de facto household heads, empowerment for them was linked more to other indicators, such as improved social status as a result of being able to contribute to social functions in society such as weddings and funerals, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

6.4 Benchmarks for Gender Sensitivity of the CCT Programme

According to Molyneux (2008), it is important to examine gender sensitivity in programme design and implementation, as gender sensitivity enhances the efficiency of a programme by providing vital information for programmes and activities so that they do not create adverse impacts on women and men. Any gender-sensitive programme design needs to be based on an understanding of prevailing gender relations, and needs to identify the most effective ways of advancing both genders' interests within the prevailing social context, and at the same time 'doing no harm' to poor communities' fragile livelihoods. Molyneux (2008) considers gender sensitive programmes to be those that have incorporated the following features:

- Equality principles are built into the design of the programmes;
- Training and resources are allocated to strengthen women capabilities;
- Social and economic empowerment of women is an explicit goal of the programmes;
- Family friendly policies are promoted that acknowledge care giving and childcare arrangements in relation to time management;
- Transforming gender relations is central to the programmes and, where appropriate, men are involved; and
- Participants, particularly women, have a voice in the programme design, implementation and evaluation.

In order to analyse the gender sensitivity of the programme and its design, I had interviews with key informants such as the TVET centre administrators, and Ministry of Education and NRC staff. I asked questions about how they addressed and considered gender and gender equality. They all reported that, during the consultations before project implementation, both men and women were provided with an opportunity to give inputs about their experiences in the camps as well as their priority needs. Based on these consultations, the programme designers noted and concluded that food and education were the main priorities of IDPs. The NRC also undertook a gender-based investigation and, through the ensuing analysis, it was able to determine that more women than men were affected by the lack of education due to poverty, conflict and cultural issues; hence, there was a need to select and incorporate women in particular into the programme. Though the final selection of beneficiaries was done by the IDP community itself (under the leadership of its local community committees), NRC was also present during these selection meetings, and it emphasised the need to select more women citing their study findings in the camps. As a result, sixty percent of the enrolled participants were women while forty percent were men.

In the following sections, I discuss the six points raised above by Molyneux (2008), to provide a gender analysis of both the design and impact of the training programme.

6.5 Gendered Division of Labour

The study explored the gender-based division of labour, analysing any changes to this which could have taken place because of the CCT. Respondents were asked, for instance, about the different roles that men and women played in the households before and after the training, how they handled childcare during the training programme, and the extent to which participating in the training programme affected involvement in various household tasks.

As noted, the focus of the study was primarily on respondents from IDP camps, where it seems that gender roles had already shifted prior to the CCT programme, especially with more women taking over the responsibilities of men as breadwinners due to the loss of their husbands in death, or because of various incapacities of husbands. With significant involvement of internally displaced women in the programme, and the ability of many to pursue (albeit limited) income-generating activities, their contribution to household income tended to increase. However, in the case of married women, the fundamental division of labour along gender lines, in which women

are wholly responsible for domestic chores (and thus for social reproduction at household level), remained intact.

The married respondents thus reported that they continued to carry out their different tasks as per their societal norms, where women were responsible for household chores such as preparing food and taking care of children, while men were responsible for public sphere responsibilities such as being part of the clan committees to discuss political issues concerning their clans. Many respondents indicated that the training introduced more work for women, as they had to attend the training classes five days per week for about six hours a day and, at the same time, continue with their normal household duties at home. This meant that they had to wake up early to do these duties before leaving for the training, and also continue with food preparation after the training in the evening. Women reported that they were generally tired, and recommended that the training period be shortened to four hours a day to allow them more time for their other duties.

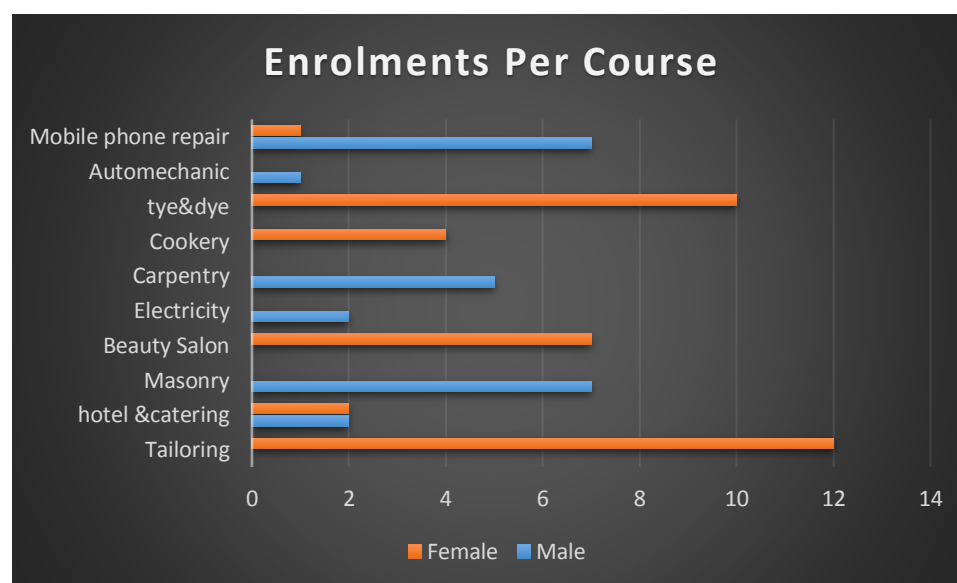
The respondents also expressed concern about the long distances that they had to travel to the training centre, as the programme did not provide any allowance for transport. As most of them were coming from very vulnerable households, they could not afford transport money and had to walk for an average of five kilometres to the training centre, and this affected their concentration. In addition to this, the respondents raised security concerns regarding the routes they were using to go to, and returning from, the training centres, especially during the evening. Due to this, they usually ended up missing some part of the afternoon training sessions in order to have enough time to walk and get home before dark. This information was also confirmed by the training centre authorities, who also recommended provision of transport allowance to the training participants as this would help with limiting the time of travel and improve concentration and reduce absenteeism for afternoon training sessions.

In the meanwhile, interviews with male participants enrolled in the training demonstrated that the programme did not overburden them in terms of time and effort. Although some of them had to continue to look for casual labour opportunities to complement the vouchers they were receiving during the training period, they pointed out they usually would do this over the weekends, and hence there was no major interference or added burden to their day-to-day duties. Unlike most women, therefore, men had more time to concentrate on the training, since they were not responsible for any other day-to-day household duties like the women.

Discussions with women who had children also noted that they would leave their children with other female relatives at home during the period of training, as child care was regarded as women's responsibility. The training centres did not have any policy regarding child care and could not help with any arrangements. The authorities mentioned that these are some of the issues that were discussed during the consultative meetings with the IDP committees, where the community was requested to assist each other to encourage women to also come for training. It was also noted that there were no major challenges as the female relatives were supportive and hence took care of the children without asking for payment.

Courses selected by the participants also showed some gender division of labour traits. Eighty percent of the women were enrolled in tailoring, cookery and tie and dye courses, while only a few undertook cell phone repair. Simultaneously, the majority of the men were enrolled in masonry and electrical courses. The figure below (Figure 6.1) shows the different courses in which interviewed men and women were enrolled.

Figure 3: Course Enrolments by Gender



Source: Fieldwork.

The participants mentioned the training centre authorities ensured that both men and women were free to choose a course of their choice from the list of the provided courses, without

any prejudice. There were, however, a few cases where the participants did not find the course of their choice and hence had to enrol in a different one. Overall, eighty percent of the beneficiaries managed to enrol in their preferred course of study. However, the other twenty percent reported that their course of choice was not being offered at the training centre. Some of the unavailable courses were plumbing, Information and communication Technology (ICT) and fishery courses such as fish preservation and marketing. The respondents recommended for the inclusion of these courses, as they were highly marketable in Puntland due to increased construction activities and the general influence of globalisation on ICT.

The female respondents pointed out that the choice of the course was mainly determined by the fact that they were not confident with highly technical courses which were also traditionally regarded as men's work. For most of them, just getting an opportunity to attend literacy school was a big step. They were therefore content with the courses they had chosen, which also did not require them to put in extra working hours, given that they also had to balance school and household tasks. Most of them aspired to be teachers, tailors and hotel caterers as they reported that these jobs were acceptable in their society as women's work, without them defying the traditional and religious morals of their society, unlike jobs such as being politicians, which are supposed to be done by men since, traditionally, clans are represented by men. According to Ahmed (2016), this self-doubt, lack of confidence and feeling of inadequacy makes girls and women remain behind the cultural "mask" with no strength to follow their desires leading to a vicious cycle of male domination and limited participation of women in development.

In Bossaso district in particular, respondents recommended that fishery courses should be incorporated into the training programme, as they lived close to the sea, and felt that the local community was not benefiting significantly from the fishing industry while, in the meantime, foreign fishing companies were making huge profits. At the same time, Somali people generally do not consume fish in large quantities due to their cultural beliefs as a largely pastoralist community that fish is a "poor man's food". Because of this, selling fresh fish in Puntland would not generate meaningful profits. However, there was need for skills training in fish preservation to facilitate the sale of fish to foreigners who visited the region. Women reported that fishing was generally treated as a "man's job", as fishers spend days out on the sea fishing, which would not be possible for women who had daily household duties. The women therefore recommended the

involvement of women in the fish business, by introducing training courses that would be useful for them, notably with reference to fish preservation and marketing.

In terms of employment opportunities, the ‘male courses’ had a higher rate of formal employment and higher salaries, while the courses for women mostly resulted in self-employment with minimum profits. For most of the women, though, being self-employed and self-reliant was beneficial, given the many burdens placed on women in Somali society. In particular, self-employment would mean that they could continue with their household chores while, simultaneously, planning and engaging in self-employment activities. Thus, informal employment did not interfere with their culturally expected roles of preparing food and doing other household chores.

The programme designers, and other stakeholders, noted the correlation between gender and the training programmes chosen by males and females. Nevertheless, they did not seek to encourage women to choose other courses that were more marketable on the job market for formal employment. Though taking this stance ensured that women could give voice and enact agency in setting their future, this meant that the training programme was at best reformist in character. Allowing women to enrol simply in gender-stereotyped courses, as per the patriarchal culture of Somali society, inhibited the capacity of the programme to bring about transformative changes for women. This finding therefore supports arguments by Longwe (1997) and Parpart (2002) that institutions (such as donor agencies) often have a patriarchal orientation in failing to challenge patriarchal arrangements and that, at times, they even end up refining these arrangements. Though purporting to empower beneficiaries, and specifically women, this cash transfer programme (at least in relation to the issue of course selection) failed to bring about such empowerment and hence did not challenge Somali gender relations.

In terms of the receipt of the cash assistance under the Puntland CCT programme, the programme did not have a strict preference for having a woman as the principal recipient. However, the programme implementers encouraged households to select women as the principal recipients, even when they were not the ones attending training courses. This was done by mentioning some of the benefits that this choice (of women recipients of the cash voucher) would bring to the households – notably, that women are good household managers, and (unlike men) they do not divert the assistance for other non-household uses such as alcohol and drugs. These

benefits were shared through the sensitisation meetings that were done before and during the registration of the beneficiaries. An analysis of the recipients of the cash vouchers showed that eighty-four percent of the recipients were women, which meant that even some male participants registered women in their households as the principal recipients. However, the study also noted that this targeting of female beneficiaries as principal recipients reinforced the maternal role of women. Women were seen as the ‘rightful’ beneficiaries of this programme mainly because they were viewed as household managers, thereby being responsible for controlling the household expenditures on small and daily items. According to Chant (2006), programmes like these therefore reinforce rather than challenge traditional gender-based household roles since they draw on the deep conservative notions of ‘womanhood’. Women are only seen as the best recipients of cash transfers because women are responsible for domestic food consumption, thereby reinforcing their roles in reproductive labour (Brady 2011). According to Molyneux (2007), this represents the “feminization of responsibility”, and it disadvantages women as they continue to be expected to do more in the households, while men are increasingly doing less.

Therefore, when measuring the gender sensitivity of the Puntland voucher-for-training programme, using the six characteristics mentioned by Molyneux (2008), it seems that there was need for more effort by the stakeholders to improve on this. Although there was a deliberate targeting of the more disadvantaged of the two genders (i.e., women), the programme did not put in place adequate measures that encouraged women to benefit more from the training. After having noticed and noted the gender stereotyping in the choice of the courses by the participants, the stakeholders did not deliberately encourage the uptake of alternative courses for women, which would have resulted in more women participating in the formal sector (since most of the jobs in the formal sector required training in the courses that were considered to be culturally those of men). The gender discrepancies in terms of number of men and women in the formal employment sector therefore continues. Although the women themselves felt empowered by receiving training in their ‘culturally accepted’ courses, the impact of this training would have been more positive if it encouraged ‘transformative’ thinking on their part, rather than seemingly being at best reformist and reinforcing the gendered division of labour.

In addition to this, as discussed above, the programme also indirectly contributed to a greater workload especially for women, as there were no childcare policies in place, and the timing

of the training courses did not consider the day-to-day work and domestic duties in which women were involved. This resulted in women being involved in exceedingly long hours of work and training, which put a strain on these households. This point relates to one of the key criticisms raised about conditional cash transfer programmes, namely, that these programmes tend to reinforce maternal roles and household responsibilities for women, and therefore often fall short of their claims of empowering them. Because of this, while such programmes are concerned about women by usually specifically targeting them as beneficiaries, by encouraging households to make women the principal recipients of the cash transfers, the fundamental basis for women's social and economic subservience remains unaddressed. As this fails to enhance women's autonomy and address gender-based inequalities, a genuine practice of empowerment is replaced with mere feelings and appearances of empowerment.

6.6 Gender, Self-Reliance and Empowerment

As seen above, self-reliance was pointed out as the most important characteristic of empowerment by both men and women interviewed for this study. The respondents expressed gratitude about the CCT programme for providing them assistance in the form of cash vouchers, which enabled them to provide food for their families. As people who had been IDPs for some time in Puntland, the respondents explained that they were stigmatised as helpless people who could not provide for themselves, and depended almost exclusively on aid from humanitarian organisations and other people. Although assistance for the CCT programme was also from a humanitarian organisation, the respondents emphasises that they felt that they had 'earned it', since they were supposed to meet some conditions before they could receive the assistance. They hailed the issue of conditionality, in large part because it made them feel like responsible and worthy humans who could work for their families, and not just get aid for free. This was particularly important for men who, according to the Somali culture, were responsible for providing for their families. Burhan Mohamed, one of the male participants at Garowe vocational training centre, explains this issue clearly as follows:

I am a twenty-five-year-old man, and I came to Puntland thirteen years ago, fleeing conflict in Mogadishu. I come from a family of six people that include my forty-year old mother and four young sisters, the youngest of them being fourteen years old. We used to be two boys, but my elder brother

was killed together with my father during the conflict, and I am now the eldest child. All four children of school going age in our family used to go to formal school in Mogadishu at that time, but we all could not continue when we came to Puntland as we lost everything and could not afford school fees. My other two sisters, who were young then, also faced the same challenges when they reached the school going age, as we could not even manage to send them to school here in Puntland for some years until the arrival of the ABE [Accelerated Basic Education] programme. As the eldest child, I had to help my mother to look for some small jobs in town to get money for food in the house. Since my father and brother died, I felt that I had a responsibility as the eldest child to take care of our family. This is our culture. Men should take care of the family.

My father used to be a teacher, and he always taught us that we should be able to provide for ourselves, and not depend on others. He used to be a highly respected man. It pained me that, as a man, I could not manage to help my family, and that my mother, a woman, had to go to this trouble to keep us alive. I used to work very hard doing some shoe shining work in Garowe town, but the money was never enough. I am grateful to Allah that, despite this poverty, we are still alive, and we did not have to marry my sisters off for income. In this community, many girls got married at very young ages because their parents wanted money, but the girls are now in deep poverty. I never wanted that for my sisters. The IDP camps where we live have a lot of problems, and we are always seen as people who cannot help themselves.

Many NGOs come to this camp – providing us with free food and at times helping us with shelter items. We are thankful for this, as it really helped us. However, this programme by NRC is one of the best. It gave us the opportunity to work for ourselves. We did not get free food, as we had to also do something to earn it. I am happy also that the condition was to do with education, because this is what my father taught us, that education is key. Due to the training that I got from NRC, I am now working as a teacher here at the Garowe training centre, and I am very happy because I can now provide for our family. As a man, this was always my dream that I am able to provide for them. My mother can now rest. My two sisters, who are the youngest in my family, are also now in the ABE school run by NRC (13 December 2014).

The assistance received by the respondents during the training enabled them to buy food commodities which were adequate for their household needs. All interviewed respondents pointed out that this assistance, although it was restricted to food commodities only, ensured that they had enough food on the table. Further, they now managed to purchase some other needed non-food items using the money that they had raised on their own from other livelihood sources. This

therefore contributed to their self-reliance. Most respondents pointed out that, before this programme, they would depend on casual labour and at times borrow from other people; but, now, this had changed as the assistance was adequate to cover their food needs.

Borrowing was described as a source of conflict for the IDP community. Respondents mentioned that, before the programme, they had huge debts, and could not manage to repay them such that, at times, they had to hide from those who had lent them money. The programme therefore brought relief for many of them, as they could obtain needed assistance from the programme through the cash vouchers. Also, as a result of the training they had received, some of them managed to acquire employment and could manage to pay off their debts and, at the same time, provide enough for their families. This therefore supported beneficiaries in moving from a state of dependency to one along the road to self-reliance. For those who were working, the CCT programme not only improved their self-reliance, as it sometimes made others dependent upon them – a complete reversal of their situation before the training programme arose. This was of particular importance to men. Ismail Abdullahi Mohamud, a 30 year-old man who graduated from Galkayo vocational training centre, thus stressed the following:

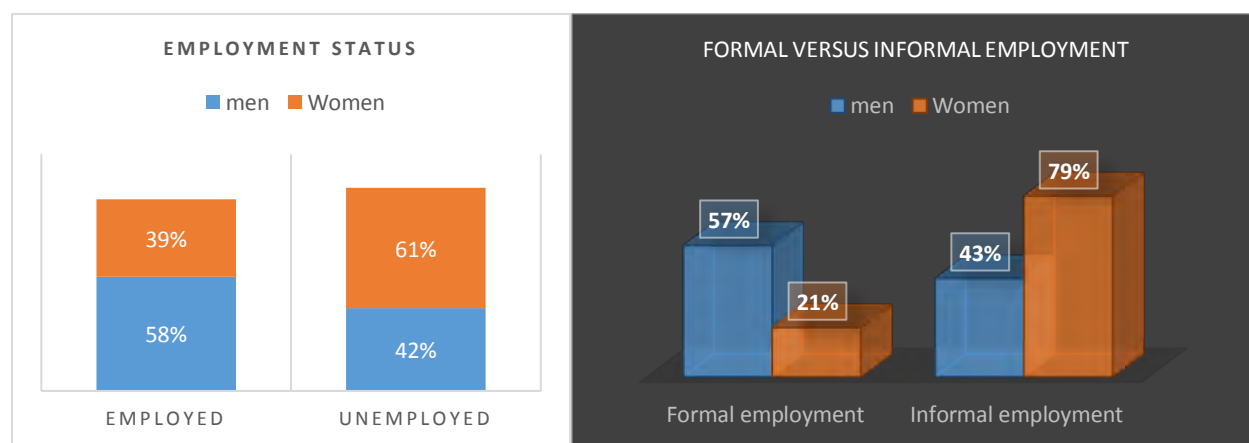
Before joining this programme, my family was dependent on the community for many things. Now I am happy that some members of the community come to me for assistance, which could not have happened if I had not received this opportunity. Being able to help others is also very important in our religion (14 December 2014).

As pointed out earlier, the ‘conditional’ character of this programme was appreciated, since the conditions were mainly geared at improving the skills of the targeted beneficiaries, and hence hopefully their self-reliance by way of employment. The programme taught them how to read and write and, as noted, this was important especially for women, most of whom had never had a chance of attending formal school, and were always dependent on other people for help when it came to any communication or activities requiring literate people. Besides literacy, the participants were trained on different vocational skills that enabled them to get employment, and raise income to provide for their families.

Overall, forty-seven per cent of the interviewed respondents had managed to access employment after graduating from the training programme. The employment rate was higher for men (at fifty-eight per cent) than for women (at thirty-nine percent). Seventy per cent of the

employed people were self-employed; i.e. they had managed to set up small businesses from the start-up capital that they had received from NRC during graduation. The other thirty per cent were employed by others. Fifty-seven per cent of the men with employment were formally employed while forty-three per cent were informally employed (i.e. self-employed, with their own small businesses). On the contrary, a higher percentage of women (close to eighty per cent) were self-employed, while only about twenty per cent of women had formal employment (see Figure 6.2).

Figure 4: Employment Status



Source: Fieldwork.

The respondents expressed deep concern about the unemployment rate, for IDPs, in the region. In doing so, they attributed the challenges of obtaining formal employment within Puntland to the issue of clan politics and nepotism. As IDPs who generally were from other regions, they found difficulties in being shortlisted for jobs as ‘clan’ issues were highly regarded in Puntland; and, many times, only those with relatives within Puntland would be able acquire employment. Nevertheless, both the formally and informally employed participants expressed appreciation for the CCT programme. Both forms of employment (emerging post-CCT training), no matter how insecure, facilitated the earnings of income necessary for basic household commodities. A focus group discussion, with a group of ten women in Galkayo District who had formed a tailoring cooperative after the training, showed that the women were making a profit from the project, particularly given that they receiving steady orders for school uniforms. Others who remained

unemployed were hopeful (given their new skills-set) that some form of employment would arise, thus enhancing their self-reliance.

Issues of the disparities between the formal employment of men and women was discussed with key informants in Puntland, namely, the MOWDAFA, Ministry of Labour and UNDP. These key informants explained that despite some efforts by the Puntland government to improve the situation of women in the region, by for example increasing the numbers of women in higher education (a 56.8 per cent growth rate over a ten year period, from 2006), there were still many barriers inhibiting the advancement of women. In particular, Somali society continued to prioritise men over women when it came to formal employment and engagement in the public sphere more broadly. For instance, most high-paying private sector companies, such as the Golis telecommunication company, had less than two per cent women staff. In this regard, according to key informants from UNDP, Puntland was out-performing other regions in Somalia (such as Somaliland and South Central) in terms of addressing gender inequalities. Puntland had the highest rate of women's participation in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector (at forty per cent). However, most of this employment entailed unskilled, unqualified manual jobs.

In Somalia generally, and in Puntland specifically, this is because the labour market continues to operate on a gendered (and indeed patriarchal) basis, which generates cultural restrictions and barriers with reference to women's employment and career development. There remain negative and stereotypical attitudes towards women in employment (and in particular those who pursue careers, including in public office) which might entail extended and demanding work hours. Somali culture and religion frowns upon this, as women are expected to undertake all household, domestic and caring chores regardless of being employed or not. Due to this, there are very few female role models in formal employment who can guide and mentor other women who might aspire to pursue a career. Most of the limited number of women in high-ranking formal positions (in government or companies) once went to the diaspora and then came back. At the same time, women who have lived all their lives in Somalia now identify them as 'Westernised', and as having lost respect for the Somali culture; because of this, they are in fact not inspired to follow in their footsteps. The women respondents who benefited from the Puntland vocational skills training programme seemingly had more limited aspirations, which did not go contrary to the fundamental character of patriarchal society. They were content with the elementary forms of

self-reliance that CCT programme brought, and even did not mind if they were mostly informally employed. This basic level of self-reliance, given their history of displacement, was very important to them, and they were not uncomfortable with the patriarchal insistence that they continue to manage and undertake household chores. They planned and organised their employment in order to ensure that this did not disturb their culturally-expected roles of preparing food and doing other domestic chores.

6.7 Access to and Control of Resources

The study analysed the access to resources by men and women. The resources in question arose from the assistance that was received from the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills Training programme in form of cash vouchers, as well as from resources arising from the income-earnings that was generated by the respondents who had successfully graduated from the programme and were able to become employed (including self-employment). The study also examined the issue of decision-making concerning the allocation and use of the resources at household level, namely, control over resources.

Although the programme organisers did not make it mandatory, but rather encouraged that women should be the recipients of the voucher assistance, eighty- four per cent of the recipients were actually women. Discussions with male respondents who were participants in the Puntland Vocational Skills Training programme (and, hence, received the training) noted that most of them registered either their mothers, wives or sisters as the ‘female alternate recipients’ of the assistance. In most cases, these alternate recipients were in fact the ones receiving the cash voucher on behalf of the household. The male respondents explained, that since the voucher was restricted to food, they preferred that the women in their households, who were responsible for food preparation, received the voucher. Women, the men said, had better knowledge of what food commodities were needed in the household and hence became responsible for buying these on the market, using vouchers. The same was noted for female respondents who were the participants in the training programme. They pointed out that they were registered as the ‘principal’ recipients of the assistance, and they also managed to receive this assistance by themselves in over eighty per cent of the cases. Most of them also registered other female members in their households as alternate recipients, who would receive the assistance on their behalf in cases of their absence. They spoke

about the same reasons as men, namely, that they were generally responsible for preparing food in the house, and were therefore better placed to buy the needed commodities. The restriction attached to the programme, which limited choices of the beneficiaries to the use the cash vouchers for food, therefore ensured access to *and* control of the cash voucher assistance for women, as women were said to be in control of spending on daily food items.

This kind of decision-making, however, was not empowering for women necessarily, in that it was based on, and consistent with, traditional cultural beliefs that women were responsible for household-management activities. This, therefore, reinforced the gender stereotypes of women as being responsible for certain activities in the ‘private’ sphere (managing small household expenditures and caring for children). Women’s access to larger sums of money might prove to be more transformative of gender relations, but this would be contested by men as they seek to defend their masculinity and manhood. Thus, a notable effect was a reinforcement of the feminisation of responsibility, as described by Molyneux (2007). In the end, the CCT programme’s restriction of assistance to food normalised the responsibilities of motherhood, and such effects have been criticised for making women “do more to ensure household survival, when men are increasingly doing less” (Chant 2006:24). Both interviewed male and female respondents highlighted and legitimised the ‘traditional’ beliefs about womanhood and manhood, and noted that that a gendered hierarchy of intra-household dynamics, including around decision-making, preceded the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills Training programme. In this regard, not just men, but also women, were invested in this patriarchal arrangement and hence were active (i.e. expressed agency) in reproducing gendered practices and structures.

The women generally explained that, due to the fact that the voucher entitlement was strictly supposed to be used for the purchasing of food items from traders, their leeway and freedom to choose was limited exclusively to which food items they wanted to buy. However, despite this restriction, many women reported that they now managed to purchase (non-food) items. The CCT programme, and the CCT food vouchers specifically, expanded the household income-basket, and thereby facilitated the use of earnings from other livelihood income-sources for these other items, at least for those women who had some form of employment. Prior to the programme, vulnerable IDPs in this study reported that close to ninety per cent of their household income was usually planned for food. This resulted in most IDP households having out-of-school

children (due to challenges of raising school fees), failing to access crucial services such as health, and being unable to purchase basic household assets. This extreme condition of poverty led to conditions of intra-household stress, including tensions between husband and wife, and mistreatment of women. The assistance from the CCT programme therefore meant that household income, which in the past had been used almost exclusively for foodstuffs, could now be used for children's school fees, health services and the purchase of household assets. In this way, the female respondents felt a sense of 'empowerment', though this did not entail any chipping away at patriarchal power.

The female beneficiaries recommended though that, in future, they would prefer that the CCT programme offered assistance in the form of cash (and not vouchers), as this would give recipients more flexibility in deciding how best to use the assistance, therefore perhaps further enhancing their sense of self-reliance. There were a few cases noted during programme monitoring by the DRC staff (especially in Bossaso) that also showed that beneficiaries preferred cash. Some beneficiaries were approaching the contracted traders to exchange their cash vouchers for cash, instead of buying the food commodities as per the programme restrictions. They explained to the traders that they needed the money to purchase other goods or services for their households, such as medicines and fuel and paying for their children's school fees. A few traders took advantage of these requests, and were exchanging the cash vouchers for cash – but only at eighty percent of the value of the vouchers; this means that the beneficiaries were being short-changed. This issue was acted upon by the programme organisers, resulting in the cancellation of contracts with the traders in Bossaso involved in these transactions.

The study noted that men preferred having access to resources which were coming in on the basis of income from their places of employment. Most of the interviewed men who were employed after the training period ended, stressed that they were solely responsible for deciding upon how to use the income generated through their own employment. After all, they earned the income and, further, they had voluntarily given away the power – to women – to exchange the vouchers for food commodities. They also explained that, once the cash voucher assistance programme was over, as it was for a short period of time only (an average of 18 months), they would decide on how much to give the women in their households in order for them to buy food. For employed women, most of them noted that, even though they were the ones bringing in income

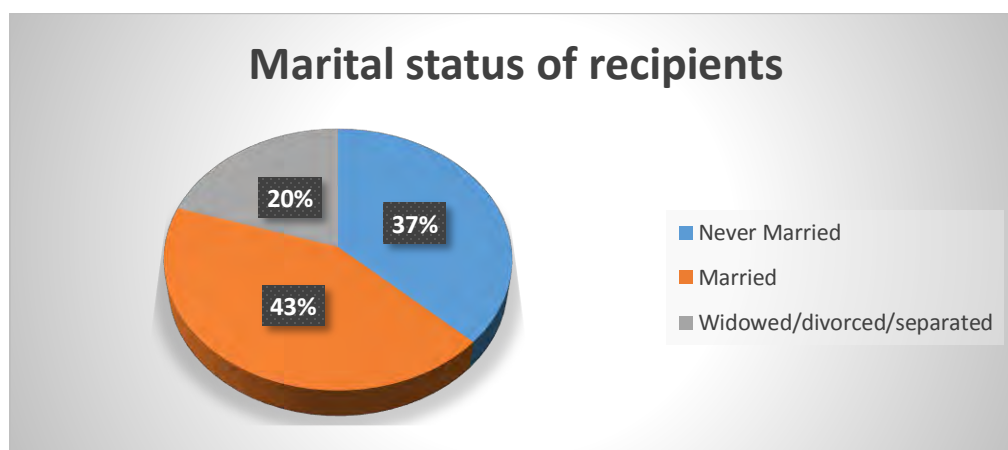
from their workplaces, they did not necessarily have total ‘control’ over this money. However, in this respect, compared to the period before the training programme, when most women brought in some income from casual labour activities, there had been an improvement in the post-programme period. In the latter period, men recognised that, broadly, women were now making a more significant contribution to the household income-pool; and they were prepared to allow for some kind and level of joint decision-making around women’s income contribution. This often led to reduced intra-household tensions. One woman pointed out that she felt more loved by her husband, as he now respected her for bringing income into the household, and was also consulting her on what to buy. She had the following to say:

This had never happened before. I am happy about this change in my household. I feel more loved and respected (16 December 2014).

More than thirty per cent of employed women also indicated that, in addition to joint consultation on the use of the money received from their employment places, the men in the household also gave them some decision-making space – women would be allocated some ‘personal’ income, which they could use to buy items that they wanted. Although joint decisions with men were made regarding the bulk of the money, this opportunity to be able to make decisions about personal (‘their’) money boosted their self-confidence and brought about a sense of empowerment. A major difference was noted between women who had managed to obtain employment after the training and those who were still unemployed. The employed women had more access to (and control over) resources; however, for those women who were still unemployed, the control of resources was mainly with the men. This is consistent with the argument by Adato et al. (2000) that wider access to resources decreases the incidences of men’s sole decision-making in the household.

Besides employment status, the study noted certain differences regarding decision-making on the basis of age and marital status. From the study sample of respondents, forty three per cent were married, thirty seven per cent were never married, and twenty per cent were widowed (as shown in Figure 6.3 below).

Figure 5: Marital Status of Cash Transfer Recipients



Source: Fieldwork.

All the interviewed widowed respondents were women, and they reported that they were responsible for decision-making regarding both food and non-food household expenditures, given that they were de jure heads of households since they had lost their husbands. For them, the training programme did not bring about significant changes in terms of enhanced decision-making, since they were already fully involved in this even before the programme started. However, those who had older sons reported that they would consult them on significant decisions, as the sons represented their fathers even after death. For these widowed women, though, the training programme empowered them by raising their social status in the community, since they could now contribute to charitable initiatives and were now managing to be part of other community social functions, something they had not managed to do for a long time. De jure female-headed households are usually characterised by poverty and are one of the most vulnerable groups in Somali society. Being able to provide for their families and even contribute to charity was a positive change for these women.

Most of the interviewed single respondents were staying with their parents, and they mainly reported that decision-making still lay with their parents. After receiving the cash vouchers from the training programme, they would pass these onto their mothers, who would then decide what food items to buy for the household. These youths were pleased that they could contribute to the well-being of their families, who previously were struggling to make ends meet. For them,

empowerment was not necessarily about decision-making, but about building self-reliance. Most of them said that they were grateful for the opportunities that the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills Training programme had opened up for them, as their futures were brighter. In fact, twenty per cent of these single respondents were now employed (after the training), and reported that they were making decisions about the use of the money that they were earning. They felt further empowered by the fact that they were now self-reliant and could contribute on a more significant basis to the well-being of their families. They indicated that their parents let them decide on how they wished to use their earnings, and most of them pointed out that they contributed about fifty per cent of their earnings to their families' food, clothing and other needs, since they also had siblings as well. They used the other fifty percent for their personal needs.

Married respondents in the study reported that all household food expenditure decisions were done by women, as per the traditional gender discourse that women are good household managers, who always put the needs of their family first and hence would not use resources for their own personal needs, as men would. At the same time, the non-food decisions were mainly the responsibility of men, although some changes were noted as a result of the training programme where most married women who were now employed also reported more significant joint decision-making, as discussed earlier. The study therefore shows that, in terms of marital status, there were different implications and effects for CCT beneficiaries. Married and employed women gained some decision-making powers due to increased joint consultation, while widows and single women made considerable gains in social status. This shows that beneficiaries who are outside of normative and hegemonic power structures, such as marriage, may expect to gain proportionately more social status (within households or within the wider community) from cash transfers, as they seem to possess greater control over spending and the redistribution of wealth.

With regard to how resources were being used, respondents pointed out that women normally used the money for the benefit of the immediate family, mainly buying the needed food, medicines and water. Ten per cent of women reported that they had used their resources to set up small businesses in the IDP camps, for selling basic commodities such as cooking oil, soap and other household items. None of the women indicated that they had bought land, property or other valuable assets. This was because they could not legally own property (as property was invariably registered in the name of males), and this discouraged their investments in property. Men used

theirs for helping relatives in their extended families, but also often for their own benefit. This involved, for instance buying *khat* – a drug that is mainly chewed by Somali men for its stimulating effects, such as bringing about a feeling of well-being, mental alertness and excitement. The chewing of *khat* in Somalia is a social custom that dates back a thousand years, and has often been commended for bringing men together at *khat* sessions (places where men chew together) despite its negative health effects (Elmi 1983). Men were also using their resources to buy property, cell-phones and other assets. The use of resources for the personal benefits of men was seen as culturally acceptable by both men and women. This again highlights that both men and women are often actively involved in replicating gendered structures. Married women with access to additional personal income reported that they always thought of their children first, and that they only used money for themselves when they felt that the needs of their families had been covered. Those that were not married, and hence did not have children, used the personal income for themselves such as for beauty therapies and cell phones. This also shows the difference with reference to the marital status of women and the use of resources.

Many households reported that they did not have to pay for school fees, as there was also a programme by NRC called Accelerated Basic Education (ABE), which enrolled many of their children without the need for fees. As explained earlier in Chapter 5, the ABE programme was introduced in Puntland in 2006, with the objective of providing an opportunity for children (between 9 and 14 years) who had missed some years of schooling mainly due to displacement. This was an accelerated catch-up education programme which equipping them with the necessary skills to enter the upper primary formal education system. Since it was targeted at children from vulnerable households, this education programme was free; hence, parents were not required to pay for school fees, but had to pay for other basic expenses such as purchasing stationery for the children. Many (particularly female) respondents from the study reported that, if this programme had not been in place, they would have prioritised the use of their resources to pay school fees for their children, as they had experienced first-hand how education could transform their lives.

The following story (Box 6.1) from one of the female graduates from Bossaso vocational training centre provides further details about the issue of access to and control of resources in households.

Box 1: The story of Asia Abdullahi Yusuf

Asia Abdullahi Yusuf is 27 years old, and hails from Bossaso district. She is a mother of seven kids, after getting married at a tender age of 14 years due to poverty in her family. Her late parents used to stay in Bossaso, after having moved from Karin, a nearby village in the same district in search of better livelihoods in town, as they had lost their livestock due to drought. After moving into town, the parents used to rely on casual labour opportunities at the Bossaso port for survival. However, they had a big family of 10 children, and therefore could not manage to send all their children to school, and also could not manage to pay the high rentals in the town. They therefore decided to go and live in the outskirts of the town, in 100 Bush village, and joined some of their relatives from their clan who were also living there. Since they came from Bossaso district, they joined the host community which was living very close to one of the largest IDP settlements in this town.

Asia's parents could not manage to send her to school. At the age of 9, she would go out with her mother to look for casual work where they would clean other neighbours' houses, whilst her father and brothers would go to the port. However, the family could not raise enough income to sustain themselves. Luckily, since they were staying in the host community, they were usually targeted for humanitarian assistance by different NGOs that would be implementing relief programmes in the IDP camps, as these organisations also targeted a small portion of the most vulnerable host community members. The family therefore often depended on this humanitarian assistance, and for many years. However, many of these organisations often implemented very short programmes, and often targeted the provision of short term assistance for basic needs such as the provision of shelter and food items. Without any education at the age of 14, Asia got married. Unfortunately, her first and second marriages did not last long, and she got divorced within a period of six years in these marriages. She left these marriages with five children, and then decided to stay for some time on her own. Later on, she got married again, and now has a total of seven children. Her husband is a casual labourer at the port. They are staying together and taking care of eleven children, as both of them had other children from their previous marriages; and they have two children from their present marriage. The couple faced many challenges in feeding the big family they have. This troubled Asia very much as she knew that these children would also continue to suffer, just the way her family suffered due to poverty.

Support from Training Programme

Fortunately, in 2010, three school going age children from Asia's household were selected to join the Accelerated Basic Education programme (ABE) funded by NRC. This brought so much relief to her. In

2013, Asia was also selected as one of the participants of the Technical Vocational training programme by the same organisation, and joined the Bossaso Vocational training centre. She said:

I am very thankful to Allah for this blessing, as the community here have been very generous to us. My family has benefited from different programmes because the community here felt pity for us, and this has sustained us until now. I do not know how we would have survived until now. She sighed.

After joining the training programme, Asia had to spend a few months learning basic literacy as someone who had not attended school at all. She was enrolled in a hotel and catering course, and was lucky to get a job as a caterer in one of the restaurants in town, within five months of her graduation in early 2015. She elaborated as follows:

I chose to enrol for a cooking course because I was afraid of the more technical courses that men usually enrol for. As a woman, and someone who had no prior education, this was the best one for me; otherwise I would have failed the exams and would not have graduated. In Bossaso, many restaurants also employ women cooks as we often find customers from the port. I am happy that I chose the right course that also gave me an opportunity to get a job in a short space of time.

Asia also narrated the changes that happened in her life after getting this training and the job:

Before I got enrolled in this training programme, I was just a housewife as I had many children to take care of at home, and my husband was the main breadwinner. I therefore used to rely on him for any income needed for the household. He would therefore decide on how much to give me in order to buy food for the household, depending on how much he would have managed to raise from his casual work. However, since I started going for the training, things changed, as I also brought some money from the training, as we were getting some vouchers that we would use to buy food with. This really helped us a lot as the income from my husband's casual labour could be used for other basic needs in the house. Since I started getting the vouchers, my husband allowed me to manage this, and let me decide what to buy in the household since the vouchers were meant for food only, and he would also make decisions concerning the extra income he was getting. When I started working, things improved again, as my husband realised I was also bringing more money into the household. We therefore often discuss together and agree on what we should use our money for. I am happy that we have also managed to prioritise our children's education, and all of them are attending school. This will give them a better future. My husband treats me with more respect than before, because I am also contributing to the family income'. She smiled.

Asia is thankful for the opportunities that the training programme brought, but also shared some of the

challenges that she encountered during the programme:

My biggest challenge during the training period was that I had to leave my children with my relatives. I was however lucky that they agreed to take care of them for no cost, as they encouraged me to attend the training. However, as the training programme was too long in terms of hours per day, I had to wake up early every day to prepare the house and also the children in order not to burden my relatives. In the evening, I had to also walk a long distance from the training centre, and would usually prepare food late. It was also scary to walk in the dark as it is usually not safe in the IDP camps. I would recommend that in future the programme should consider to provide transport allowances for the trainees, and also change the training lessons in order to give more time to women and help them to manage the other household duties.

Source: Fieldwork: 12 December 2014.

The story of Asia illustrates the manner in which resources (cash vouchers plus any other household income) are used by married couples, including decision-making processes (within the household) about these resources. Though her story is not necessarily representative of all married couples who benefit from the CCT programme, it does show possible advantages for women in terms of resource access and control, as well as the ongoing domestic responsibilities expected of women. Further, as indicated, the extent of resource usage and control varies across women, contingent on such factors as marital status, employment status and the presence of children. Employed women had more access to and control over resources than unemployed ones, while those with children tended to prioritise their needs. At the same time, despite some improvement in terms of joint decision-making in the household for married and employed women, most men and women still highly regarded the cultural arrangements which differentiated the roles and responsibilities of men and women, with women being described as responsible for the private sphere and men for the public sphere. This generally supported patriarchal values that had an ordered hierarchy, where the feminine role is seen as secondary to the masculine identity, and therefore ‘inferior’.

6.8 Social Status and Self Esteem

The CCT programme, as noted previously, contributed positively to empowerment through improving the self-esteem and self-dignity of the programme recipients, regardless of gender. All the interviewed male and female respondents testified to a more significant sense of human security and self-confidence as a result of the training and financial assistance that they had received, which contributed to household food security as well. The respondents pointed out that education was highly regarded in Somali society, and therefore the training improved their social standing and respect in the community. They also appreciated the fact that the ‘conditionality’ of the programme, which involved attending at least eighty percent of the vocational training classes every month in order to receive the cash voucher assistance, was meant for their own personal improvement, which in turn positively impacted on their lives by opening up opportunities for employment. In this respect, the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills Training programme is different from most of the CCT programmes in Latin America. These latter programmes have been aimed directly at improving the lives of the children as future generations, through putting conditions on parents to either ensure regular school attendance or health check-ups of children. Hence, they contribute to the human capital improvement of children and not necessarily the human capital of parents (i.e. the beneficiaries), unlike the Puntland programme. These CCTs existing elsewhere have been criticised for taking advantage of the feminine roles of women as mothers and caregivers. However, as this study shows, similar arguments may be made about the Puntland CCT programme.

This study shows that the improvement of social status was along gendered lines and did not alter or challenge – in fundamental ways – existing gendered social norms, as status (and any improvement of it) was defined differently for men and women due to culture and religion. For example, men regarded social status as being involved in religious functions while, for women, status was regarded more as involvement in social functions such as weddings. Men reported that the training had provided an opportunity for them to be recognised by the wider community, as they could also be members of the IDP committees for example, which was critical for their status since IDP committees are very powerful in the context of massive displacement. These committees replaced the ‘councils of men’ in traditional Somali society structure unaffected by displacement, where major decisions are made by clan leaders. The IDP committees are responsible for making

decisions about the administration of the IDP camps, and are usually consulted by local authorities and any humanitarian organisations that wish to implement a programme in a camp. For the Puntland programme for instance, as explained earlier, the IDP committees were responsible for selecting beneficiaries who qualified for the programme, and thus they had significant influence over the life-courses of IDPs. Being part of these committees was therefore regarded by men as being placed in a powerful and influential position, and engaging in (and graduating from) a CCT training programme provided an opportunity for a committee appointment which otherwise would not have existed. For women, however, being part of IDP committees was not of importance in terms of self-respect and social status, particularly given that customary practices did not allow women to be part of these structures. This is in line with the assertion by Kapteijns (1995) that, according to the Xeer, women were excluded from traditional political authority, and only self-independent men could exercise political authority as those dependent upon others could not be trusted to exercise sound and impartial judgement.

Women, who were generally the recipients of the cash vouchers, pointed out that they shared some of the food that they had purchased using the vouchers with the wider community, especially those who were not benefiting. Being able to share food with others improved their self-esteem as they felt that they were now in a position to help others. As IDPs who had lost their livelihoods, income and status, and generally seen as ‘helpless people’, the fact that they now could help others was significant to them. They also reported that they now contributed to social functions such as weddings, and could contribute to charity, which is referred to as *qaaraan* in the Somali language. *Qaaraan* is an important coping mechanism in traditional Somali society, and the practice has been used by pastoral societies in Somalia and in other parts of Africa as a way to spread risk and increase resilience in the face of loss of livestock from drought, raids, civil war and disease (Barrow 1996). It has religious significance as well, and all practicing Muslims who have financial means are encouraged to redistribute wealth to those in need. Involvement in *qaaraan* bestowed not only social status on the giver, but enhanced the overall social capital in local communities (Bourdieu 1983). Fadumo Ali Yusuf, a participant at Garowe vocational training centre, had the following to say:

This programme has really helped us. Many people in the community regarded us as poor people who only depended on other people and NGOs for survival. Because of the assistance that we got

from NRC, we now have skills to raise income for our families, and the community perception has changed. They now regard us as self-reliant people. In addition, we are now contributing qaaraan, and also share some of the food we purchase with others in this camp who are poor. We are very happy about this change in our status. Our religion teaches us that if we contribute qaaraan, we will also be assisted in future if we lose everything like what happened when we ran away from Mogadishu (12 December 2014).

The female respondents also reported positive benefits of the cash transfers with regard to improved literacy and negotiation skills with traders, which generally improved their self-esteem. They pointed out that the training programme had equipped them with literacy skills, meaning they could now read and write, and that this was a significant achievement given that, historically, the education of the boy-child was prioritised in Somali society for reasons of culture and poverty. Because of this, most women would depend on their male counterparts for assistance with reading or writing whenever needed. The female respondents expressed gratitude regarding the fact that they could now understand, in writing, how much humanitarian assistance they were entitled to under the programme, what they would receive every month, and were even able to sign for assistance without having to depend on men. They also felt empowered as they could be no longer ‘cheated’ by traders when using the cash vouchers, as they were able to understand the value of the goods sold by traders and would know the quantity of food commodities expected from the transacted cash voucher. Moreover, it was also noted that the cash assistance that they received improved their confidence in negotiating with traders for the best service.

During the first three months of the programme, most women reported that the traders contracted by NRC for providing the service were generally taking advantage of them – mostly, by treating them differently from ‘normal’ customers in the shops by inflating prices of food commodities for the cash voucher beneficiaries; putting them in a different queue in the shops and serving them slowly; and also colluding between themselves to force beneficiaries to buy from a specific trader and buy specific commodities that the traders had. Since the beneficiaries were mostly IDPs and were generally used to this kind of treatment, they did not question the actions of the traders and continued transacting under these conditions for some months. However, due to the training and sensitisation that they received from the training programme, they soon understood their rights and felt empowered, such that they started demanding better service from the traders.

They began choosing to buy from the traders who had the best prices and services, so that some traders ended up having no cash voucher customers for an entire month and hence lost out in terms of profits. Due to this, most of the traders started to compete for customers and this led to an improvement in the service for the beneficiaries due to fear of losing them as customers.

Eighty percent of the interviewed married female respondents also reported, that prior to the training programme, they were responsible for providing a noticeable level of income for their households, as most of their husbands were or injured due to the conflict experienced in the areas from which they had come, mostly from Mogadishu and South Central Somalia. The women were mostly involved in petty trading and casual labour activities. The money that they received from these activities was insufficient for household needs, such that most of them could not afford to send their children to school; hence, they were worried that their children would continue to live in a vicious cycle of poverty. These women pointed out that they did not necessarily feel ‘empowered’ with the fact that they were now (with the introduction of the CCT programme) even more significant financial contributors in their households, since they were already doing this, albeit to a lesser extent, well before the training programme began. They did not blame the men in their households for generally not managing to provide for families, as they understood the sometimes horrible and traumatic experiences that they had gone through due to conflict that left many men disabled. Though such men did not have the capacity to bring significant income into the households, they continued to be the household heads, and women respected this – as per the patriarchal culture and religion. While men continued to be the main decision-makers of these households (due to the cultural heritage), women – especially women who managed to acquire employment post-graduation – spoke about their enhanced dignity from the perspective of husbands and the growing self-esteem arising from this.

The following story (Box 6.2) of Maryam Abdi Farah, a beneficiary who graduated from Garowe Vocational training centre, shows some of the impacts of the CCT programme on social status.

Box 2: The Story of Maryam Abdi Farah

Maryam Abdi Farah (35 years old) is a mother of five and a former beneficiary of the Technical Vocational Training programme that was implemented by NRC in 2013. Her eldest child is 16 years and the youngest is 2 years. Her husband is a casual construction worker in Garowe. Her family came from Mogadishu in 2010, due to conflict in the area that resulted in displacement of many people from their area. Maryam now stays in Jawle IDP settlement in Garowe. When they arrived in Garowe in 2010, Maryam and her family had lost all their assets, but were happy to be alive as most of the people in their village lost their lives. She is also thankful that her whole family managed to escape without any injury.

As a child, Maryam grew up in a family of seven children, five boys and two girls. Maryam was the eldest daughter, and the third child in her family. Her parents were poor and could not manage to send her to school for a long time, so she only managed to get to third grade, despite being a top student in her class. Her parents preferred to send her brothers instead, and she dropped out of school and helped them to raise income for her siblings to go to school. Her younger sister also dropped out of school in third grade while the boys continued. The two sisters and their parents used to go into Mogadishu town to look for some casual labour opportunities such as collecting garbage, and then use this money to buy some small basic items such as soap and cooking oil, and then sell these to other villagers.

At the age of 17, Maryam got married to her husband, Mohamed Farah, who also came from a poor family, and had dropped out of school after his parents died. He however had learnt how to do some construction, and therefore largely depended on getting some casual construction jobs in Mogadishu town in order to raise income. On the other hand, Maryam continued in her parents' footsteps on ways to raise money. In 2010, however, there was a conflict in their village that led to their displacement. Maryam and her husband sought refuge in the northern part of Somalia (Puntland), while her parents went to Ethiopia.

When they arrived in Garowe, they were settled in Jawle camp, one of the seventeen IDP settlements in the district.

We did not know anyone, but we were lucky that the Government assisted us and settled us in the camp, although the camp has many problems of shelter, water and health, Maryam said.

The couple managed to set up some shelter for their family since the husband had some experience in construction. The couple however had to pay rent to the owner of the land for 80 USD per month. Maryam continued to rely on garbage collection in Garowe, while the husband also looked for casual construction jobs in town. They also set up a small shop in the camp, where Maryam used to sell some basic commodities after raising money from their casual labour opportunities. Both of them used to raise between three and six US dollars a day from their casual work, and it was difficult to make ends meet as the money was not

enough to pay for their basic needs. Without relatives in Puntland, it was also difficult for them to even borrow money when things got worse. Despite their efforts in raising money for their family, the community members called her a ‘garbage’ collector, and she felt bad about it.

Support from Training Programme

In 2013, Maryam was lucky to be selected as one of the participants of the technical vocational training programme. She was happy to be able to go back to school to fulfil her dreams since she was a top student in her younger age, but could not continue school due to poverty and the fact that her parents prioritised the boy children instead. She enrolled for a tailoring course.

When she started going to the training centre, Maryam stopped the garbage collection jobs since the course was demanding in terms of time. Her husband however continued to look for casual jobs. Since the training programme provided cash vouchers that they could use to buy food from the shops, Maryam used her experience to improve her small shop at her house. She would buy the food commodities using the voucher, and then use the extra money from her husband’s casual work to improve this little shop. She was happy that the cash voucher was enough to buy her family the food they needed, and hence the family could save a bit from their other sources of income.

After graduating, Maryam also joined nine friends who had enrolled in the same course, and started a tailoring group in the town. This was because it was very difficult to find formal jobs in Garowe. The group set themselves up in the IDP camp, and are sewing school uniforms and clothes. In a matter of six months, the group was well established, as it received support from the community. Maryam managed to raise more funds from this job, and did not give up on her little shop. She used some of the money she raised from this job to improve her shop. She managed to raise enough income to build a bigger shop, and also improved her stock, which now includes most of the basic items that the community people need on a daily basis such as pasta, rice, oil, sugar, washing powder, shampoo, fish and soup. She says her business is doing well and she earns between \$10 and \$20 per day.

The community members who used to call me a garbage collector now call me a shop owner, and I really feel good about it, Maryam smiles.

A number of positive things have happened since she graduated from the training programme. Her family can now afford to send their children to school. The community also respects them as Maryam is now being considered as a business owner rather than a garbage collector. Her social status has therefore improved, and this has boosted her self- esteem. Her family is guaranteed of food every day and she can afford to buy a variety of foodstuffs. Even if her husband does not get casual employment, the family still manages to get

enough food for the day. Maryam and her family also can now afford to help other neighbours who face some challenges in raising enough for their families. The couple also plans to send the husband, Mohamed, for a formal construction training course in order for him to also get formal training.

Source: Fieldwork, 16 December 2014.

6.9 Intra-Household Gender Relations

The study also explored the effect of the CCT on intra household gender relations, looking at changing gender roles and gender based violence. Since the condition of the programme required that the participants (including women participants) leave their homes early in the morning and go back home in the evening (in order to attend the training), this could potentially have introduced certain tensions in the home leading to domestic violence, as men might feel that women are abandoning their domestic chores. In addition to this, the training would likely exacerbate the already shifting gender identities in the household for IDPs, where more women took on the previous responsibilities of men by being the breadwinners for their families. At times, females and males in households cope by cooperating and dealing with these gender shifts; while, for others, it ends in violence, breakup or divorce (Charmes 1998). As a consequence of their inability to contribute adequately to the family income, men may start feeling “redundant” and burdensome to households; and they may experience disorienting challenges to their perceptions of themselves as providers and heads of families, often resulting in anger and frustration that result in violence in the homes.

Meanwhile, CCTs may empower women economically which may contribute to them feeling more in control of their present situation, and obtaining more bargaining power in the household, which may in turn develop into a higher perceived status of women. Sen (2000), in relation to the ‘intra-household bargaining model’, argues that women’s well-being is strongly influenced by their ability to earn an independent income, as this makes a positive contribution in adding to women’s voice and agency. He argues that this contributes to women’s inner power (referred to as ‘power within’ by Rowlands 1997). Kabeer et al. (2011) support this argument, pointing out that CCTs can help to mitigate humiliations in women’s lives, and also enhance their voice and influence within the household and thereby expand their capacity for making choices.

Many respondents indicated that CCT training indeed introduced some tensions, especially

as women had to work for more hours a day by waking up early to do household duties before leaving for the training, and then coming home late after the afternoon lessons – this sometimes meant that they would not be able to timely prepare supper for their families. The respondents, however, mentioned that these tensions were generally manageable, mainly because there had been intensive consultations with the community before implementing the CCT programme. These consultations highlighted such issues, and the community had been requested to support all the trainees in order for them to be able to finish the training. For example, many women who were not part of the training were supportive, as they took care of the children whose mothers were enrolled in the programme. All women respondents also mentioned that there was no incident where they were stopped from going to the training by their spouses, parents or any male relatives. The only challenge was that the women were still expected to undertake their normal duties at home, which brought some strain to them, and at times affected their performance at school.

This is what is referred to as the ‘triple burden’ by Moser (1993). She argues that, in most societies, low income women undertake triple roles, namely reproductive, productive and community managing roles. These include childbearing responsibilities, domestic tasks, subsistence production and provision of community collective resources such as water and healthcare. These roles are usually unpaid, while men primarily undertake productive and community-politics activities, which usually generate payment, status or power. CCTs, including the one in Puntland, have tended to (implicitly) adopt this approach, believing that women’s time is elastic, hence adding further to their burden.

The study did not find any evidence of gender based violence associated with the CCT programme. This might be because this issue is very sensitive in the Somali community, and it is generally not discussed publicly. The respondents mentioned that instead of bringing about conflict in the households, the programme brought more peace as a result of the assistance that the participants were getting, which helped considerably in ensuring that the households had enough food. This therefore reduced anxiety and stress for both males and females. They also reported that the cases of domestic violence were actually prevalent in poor households which had not been selected for the programme, as these households were under more significant financial stress in terms of access to resources.

The women also mentioned that the shift in gender roles was already there before the

programme started, since most women had assumed ‘breadwinner’ roles after being displaced from their homes due to conflict. Although it was still difficult for men to accept these changes due to their culture (which claims that men should be the breadwinners), the programme did not result in any conflicts directly related to these issues. As well, this was because the programme also targeted men for training, although females were more present than men. Information from the focus group discussions showed that, rather than domestic violence, women beneficiaries were afraid of insecurity and violence outside the households (especially on the way to and from the training centres due to the long distances that they had to travel to these centres, as they were afraid of walking after dark). Most of them reported that there were many cases of rape and theft along these routes especially during dusk, and hence they preferred to skip the afternoon lessons just to ensure that they had enough time to travel back home before sunset. They therefore recommended the training programme sessions to be conducted only in the mornings, or that the authorities consider providing transport allowances for the participants to allow them to use taxis for travel.

In addition to the above, many respondents confirmed that there was an improvement in household decision making due to improved consultations in the households between men and women, and this was attributed to the income contribution that women were making in the household. As pointed out earlier, employed women enacted more household bargaining power as they were consulted on many decisions in the household, although ultimate authority remained with the men due to the Somali culture which was highly respected by all interviewed respondents. This therefore confirms the bargaining power hypothesis, which speaks about a positive causal relationship between income levels and household decision making within the household. At the same time, although employed women generally experienced an improvement in joint household decision making power and autonomy as a result of the CCT programme, this did not necessarily alter gender relations in the household, since ultimate authority remained with the men as per their culture. In other words, increased financial (economic) power of women does not translate automatically into political power at household level, as this is mediated by patriarchal cultural arrangements which remain in force.

As Molyneux (2008) argues, this shows that although CCTs generally improve control of resources by women, they are not a sufficient condition for women’s empowerment. This is because there is no alteration of the fundamental cultural bases of women’s social and economic

subservience. Their capacity to enhance women's equality or autonomy is problematic, yet critics view such enhancement as essential to meaningful empowerment rather than to the feeling or appearance of empowerment. There is therefore need for improved 'potentials and capabilities' of women to negotiate gender relations at household level.

6.10 Conclusion

This chapter offered a nuanced gendered analysis of the Puntland CCT programme with specific reference to the manner in which it affected woman's subordinate status in Puntland. In doing so, it tried to dissect the different threads of patriarchal subordination which, tied together, constitute this form of subordination. The different threads hold patriarchy loosely together without making it as a totalising system devoid of weaknesses. For this reason, the chapter covered different aspects of women's lives in relation to the Puntland programme, from self-esteem to control over resources to enhanced bargaining power at household level. The argument which emerges from this chapter, and which is developed more fully in the next, concluding chapter (in addressing the thesis objectives), is that certain threads of patriarchy were pulled at (so to speak) through the Puntland programme. More importantly, this only took place by women expressing and enacting agency by 'negotiating' the space opened up by the programme, as they sought to enhance their well-being in the process. That patriarchy still confines these women is not in dispute. But the forms which patriarchy take are subject to change, even if this entails a mere tinkering at its edges.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This thesis has sought to provide an analysis of the relationship between conditional cash transfers on the one hand, and gender restructuring and women's empowerment on the other, with specific reference to a case study of the Puntland Technical Vocational Training programme in Somalia. Though the focus has been on the effects of the Puntland CCT programme on gender restructuring and empowerment, it has also become clear that existing forms of women's subordination shaped the character and direction of the CCT programme. In this context, this chapter provides an overall conclusion to the thesis and, in doing so, seeks to indicate the ways in which the main and subsidiary objectives of the thesis were addressed. The next section (section 7.2) considers the subsidiary objectives while section 7.3 turns to the main objective. The final section (section 7.4) focusses on policy recommendations as well as recommendations about useful areas of further research on the thesis topic.

7.2 Addressing the Subsidiary Objectives

The overall objective of the thesis is to “critically understand and explain the relationship between conditional cash transfers and women's empowerment based on a case study of the Puntland Technical Vocational Skills training programme in Somalia”. This entailed examining the effects of CCTs on the ability of women beneficiaries to make decisions, mobilise resources and exercise choices over various aspects of their lives. The thesis therefore sought to analyse whether conditional cash transfers, in relation to the case study in Somalia, facilitate women's empowerment (including enhancing women's agency), or instead simply reconfigure or exacerbate patriarchal structures and religious practices, which are the main sources of women's subordination in Somalia. At the same time, the thesis recognises that the effects of conditional cash transfers may be uneven with regards to women's empowerment, perhaps facilitating empowerment in some ways while reproducing women's subordination in other ways – or even merely reforming structures and practices of subordination and not transforming them.

The thesis is broadly framed within notions of patriarchal subordination and women's

empowerment, focusing on the relationship between structure and agency and pointing to prevailing structures and practices in Somalian society as sources of women's subordination. It emphasises that women's status and agency is constrained by social circumstances, which are often embedded in 'tradition' and culture that are deeply rooted in historical arrangements, and to such an extent that people (both men and women) perceive them as an immutable part of reality.

However, many empowerment theorists argue that 'opportunity structures' come into existence on a contingent basis (sometimes as unintended consequences), and that these 'structures' open up space(s) for women to make new and possibly transformative choices, thereby marking these structures as crucial foundations for the emergence of effective agency by and for women. The thesis generally argues that 'structures' condition rather than determine 'agency' in any strict (causal) sense. More broadly, social totalities (such as Somalian society) are not totalising systems which simply pre-determine or foreclose forms of agency, including the agency of subordinated groupings like women. Within any social totality, there are spaces (i.e. spaces of opportunity) within which subordinated women enter and enact agency to somehow enhance their well-being, without necessarily restructuring the totality in any fundamental sense. This might appear to imply the absence of empowerment for women, as structures remain in large part untransformed. However, empowerment is a multi-dimensional process which often entails a chipping-away at some if not all structures of subordination.

In understanding empowerment, the thesis notes the 'fuzziness' of the concept, due to the different ways that different theorists define it. Overall, however, it is clear that empowerment is linked to 'power' in its different forms, and that it is a multi-dimensional and continuous process. It is also now commonly associated with development strategies existing within the worldwide development system, with common claims existing about how this system seeks to (and does) empower people, including women. Certainly, conditional cash transfers are envisaged as one key development strategy for empowering women. In this respect, this thesis is generally guided by the notion of empowerment articulated by the UN Women (2011), which speaks about five components of women's empowerment, namely: women's sense of self-worth; their right to have and to determine choices; their right to have access to opportunities and resources; their right to have the power to control their own lives, both within and outside the home; and their ability to influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order in society.

In this context, and as a basis for addressing the main objective of the thesis in relation to the Puntland CCT programme, the following subsidiary objectives were addressed:

1. Investigate the cultural dynamics and socio-economic factors conditioning women's subordination;
2. Examine the importance of attaching conditions to cash transfer programmes in facilitating women's empowerment;
3. Assess the restructuring of gendered power relations within households, and in the wider community, as a result of the CCT;

The following sub-sections focus on each of these subsidiary objectives and, in doing so, also provide a summary of the findings from the study.

7.2.1 Women's Subordination: Cultural Dynamics and Socio-Economic Factors

The thesis has generally shown the significance of both cultural dynamics and socio-economic factors in structuring the subordination of women in Somalia generally and Puntland specifically, with a particular focus on internally-displaced women. These structuring conditions both provided a justification for incorporating mainly internally-displaced women in the Puntland programme and acted as inhibitors in seeking to empower these women through the programme.

As shown, the Puntland CCT programme was implemented in an IDP context, with the objective of empowering marginalised groupings (women in particular) by providing them with technical and vocational skills that they could then use in future to generate income for their households. The thesis provided a historical analysis of Somalia politics which resulted in the emergence of IDPs, in which people moved from the south and central parts of the country to the northern 'autonomous regions' of Puntland and Somaliland, which became more stable after declaring themselves as independent governments after the overthrow of the Siad Barre government in 1991. In effect, Somalia was in a state of civil war as there was no central government, with different male-led clans fighting for power. Most of the IDPs missed the chance of attending schools due to war and conflict, as they were compelled to move from their places of origin and thereby become IDPs in Puntland. More than men, women missed such opportunities as a result of cultural issues that favoured education of the boy child over the girl child. At the same time, without the necessary skills, women took over the responsibilities of providing for their

families – this occurred due to a change in gender roles as the war killed or physically and psychologically affected many men.

Somalian society, historically, is a deeply patriarchal one, and this patriarchy is buttressed by Islamic religious discourses and practices. As argued by Gardner and El Bushra (2016), the war and the collapse of the state affected the hegemonic models of masculinity and the range of options open for realisation of these models. This situation led to catastrophic levels of insecurity, violence, displacement and impoverishment of Somali men. Most men therefore lacked resources and, more crucially, the security to fulfil their gender specific expectations and responsibilities which they had during Barre's period. The loss of jobs and the status linked to them was therefore a mark of personal, masculinised failure for many men.

The war thus resulted in a major shift in gender roles as women and children often stepped in as income providers. The Somali concept of 'manhood' (with a core set of exacting ideals), fundamental to which are male responsibilities for family well-being and the kinship-based system of social organisation, was undercut if not reversed due to the war. Traditionally, a man's reputation, status and power depend on how well he fulfils his obligations within his family and clan. In doing so, he contributes not only to his status, but also to the collective power of his lineage group. For women, the shift in gender roles had put significant pressure on them, resulting in most of them falling into a vicious cycle of poverty as they were struggling to provide for their families without any educational skills. Many of the female respondents from this study reported that they were relying on casual labour opportunities, which were not sustainable to lift their families out of poverty.

Importantly, there was significant political will on the part of the Puntland government in empowering marginalised groupings, notably women. The government was seeking to reduce inequalities between men and women, albeit perhaps conservatively due to the ongoing influence of religion. It made strides in this regard by setting up a Ministry of Women and Family Affairs (MOWDAFA) in 2008, headed by a woman minister, with the objective of protecting and ensuring the rights of women as well as to alleviate poverty and improve the overall socio-economic conditions of women in Puntland. Furthermore, a national gender policy was drafted in 2008, although it still has not come into effect due to disagreements between government officials on the term 'gender equality', which is often seen as representing an agenda that promotes 'Western'

systems, values and beliefs (UNDP 2012). The 2009 Puntland constitution also highlights the principle of equality of all citizens, and focuses on the duty of the government to protect and promote the rights of women, albeit with some reservations (as this should be enacted in a way consistent with Islamic religious norms). A presidential decree was also set in 2007, indicating the need for all public institutions to adhere to a thirty per cent representation of women in their employment. This proposed thirty per cent quota has not been incorporated into legislation.

Further, the thesis has generally noted the influence of religion on the way in which Somalia as a country has been functioning over many decades. Somalia is a patriarchal society that follows customary and religious Muslim law (Xeer), which is generally oppressive of women. Historically, women were not allowed to hold any authority both at household and community levels. Marriage was one of the central institutions where inequality and gender relations between men and women was enforced, as women were often intermarried (without consent) for conflict resolution purposes and could not inherit any property in case the husband died.

Siad Barre, who ruled the country for more than 21 years on an authoritarian basis, sought (at times successfully) to enhance the situation of women through policy changes in terms of education, employment and marriage laws, with the Family Law of 1975 being the most controversial. The Family law allowed women and men to inherit wealth equally following the death of a family member (or divorce); restricted polygamy; and gave women the right to seek divorce from their husbands (Mohamed 2015: 4). The Family Law was opposed by religious leaders who regarded it as going against Islamic principles in which women were expected to be docile and obedient, and men the protectors and providers of the family. Hence, Islamic-based gender roles were particularly stringent when it came to issues relating to the family and family-level decision-making. The Siad Barre government was toppled in 1990 and, during the post-Siad Barre period, there has been no stable central government. The post-Siad Barre period has been characterised by war and the formation of semi-autonomous states within the country (Puntland, Somaliland and Galmudug) alongside the prevalence of refugees and IDPs, the deaths of many men and sexual abuse of women, the rise of female-headed households and a shift in gendered roles, and a marked return to the pre-colonial era way of following the Xeer principles.

The region of Puntland, as a comparatively stable part of Somalia, became a target destination for people fleeing conflict within Somalia, and who became known as internally-

displaced women (including female-headed households). The Puntland government also made efforts to enhance the status of women. Besides conflict, Somalia (including Puntland) has also been severely affected by natural disasters, especially drought, that only worsened the situation. Following conflict and natural disasters, humanitarian assistance was implemented mainly as unconditional in-kind assistance (mainly food aid). Due to challenges of diversion by warlords, looting/hijacking by pirates and overall high costs of logistics associated with this, there emerged a shift away from food aid to cash transfers, including conditional transfers as in the case of the Puntland programme. It was believed by the programme designers (Norwegian Refugee Council) that cash alongside 'conditions' would facilitate empowerment, including of women.

The patriarchal conditions, as summarised above (and as shown below) were to shape the character of the Puntland CCT programme as well as inhibit its possible effectiveness in empowering women. In this context, I now consider the second subsidiary objective.

7.2.2 Attaching Conditions and Women's Empowerment

Del Ninno and Mills (2015) argue that African countries often implement short term cash transfer programmes which are often fully or partially funded by donors, with weak national political commitment and precarious long-term sustainability. Because of the significant financial support coming from donors, CCT programmes remain subject to the whims of donors and short funding cycles. They also face challenges of balancing domestic and external priorities. This is because programmes that remain outside of the ambit of national governments fail to develop capacities within government institutions, and they do not capitalise on potential economies of scale needed for cost-effective implementation of targeting, registration, and monitoring and evaluation systems. (Scarlatto & D'Agostino 2016). The Puntland case study of this thesis has similar characteristics, as it was implemented for a short period, and was also fully funded by donors. This is despite the fact that the Puntland government, through the Ministry of Education, was involved especially in designing the programme. Generally, there was solid coordination between the Norwegian Refugee Council and the Puntland government, such that this CCT programme was implemented due to the need that had been identified in this specific context, after assessments and consultations were done with the communities. Bearing this in mind, the thesis sought to analyse whether the donor conditions that were set for the Puntland CCT were in line with

beneficiary preferences, and whether the conditions in any way facilitated the empowerment of women.

The thesis provided a summary of literature regarding conditional cash transfer programmes by pointing out why some theorists have argued for conditionality, while others criticise it. Those who are in favour of conditionality posit that it is foremost the conditionality, and not the cash transfer itself, that produces mid- to long-term improvements in human capital outcomes, including for women. They view conditionality as a powerful mechanism to make cash transfer programmes more efficient, while also empowering beneficiaries. In the case of women, this includes by way of, for instance, increasing the bargaining power of female beneficiaries at household level. Critics of conditionality usually refer to the paternalistic character of conditionality, whereby policymakers and development agencies assume that they know what is best for subordinate groupings (i.e. beneficiaries) and that, further, beneficiaries are not rational agents in the sense that they are not able to behave in a manner which benefits themselves. Hence, conditions (or incentives) need to be imposed on beneficiaries in order for them to act in their own self-interest and the self-interest of their households (Hanlon 2010). Because of this, the freedom to choose what is best (for themselves) is denied and beneficiaries are further disempowered in the process.

As shown earlier, the beneficiaries of the Puntland programme in fact expressed gratitude with the way in which the CCT programme had given them an opportunity of contributing to their own personal and socio-economic development. Although conditions came as part of the programme (without consulting beneficiaries), the beneficiaries claimed that the conditions were not meant to limit their freedom (or were interpreted as not doing so). Instead, the conditions encouraged them to finish their educational studies, which was viewed positively. Therefore, if the female beneficiaries attached to the Puntland programme had been granted an opportunity to choose between unconditional and conditional cash transfers, they would have chosen the conditional one as, from their perspective, it empowered them.

In this regard, as pointed out, both men and women involved in the Puntland programme tended to define empowerment as the building of self-reliance (and resilience). This understanding of empowerment no doubt arose and existed because of their precarious situation as IDPs, as they had spent many years totally reliant on humanitarian aid and other community members for

assistance. They felt like a stigmatised people who were always (and possibly forever) dependent upon others for help and assistance, and hence the CCT provided a platform for restoring their human dignity. By compelling them to attend classes and assisting them in post-graduation livelihood activities, the Puntland CCT programme offered them (and particularly women) a solid opportunity for becoming and being more self-reliant. As well, it also enabled them at times to help others in need, thereby further expanding their quest for a sense of humanity.

In adopting this position, the Puntland beneficiaries reiterated the importance of conditions, giving examples of other training centres which did not have such conditions. Trainees at such centres had challenges in graduating, as most would not consistently attend classes and many had to repeat courses or they failed altogether. However, the Puntland beneficiaries did experience certain challenges in meeting the conditions, especially regarding transport costs to the training centres, security risks (for women in particular) due to the time periods of the trainings, and increased work burdens especially for women. Such challenges, if not resolved, can prove costly and result in demotivation of the beneficiaries, thereby leading to adverse effects.

Intriguingly, but perhaps not surprisingly, government stakeholders in Puntland (and Somalia more generally) expressed support for CCT programmes, if only because these programmes are more likely to reduce dependence of citizens on government largesse, thereby reducing the presence of any ‘dependency syndrome’. In fact, the Puntland government lamented that, for a very long time, humanitarian organisations had cultivated a culture of dependency in Somali society, which was said to be inconsistent with local religious and cultural discourses and practices about the significance of people working for themselves, and therefore becoming self-reliant. This though was seen as especially important for men, who were supposed to be ‘providers’ of the family. Even with the focus, however, on women in particular, the Puntland authorities spoke highly of the programme (and contributed to it) and hoped that it could be expanded to non-educational sectors – particularly agriculture, with the initiation of productive agricultural activities and livelihoods in rural Puntland.

Overall, it seems clear that the Puntland CCT beneficiaries were profoundly rational, and were more than capable of understanding their past and present lives as IDPs, and of identifying ways and means of enhancing their well-being when opportunities arose. Hence, they should have been given a solid chance to participate in the CCT’s programme design, thereby enhancing their

ownership of the development programme and likely further empowering them in the process. This is not to claim that conditional cash transfers are invariably more suitable and effective than unconditional cash transfers, across time and space – an understanding of context is crucial in considering these two cash transfer alternatives. Unconditional programmes tend to be more suitable in situations where populations are experiencing an acute or chronic emergency (for example, during severe drought or conflicts), or where it is not feasible practically for the targeted people to meet set conditions, such as chronically ill people. It is also notable that conditionality preferences are not static due to changing dynamics in society. It is hence necessary to continuously engage communities during project implementation in order to note these changes and adapt accordingly.

In terms of the modality of assistance, beneficiaries from the study preferred cash instead of vouchers. Women reported that cash was more empowering as it gave them the power to choose what to buy, while vouchers were restricted to food commodities (although they still had some degree of choice on what food commodities to buy). Due to different priorities and the need for cash, female beneficiaries even had to approach the traders contracted for this programme to exchange their vouchers for cash, and most of them were taken advantage of in the process – as traders were exchanging the vouchers at a subsidised rate of around 70% of their actual values. Although women and other beneficiaries were consulted regarding their needs before the implementation of the programme, they had no say on the form of the transfer modality as this was dependent on donor's preferences. The donors preferred vouchers, as these could be restricted to food commodities, tying it to specific retailers, while it would have been difficult to restrict the usage of cash. This finding raises issues of programme design and participation of beneficiaries in the Puntland programme.

Even when a CCT is donor-driven and not locally-driven (which is typically the case), this study shows that (at least) consultations during the design and implementation of CCT programmes are of some significance, if only for there to be a greater chance that conditionality objectives are met. This is because there are many hurdles or inefficiencies that can make these objectives difficult to be realised, or even reverse their potentially positive effects. Selection or targeting of the beneficiaries is a key activity that needs community involvement. When the right beneficiaries are targeted, who are prepared and also physically able to meet the co-responsibilities

as set by the programme, this more likely ensures the successful implementation of the programme. From the Puntland CCT case study, it was clear that the community was generally satisfied with the consultative form of the programme (especially in the targeting of beneficiaries), with many of them being poverty-stricken, internally-displaced women who had lost any opportunity to attend formal education. The selected women beneficiaries were ready to meet the conditions because they valued the programme as it was addressing their priority needs of education and provision of food. The fact that the host community was also consulted, and sensitised as well, on why the programme was focused on IDPs and specifically women, also inhibited the emergence of local-level conflicts arising from of the programme.

This case study of Puntland is a somewhat unique case of a conditional cash transfer programme, as it is different from many CCTs that have been implemented for example in Latin America. In terms of the conditions set, these programmes have targeted parents, mostly women, but the benefits of the programmes have focused specifically on children. Examples of such CCTs are those that have imposed conditions on the parents to ensure their children's regular attendance at school, or regular medical check-ups for children. The Puntland Vocational Technical Skills Training Programme, to the contrary, targeted the same people (mainly women) in terms of both conditions and benefits. This meant that the people who were supposed to meet the conditions of regularly attending training classes were the same people to receive the benefits (cash vouchers) and, in the long term, also benefit from the skills that were provided by the training programme. Indirectly, of course, particularly by targeting women, it was believed that the caring function carried out by women vis-à-vis children would be enhanced.

The case study has provided evidence that conditionality does not necessarily evoke negative connotations of limiting the freedom of the targeted beneficiaries (including women), but is conceptualised by many internally-displaced women as a basis for being empowered through an 'opportunity structure' (the Puntland CCT programme) which generates a level of self-reliance (and independently of men if need be).

Interestingly, it seems that the CCT programme also had positive effects on the self-esteem of men who were part of the programme. The men felt and recognised that they were not receiving the humanitarian assistance for free but rather 'working' for it – as men should do, as per gendered expectations. In also providing them with skills, which they could use later for generating income,

the men also saw this as a source of empowerment as it provided them with an opportunity to be able to provide for their families, as expected by their culture. The implementation of the CCT programme in this context therefore provided the men with an ‘opportunity structure’ to regain their ‘manhood’.

Overall, in interpreting what empowerment meant to them, both male and female beneficiaries highlighted self-reliance (and even reinvigorated self-esteem) as an indicator of empowerment. Self-reliance was significant as they had experienced loss of assets due to war and conflict, and had been forced to move out from their places of origin, becoming IDPs who could not provide for themselves anymore and hence had to rely on other people and humanitarian organisations for survival. The Puntland programme provided them with a source of income during the period of the training (through the cash voucher), which they used to provide food for their families. Besides, the programme imparted them with skills that opened up employment and income-generating opportunities for them, which also contributed to self-reliance.

I now turn to the third subsidiary objective.

7.2.3 Restructuring of Gendered Roles and Relations within Households and Communities

Discussions with the respondents of the Puntland programme brought to the fore that, in an IDP context, gender roles had already shifted prior to the CCT, as most women had taken over the roles of providing for the families. The training programme further improved women’s skills and capabilities in carrying out these new responsibilities. However, both women and men in Puntland continued to refer to the importance of Islamic ways of defining gender roles. In this sense, both men and women were active agents in reproducing gender-based structures and practices. The ongoing influence of religion therefore affected the way that the CCT programme empowered women, as it did not result in ‘transformative changes’ – rather, it led to reformative changes, as women enhanced themselves without necessarily restructuring the ‘structure’.

Indeed, the influence of religion-guided gender roles resulted in Puntland programme bringing about certain added ‘burden’ for women. One of the CCT programme conditions was that the participants were supposed to attend at least 80% of the training sessions, in order for them to qualify for the cash transfer assistance. The trainings were conducted from morning to evening, and this therefore added to the burdens for women, who would have to carry out their gender

specific roles of cleaning and cooking before and after training, leading to extra labouring hours. Besides, the CCT did not have any child care arrangements, and women therefore had to seek support from their relatives who were not attending training to help with this. This presented challenges for the women under this CCT programme. At the same time, women's burden and the stress of this burden was in part relieved by the cash transfer, as this meant that women were no longer required to seek, often unsuccessfully, precarious forms of employment or self-employment in seeking to sustain their households.

The focus on women at household level is mainly guided by the intra-household bargaining model by Sen (2000). The model argues that women's well-being, and their overall voice and agency, is strongly influenced by their ability to earn an independent income. Sen argues that this contributes as well to women's inner power – referred to as 'power within' by Rowlands (1997). The thesis sought to understand if the Puntland CCT programme, by providing the women with a chance to have access to cash during the training programme resulted in any restructuring in the power relations within households. Beneficiary respondents were asked if they had experienced any changes in terms of decision-making in the household as a result of the CCT programme.

As pointed out earlier, the Puntland programme did not have a strict preference regarding the gender of the recipient of the assistance, a characteristic that is mostly common with other CCT programmes especially in Latin America. Targeting women as recipients of the cash transfer programme is based on the assumption that women will control the cash transferred by making decisions about its use, and therefore become empowered. This is also based on the belief that women (as women) are better household managers than men and providing them with the cash transfer will contribute more effectively to the care and future of the household including any children. Clearly, though, this notion is embedded in patriarchal discourses and arrangements, between men and women, which has been criticised by feminists who argue that this simply 'normalises' (and naturalises) the maternal role of women and does not result in any transformative changes as women continue to be seen as belonging to the private (domestic) sphere.

In the case of the Puntland programme, women tended to be the recipients of the cash transfer, though this was not a requirement. Over eighty percent of the recipients of these vouchers were women, with some of the male training participants appointing women from their households as recipients of this assistance. Again, this seemingly progressive stance was based on the general

acceptance of women in Somalia society as caregivers, such that it relied on the stereotype of women as good household managers. Additionally, the cash transfers entailed small amounts of money, intended to meet the most basic needs of family consumption (i.e. food). Handling this cash could be delegated to women, often in the way in which (in other African countries), women are given small fields for minor crops. Larger cash amounts, like larger cash values, would be the preserve of men. This was primarily linked to established binary gender roles and did not go beyond the set perimeters of 'feminine' work as regimented by cultural and religious norms.

Simultaneously, the findings for the thesis confirmed that most women beneficiaries reported some positive changes in their households as a result of joint decision-making, compared to the period before the CCT programme. However, given that the Puntland study focused on an IDP context, where many women had lost their husbands through armed conflict, these women were already making decisions themselves, as no senior male was present in their households. Even for those women with husbands, Islamic influences inhibited any shift from male-only decision-making to female-only decision-making, even in situations where men were generating no income on their own. Hence, shifts in intra-household decision-making only went as far as joint decision-making and not beyond. Men, in the end, remained as heads of Puntland households.

Hence, though the training programme resulted in improvements in educational and income generation skills (and financial stability) for women, they continued to value and recognise the importance of religious and customary arrangements. As prescribed by these arrangements, the man should be the provider of the family and decision-maker. Women in fact explained that, despite any reversal in gender roles due to war and conflict, they still considered men as the legitimate household heads, and hence the primary decision maker. This might have something to do with the character of the post-Siad Barre period. Under Barre's regime, in which gender roles were at least in part being openly debated and altered (officially), women seemingly experienced a level of empowerment in questioning local patriarchal systems. However, post this regime, space for gender-based change began to close down again and women who went against Islamic principles were at times subject to domestic violence. The female respondents in this study of the Puntland programme pointed positively to their new-found financial freedom and capacity to provide for their families, as well as their enhanced household-level bargaining power, but they still viewed religion as more fundamental in shaping their lives and livelihoods. Although they did

not relate this directly to changes under and after Barre's regime, it is highly possible that they remember this history, and hence prefer to enhance their status in the space provided by the CCT programme without making political noise in the process. In this light, Mohamed (2015:5) argues that during Barre's period, women "fell into the cracks of the divide between state and religion. As loyal supporters of the government, they were given certain benefits. However, by accepting the liberation that the state provided, it placed them in a position of confrontation with those who were defending the traditional status quo. The idea of gender equality was therefore permanently tainted". Whether gender equality was permanently tainted remains to be seen. But is clear that women are thinking and acting tactically and strategically within the confines of a structured patriarchal totality in identifying and using spaces opened by the Puntland programme, and enhancing their lives in the process – even if they do this as women, as culturally and religiously defined.

In terms of the Puntland programme and women's empowerment at community level, the social status for both men and women improved because of cash transfers, through their ability to give to charity. In the context of Somalia, being able to contribute to charity, or helping others, is closely linked to gains in social capital. Sharing is a traditional coping mechanism and protective measure in the face of future adversity as it strengthens reciprocal social and economic networks, increases resilience and, as a direct consequence, improves social status. However, in relation to the Puntland CCT programme, any improvement in social status at community level was along gendered lines, as men gained inclusion in public religious functions such as joining IDP committees, which replaced the role of the traditional Somali society's 'council of elders' in the IDP context, which could only be joined by self-reliant men. Such community functions enhanced public respect for men, which for them was vital in improving their social status. Women gained access to social functions such as weddings, to which they could now contribute gifts and hence improve their social capital. Customary practices did not allow women to be part of the council of elders as women were excluded from traditional political authority. Again, to reiterate, the CCT operated within gendered spheres and any improved outcomes through cash transfers tend to be gendered outcomes that fit within existing patriarchal norms and codes.

In this context, women's empowerment was mostly related to 'positive' power, which involves capacities and practices – operating within the confines of a structured (patriarchal)

totality – which expresses a form of agency which promotes female upliftment, without forcefully challenging or transforming this totality. Donor and NGOs often stimulate and enhance this ‘positive’ power through participatory methodologies, which means frequently avoiding confronting directly the fundamental power structures of society (Sohail 2014). Given that empowerment is a multi-dimensional and continual process, it may be that this ‘positive’ power leads to more far-reaching changes. In this regard, the CCT programme in Puntland opened up a space within patriarchy within which women were able to enhance their status at household level, and this may be further enhanced after graduating from the programme and generating household income.

7.3 Addressing the Main Objective

The main objective of the thesis has been to consider the relationship between the Puntland Vocational Training programme and women’s empowerment, in particular the former’s qualitative effect on the latter. In the context of gendered relations, the thesis thus focussed on the ability of women beneficiaries to make decisions, mobilise resources and exercise choices over various aspects of their lives, and which could be directly linked to the implementation of this programme. Guided by the theoretical framework that emphasises issues of ‘structure and agency’ (as discussed earlier), the thesis sought to understand if and how women enacted their ‘agency’ as a result of the implementation of the training programme, within deeply patriarchal Somalian society. Addressing the subsidiary objectives, as discussed in section 7.3, has led indirectly to addressing this main objective.

Because of the deeply-entrenched character of the patriarchal system in Somalia (including the way this is bolstered by Islamic values and norms) and because the Puntland programme did not directly or explicitly challenge this system, it is clear that the programme did not lead to any fundamental restructuring of gendered relations. However, the fact that no fundamental restructuring took place is not to posit that no gendered changes began to arise (as discussed in section 7.2). Further, besides the period of training during the programme itself, the study focused on examining the post-graduation livelihood activities of women only one year into the post-graduation lives. Whether or not further changes took place subsequent to this would require further fieldwork.

Admittedly, any enhancements in the lives of the women were in large part conditioned by the patriarchal system and existed in large part within it. But they may also have involved a chipping away at the edges of the system in ways which have unintended consequences in the future, that is, in opening up further spaces for gender-based change. For example, the fact that the Puntland women now understand, more fully, that there is a possibility of joint decision-making in the household means that there is an increased awareness of the existence of alternatives which may lead in time to the emergence of a ‘critical consciousness’ on their part. Further, the fact that women remain marginal to the public sphere is often a conscious choice. Women often opt for private forms of empowerment (at household level) which retains intact the public image and honour of the traditional (male) decision-maker, but this nevertheless increases women’s ‘backstage’ influence in decision-making processes (Kabeer 1999).

Despite the patriarchal systems in Somalia appearing as a totalising system within which women are tightly enclosed without any opportunities for agency, there was room to manoeuvre on the part of women which arose because of the Puntland CCT programme. In the end, no total social system is totalising, and opportunities to enact agency (no matter how limited) invariably exist. In the case of the Puntland programme, this was seen with reference to the building of women’s self-esteem and self-reliance as well as their access to resources, choices and power at household level. Broader changes in the community and society as a whole are not noticeable. At the same time, women in the Puntland programme enacted agency and experienced changes *as women*. Though feminist thinking may speak about the need to undercut the binary categories of men and women in some sort of anti-identitarian form of struggle, women sometimes use their status as women to advance their status and power in society. This should not be interpreted as regressive – as female agency seemingly contrary to the broad goals of feminism. Thus, even though the CCT programme assumed that women were domestic care-givers, women incorporated into the programme used this status (*women*) as a platform for enhancing their lives and prospects for the future.

7.4 Policy and Research Recommendations

The objective of this thesis was to conduct a gendered analysis of the impact of conditional cash transfer programmes on women’s empowerment, looking at indicators of empowerment such as

the ability of women beneficiaries to make decisions, mobilise resources and exercise choices over various aspects of their lives. By doing so, the research sought to assess the necessity of attaching conditions to cash transfer programmes to guarantee empowerment. This analysis was meant to contribute to available scholarly literature on conditional cash transfers and empowerment, and also provide information that could be used by policy makers and programme designers in such a way as to allow them to take informed decisions when planning conditioning cash transfer programmes.

Certain recommendations flow from this. The first recommendation is that policy makers should conduct a contextual analysis before implementing a conditional cash transfer programme. It is important to assess the context by consulting the ‘targeted’ communities to understand the potential positive and negative implications of conditionality for their social, economic and political lives. For instance, if conditionality proves to be administratively not feasible or produces too many other unintended consequences, policy-makers would be advised to go for unconditional transfers. When engaging the ‘targeted’ communities, policy makers should also ensure that both men and women (and in their different age groups) are consulted, as conditionality can have differential consequences for different groups; hence, the need to understand these beforehand. In this light, programme design should therefore be creative with respect to what types of conditions are suitable given the character of existing gender biases, the risks faced by women and girls of different ages (and ethnic origins), and the constraints on – and the aspirations for – greater equality and status for women and girls in the home and the wider society.

Secondly, communities should be involved in the selection of the targeted beneficiaries as this will prevent problems in the future, mainly regarding the exclusion of deserving beneficiaries. It is also advisable to invest time and resources in explaining in detail the targeting mechanism and programme objectives to the community. This could prevent any distrust in the mechanism or the programme more broadly amongst potential beneficiaries, and in this way promote the progressiveness of the programme. Thirdly, once CCTs are chosen as the most appropriate programme in a certain context, policy makers and development agencies should ensure that communities have consented to the conditions, and that the targeted beneficiaries are ready to meet these conditions. The conditions should be designed in a way that does not discourage the targeted beneficiaries or place significant strains on their normal daily life. There should be continuous

engagement with the communities to understand what kinds of constraints they are facing during the programme implementation, and find ways of addressing these as well.

For CCTs that have a deliberate objective of women's empowerment, policy and programme makers should bear in mind the different contexts in which they are designing or implementing programmes. For deeply patriarchal societies, such as the one used as a case study for this thesis (Somalia), it is important to identify and recognise the significance of the structural constraints that affect women's choices. Women may therefore choose to conform to certain gender norms and hierarchies because of the culturally-specific status this choice brings them, or because they decide that the repercussions (for them) of the alternative (i.e., going against the prevailing gendered culture) are severe. For example, this case study has shown that, despite the fact that women have taken over responsibilities that are expected to be done by men (namely, providing for the family due to the conflicts that led to their displacements), they still considered men as the household heads because of their religion.

In addition to this, the CCT programme imparted skills to many women who ended up managing small businesses and having improved income generation skills. However, this did not influence their gendered beliefs, such that they still privileged religious and customary laws regarding decision making and the gender division of labour. The women attending the training classes did not put aside their household responsibilities of preparing meals for the family and taking care of children, as if these were no longer their maternal duties. In managing this, they had to work 'extra hours' by waking up early and sleeping late. This increased their time and energy burdens, and led to significant personal strain, but it was a price they were willing to pay in order to avoid conflict in the households. Hence, it is necessary for policy makers and development agencies to understand such contexts, and to be cognisant of the fact that empowerment (in such contexts) might not necessarily mean the dramatic changing of gender roles or removal of patriarchal structures, as the 'small changes' that happen in women's lives might be what they value most.

No doubt, however, more research is required – from a gendered perspective – of conditional cash transfer programmes, women's empowerment and gender restructuring. This thesis has generally confirmed that CCT programmes can result in some level and form of empowerment of women, at least regarding their 'power within' (related to self-esteem), social

status and the ability to provide a livelihood for their families. Whether or not CCT programmes are able to be more transformative is a question worthy of further research. In doing so, research should focus in particular on the domestic sphere and the ways in which these programmes may chip away at the multiple threads of gendered subordination. Most probably, such research should entail ethnographies, as these are more likely to facilitate a refined and nuanced understanding of the complexities of male-female relationships at household level, and the various forms of negotiation and manoeuvring which take place in this context.

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ANNEX 1: Beneficiary Interview Questionnaire

Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this research activity which is solely for academic purposes. We are studying how the Puntland Voucher for Training programme contributed to empowerment. We would like to ask you a few questions about the design and impact of the Voucher for training programme in your life. If you feel uncomfortable answering a particular question, please tell us and we will skip to the next question. You are also free to withdraw from the entire interview at any time if you feel uncomfortable. The interview will take approximately about forty-five minutes. All the information you provide will be confidential and will only be used for the sole purpose of this research.

Before we go ahead, please confirm your willingness and voluntary participation in this study by signing the below

- ☐ **I confirm that I have understood the purpose of this research, and I have voluntarily agreed to participate. I also understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.**

Signed..... Date.....

1. Background				
1.1 Interview Date	1.2. Name of respondent	1.3.Sex	1.4. Age	1.5. Training centre Attended
1.6. Marital status <input type="checkbox"/> Never Married <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced/separated <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed		1.7. Are you the head of the HH? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		

2.1 We know you benefited from the Puntland Voucher for training programme. Who was involved in the selection of the beneficiaries for this programme?	<input type="checkbox"/> CP <input type="checkbox"/> IDP committee or Village Elders <input type="checkbox"/> CP + IDP committee/ Village elders <input type="checkbox"/> I don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Other – specify
2.2. What criteria was used to select beneficiaries? (Tick all that apply).	<input type="checkbox"/> Female Headed HH <input type="checkbox"/> Internally Displaced <input type="checkbox"/> Large HH size <input type="checkbox"/> Minority Clan <input type="checkbox"/> School Drop out <input type="checkbox"/> Refugee <input type="checkbox"/> Person with Disability

	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify
2.3. Why were you selected? (Tick all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> Female Headed HH <input type="checkbox"/> Internally Displaced <input type="checkbox"/> Large HH size <input type="checkbox"/> Minority Clan <input type="checkbox"/> School Drop out <input type="checkbox"/> Refugee <input type="checkbox"/> Person with Disability <input type="checkbox"/> I don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify
2.4. Do you think the selection process was fair?	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO 2.4.1. If No, Why? <input type="checkbox"/> Clan matters <input type="checkbox"/> Corruption <input type="checkbox"/> Discrimination <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> I don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Other specify
2.5. Did you pay or make any contribution to be admitted into the Training programme?	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO 2.5.1. If Yes what and or how much?
2.6. Was there any consultation with the community about the selection criteria?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
2.7. Did you receive any information beforehand from the CP about this programme?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

3.1. What training course were you enrolled in?	<input type="checkbox"/> Tailoring <input type="checkbox"/> Hotel and catering <input type="checkbox"/> Masonry <input type="checkbox"/> Beauty Salon <input type="checkbox"/> Electrical works <input type="checkbox"/> Carpentry <input type="checkbox"/> Cooking <input type="checkbox"/> Tye and Dye <input type="checkbox"/> Auto - mechanic <input type="checkbox"/> Mobile repair <input type="checkbox"/> crafts <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify
3.2. Who chose the course for you?	<input type="checkbox"/> I chose myself <input type="checkbox"/> CP allocated the course <input type="checkbox"/> My family/ relatives <input type="checkbox"/> IDP committee <input type="checkbox"/> Other- specify

3.3. Were you able to access the course of your choice?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No 3.3.1. If No, please explain why? <input type="checkbox"/> My preferred course was not being offered at the training centre <input type="checkbox"/> Places were limited <input type="checkbox"/> CP allocated the course <input type="checkbox"/> My family/ relatives chose a different course than what I wanted <input type="checkbox"/> Other- specify
3.4. Were there any courses that were considered as specific for male / female participants?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
3.4. Do you feel like you have mastered the skill you were trained on?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
3.5. Did you attend the training for the full duration of the course?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No 3.5.1. If No, why? (Tick all that apply) <input type="checkbox"/> Had other work activities to do <input type="checkbox"/> Dropped out due to child bearing/rearing duties <input type="checkbox"/> The training was causing conflict at home <input type="checkbox"/> Did not have enough resources to come for training <input type="checkbox"/> Distance to training centre was not convenient <input type="checkbox"/> Security concerns due to time of lectures <input type="checkbox"/> Was not interested anymore <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify
3.6. Were you satisfied with the way the training was conducted?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No 3.6.1.If not, what are the reasons (Tick all that apply) <input type="checkbox"/> Teachers not well trained <input type="checkbox"/> Not enough course material <input type="checkbox"/> Not enough time for practical and course work <input type="checkbox"/> No support resources such as books supplied <input type="checkbox"/> The time allocated is not convenient <input type="checkbox"/> The teachers treated male and female students differently <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify
3.7. Are you currently employed as a result of the training?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No 3.7.1. If yes, what type of employment? <input type="checkbox"/> Formal employment <input type="checkbox"/> Informal employment <input type="checkbox"/> N/A

3.8. Classify your literacy skills	<input type="checkbox"/> Basic <input type="checkbox"/> Intermediary <input type="checkbox"/> Proficient
3.9. Before you enrolled onto the training, were you in primary or secondary formal education?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
	3.9.1. If yes, what level and why did you leave?
	3.9.2. If not, why were you not attending formal school?
3.11. If this vocational training programme had not been provided would you have attended formal education?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

4.1. During the training period, Did you have to do anything in order to receive the assistance(vouchers)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
4.2. If Yes, what were the conditions?	<input type="checkbox"/> Attending Classes for at least 80% of the required days per month <input type="checkbox"/> Not misusing vouchers received <input type="checkbox"/> Other- please specify
4.3. Who was responsible for follow up of these conditions?	<input type="checkbox"/> CP <input type="checkbox"/> IDP committee or Village Elders <input type="checkbox"/> CP + IDP committee/ Village elders <input type="checkbox"/> I don't know <input type="checkbox"/> No one followed up
4.4. Did the person following up ever ask you for payment to mark you as present?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
4.5. Do you think the conditions set for receiving the vouchers were fair?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
4.6. Please explain your opinion	
4.7. Do you think these Conditions were effective in ensuring high attendance rates at the training centres?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
4.8. If these conditions were not put in place, would you have attended the classes as required?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
4.9. What challenges did you face in meeting the set conditions?	
4.10. Would you recommend that in future, these conditions remain for such kind of programmes?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

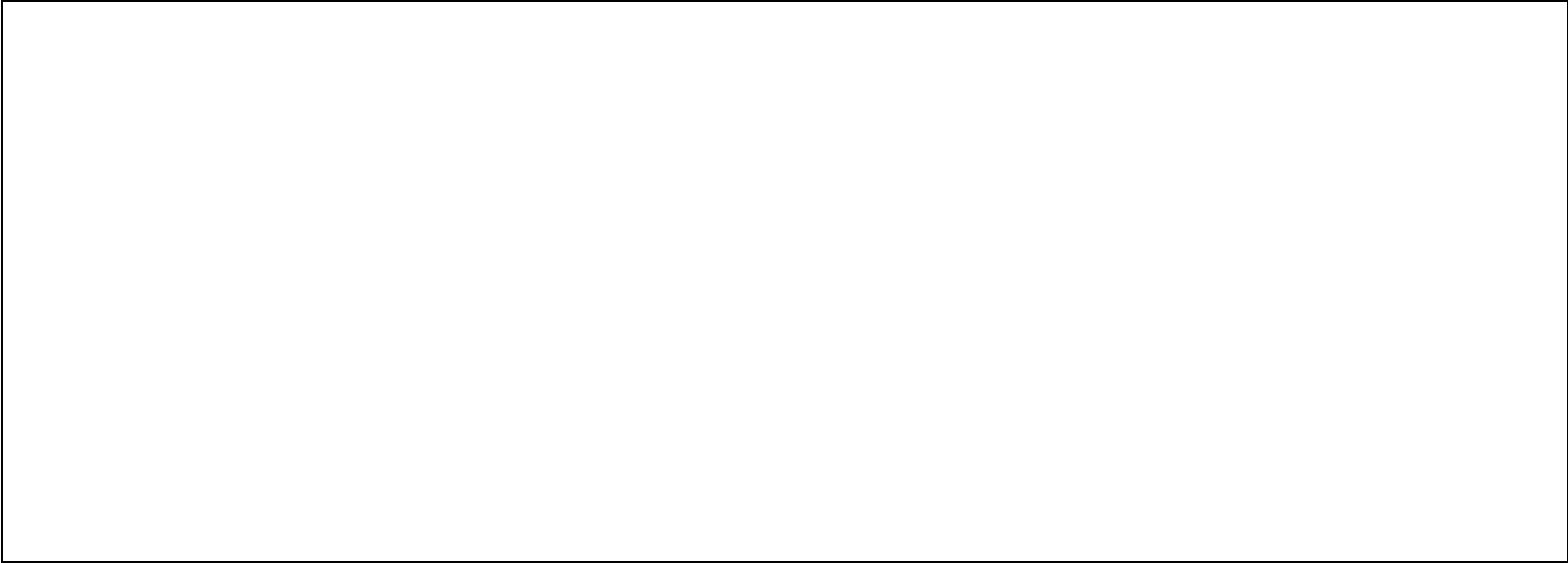
4.11. Please explain your opinion.	
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5. Community and Household dynamics as a result of CCT

5.1. Did the training change/ affect the way the community perceives you?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
	5.1.1. If Yes, in what way?
5.2. Did the training change/ affect the way your spouse(s) or household members perceive you?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
	5.2.1. If yes, in what way?
5.3. Did the training or the vouchers you received cause any conflict between you and your spouse(s)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
5.4. Did the training or the vouchers you received cause any conflict between you and the community?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
5.5. When you were buying food commodities using the vouchers that you received from the training, did you feel any difference in the way the traders treated men and women? Please explain	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No Please explain
5.6. Who was responsible for making decisions about what to buy with the vouchers you received during the training?	<input type="checkbox"/> Spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Myself <input type="checkbox"/> Both of us <input type="checkbox"/> Parent <input type="checkbox"/> Other
5.7. Was this Household decision making process the same as before the training?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A

<p>5.8. If you are employed as a result of the training- do you feel any difference in the way that you spouse(s) treats you, when compared to the period before you were employed?</p>	<p> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A </p> <p>If yes, Please explain</p>
<p>5.9. If you are employed as a result of the training, who controls the resources in the household currently?</p>	<p> <input type="checkbox"/> Spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Myself <input type="checkbox"/> Both of us <input type="checkbox"/> N/A </p>
<p>5.10. Did this control of resources in the household change as a result of your getting employment?</p>	<p> <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Yes </p> <p>If yes, please explain how it changed</p>
<p>5.11. Generally, do you feel empowered by having attended the Vocational Skills training Programme? Please explain what you mean by empowerment in your own context</p>	
<p>5.12. What challenges came up as a result of this training – which were not there before you joined?</p>	

<p>OTHER COMMENTS</p>



ANNEX 2: Focus Group Discussion Checklist

Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this Focus group discussion. We are studying how the Puntland Voucher for Training programme contributed to empowerment. The research activity is solely for academic purposes We would like to ask you some questions about the design and impact of the Voucher for training programme in your lives. The interview will take approximately about forty-five minutes. All the information you provide will be used for the sole purpose of this research.

Enumerator Name	Date
Location	
Number of Interviewees	
This is a focus group with (circle appropriate): Men Women	

	Question	Responses
Selection Criteria	1. What was the selection criteria for the Voucher for Training Programme?	
	2. Who selected the beneficiaries?	
	3. Do you think the selections were fairly done? Explain	

	4. Was there community consultation before the programme by NRC& Ministry of Education? Explain in detail	
Relevance and Quality of Training offered	5. How many of you managed to get the training course of their choice?	
	6. What courses were you enrolled in?	
	7. What mainly influenced the choice of your courses? Explain	
	8. Were you satisfied with the training programme? Explain	
Employment Opportunities	9. How many of you are now employed as a result of the training? <i>{Count formal and informally employed}</i>	
	10. Do the training courses match the job market requirements?	
	11. What can be done differently to improve your marketability?	
Perception of conditionalities	12. What conditions were you supposed to meet in order to receive vouchers?	

	<p>13. Do you think the conditions were fair? Explain</p>	
	<p>14. What challenges did you experience in meeting the conditions?</p>	
	<p>15. Should Conditions be effected for future programmes? Explain your reasons</p>	
Protection and Accountability	<p>16. Who took care of the children while mothers attended the training programme? Were there any measures put in place by NRC/ MOE to assist women with young children? <i>(Also probe for men's participation in taking care of children)</i></p>	
	<p>17. Did you feel safe going to and from the Training centre? Explain</p>	
	<p>18. Did you experience any problems during the training period- either at the training centre, during voucher distribution/ top up or when you were purchasing food from the shops?</p>	

	19. Did the training centre authorities/ NRC/ traders treat men and women differently? Explain	
	20. Were there any complaints/ feedback mechanisms available for this programme to address any concerns that you raised? If yes, How effective were they?	
Definition of Empowerment	21. How do you define empowerment?	
	22. To what extent did the Puntland Voucher for training contribute to your empowerment? Explain	

Community and Household relations	23. Did the training or assistance you received result in any conflict in the community? Explain	
	24. Did the training change the way that the community perceive you? Explain	
	25. Did the training cause any conflicts in households? Explain	
Access to and control over resources	26. How many of you were the 'principal' recipients of the cash voucher in your Households?	

	27. Between men and women, who made decisions about the utilization of the cash assistance from this training programme?	
	28. Did this cash assistance result in change of roles in terms of decision making in the households?	
	29. Who makes decisions in terms of the utilization of the income in the household- from Employment or other income generating projects? (<i>probe for any differences between married and unmarried/widowed/separated, households with women working, and those where women are not working</i>)	
	30. What influences who makes decisions about utilization of resources in the household?	
Intra-household gender relations	31. What tasks do men in your community perform?	
	32. What tasks do women in your community perform?	
	33. Did the training programme/ cash assistance result in any changes in terms of the roles that the different members in households used to play?	
Attitudes towards educating children	34. Do boys and girls in your community have equal opportunities to go to school? Explain the reasons that	

	contribute to the differences or equality of opportunities.	
	35. Do you think this training programme influenced any change of attitude in the community about educating boy and girl children? Explain	
	36. Any other comments/suggestions you would like to provide concerning the Training programme?	

ANNEX 3: Key Informant Interview Checklists

Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this research activity which is solely for academic purposes. I am a PhD student at Rhodes University South Africa. My thesis focus is on analysing conditional cash transfer programmes as a development methodology for empowering women. My focus is on the Puntland Voucher for Training programme which is being used as a case study. I would like to ask you a few questions about gender issues in Puntland, conditional cash transfers and your role and experiences in the design and implementation of the Puntland Voucher for programme. The interview will take approximately about forty-five minutes. All the information you provide will only be used for the sole purpose of this research.

Before we go ahead, please confirm your willingness and voluntary participation in this study by signing the below

- ☐ **I confirm that I have understood the purpose of this research, and I have voluntarily agreed to participate. I also understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.**

Signed..... Date.....

Guiding questions for Ministry of Education

- 1. What is the role of the Technical Vocational Training Programme in Puntland?**
- 2. How does it fit into the Government's priorities/policy?**
- 3. Does the programme have a gender focus?**
- 4. What was the role of MOE in the Puntland Voucher for Training Programme?**
- 5. Who were the different stakeholders in this programme including donors? How was coordination between these different stakeholders done?**
- 6. Was it necessary to condition this programme? Should conditionality be effected in future programmes?**
- 7. Please explain how the programme contributed to the empowerment of the beneficiaries?**
- 8. Do you think it is necessary to provide incentives such as cash assistance to beneficiaries during such trainings? Explain any differences with other centres that do not have. Are there any notable results to support the use of incentives?**
- 9. What challenges were noted in the design or implementation of this programme? How were they resolved?**
- 10. Any other comments**

Guiding questions for NRC

1. Briefly explain the objectives of the Puntland Voucher for Training Programme
2. Does the programme have a gender focus?
3. What courses were being offered? Did the trainees have a choice in selecting their most preferable course? Comment on this choice between male and female trainees.
4. Who were the different stakeholders in this programme including donors? How was coordination between these different stakeholders done?
5. How participatory was the programme design especially regarding the beneficiaries and also considering the different interests of donors and the Government? How did NRC manage to balance all these interests in the programme design?
6. How was selection of the participants done? Explain any conflict prevention/mitigation/resolution strategies put in place for this exercise.
7. Was it necessary to condition this programme? Did the community recommend conditionality?
8. From your experience from the implementation of this programme, should conditionality be effected in future programmes?
9. Why were cash transfers used as a modality instead of in Kind assistance? How effective were they? Any specific reason for using vouchers instead of cash? Any comments on your experiences on using vouchers?
10. What is your opinion on the use of conditional cash transfers as a methodology to empower women especially in the Somalia context?
11. Did you have any feedback mechanisms in place for this programme? Explain in detail including any experiences regarding feedback received if any.
12. Any other comments?

Guiding questions for Training Centre Authorities

1. Briefly explain the objectives of the Voucher for Training Programme at this centre
2. Does the programme have a gender focus?
3. What was your role in the design and implementation of the programme?
4. How was selection of beneficiaries done? Explain any conflict prevention/mitigation/resolution strategies put in place for this exercise.
5. Breakdown of male and female participants' enrolment
6. What courses were being offered?
7. Did the trainees have a choice in selecting their most preferable course? Comment on this choice between male and female trainees. Was there any deliberate efforts put in place to ensure balance in terms of choice of course especially between male and female trainees?
8. What is the training centres policy regarding women with young children? Does the centre have any child care facilities?

9. Explain your experience on the feedback provided by the trainees about the training programme in general.
10. Comment on your opinion about conditioning the programme. Do you think it was necessary?
11. Should conditionality be effected for future programmes?
12. What is your opinion on the use of conditional cash transfers as a methodology to empower women especially in the Somalia context?
13. Do you do any follow ups for your graduates? Comment on their progress after the training programme.
14. Any other comments?

Guiding questions for Donor staff

1. Briefly explain the objectives of the Voucher for Training Programme and your role in the design and implementation of this programme.
2. Does the programme have a gender focus? Explain your organization's position regarding gender. Refer to any policies in place if any.
3. Considering your organization's gender policy/position, do you think the Puntland voucher for training programme was a good model for gender equity?
4. Comment on your position about conditionality. Should conditionality be effected in future programmes?
5. What is your opinion on the use of conditional cash transfers as a methodology to empower women especially in the Somalia context?
6. Comment on your experience and opinion on the design and implementation of the programme. How successful was the programme in meeting its objectives?
7. Any other comments?

Guiding questions for UNDP

1. Briefly explain UNDP's work on gender in Somalia and specifically Puntland
2. What is the state of gender in the region versus the whole of Somalia?
3. Briefly describe any experience in conditional cash transfer programmes in Somalia
4. What is your opinion on the use of conditional cash transfers as a methodology to empower women especially in the Somalia context?
5. Is there any progress in terms of policy regarding conditional cash transfers and women?
6. Any other comments

Guiding questions for MOWDAFA

- 1. Briefly explain the Puntland Gender policy**
- 2. What is the state of gender in the region and the Ministry's work around gender?**
- 3. What is the relationship of the Ministry with other Ministries E.g. Ministry of Education?**
- 4. Did you have any role in the implementation of the Puntland voucher for training programme? If yes, please explain your role**
- 5. What is your opinion on the use of conditional cash transfers as a methodology to empower women especially in the Somalia context?**
- 6. Briefly explain your experiences regarding women employment in Puntland compared to men? What challenges do they face if any, and how can this be improved?**
- 7. Any other comments?**

ANNEX 4: Key Informants List

Name	Organisation	Title	Contact details
1. Elias Tadesse	Norwegian refugee Council	Puntland Area manager (Head of Office)	Elias.tadesse@nrc.no
2. Mohamud Abdi Mohamed	Norwegian refugee Council	Puntland Education Project Coordinator	Mohamud.abdi@nrc.no
3. Hawa Mohamud	Norwegian refugee Council	Puntland Education project Officer	Hawa.mohamud@nrc.no
4. Ahmed Ali Shire	Ministry of Education and Higher Education of Puntland	Director general	Dgoffice.moepl@gmail.com
5. Mr A Abdinasir	Ministry of Education and Higher Education of Puntland	Director of Projects: Teacher Training and TVET	<u>Nfe.moepl@gmail.com</u>
6. Safio Sugulle Mohamud	Ministry of Education and Higher Education of Puntland	Director- Non formal education Department	Nfe.moepl@gmail.com

7. Luul Shire Samatar	Ministry of Education and Higher Education of Puntland	Head of Women Education programmes, Non formal education Department	Lshire.moepl@gmail.com
8. Marianne Clark Hattingh	UNICEF	Head of Puntland Office	mclarkhattingh@unicef.org
9. Merrial Davies	UNICEF	Chief of Puntland Education Section	mdavies@unicef.org
10. Mariam Abkow	UNICEF	Education Specialist	Mabkow@unicef.org
11. Abdirahman Ali Jama	Galkayo Vocational Training Centre	Director	gvtcglk@gmail.com
12. Abdullahi Mohamud	Garowe Vocational Training Centre	Director	gvtcgar@gmail.com
13. Mohamed Abdi Jama	Bossaso Vocational Training Centre	Director	gvtcbos@gmail.com

14. Anisa Hajji Mumin	Ministry of Women development and Family Affairs	Minister	minister@mowdafa.com
15. Baimankay Sankoh	United Nations World Food Programme	Head of Puntland Area Office	Baimankay.sankoh@wfp.org
16. Luis Anyanzo	United Nations World Food Programme	Head of Programme, Puntland Area Office	Luis.anyanzo@wfp.org
17. Kjersti Dale	United Nations World Food Programme	Monitoring and Evaluation Officer, Somalia Country Office	Kjersti.dale@wfp.org
18. Momodou Dibba	United Nations Development Programme	Head of Governance Unit- Puntland	dibbam@un.org
19. Simone Ellis Oluoch	United Nations Development Programme	Gender expert	oluochs@un.org
20. Munira Sulub	Danish refugee Council	Monitoring and Evaluation Office- Puntland Area Office	msulub@drcsomalia.org

21. Suleiman Ahmed	Danish Refugee Council	Resilience, Livelihoods and cash manager Specialist	sahmed@drcsomalia.org
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