



T.C.

ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**USING CASH TRANSFER CONDITIONS TO THE
BENCHMARK THE ASSESSMENT OF SOCIAL
ASSISTANCE AS A POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGY:
CASE OF MOGADISHU IDPs INHABITANTS**

MASTER THESIS

Ali Mohamed OSMAN

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

ANKARA, 2021

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE APPROVAL PAGE

The thesis prepared by Ali Mohamed OSMAN titled “Using Cash Transfer Conditions To The Benchmark The Assessment Of Social Assistance As A Poverty Reduction Strategy: Case Of Mogadishu IDPs Inhabitants” has been accepted by the jury members as a thesis at Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Graduate School Of Social Sciences, Department of Economics.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare and confirm that I have written this thesis in accordance with the rules, guidelines and ethical conducts which set by the institute of social science at Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University. I would like also to proclaim here that I have cited and referenced fully all the information that I have obtained from secondary sources. Throughout the study, I kept in mind to produce desirable outcome, therefore I followed all the necessary steps for doing such useful work. Lastly I accept all legal responsibility related to my thesis's academic procedure.

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Signature :





To My Parents

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ABSTRACT

USING CASH TRANSFER CONDITIONS TO THE BENCHMARK THE ASSESSMENT OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AS A POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGY: CASE OF MOGADISHU IDPs INHABITANTS

Almost 1.1M Somalis internally displaced and other 1M crossed the border to the neighbor countries, while around 3.2M declared severely food insecurity because of droughts in 2017. These droughts however, originally caused by natural climate change as well as political and security instability in the country for the last three decades. In that response, there were \$3M budget allocated by US and other international partners through international NGOs, for crises response as well as mitigating and alleviating the risk of vulnerability in the country. Nonetheless, in an attempt to identify the extent of solutions done, this study tends to assess the manner in which those social assistances could be evaluated as poverty alleviation strategy in Somalia. Furthermore, the study by focusing on some concepts regarding the poverty and its determinants thereof addressed social assistance as a tool of mitigating the vulnerability in the country through using transfer conditions. On the other hand semi-structured interview tool which is open and allowing new ideas to be brought by the interviewees were used throughout the investigations; thus, throughout this study qualitative research method in which is based on 25 semi-structured interviews with Mogadishu IDPs inhabitant beneficiaries and 15 in-depth interviews with social safety nets staffs was used.

However, unconditional cash transfers and vouchers are mostly used by the Non-state social assistance providers such as the NGOs in Somalia as strategy of poverty alleviation. Despite it is being essential for poverty alleviations in the country, but on the other hand, according to the participants' perceptions, it was widely agreed and underlined that these kinds of social assistances creates economic and social disadvantage including laziness, culture of dependency as well as stress and conflict among the households.

Keywords: Cash transfers, Poverty alleviation, resilience, social safety nets, welfare state.

ÖZET

NAKİT TRANSFER KOŞULLARININ BENCHMARKA KULLANARAK, SOSYAL YARDIMLARIN YOKSULLUK AZALTMA STRATEJİSİ OLARAK DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ: MOGADIŞU İDP İNHABİTANLARI ÖRNEĞİ

Yaklaşık 1,1 milyon Somalililer ülke içinde yerinden edildi ve diğer 1 milyon kişi sınırı geçerek komşuya gitti, Yaklaşık 3,2 milyon kişi de 2017 kuraklıklar nedeniyle ciddi gıda güvensizliği ilan edildi. Ancak bu kuraklıklar başlangıçta doğal iklim değişikliğinin ve ülkede siyasi ve güvenlik istikrarsızlığı sıra son otuz yıldır nedeniyle oldu. O yanıtta, ABD ve diğer uluslararası ortaklar tarafından tahsis edilen 3 milyon dolarlık uluslararası STK'lar aracılığıyla, krizlere müdahalenin yanı sıra riskleri azaltmak, hem ülkedeki güvenlik açığı hafifletmek hem de azaltmak için bütçe vardı. Her şeye rağmen, bu çalışma sosyal yardımlarının, ne şekilde yapılabileceğini Somali'de yoksulluğun azaltılmasında değerlendirme eğilimindedir. Üstelik bu çalışma transfer koşullarını ülkedeki güvenlik açığını azaltma aracı kullanarak, bazı Yoksulluk konulara ve onun belirleyicileri ile ilgili kavramlar odaklanıyor. Üzerinde diğer yandan araştırmalar boyunca açık olan ve görüşülen kişiler tarafından yeni fikirlerin getirilmesine izin veren yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme aracı kullanılmış; bu yüzden araştırma, nitel araştırma yöntemine kullanarak, Mogadişu'da yerinden edilmiş kişilerle yapılan 25 yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeye ve 15 derinlemesine sosyal güvenlik ağları çalışanları ile görüşmeler kullanıldı.

Bu çalışma boyunca, koşulsuz nakit transferleri ve fişlerin çoğunlukla Somali'deki yerel ve uluslararası STK'lar gibi devlet dışı sosyal yardım sağlayıcılar tarafından yoksulluğu azaltma stratejisi olarak kullanıldığı görülmüştür. Ancak, ülkede yoksulluğun azaltılması için elzem olmasına rağmen, bu tür sosyal yardımların haneler arasında, tembellik, bağımlılık kültürü, stres ve çatışma gibi ekonomik ve sosyal dezavantajlar yarattığı yaygın olarak kabul edildi ve altı çizildi.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Nakit transferleri, Yoksulluk azaltması, Dayanıklılık, Sosyal güvenlik ağları, Refah devleti.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACTED	Agriculture Center for Training, Education and Demonstration
ADESO	Formerly Known HORN RELEIF
BRA	Benadir Regional Administration
BRCIS	Building Resilient Communities in Somalia
CESVI	Cooperazione e Sviluppo
CFW	Cash for Work
CWW	Concern World Wide
DID	Department for International Development
DSU	Durable Solution Unit
DV	Dependent Variable
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of UN
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
FMS	Federal Member State
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GRIDP	General Report For IDPs
HH	Household
HPI	Human Poverty Index
IDPs	Internal Displaced People
ILO	International Labor Organization
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IV	Independent Variable
MOLSA	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs
MSL	Minimum Standard Level
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
NSA	Non-State Actors
PASGR	Partnership for African Social and Governance Research
PDL	Poverty Datum Line
RCS	Risk Copying System
RMS	Risk Management System
SCI	Save the Children International

SL	Supplementary Level
SNHCP	Social Nets For Human Capital Project
SP	Social Protection
SSNTPP	Social Safety Nets Transfer Pilot Program
SSPP	Somali Social Protection Policy
SSRSNHCP	Somalia Shock-Response Safety Nets For Human Capital Project
UDHR	Universal declaration for human rights
WB	World Bank
WDB	World Development Bank
WFP	World food Program
WV	World Vision



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1. INTRODUCTION

This section explains generally the contextual background, main objectives, problem statements, questions as well as research problems, methods, significance and justification of the study.

Background of the study the laissez-faire system developed gradually into different aspects which emphasize economic development that does not necessarily lead to crises as it was the primitive situation of imperialism. However, if current statistics would be intentionally analysed, it would also be fair to claim that this approach also designs a new functioning of social order and stability in society as it also determines the well-being of the individuals in that society. Nevertheless, the regime of economic growth, either being categorically increasing or creating welfare has never been able to remove one bad thing from the economic history of the world; that is poverty. It means, although, economic growth is historically believed to be a key factor for the reduction of poverty, there are approximately 2.8 billion people who still live on below 2 \$ income per day and 1.2 billion people live on less than 1\$ income per day in the world (Apaydin, 2011).

Therefore, poverty is currently taken as a global economic and social phenomenon when it comes to the economic development. Furthermore, poverty continues to stand as one of the most sensible issues in social sciences. In this respect, social development implications led by either state-owned or non-state actors those deal with the hunger and inequality among individuals also attractive and vary. However, the condition of indigence which is very significant character of social policies lies behind the vulnerability. States around the world thus, establish social protection institutions for producing and implementing social policies against poverty regimes. In the contemporary world, one of the major tools for dealing with poverty reduction strategy is social protection particularly the programs of social assistances, being either in-kind or in-cash. Social assistance today therefore, became one of the most common practical tools used for creating social equilibrium in a given society by preventing the condition of indigestion. However, most of the countries around the world, in order to improve the living standards of their citizens provide assistance by supplying in-kind or in cash transfers through social assistance systems and policies. Thus, these grants are given as

an appropriate manner in order to improve the living conditions of the society (Apaydin, 2011).

Cash transfers are among the well-known mechanisms of coping the risks caused by natural climate change as well political and economic instability in a given country. However through this mechanism the state provide resources or assistance to the beneficiaries. Furthermore, cash interventions are increasingly used by both humanitarian agencies around the world and governmental agencies as a mean for international development. Cash transfers also used for protecting and establishing livelihoods. In addition to that, cash transfers are appropriate whenever in-kind materials such goods and service are available in the market, but individuals have no income to buy them. On the other hand, distrusting in-kind materials such food, healthcare items as well as education and shelter are suitable whenever such materials are not available in the market.

In Somalia context, non-governmental organizations often use this kind of cash interventions for crises response, short term emergencies as well as long term livelihood issues and overall poverty eradications. However, evidence shows that, despite the complex of Somalia's security and threat of corruption risks, there is still chance to be maintained cash assistance in the country by the NGOs. As a result of that, many NGOs that operate in Somalia have shown interested information about cash distributions (Dunn, 2010).

This research is thus, designed to evaluate those implemented cash transfers by local and international NGOs in Somalia. The study also assesses the uniformity of all cash-based response in the country. Further, the study also designed to understand in what kind of social grants is applicable for mitigating the conditions of indigence in Somalia and also evaluate the manner or the procedure that these social grants are effective on alleviating or minimizing the poverty. For that reason, it is necessary to keep in mind many of the world literature reviews around poverty and social welfare, particularly those are applied mostly in Somalia context which can give policy makers guidance for the best course of action (Dunn, 2010).

The main toolkit of the study

At section one, Introduction: Along this part, there is a brief introduction of the study, in which is contains the main targets of the study. These main contents include the background, main objectives, problem statements, questions as well as research problems, methods, significance and justification of the study.

At section two, Literature review: throughout this section, both descriptive and comparative information were presented by the researcher. Even though, there is no single definition of poverty, in the next section of literature review, key terms that are related to the definition of poverty as well as social assistance and welfare theories were commenced.

That means, throughout this section mental literature review of social assistance in accordance poverty alleviation systems were discussed. Global and local comparisons of poverty definitions were focused as well. Furthermore, concepts of social protection, such as social security, social assistance, and social insurance with respect to their psychosocial impacts were in detail explained. Theoretical frameworks that are related to the poverty and social assistances were closely analysed as well. Additionally, throughout this section poverty theories including conservative liberal, culture of poverty and Marxist approaches were explained briefly.

At section three, Assessment of poverty and social assistance in Somalia context: along this section, key considerations including government-led and balanced social assistance policies, long-term objectives and commitments, broad vision and incremental implementations, cross regional, contributory\non-contributory initiatives, as well as flexible and scalable funding mechanisms of social assistance with their concerned legal mandates in Somalia context were briefly analysed.

At section four, Data analysis and interpretation of the study: throughout this section comprehensible analysis and interpretations of findings by using reflexive thematic analysis approach within the theoretical framework were used by the researcher. Furthermore, along this section research methods and procedures of gathering data as technical tools were described briefly. Furthermore, this study was based on qualitative techniques, while 25 semi-structured interview with social assistance beneficiaries and 15 in-depth interviews with programme staffs were employed throughout the investigation for the purpose of data collection. Depending on participant of beneficiaries, semi structured interview with beneficiaries took around 60 minutes while the in-depth interview with the staffs took almost half hour. Lastly, we suggested, after concluding what we have observed in the field research five recommendations that policy makers can use as guidance for best course of action.

Main objectives of the study the following are the main objectives:

- ❖ In order to discover which kind of social assistances are applicable to Somalia , the researcher decided to focus on the following grounds:
 - To evaluate the concept of poor and determination process
 - The assess the concept of social assistance in terms of quality and quantity
 - To evaluate the participants' perceptions towards cash-based assistance
 - To evaluate how negative culture of poverty is unintentionally created by the system
 - To disclose if there is relationship between gender and poverty
- ❖ To provide recommendations that enable policy makers to take positive course of action.

Problem statements the prolonged period of instability in Somalia created high vulnerability and poverty among the population. However, this could throw the country into the deeper worsening situation if it is not being rationally faced it. Thus, the study is going to assess how that vulnerability caused by both climate changes and the prolonged civil wars in the country could be alleviated through using social assistance mechanisms.

Most of the fragile economic countries such as Somalia social assistance are provided by non-state actors. However before implementing these assistances a set of poverty reduction strategy including social assistance regulations, objective, policies and procedure are required to be set out. Thus, how social assistance mechanisms directed by agencies that neither operate under the regulatory framework of the state nor governmental machinery could be essential for poverty reduction strategy. That means the study focused closely on the main question that is; how do social assistances particularly cash-based assistance sponsored the local and international NGOs through their own mechanisms can be essential for poverty alleviations in Somalia?

Research questions the main questions of the study are designed as follows:

- ❖ In order to answer from the question of; what kind of social assistances can be essential for poverty alleviating in Somalia, the following grounds needs to be discussed first:
 - How overall determination process is assessed by the poor and experts?
 - How the beneficiaries assess the assistance in terms of quality and quantity?
 - What are the participants' perceptions towards cash-based interventions in Somalia?
 - How the negative culture of poverty is unintentionally created by the system?
 - How the factor of gender is interrelated with the poverty in Somalia?
- ❖ What kind of recommendations could be suggested to policy makers for best course of action

Significance and contribution of the study since poverty is currently taken as a global socio-economic phenomenon when it comes to the economic development and also regards to be one of the most sensible issues in social sciences, this study seeks to examine the manner in which these social assistances led by non-state actors could be crucial for alleviating or minimizing the poverty of targeted vulnerable groups in Somalia. Furthermore, since 1991 when the central Somali government collapsed, a lot of humanitarian agencies have been operating in the country for doing such assistance including recovery and rehabilitation aids. Thus, this study is the first of it is kind tends to discover whether those attempts done by the NGOs ends with west of time or not. By that way, the study by focusing on particularly the implemented cash interventions is going also to assess how these social assistances alleviates the vulnerability in the country.

Justification of the study this study is the first of its kind written from Somalia context and it closely justifies how social assistance particularly cash interventions plays a vital role on poor individual's poverty reduction so as to improve their standard living in accordance with the global and normal citizen living standards. Furthermore, the study also by examining the perceptions of beneficiaries as well as determination process of poor person and the quality and quantity of social assistance given by the NGOs intended to give recommendation about the social assistance systems in the country. However, the study is going to give alternative suggestions about social assistance systems in the country that enable policy makers to take positive course of action.

Research methods a qualitative phenomenological research design that focuses on the commonality was used as an approach for the investigation. This is because the unavailability of secondary data, for example time series data that is related to the social assistance provided by the local and international NGOs in Somalia. However, as a methodology of data collection, during the investigations at the field research qualitative techniques were used. By that way, 25 semi-structured interviews with beneficiaries particularly those are Mogadishu IDP inhabitants and 15 in-depth interviews with social assistance staff were interviewed as well. Depending on the interview participant, and their availabilities, the semi-structured interview with beneficiaries is estimated to take approximately one hour while the other estimated to take half hour. Lastly, reflexive thematic analysis approach -that through it only research questions are answered on the base of people's ideas, views and perceptions- was used for data analysis and interpretations as well.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW OVER POVERTY, THEORIES OF WELFARE STATE AND THE STRUCTURES OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCES

2.1. Theories of Welfare State

“A central aim of the social- welfare policies is to reduce poverty. Every major industrialized nation has a set of programs that transfer between %10 and %30 of country’s gross domestic product (GDP) among the populace, a key goal of which is to improve the well-being of those at or near the bottom of the income distribution” (Kenworthy, 1999, p.1119).

2.1.1. What’s Social Welfare?

Historically speaking, Since Great economic Depression in 1929 the world of welfare states have been giving social effects precautions such as social transfers against severe poverty conditions to the lower and middle classes of the society as the basis of social welfare. In this regard, social welfare can be defined to be a new deal between the state and citizens, which states protecting individuals from social risks like vulnerability, illness and poverty (Apaydin, 2011).

2.1.2. Characteristics of Welfare State

When it comes to defining the welfare state, since the culture and circumstances of the countries as well as the welfare distributions are different from state to state, there is no single definition towards the welfare regime. Characteristics of welfare state are originally comes or derived from those different definitions. As a result of that, the welfare systems are more likely to vary among countries and schools of thoughts. However, although some of the welfare state characteristics changes, there are three basic elements, which works as foundation and they are solidarity, social justice and economic policy and planning (Schuyt, 1998).

2.1.2.1. Solidarity

The concept of solidarity was traced back to 1893 and pioneered by Emile Durkheim when The Division of Labor in the Society appeared as prominence in social science, and it since then, has received sporadic attention within the divisions of Sociology (Crow, 2002). Solidarity is also defined to be the feeling of reciprocity and responsibility amongst members of a given group within society for mutual support. In this regard, solidarity has subjective and emotional elements, which helps to explain it conceptually better, according to John Baker and his friends, through liberal conceptual framework, solidarity can be referred to be a 'love' and 'friendship', especially private issues which individuals should be responsible to work out for themselves (Baker et al., 2004). According to Apaydin (2011), Solidarity means nobody should be left below the level necessary of decent social life. Thus, solidarity can be seen to be one of the basic elements for social justice exercised by some welfare states in the world.

2.1.2.2. Social Justice

The concept of social justice also can be defined to be the distribution of wealth, on the bases of individual's heredity among society. This kind of responsibility derived from the principle of social equality in terms of duties and rights and should not raise arbitrary factors such as discretion of a certain class in the society, the investment of the market, or even the bureaucratic methods of the market services (Apaydin, 2011).

2.1.2.3. Economic Policy

This concept of economic policy also entails behind the social justice, and distribution of wealth and it focuses on equal employment opportunities for all. It considers partners through the best means to eliminate the financial problems. Despite social welfare and social policy are similar each other, social policy of a given state fits the citizen's basic national identity and also determines the basic principles related solidarity in that society. Most welfare states implements welfare strategies to the society through combinations of social and economic policies. Additionally, social policy is a tool for checking the criteria of both social inclusion and social exclusion, because, social policy is only mechanism used when it comes to beneficiaries' eligibility or non-eligibility for social benefits (Kleinman, 2006).

In other words, social policy as a tool for checking criteria draws the boundaries that hold the society together.

In other words, According to Buğra with her colleagues (2006) claims that social policies are important tool that welfare state used for de-commodification. Survival of individuals, as the liberal society believes, it depends upon the labor in the market, but the newly innovated social rights, social services and transfers when considering the capitalist view, However, could not justify that all welfare beneficiaries can be seen free from market relations. On the other hand, according to Esping-Andersen, (2006), the welfare state cannot only be understood just in the context of promoting individual's rights, but he extended to be the third entity, after market and family for social caring. In the light of this view, Esping-Andersen grouped different welfare states into three sections and they are liberal, conservative and social democratic welfare state.

2.2. Esping-Andersen and Welfare State

Throughout this section, the theories of welfare state that was published by Esping-Andersen on his book of political theory in 1990s were analyzed. Even though, Esping-Anderson's philosophy did not applied in global south countries like Latin America and sub-Saharan African countries, this philosophy was seen to be the inspiring one for alternative welfare typologies (Apaydin, 2011). However, this typology of welfare state was examining the three main types of welfare states as follows:

2.2.1. Liberal Welfare State

As the name suggests this kind of welfare states are liberal welfare states. They limited market interventions by encouraging the individuals to seek their welfares and invest the market, so that, social crisis could not be public agenda, but individuals are needed to solve it through free market investments. One of the main characteristic of liberal welfare state is low social insurance benefits, with mean tested basic security schemas, Anglo Saxon countries, such as England are examples. liberal welfare states usually encourages and build the principle of demonstrable and abject need, With its main objective of motivations in the poor-law tradition, according to the varying degrees of stringency, this kind of social assistance tradition is characterized by the application of a means-test or income- test, where There is no tendency that the state to deal with social problems, but instead free markets,

which can result the best options for society are to be encouraged. For this reason, social benefits are relatively small and have limited position in the liberal state's society (Apaydin, 2011).

2.2.2. Conservative- Corporatist Welfare State

Conservative or corporatist welfare state works as an opposite way to the liberal state in the sense of limited market role, where this system is built upon on the base of powerful state. Weak liberal tradition that is individuals cares about their economic deficiency and high conscious of both lower and middle class are the main features of conservative welfare state. Social rights in conservative welfare state, Compared to liberal welfare state are extensive, and also market interventions are not limited but, instead conservative's social spending is higher. However, as we mentioned above several times that social assistance in the sense of cash transfers can be either conditional or non-conditional, in this kind of welfare state, all social rights are based on work performance, which means that all social benefits here are clearly conditional, and individuals have usually been subjected to logic of actuarialism, for example, every person should have personal entitlement of a contractual nature. On the other hand, this system of welfare state, due to the reference with Catholic Church ideology that believes family inclusion at the heart of the system, determines their conservative attitudes to the family and gender balance through the principle of subsidiary and solidarity (Apaydin, 2011).

Let the state intervenes only when the family fails is one of the main principles of the system. The system also emphasizing the model of the adult male family breadwinner, and the state take only a protection role, and allows unions like trade unions (Mingione, 2001). As we mentioned above, the adult Male of family is responsible for breadwinning\earning money, where the women have of caring children. Despite social spending conservative nations is considerably higher than in the liberal welfare states, the income transfers are suspicious to sufficient to cover the income needs of the family. Although many debates surrounding the categorization of southern European countries exist, Germany and Turkey are counted to be an example of the system (Apaydin, 2011).

2.2.3. Scandinavian Model

This kind of welfare state also nicknamed ‘Christian democratic social welfare state’, and is similar to the corporatist welfare state in the manner of social services as well as distribution and providing extensive social rights. Even though this model is likewise compared to Conservative- Corporatist welfare state, social services in Scandinavian countries are rather more universal than the conservative by emphasizing, when it comes to the social rights, the notion of citizenship and equality among individuals. As Universalist ideology believes the Scandinavian welfare state can be assessed under two arguments.

First, argument claims individuals would not require more help as long as society would develop and care their poor persons, through collective responsibility. Scandinavian welfare state is thus, managing the subject of family structure as different manner from other two welfare states. Second, this Scandinavian System definitely encourages women both in the sense of social rights and the equality in job opportunities. Because full employment, is regarded one of the main purposes of the social benefits schemes, that is resulted from egalitarian and universalistic basis of the Scandinavian model. However, in the Scandinavian countries, more comprehensible and extensive social services and social transfers when Compared to the two other mentioned above of welfare typologies, are exists. additionally, the Scandinavian welfare state only have marginal role, when it come redistribution of the welfare in the market, it means, this kind of welfare type has less intervention role on the market, instead they encourage individuals to maintain their self-management by only being as a backup (Taşçı, 2010).

2.3. Critiques of Welfare State

As the liberal school of thought believes, there are critiques related the ways of poverty reduction strategies in welfare state systems. They underlined that in the sense of giving cash transfers, welfare states fall in a big mistake because they create culture of dependency among the beneficiaries. Even though, social assistance improves the standard of living among the society, the unconditional cash transfers create lazy character and individuals won’t be able to work for ever. Most of the present welfare states misleads the society by doing programs such as cash transfers, social pensions and etc. and should never been enacted. Because many portion of the people, who participated it, would become self-reliant individuals instead of their being dependent now to the state’. Thus, the welfare state should

take the responsibility of economic inefficient that arise from distribution of welfare among society which may finally leads unpleasant culture of dependency, its better instead to encourage individuals to take part the market investment and responsibility to survive (Friedman, 1999).

2.4. The concept of Social Protection

As the name suggests, social protection and social security does not equally interchangeable. Shortly, the little bit difference of both comes from that social protection incorporates private or informal security compensations. As it was already mentioned in the International Labor Organization (ILO) report that ‘social protection lies the margin and more inclusive than social security because it includes other private non-statutory measures for minimizing social risks, but on the other hand, still entails other social security measures such as social insurance and social assistance (Garcia & Gruat, 2003).

When we are talking about the economic regulations and antitrust policy, social protection is an example of mechanism which aimed to protect members of a society from harm and destructive effects of market relations. However, social security systems and social security protection systems refers to be a same meanings in western developed countries, since it deal with the informal economies at lowest level class. Thus, rights and benefits of social protection directly refer to be the same as social security systems. However, social protection systems commonly used in developing economic countries where economies only depends on informal market relations. But in the developed countries which the economy depends on formal market relations, is seen to be the same as social security systems (Hill, 2006). Specifically speaking, social protection system made up with three main sub-categories and they are; social assistance, social insurance and economic regulations of the labor market. That means, social insurance and social assistance might be accounted under social security system and both concepts, even though have different context of applications but at same time referred to have same sense.

Furthermore, the concepts of social assistance, social security and vulnerability will be investigated in the incoming sections. However, briefly defining the concept of social insurance, it refers to protection led by regulation authorities against all kinds of contingencies such as benefits of the insurance schemes that is include, sickness, unemployment, maternity as well as old age, and pensions. On the other hand, social

assistance is necessary for vulnerable groups of society, where social assistances aimed to poverty reduction and improving standard living of the society are provided through it. Examples are cash grants, and food subsidy. Finally, regulations of the labor market such as pensions, workplace health, and employee motivation are closely linked to the working conditions as well (Apaydin, 2011).

2.5. The concept of Social Assistance

According to the social protection system there are two broad sub-sections which are contributory and non-contributory benefits. In that respect, Social assistance system is a part of non-contributory social protection system. Moreover, social assistance can be accounted to the supplementary part of social security plan. In other words, social assistance as we already mentioned above can be in-kind or in-cash. However, social assistance referred to last solution system implemented by the states for minimizing social risks. Generally, most of the states use conditional social assistance as last solution since, the other one which is, unconditional cash transfers widely believed that it may have negative effect on the beneficiaries such as culture of dependency and lack of self-sufficient. Even so some scholars claims that social assistance must be understood as social right and should not be tied with requirement or conditions. One of basic goals of the social grants is to minimize the condition of indigence and help beneficiaries to become a self-sufficient. Thus, after the implementations of the programs beneficiary are expected to become independent care takers for their own self. However, system is not open for everyone but it is designed to target only the vulnerable groups who are in severe needs through eligibility criteria by employing social assistance policies (Apaydin, 2011). In this respect, social assistance systems consist of two sub-sections which are in-kind social assistance and in-cash social assistance. But here, in-cash assistance was focused as follows:

2.5.1. Conditions of Cash Transfers

Conditional assistances recently became widespread phenomenon in Europe continent especially Nordic countries (such as Denmark, Norway and Sweden). Cash transfers are common example. Conditional social assistances are programs that through it, cash transfers are done, generally to the targeted poor households, on the condition that those households make predefined investments in the human capital in terms of education, health and nutrition

conditions which is also requires periodic check-ups, monitoring and evaluations for those conditions, vaccinations for children at 5 years old or less than. Perinatal and antenatal care for mothers with their attendance at periodic health centers for giving health information. Therefore, cash transfers programs or cash grants and food subsidy are among the examples of social assistance (Mercy Corps, 2017).

In-cash social assistance can be divided into unconditional cash transfers, conditional cash transfers, cash for work, and vouchers or E-fairs which is based upon the program's objective. More than one type of cash transfer may be used in the same program or may be combined with favor assistance. The most well-known and effective ones of cash transfer programs are Conditional cash transfers which means that part of beneficiaries must do something as conditional to be eligible cash payments where in comparing with the unconditional cash transfers the recipient receives cash simply for qualifying the program (Mercy Corps, 2017). However, all these social assistance efforts are done for the sake of poverty alleviation and improving standard living of the citizens in a given welfare state. The concepts related to the conditions of social assistance can be thus, in detail separated as follows:

2.5.1.1. Unconditional Cash Transfers

Unconditional social assistances are payments provided or sponsored by the states through state-owned or non-state entities established for solidarity to the beneficiaries without any condition and that is why the main purpose of unconditional social assistances as some scholars believe brings economic disadvantages including culture of dependency or laziness. However, there are some debates related to this aspect of social assistance describing that this kind of social grants encourages often the idleness and indolence. Additionally, some scholars claim that this type of social assistance for individuals should not bind with conditions but instead should be grasped as a social right of the society. This kind of cash transfers are directly given to recipients without any conditions.

Although, agencies usually have an idea of how the transfers will be spent by recipients, unconditional cash transfers allow participants to choose their priorities of payments, either where or when they wants to spend. The unconditional cash transfers often used to cover basic needs, but occasionally beneficiaries could use the cash to repay debt and/or even to make investments for improving their livelihoods. And it is worth noting that Frequency of payment of the cash transfer can influence how the cash are spent by the recipients; mostly larger cash

transfers which are on-time are spent on recovering rebuilding of livelihoods, whereas smaller transfers which are multiple are often used for basic household needs like medicine, food, shelter and clothing. According to the flexibility, straightforward and easy way of its implementations the mercy corps always prefers to use last kind of cash transfers which is unconditional cash transfers (Mercy Corps, 2017).

Furthermore, this kind of cash which is given as a relief to recipients with no condition attached is appropriate response to emergencies caused by droughts and earthquakes, where the recipients are free to spend the money as they choose. This is the most common type of transfer that immediately given by the authorities as an emergency relief because it is quick to administer. Cash relief given to drought affected households to recover as well as cash given to vulnerable households who cannot participate in job opportunities and cash given to internally displaced households are among the example in Somalia context (Dunn, 2010).

The unconditional cash transfers have several advantages and they are:

- ✓ Whenever the market is functioning, the beneficiaries can be provided resources on the easiest ways.
- ✓ Beneficiaries are happy because they have full flexibility to control over their money.
- ✓ Unlike the conditional and cash for work or vouchers, the unconditional cash transfers lowers administrative cost.
- ✓ Beneficiaries feel free from pressure, because they are not monitored before and after the process.

There is only one disadvantage of this kind of cash transfers which is; donor's limited attitude towards the funds payments on the base of unconditional systems.

2.5.1.2. Conditional Cash Transfers

This kind of cash which is given as a relief to recipients with condition attached is used for a specific purpose (e.g. rebuilding homes, re-establish livelihoods). These conditional transfers are not given in a single payment mechanism, but instead are given in installments by monitoring that it is being used for the "correct" purpose before going forward to the next

additional payments. Additionally, such conditional payments are not be made unless eligibility criteria of household's needs are being ensured. Even though, cash transfers are often used as an economic development response to encourage households for better life improvements, conditional cash transfers should be based on intended services as well as it should not be provided unless meets the requirements and an acceptable standards of the payment policies. Cash for livelihood matters as well as cash for shelter or housing and cash for encouraging families by financing small enterprises are among the best practices of conditional cash transfers in Somalia context as well (Dunn, 2010).

Conditional cash transfers are typically used to encourage certain type of behavior or an event for example; it may be fitted for rebuilding some destroyed areas in earthquakes or for pastoral destocking. This program participants normally receive their cash by completing certain tasks as conditional and once they fulfill those conditions and receive their cash they can spend freely how and wherever they wants. For better understanding, there are other conditional payments such Cash for work which are given to households or individuals by either governmental or non-governmental entities on the completion of specified work. For example, it often involves rehabilitation or construction projects that are mostly implemented whenever there is a large amount of available labor and adequate micro-projects. However, the main purpose of such cash payments for work is to ensure the beneficiaries' basic needs are to be targeted through monitoring and evaluation in the long term or short term. Finally, the main advantage of conditional cash transfer is helping directly to the organization in terms of targeting via required objectives as well as the accuracy of beneficiaries' spending of their income. However, it has one disadvantage which is through this kind of assistance further monitoring and evaluations are required at any level of time (Dunn, 2010).

2.5.1.3. Cash for Work

When we talk about cash for work project, there are different names given to the same project and they include cash for labor, cash for public works, and cash for employment generation and etc. Thus, cash for work is a project intended to assist those who are in need or vulnerable groups in or der to receive sufficient cash income, but it similar to the casual labor. However, there are difference between cash for work and casual labor. The following table describes them in detail.

Table 2.1. Difference between casual labor and cash for work

Cash for work	Casual labor
Provide income to poor households	Complete specific project work
The poorest households are targeted	Anyone interest can participate it
It is benefited by the most community	It is not necessary to assist a whole community
Continues until HH earn sufficient income	Continues until the project work completed

Source: Dunn, (2010)

2.5.1.3.1. Advantages and Disadvantages of Cash for Work

Cash for work has three advantages those include; firstly it enables rehabilitation and construction, as well as recovery and re-establishment of community assets. Secondly it provides to the community a sense of ownership together. Thirdly since the payment is lower than local labor market the targeting will be easy. In addition to that, there are many disadvantages those include; firstly labor poor and time-poor groups cannot participate it. Secondly, in some areas technical knowledge are required. Thirdly women does not participate any work for cash. Fourthly, it can disrupt and interfere local market and local livelihood activities unless plat it carefully.

2.5.1.3.2. How to Calculate Payment Rates of CFW

For example, if skilled labor rate in the local market 3\$ per day while the unskilled labor is 2\$, the agency that is implementing the project is required to pay same amount as cash for work. However, if the cost of minimum food basket is about 80\$ per month, how many days the staff are required to work?. Therefore, the skilled labor will need to work 26 days, while the unskilled are required working 40 days which is impossible. Thus, the assistance providers should increase the wage of unskilled up to 2.75\$ per day. On the other hand, there two main principles which are required to be kept in mind whenever we implement cash for work project and they are: Firstly, the minimum amount paid per day as cash for work to poor HH must cover the cost of basic food or non-food basket of each month. Secondly, the minimum amount paid per day as CFW grantees should be equal to local labor rate, so as to not disrupt the local labor market (Dunn, 2010).

2.5.1.4. Vouchers

Vouchers can be defined to those money equivalent papers given to poor HH by local NGOs for the purpose of responding humanitarian crises, as well as early recovery and rehabilitations by exchanging good and services through it. However, vouchers are used to be exchanged commodities from certified trader. Sometimes, it is used during fairs or at specific distribution outlets. Then, the traders claim their debt of the vouchers for cash at specific bank. The money transfer amounts or service are often assigned to the implementing agencies. Furthermore, Vouchers can have cash value which the beneficiaries can exchange goods and services or can be combined both cash and commodities by the agencies depending on their strategy of implementations (Creti & Jaspars, 2006).

2.5.1.4.1. Vouchers and Fairs

Whenever beneficiaries or poor HH are not able to obtain or to come the market, fairs are organized. However, the commodities which usually used for fairs include livestock, agricultural inputs such as seeds and fishing tools. These commodities are nevertheless, available for sufficient quality and quantity within specific time at the affected areas by droughts and etc. by that way, local traders are asked to bring their goods at specific place with designed time, and the beneficiaries go there to purchase it by using their vouchers (Creti & Jaspars, 2006).

This system, however, has several advantages and they are:

1. The beneficiaries are able to purchase their needs from the display or the fairs.
2. Local traders can present a wide range of goods and service which gives choice to the beneficiaries.
3. Both local traders and beneficiaries have opportunity to exchange knowledge and ideas by mirroring the normal market system
4. Traders or local producers have access to cash directly without going to commercial banks

Even though, the aforementioned advantages exist, but, on the other hand this system has three disadvantages which needs to be considered first and they are:

1. Voucher fairs take time to be organized

2. Humanitarian resources and administrative work are required
3. And the system sometimes restricts the beneficiaries' choice

Furthermore, the values of the voucher are determined depending on the objectives of the project and the price of the fair commodities. However, voucher fairs are usually done for restoring the production as well as encouraging the business for community economic recovery (ACF, 2007). The value of the voucher also depends on the asset and product that was prevailed before the areas being affected by disasters (Dunn, 2010).

2.5.1.4.2. Vouchers and Products\Services

Local shops and services also are used for voucher interventions. However the shop or service provider system is required to utilize the voucher interventions made by the local NGOs in the country. As similar to the fairs, the beneficiaries attend shops and service palace and collect goods and services through by using the voucher system designed the local NGO for them. The voucher gives or allows the beneficiaries to purchase what they want from the shop or services.

This kind of voucher also enables the local traders to participate the community economic recovery as well as provide them cash boost without going through banks and minimize necessary logistical expenses that is mostly required from the local traders when they delivering goods in-kind.

In addition to that, the values of product and services voucher are calculated as follows:

Voucher value = price of the commodity x the amount needed by beneficiaries.

For example, price of the maize seed =\$10 per kg and average of HH needs is 20g, thus the value of seed voucher is \$200. Thus, when this system is used the community is less vulnerable to inflation in the market. Additionally, this system enables the local traders chance to participate the economic recovery by mediating the social assistance providers and the beneficiaries. But, on the other hand, in order to be implemented robust voucher system technical knowledge that ensures the quality of the services is required (Creti & Jaspars, 2006).

2.6. Cash Transfers and Key Considerations

Once the need of cash interventions are substantially been decided by the providers, the decisions and the procedure towards which type of cash grants will be most appropriate for the situation are needed to be fully designed. As it is mentioned above, there are many aspects and forms of cash transfers that can be followed. Therefore, when we decide which type of cash intervention to use, we should consider the pros and cons that can arise from each one as well as the key considerations that are needed to be kept in mind. Therefore, these key considerations include:

2.6.1. Cash Grants and Urgency of Needs

Some types of cash interventions are chosen for their easiness and quickness. For example the unconditional cash transfers, that most of beneficiaries have urgent to take part as being appropriate to their needs and satisfaction. Therefore, by the time of such demand comes from the beneficiaries you do not need to organize the more complicated interventions like vouchers or cash for work. Thus, in Somalia context since vulnerable or targeted groups are always in severe or emergency conditions caused by floods, droughts and etc. unconditional cash transfers are mostly implemented by the providers. This is relatively done after finishing targeting stage, where money remittance companies (Hawala or remittance) are often used due to their easy access to the population. Unlike unconditional cash interventions, cash for work and voucher programs under cash interventions may be properly need to take time to plan and organize. Providing unconditional cash transfers do not take much time so that the beneficiaries can suddenly meet their needs once the project is collectively planned and started (Dunn, 2010).

2.6.2. Cash Grants and Urgency of Time

Time factor is an important for the project planning, specially cash interventions in Somalia. Timing generally refers to the point or period of time that something planned to happen. But in relating to the point of view referred to the project manager's judgments related to the season, ongoing livelihood activities, and upcoming events (such as livestock migration, elections, the harvest, religious festivals etc.). Project designers in order to do better performance, they must consider the Somali seasonal calendar. Timing issues is a key indicator for successful project implementation and must be settled the best possible way so as to prevent a disruption at all. According to the different livelihood groups, the timing

issues often vary, where the following table outlines some examples of timing considerations in the Somalia context (Dunn, 2010).

Table 2.2. Timing issue and livelihood group table

	Jan – March	April – June	July – Sept	Oct-Dec
	Jiilaal (winter)	Gu (spring)	Xagaa (summer)	Deeyr (autmn)
Pastoralists	This time is livestock migration season for searching water and pasture, and during this season providing unconditional cash transfers are more appropriate than Agriculture providing other cashseason grants. • Considering cash for work (CFW) activities for family members left in the villages could be appropriate as well.		During this season, providing unconditional cash transfers are applicable because it may help family not to sale their caw at low price.	
Agriculturalists	Unconditional cash transfer during this time may help to prevent families to consume the green (early) harvest.	At the end of the Gu season cash transfers are the best option, because they use productive assets (Mattinen & Ogden, 2006)		This time is planting season and land preparation, thus either unconditional or cash for work transfers helps the families to purchase seeds and agricultural services
Fisheries			XAGAA time is the off- season for fisheries “ therefore, unconditional cash grants are appropriate in most poor households to cover their basic needs.	

Table 2.2. (continued) Timing issue and livelihood group table

	Jan – March	April – June	July – Sept	Oct-Dec
	Jiilaal (winter)	Gu(spring)	Xagaa(summer)	Deeyr(autmn)
General	If households or families are struggling to meet their basic needs, unconditional cash grants are not appropriate, but instead other payments such cash for work are better. • Unconditional cash transfers could be best solution for vulnerable groups at any time of the year. • During Ramadan time most households do not spend long hours in work, so that cash for work is not appropriate during that time. • Labor opportunities are seasonal in Somalia. When these opportunities disappear unconditional cash grants are more appropriate than when job opportunities exist.			
Urban/ IDPs	Time seasonality does not affects urban and IDP populations. However, Cash payments are appropriate at any time during the year and the only thing needs to be given consideration is seasonal price fluctuations of goods and services.			

Source: Sophia Dunn, (2010) and modified by the author.

2.6.3. Gender and Vulnerability

Issues related to the gender, culture and vulnerability should be considered across the project life cycle. Gender roles for example; the women's role in exist workload and time constraints should be added to the account and then to decide which types of cash interventions that might be most appropriate could be further supplementary for healthful project. However, in some parts of Somalia it may not be appropriate for women to undertake public works in some cases or some parts in Somalia that means some works men might be more appropriate than women to work and they more appropriate to work hardly than women. Therefore, before implementing the project or during the planning stages decisions should be taken on a basis about how the project fits the best that verifies if both men and women could be equally and appropriately be included into the cash interventions. These implications are among the ways to include women or vulnerable households into cash interventions:

- ✓ Providing unconditional cash transfer instead of conditional or cash for work
- ✓ Encourage the labor-poor households to nominate family member or someone else to work on their behalf.
- ✓ Providing special cases such as light duties (easy) to the disabled workers.
- ✓ Allow those who have time poor households, women to work fewer hours with same payments.

On the other hand, other vulnerable or marginalized groups in the local community (minority clans or sub-clans, marginalized groups, disabled, elderly and child or women-headed households) should be also considered throughout the project. Vulnerability affects normally people's ability to work and interact with the community, as well as their access and enjoy to social welfare. Hence, they do not share opportunities of work or awareness with their community due to their lacks of the ability to access market players (such as credit) which may finally affects their saving and consumption. During cyclical events of crisis like droughts, floods due to their lack of coping mechanisms, the marginalized vulnerable groups are often the first ones to get risk or damage. These groups are thus, must be considered throughout the project planning process on the following grounds.

- Marginalization groups at all should be given considerations during the planning stage to participate the project decisions.
- Labor-poor households should not be sent to the cash for work activities because they have no adult person for example who can participate at work, unconditional cash grants are better to be used in such cases. Time-constraints households as well as women and disabled persons cannot participate in cash for work activities as well.
- Long term or repeated work opportunities weakens traditional social safety nets through stressing the community generally which may finally put vulnerable groups at risk (Dunn, 2010).

2.6.4. Urgency of Power Relations and Conflict Sensitivity

The power relations and conflict sensitivity should be also conceded when it comes to project planning specially in Somalia context.

Power structures within the clans, sub-clans as well as families and societies at all create various opportunities and challenges on an individual's access to life opportunities within the community or within the market. Thus, measures to mitigate such power structures for the sake of conflict preventions should be actively put in place throughout the project planning stage. Some of the conflicts based on power structures that usually arise during the program implementations include conflicts or crises between members of the same household, between the members of different clans, between the assistance

beneficiaries, between the tenders or even between beneficiaries themselves and non-beneficiaries as well as between leaders of the community, security members and many others (Dunn, 2010).

2.6.5. Combination of Cash Interventions

Since the most well-known cash transfer conditions such as conditional cash assistance and unconditional cash assistance led to some shortcomings as well as each one has had some equal pros and cons to the beneficiaries thus, combinations of both cash and in-kind interventions in different types of cash interventions within the same project at different time could be the best solutions for Somalis. Hence, combinations work more appropriate only on the following grounds:

- Whenever some assistance items are available and other are not, or whenever the local traders cannot provide the required needs, then depending on the outstanding circumstances combinations of both cash and in-kind could be the best alternative.
- Whenever the material items are not immediately available in the market, then to go through long procurement process, could be waste of time for some cases, thus cash grants should be used instead.
- Some households who are not able to work can be provided with unconditional cash transfers during cash for work programs.
- Some groups with existing skills should be given to assistance based on cash for activities while others who have not enough skills are to be given unconditional cash grants for livelihood recovery. Thus, in both groups cash assistances are more preferred than to material assistance.
- Cash sometimes is used to complement the material assistance for example; combination of food aid and cash may help the beneficiary to micro-nutrients (through using petty cash for fruit and vegetables) and help families increase dietary diversity.
- Those items mostly available in the market are paid as cash, while those items that are not available in the local market are given as material. Sometimes, cash is given to local traders through grants to bring the required items to the market, and at the same time cash is transferred to the beneficiaries through grants to buy the things from the traders in the market.

2.7. Resilience Building with Social Assistance

There could be many approaches for building resilience but one of the most effective and efficient ways for risk-coping at household level is to create streams or conditions where households can feel free to participate in it. These conditions enable households to create capacity for self-insurance and satisfaction as well. However, households, who have access with formal insurance and those with higher income levels and savings, are always better off than those who have not. Additionally, households in rural areas where there are not credits are less likely to save than those in the urban areas. In Somalia's context, social assistance can give support households to live smoothly, save and build household resilience in an event of shock in general as well.

Additionally, those households who receive social assistance such as cash transfers reuse it for income generating activities through doing investments and savings. Likewise, cash transfers results to improve household's consumption with an increase of their ownership. For example they could engage investment activities like farming livestock, agricultures, and produce outputs which are finally leads them to save. In general Households are better able to overcome the shocks whenever they have more skilled human capital and assets, as well as have access to job opportunities, and have market relations (FAO, 2017).

2.8. Mostly Used Social Assistance Programs by East African Countries

The formal or informal organizations that provide social assistance beyond the government machinery but usually operate under the regulatory framework of the state, for instance the NGOs or traditional entities are known Non-state actors. On the other hand, those organizations that have legal identity as well as have comprehensible governance structure and are recognized by the state such as recovery programs are called formal organizations. Additionally, those organizations that neither have legal identity nor have comprehensible and clear governance structure such as family, traditional and neighborhood-based solidarity are called informal non-state organizations. Furthermore, the informal non-state organizations can be divided into community-based organizations and faith-based organizations (PASGR, 2016).

AS table 2.3 identifies, most of the east African countries namely Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda, and Ethiopia social assistances are sponsored by the state through formal recovery programs.

Table 2.3. Social assistance programs used by some east African countries

Country	Assistance program	Commencement year	Sponsor\Donor
Kenya	Cash Transfers for VC	2004	Government, UNICEF
Uganda	Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE)	2011	Government, UK AID, and UNICEF.
Rwanda	Vision 2020 Umurenge Program	2008	Government, SIDA, and World Bank
Ethiopia	Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP)	2005	UK Department for International Development, and World Bank

Source: PASGR, (2016)

The states usually establish social assistance programs for poverty alleviation or economic recovery, whenever they receive financing from the international donors. Through these mechanisms, thus poverty is reduced. But if the government neither receive financing nor have capability to handle such social assistance due to economic and political fragility, Non-state actors such as NGOs fills the gaps by providing social assistance to those who are in need. By that way, Somalia, Djibouti and Eritrea could be an example for those countries that social assistances are delivered to poor households by local and international NGOs. Furthermore, among these countries, informal mechanisms friend, neighborhood or relative approaches also are used by the community for their self-protections. The government of Djibouti by responding the cyclical crises caused by floods and droughts developed social safety nets strategy in 2012. In a result of that, child nutrition-based social safety net program was initiated by the government with support from the World Bank. However, the program was pilot initiative that was emphasizing the importance of social assistance rather than an efficient one set up for poverty alleviations in the country.

The east African countries that include Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti have neither functioning governmental institutions nor economic institutions that through its social assistances are used by the state for the purpose of poverty alleviations. Therefore, due to the lack of those important institutions an effective economic recovery cannot be achieved easily. Thus, the international donors are required to build the capacity of the beneficiaries instead of giving them directly social subsidies in order to make the recipients responsible for their self-protection as well as to make the resources more effectively used (Habtom, 2016).

2.9. The Concept of Vulnerability

Those who cannot tolerate overall social risks and contingencies are called vulnerable groups. Therefore, this kind of social security system would cover most of their problems. In this respect, those who cannot still benefit from general social security system will be potential candidates for such social assistance. Finally Conceptual meaning of social assistance may be varying with variations of geographic and cultural issues across the borders. For example; in United States of America, it could be known as ‘safety net’ whereas in Europe continent, it is known as welfare or social aid. The main reason behind this differentiation could be accounted to the difference of norms, rules and application procedures in social assistance system at different locations (Apaydin, 2011).

Vulnerability referred to be the potential risks and shocks that can negatively affect an individual’s life. Usually poor households, who lack access to resources required to protect themselves against shocks are known to be vulnerable ones, but poverty is not the only indicator of vulnerability. Being vulnerable person means, being susceptible to any risks that can threaten one’s life. Vulnerability referred to be an *ex-antes* measure of household’s wellbeing of life, whereas the poverty referred to be an *ex post* measure. In short words, vulnerability can be referred to be the ‘cause’ whereas the poverty can be the ‘effect’ (Apaydin, 2011).

However, any risk factor that can push a non-poor household into poverty or vulnerability can be deeper push already poor households into poverty. In this regard, the extent of vulnerability depends on the state of not having protection from risks and shocks as well as lack of access to adequate resources and overall social protection schemes to undermine these risks (Hoogeveen, et al., 2004).

2.10. The Concept of Social Security

In this globe, the life is struggle and involves a lot of risks which is needed to be managed carefully; therefore human beings build up systems of Social security that established to manage those risks. Even though, there could be many different simplifications related to the social security, many scholars believes that the cause of social security is the rapid industrialization evolved at western during 18th and 19th century. For country to country, in the context of content and applications, the concept of social security thus, may change. For instance; in the US social security refers to the retirement program of social insurance which is to be implemented by the government, on the other hand, in Europe, social security is defined to be one of the protection programs, such as social assistance and social insurance (Tang & Midgley, 2008).

2.11. Effects of the Social Assistance on Psychosocial Wellbeing

This dissertation concentrates the assessment of social assistance as poverty reduction strategy by using cash intervention mechanisms. However, there are some researchers who tried to figure out by using both qualitative and quantitative methods how non-material issues such as satisfaction, stress and etc. are interrelated with the social assistance specially the cash transfers given by the states through safety nets. Thus, the study discussed all those issues in detail as follows:

2.11.1. Cash Transfers and Psychosocial Wellbeing

Our studies within framework of well-being, reveals the exist effects of cash transfers beyond the material benefits. Some researchers first explored studies by using both qualitative and numerical methods to discuss about these psychosocial effects. According to the Journal of Development Studies, even though both types of studies found positive effects of social assistance on psychosocial wellbeing, but a few qualitative studies also revealed that some conditions of social assistances are potentially resulted negative aspects, especially those dealt with cash transfers (Case, 2004).

2.11.2. Quantitative Approaches and Cash Transfers

The evidence showing the **Psychosocial** effects of cash transfers is increasing but still limited. Most of the existing evidence and systematic proofs such as mental health issues such as stress, anxiety, and depression has been done through quantitative research; all the above mentioned effects were measured mainly by using self-reported questionnaires. The majority of these researches assessed cross sectional impact of conditional cash transfers in various countries around the world. However, the researchers, by using experimental or quasi-experimental research designs revealed that cash transfers can negatively affect the beneficiary, particularly child's psychosocial and cognitive development, as well as maternal mental health conditions when they are given birth (Fernald, Gertler & Neufeld, 2009).

Thus, children in Mexico are found to modestly less aggressive behavior, as well as they have less emotional problems and less exposure to stressors, when compared with the other countries in the same region (Fernald et al., 2009). Small but positive improvements in maternal depression are also caused by cash transfers and stress in Ecuador and Nicaragua (Schady, et al., 2008). On the other hand, some similar studies in Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa revealed positive. In Cambodia, some studies, by using screening instruments found that poor secondary school student's beneficiaries had a less positive effect on mental health when compared with the primary school students (Filmer & Schady, 2009).

Another studies In South Africa, by using a depression index found that the social assistance definitely reduces household stress levels (Case, 2004). In some sub-Sahara African countries include Kenya and Somalia, a randomized and controlled trial studies of cash transfer conditions revealed that cash interventions increases utility at all (Haushofer & Shapiro, 2013). Finally, some studies in Malawi, by using General Health Questionnaire concluded that the cash transfer normally mitigates the risk of psychological extreme anxiety and sorrow among individuals. Conditional attendance imposed by social assistance staffs on beneficiary girls and their mental health are attributed to be the 'heavy burden' by the researchers in some cases (Baird, et al. 2011).

2.11.3. Beneficiaries' Perceptions

A small number of studies, by using relational and contextual Approach of qualitative research design focused on the effects of cash transfer programs on individual psychological

well-being. This kind of research provided some insights into the beneficiary's perceptions of wellbeing and their relationships with others. As a result respondents in India and Nepal in the middle classes of social assistances reported that cash transfers enabled them to cover family's basic needs and health-related consumptions. Therefore, it can be consider as relief but not sufficient (Albone, 2009). Likewise, the women who gains from Bangladeshi old age allowance schemes reported to 'feel happy, peaceful, and tension-free' (Begum & Wesumperuma, 2012).

Some studies In Malawi, also revealed that children beneficiaries are in good, and they live different as they were before, for example before receiving the assistance they had felt 'ashamed of' themselves and when they stay at the schools, they could not mix with' their classmates or friends, but after the cash transfer, it enabled them to restore their happiness. Furthermore, they also allowed being more optimistic about their hopes and dreams of the future. Alternatively, as some children recipients in South Africa mentioned, that the transfer enabled them to stop begging and lead them to become self-reliant when it comes to the working environment (Miller, et al., 2010). Finally, as some female recipients of a Nicaraguan mentioned that whenever they receive this regular cash assistance, they started to throw the stress, increase self-confidence as well as improve and ameliorate their psychosocial wellbeing (Adato & Roopnaraine, 2010).

2.11.4. Limitations of Cash Transfer Conditions

Through these studies Some Limitations in Terms of Psychosocial Wellbeing Cash transfers may also be revealed by the researchers. For example, as we mentioned above in Nicaragua, even though, some positive psychosocial effects of the transfer are reported, alternatively some negatives revealed by researchers due to conditional cash transfers related children's inadequate knowledge and health (Adato & Roopnaraine, 2010). Similar coincides happened in Malawi (Baird et al., 2011). However, to explore the potential negative impacts of conditional cash transfers further researches should include the scene DID (2011).

Specifically speaking, as many studies have underlined, cash transfers increased family domestic violence as well as between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (Devereux et al., 2013). For example, female recipients of the child transfer, in South Africa, reported being violated by non-recipients where facing negative comments coming from the whole

non-participant individuals such as being lazy or foolish, and some other negative comments (Hochfeld & Plagerson, 2011). In Nicaragua, some beneficiaries even experienced envy and gossip, on the other hand, some non-beneficiary adults reported to face less satisfaction and their children feels sorrow or annoyance when seeing their counterpart wearing new materials such as clothes (Adato & Roopnaraine, 2010).

These studies have also highlighted some important issues, but often neglected for unknown purpose, which is the interactions between social assistance staffs and beneficiaries during implementation of the program. Different evidence from cross-sectional countries in Africa and Asia proved that beneficiaries are not always treated equally, respectful and dignified ways in accordance with their satisfaction and willingness to participate the program. Some researches show that sometimes participants complain of being repeatedly mistreated or even insulted by staffs (Streuli, 2012).

Although there are many growing body of literature review exploring the psychosocial effects of cash transfers, which shows the contextual relationship of social assistance, with the individual's self-esteem through quantitative and qualitative methods. But, on the other hand, we, in order to achieve broader reliable results, rather than 'by the way' of finding it right now, should turn our attention to the psychosocial dimension as Centre stage of the issue (Kleinman, 1987).

2.12. Social Assistances Led by the NGOs in Somalia

In 2017 Somalia received almost 1Billion USD for humanitarian response through wide range of social assistance programs including food security, nutrition, health, shelter as well as education and logistics. Because of the drought response in 2017, the amount received in that year was rather exceeds than its average of the previous years. However, during these reactions the organizations of implementations have allocated their budgets partially to the long-run social assistance schemes because of the on-going transition period commitments (Sheikh & Healy, 2009). See the following table.

Table 2.4. Active social assistance schemes in Somalia 2015-2019

Organization	Budget for Active SP Projects
BRCiS	USD 5,537,691 for 2015
CONCERN	USD 88,650
World Vision	USD 3,100,000
WFP	Data not Available
ILO	USD 2,316,609
ADESO	EUR 5,521,878
ACTED	EUR 4,478,122

Source: Sheikh & Healy, (2009)

2.12.1. Sources of Financing

Due to the absence of Somali social protection programs led by the state, the country has not been having any comprehensible public financing schemes. Therefore, the formal and informal social assistance in Somalia have been financed by regional actors, brotherhood countries, and non-state actors such as diaspora, Zakat charity, aid organizations and religious based entities. The implementations of these assistances were fulfilling by the international and local NGOs that works inside the country. It is worth to be mentioned that in 2017 United States, and some of the European Union countries such as United Kingdom, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Netherlands, Norway, Italy, Finland Ireland, and Switzerland, are among those helping Somalia by giving financial support through capacity injections and social protection programs. On the other hand, some regional and international entities like World Bank, WFP, Canada, Japan, Australia, China, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Qatar, were part of the donors (World Bank, 2016).

The other main factor which took part the financial support in Somalia as a source of financing is the remittances received by Somali households from the diaspora. This kind of remittances helps economic recovery; it also provides humanitarian assistance, which may finally lead to developments of the human resources through basic delivery initiatives. Somali diaspora can be divided into two groups. The first generation of diaspora who was born and raised in Somalia but migrated to the western countries for the sake of breadwinning and their foreign born and raised children. Even though the both groups have maintained the closest ties with their families and friends in Somalia, the future of Somali

financial support definitely depends on how the second group decides to stay engaged through succession plans (World Bank, 2016).

Generally, remittances are believed to play major role in alleviating poverty and overall vulnerability at the levels of households. Annually received remittances by Somalis From the highly-engaged diaspora, estimated around USD 1.2-2.5Billion, which is more than 20 percent of its GDP. However, these remittances are counted to be one of the most stable and reliable sources of household's income that has helped them build assets, create livelihoods and smooth their consumption as well. Even so, some studies revealed that there are some side-walk cons arising from these remittances because only 36% of those receiving remittances from their foreign lived families and friends fall below the poverty line. In contrast 55.8% who are below the poverty line don't receive remittances, that means those who previously live in a good economic conditions only can receives remittances (World Bank, 2016).

2.12.2. Implementations of Social Assistance in Somalia

As we mentioned above both international, and local organizations plays vital role on social assistance Implementations in Somalia, these organizations ensures by using their experience and capacity of social protection programs the most vulnerable groups that is to be targeted and then bothers to check that those vulnerable groups are delivered the goods and services they needs. By that way, these organizations have the responsibility to supervise the ongoing process where they contact and deal with directly with the poor person. In most fragile countries for instance Somalia, despite the importance to reach the most vulnerable groups, but on the other hand, the incumbents involve exposure to danger, harm or loss during targeting stages because of the acute risk of conflict or violence that might anytime erupt (World Vision, 2015).

2.12.3. Targeting and Delivery Mechanisms

Whenever, the local NGOs substantially decide to provide social assistance, they start to enter the procedure by giving consideration the priority of each one. However, they select those who are in need to be assisted by using comprehensible targeting mechanisms, which include geographical targeting, community based targeting as well as traditional or electronically targeting. Therefore, the study analysed them as follows:

2.12.3.1. Geographical and Community Based Targeting

When it comes implementing social assistance, an appropriate targeting mechanisms are important for the fairness of the program. Because choosing well targeting criteria carefully for the purpose of transparent can promote social cohesion. Conversely, it can also reduce the excluding marginalized groups. Therefore, most organizations that deal with social protection programs in Somalia use two-step method which is geographical and community based targeting to identify vulnerable households. In order to minimize the exclusion and inclusion errors the social assistance organizations should use limited resources for the programs, as well as appropriate targeting and comprehensible implementation strategies. In Somalia, in order to analyze and classify the seriousness of the poverty, for example food insecurity measuring, five phases of targeting including Stressed, Crisis, Emergency, and Famine are used by the organizations.

Usually those districts that can fall under social safety nets are selected through those measurement phases. Then as the procedure suggests, once certain district is selected, local leaders in the community are relied upon to access to the vulnerable members. The local leaders are engaging to identify the needs of the community and which kinds of interventions are appropriate to address the needs (World Vision, 2015).

Once a consensus in the community is reached then the community identifies the potential participants as list after collective consensus reached. That list includes the community's own understanding of severity and who they deem to be most vulnerable ones. Once the list of vulnerability is submitted, then the implementing organization ensures by take caring about the inclusion and exclusion errors, that if marginalized groups exist or not. Most of the social assistance organizations respects, in this regard the complaints from the community members through feedback mechanism process (World Vision, 2015).

Community based development assessments vary across social assistance organizations because it depends how the organization wants to uphold and create the resilience to shocks. For example, the organization of BRCiS to address resilience shocks considers voice and ownership to the community based approach. In this regard, these organizations by starting the discussion from the scratch encourage the community to formulate its own theory of coping with the severity (BRCiS Consortium, 2016).

Some organizations to address the problem delegate the authority of targeting to the National, regional and district authorities as well as the community elders, traditional and religious leaders. Sometimes they use criteria to differentiate social groups into a gender, age and female headed groups. In this mechanism participatory approach is used to collect feedback and reach consensus. Thus, the community based approach builds a relationship between the community and BRCiS members (CESVI, CWW, NRC, IRC and SCI) by helping them understand what the vulnerability is and appropriate manners of coping it as well. Additionally one of the main advantages of community based targeting method is to let the organization identify sources of vulnerability (BRCiS Consortium, 2016).

According to the World Vision in Somalia, they conducted discussions by using focus group mechanism in Puntland and they found out the sources of vulnerability in those communities are disability of the person or illness. However, orphans, unemployment, IDPs, elderly, female headed households were also part of those who in need to be supported. According to the participants, they indicated that, despite the commonality of the social assistance to all community members as whole but those who are mostly marginalized in a community do not have access to the assistance. And this entails the unawareness of vulnerable individuals of such services.

2.12.3.2. Traditional and Electronic Mechanisms

Due to the absence of a formal banking system in Somalia because of the collapse of Somali central government in 1991, traditional financial entities such as Hawala have been playing vital role in financial facilitations. A person or a company, who entrust with to deliver cash from one area to another is popularly known Hawala.

For more understanding, Hawala usually preoccupy the logistical burden and financial risk that could be inherent from transferring large amounts of cash in different areas. Historically speaking, until centuries Hawala have been working traditionally in Somalia but it was increasingly became well-known transfer mechanism after the 1990s when the Somalia's civil wars erupted (Chaudhuri, Erasmus & Appleford 2015).

Hawala agencies were used representatively by some implementing agencies such as FAO and many others for their missions for their humanitarian disbursement among the beneficiaries. However, since the most beneficiaries increasingly used mobile phones for the

cash payment the representative trend was changed. Thus, representative trends were optionally substituted by cellular networks (Chaudhuri, Erasmus & Appleford 2015).

Above the age of 16 most of Somalis (88%) own at least one SIM card while 83% of those simcard owners use mobile money popularly known EVCPLUS. Therefore, Many Somalis use mobile money services or EVCPLUS for their daily transactions such as paying bills, receiving salaries or shopping transactions which made Somalia to be ranked more far ahead prevalent in terms of mobile money and internet penetration than other low-income countries in sub-Saharan region (World Bank, 2016).

One of the main advantages of mobile money transfers is the transparency and accountability by securing the quick way to deliver cash to the beneficiaries. Mobile money transfers are thus, more preferable than traditional cash based systems in terms of accountability and transparency. According to the report issued by Transparency international on Somalia, they mentioned that the corruption or the chance to delay and the risk to deliver support to beneficiaries were reduced through mobile money technology. However, Even though mobile cash payments can only be used for direct unconditional cash transfers, it became one of the most favorable tools currently used by the implementing organizations in Somalia because it's more straightforward, more flexible and easier, as well as less cost to access the beneficiaries than the traditional cash based methods (World Bank, 2016).

The beneficiaries are given simcards at the time of registrations, and once each simcard is linked to an individual they receive text message from the implementing organization. That message specifies the amount that certain poor person is entitled to receive. Then for collecting the money the beneficiaries can claim their cash by showing the message at the nearest telecommunication operator outlet, for example most of the organizations such as BRCiS, ICRC, ADESO, and ACTED use mobile platform through Hormuud telecom, because of being largest telecommunications company in Somalia, which can host more than 70,000 outlet across the whole country (World Bank, 2016).

Other delivery mechanisms include e-vouchers. This method is mostly used by some agencies like WFP for two different methods. Firstly, they specify the type, price of the food and the biometric information of the beneficiary and then stored in the card, thus, this card allows the social assistance beneficiaries to have access at the selected retailer. Secondly,

after the quantity of allowance is set by the implementing organization and e-vouchers are deemed at any selected retail store, then the beneficiaries can buy anything they want as long as it let them the value of the voucher. Thus, this kind of e-voucher allows the beneficiaries to access commodities easily at specified retailer shops. This mechanism, therefore, in order to ensure whether the assistance is delivered to the right person, uses biometric verification process for every transaction (World Bank, 2016).

2.13. Concepts of Poverty

Concepts that related to poverty such as poverty rationality, inequality, economic exclusion, vulnerability, and underdevelopment are much widely and frequently used in the space station of social assistance and they all have conceptual differences as each its name suggests. Therefore, before attempting to review the key definition of poverty, as well as programs and policies that is technically used for its reduction, it is suitable to make clear about what definitions are being applied as well as which concepts the definition itself was derived from.

2.13.1. Introduction

“Most of elite people, including politicians, academics, and campaigners usually talk about the regime of poverty, and they identify their discussion the basis for response in which at least would be paved away for a course of actions” (Alcock, 1993, p.3).

2.13.2. Poverty Rationality

As the above Introduction suggests, conceptualizing poverty rationally is always based on the previous arguments that the concepts used to define it, by determining the methods and ways used to measure it. This later influences the policies of the program implementations to address the problem. Basically, this concept implies that, in order to know if the poverty alleviation strategies in Somalia are more effective or not, we need to evaluate first of all, what is meant by poverty generally and in the Somalia context particularly. So In this turn, this evaluation can then be used to determine the extent of this problem and then measures which is to be done for solutions. Therefore, based on the findings related who is poor in Somalia? And who are not? And once we highlight the extent

of the problem which is far away from the rationality, thus, easily comprehensive poverty reduction policies can then be established and developed (Keyder and Buğra, 2006).

2.13.3. Poverty and Inequality

Despite Inequality and poverty are different, they are also conceptually interrelated. While the issue of inequality relates with the distribution of wealth within a population (per capita), the regime of poverty targets only those whose standard of living falls below the line of normality (Kircher, 2002). However, this threshold may be counted in absolute terms which is an externally determined such as norms, for instance calorie requirements or relative terms which is averaging overall standard of living, for example is a fraction of the overall average standard of living. Intuitively explaining, relative poverty and inequality are much similar each other. In this regard, being poor accordingly reflects the conditions of living among the whole population. Additionally, Gini coefficients are used for measuring such kind of inequality. However, higher intensive inequality may lead to lower subsequent economic growth and, then less poverty reduction. For example, if an access to credit and other resources are concentrated in the hands of privileged groups, it prevents the poor from investing and throws him/her to the bottom class (Mbuli, 2008).

Therefore, higher levels of relative poverty or inequality may threaten the benefits of economic growth for those who are in challenge to access, because if the first initial inequality were high, that means the poor will not reach benefits from growth for ever. In addition to that, if one person, for example dominates all the resources, then in any case of the rate of growth, the relative poverty among population will never be mitigated through productivity and growth.

2.13.4. Poverty and Vulnerability

According to an author called May in 1998, he suggested that poverty is not a static condition among individuals, households or communities, rather it is recognized that, although some individuals or households are permanently poor, others move into and out of poverty. This may be a result of life-cycle changes, events such as the illness, or deterioration in external economic conditions can be an exceptional.

In light of the above quotation, the concept of vulnerability is increasingly applied only in order to understand these processes of change of poverty. In fact, the word vulnerability firstly used by development practitioners as a proxy for poverty, because vulnerability whatever its kinds may be strongly correlated with poverty, for example when we talked about female-headed households, families living standards and marginalized or minority groups, illegal immigrants, illiterate persons, seasonal or incapable employees all these groups are counted under the concept of poverty and vulnerability and It should, however, be noted that vulnerability and poverty are not interchangeable words. Vulnerability is the current probability of being fall in risk or in poverty or the chance of being fall into deeper poverty in the future (World Bank, 2006). In other words, it's the risk of being poor, further, vulnerability is depends on two main variables: exposure and response to descending pressures. According to Shaffer (2001), downward pressures are sometimes, referred to be the stresses and shocks faced by individuals, which is can leads to severe vulnerability and poverty. However, the stresses may be gradually and cumulatively experienced, while the shocks may be happen at sudden and unpredictable ways by the individuals.

2.13.5. Poverty and Economic Exclusion

Economic exclusion and poverty are also interrelated. As Mbuli (2008) stated, in South Africa, Some people were deliberately excluded from the formal economy zone through imposing various barriers which they cannot afford. Permits and trading with some neighboring countries via a visa system are among those barriers, which restricts the participation of Blacks in the formal economy. However, they could not mostly meet the forced requirements to obtain a loan because of Blacks. Further, due to a lack of securities such as, bonds, property, and shares, etc. They could not access to credit and financial institutions. However, the black people, through these deprivations by privileged groups all perceived to be in risk of vulnerability. They mostly owned, as an asset cattle, goats and chickens. Due to these cruel and harsh mechanisms, the economic development of the most of Blacks was severely undermined, which means that they are always be at risk for being poor and they will have more chance to fall in deeper poverty in the future as well.

2.13.6. Poverty and Underdevelopment

The distinction between the two concepts of poverty and underdevelopment depends on how each of them is defined. For example poverty is viewed to be human deprivation such as lack of access of economic zones, low levels of economic growth, individual's less consumption, high death rates, and etc. poverty related to the underdevelopment was defined to be, According to (Todaro, 2000). *“an economic situation in which there are persistent low levels of living in conjunction with absolute poverty, low income per capita, low rates of economic growth, low consumption levels, poor health services, high death rates, high birthrates, dependence on foreign economies, and limited freedom to choose among activities that satisfy human wants”*. On the other hand, poverty definitions in rural and urban areas are different. Furthermore, poverty could have distinct definition in terms of geographical areas because people who live in rural areas have less access to education health and etc. than those live in cities, but they usually live in healthier and safer environment (Mbuli, 2008).

Additionally, poverty was defined under human development reports since 1990, where the human development is about expanding people's choices. Therefore poverty could be the basic opportunities and choices which are denied in human development mechanisms. However, the 1997 Human Development Report distinguished clearly between the two concepts by assigning the former one to the individuals and the latter one to the macro perspective. To contrast still between the two concepts of human poverty and human development, it reflects two different ways of evaluating development in overall. Firstly, the aggregate perspective which is focuses on the overall developments achieved by all groups in the society. Secondly, the dispossession perspective, this kind of development is judged by the mechanism that deprived people gets log in each community. Given considerations to that relationship between these two concepts, it is thus, not magic that many poverty and underdevelopment indicators also are the same as those used to measure one another (Mbuli, 2008).

2.14. Different Types of Poverty

The way in which poverty is defined directly effects the Policy. Moreover, the ways of which poverty is defined determines its extent. Therefore, the main objective of this section will be to identify several different types of poverty and they are absolute poverty,

relative poverty, transient poverty and chronic poverty. We are classifying them two by two as follows.

2.14.1. Absolute and Relative Poverty

Even though, there were historical debates about comparison of two concepts in terms of their definitions, but on the other hand, relative and absolute definitions of poverty traced back fundamentally into their divergent notions of differences (Shanahan & Tuma, 1994). The absolute and relative poverty issues in most cases produce different policies and recommendations (Brady, 2003). Nonetheless, poverty scholars more and more gave as conclusions that relative definitions are appropriate to the developed countries while absolute definition also is applicable to the developing countries.

Absolute poverty is seen to be an objective and scientific definition that is traced back to the notion of subsistence and origin. Specifically speaking, it is condition in which a person cannot securely survive in long term (Kircher, 2002). This kind of definition can be globally accepted or recognized and is not subjective to specific time bond, and also has the advantage of international comparability and commonality. An example could be the calorie intake, which is recommended by prominent institutions such as FAO and World Health Organization or the \$1 a day and \$2 a day used by the Human Development Reports as a tool of examining the extent of absolute poverty throughout the world.

Absolute poverty is a state in which a person could not have enough to live on, for instance he lacks of basic needs such as clothing and shelter in hostile climates. It is worth to be mentioned that the broader definition only adds in certain amount of relativity. Therefore as Kircher (2002) stated, this kind of definition related to the person's needs and has already been provided by Adam Smith (2003). Smith did nothing else but he compared only the two concepts in terms of relativity and he assessed that the ownership of certain things such as leather shoes might be necessary in a given society to achieve their standard social acceptance joint, while could not be necessary in another. Therefore, from this point of view, we should explain why some o countries, in the world are rich while others are lacks behind? Furthermore, this also explains why the official poverty rate in the United States in the early 1990s was close to 15% and also the one which is in Indonesia now close to 15% (much poorer).

Because of those the later country are vulnerable and live with famine, drought and crop failures, shocks, and political corruptions which leads them to general underdevelopment (World Bank, 1990). Additionally, this claim strongly supported by Rowntree's (1908) definition of absolute poverty in developing countries, whereby he used 'primary poverty' to find the facts of the issue, and stated that primary poverty can be defined as "earnings insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency." These view thus, consistent with Sen's perspective that defined poverty to be an absolute notion in the area of capabilities, like commodities or characteristics. Because it is possible that many of those persons counted as poor in some areas say for example in the United States could be well-off and comfortable in other areas like Indonesia. Thus, relative definitions of poverty are not exceptions of this.

As we mentioned above Relative poverty is often related with some notion of prevailing living standards and closely compared with absolute poverty in a certain community (Ravallion, 2002). In other words, if there is a person whose consumption level is below a particular level of the national average, we can say that he is relatively poor. When we further talked about poverty definitions in this context, people whose income distribution are the lowest 20% or people whose earning less than 50% of the mean income are examples of the issue as well. It would, therefore be safe to conclude that the applicability of both definitions depends on the need for comparability between countries and their economical well beings (Kircher, 2002).

2.14.2. Chronic and Transient Poverty

The transient poverty is an easily manageable in terms of its durations and affects the households in the short-term while chronic poverty is one of most difficult ones in poverty according its durations (long-term). However, the groups to whom they effected are the main distinctions. According to Uccelli (1997), the chronic poverty is characterized by a deep-rooted, weakened condition, and the consequence of multiple deprivations that it results over time. This includes poor health, substandard nutrition and inadequate access to productive assets. This kind of poverty, for its longevity and hardship is often associated with persistent, commitment and intergenerational poverty as well. According to (Hulme & Shepherd, 2003) they noted that a particular problem in contemporary poverty analysis, is neglecting to those who are effectively and chronically deprived because of seeking rapid reductions. In contrast

to that headcounts in an era of globalization, the problem is to see only those who are not effectively participated into the global market economy.

However, transient poverty normally results from shocks (one-time decline) in living standards, of which a household gradually emerges. Alternatively, it may appear like fluctuations in well-being that result in frequent shocks in the graph of living standards. For instance, seasonal variations in such areas such as food security may be seen from the history, which is falling in and out of poverty, sometimes cuts-off regularly, over time (Woolard & Leibbrandt, 2001).

2.15. Best Definition of Poverty

After we further explained various salient concepts that are usually used in conjunction with poverty in previous sections, then we are moving forward, a foundation upon which suitable definition for this dissertation has to be framed. As we mentioned earlier, over the past years there have been used several definitions of poverty. However, since 1997 according Human Development Report, there have been interrelated definitions of the phenomenon which is paving away newly established better comprehensible definitions. However, this definition should be primarily based on the same three different perspectives, which is: capability perspective, income perspective, and the basic needs perspective. In this regard, we can define thus poverty is deprivation of human capabilities, income and/or basic needs.

- (i) Expenditure\Income approach-based definition of poverty. This method is the most famous definition of poverty which is most commonly used by applied welfare economics. This approach identifies poverty as follows: *“A person can be poor if and only if, he\she have no sufficient access to economic resources in order to satisfy or adequately his\her basic material needs”* (Lipton, 1997).

This kind of definition is more compatible, for economist view, individual's Utility maximization of microeconomics. For instance, if consumers or individuals wants to maximize their utility, marginal utility of consumptions must be equal to the marginal utility of prices on a given commodities. In this essence, Welfare can then be thus, measured as the total consumption enjoyed by the community, which is derived from either income or expenditure data, According to (Laderchi, Saith & Stewart, 2003) poverty can be defined as

being below some minimum standard level of resources, which is known the poverty datum line.

- (ii) Basic needs perspective-based definition of poverty. This approach of identification poverty adds one step forward to the previous income approach, and it defines poverty to be individual's dispossession of basic material requirements such things as food, clothing, water, shelter, and sanitation that are necessary to prevent illness, nourishment and etc. to fulfill their human needs (Shaffer, 2001).

In this regard, no doubt that the notion of deprivation goes further beyond the scope of, that once you heard the word you looking it from, which is lack of private income, and instead gives us broader context which include some basic needs provided by states or communities in order to protect people from being poor. Additionally, employment opportunities were also given consideration in this context.

- (iii) Human capability perspective-based definition of poverty. According to the (Human Development Report, 1997), this approach normally rejects monetary income and instead measures of the well-being, and focuses on closely the indicators of the social science such as freedom to live. In this essence, poverty can be thus defined to be the absence of some basic capabilities such as living a long life, being healthy, well-nourished, needed to function," (Sen, 1993).

In other words, this is the ability to satisfy certain important functioning's up to certain comprehensible and minimally adequate levels, for example, adequately clothed, sheltered, and interacting well with others in the community, and so on are main points worth to be mentioned. However, based on these different views, we can say the concept of poverty is goes well beyond its economic domain. Additionally based on these different perspectives this dissertation also acknowledges the fact that poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon. Nevertheless, despite multidimensional perspectives related deprivations exist, most of the studies for example, those in in South Africa had limited their definitions to towards poverty in order to measure it easily. This is because whenever the object is defined in a broader sense, to measure and manage it will be more difficult task, which is a may result that policymakers face obstacles when evaluating poverty alleviation strategies (Mbuli, 2008).

Therefore, since that poverty is acknowledged to be a multidimensional phenomenon by this dissertation and other previous academic researchers, it became suitable to; (we)

define poverty, in line of broad sense as well as the broad concepts of poverty and Inequality that was published in 1998. According to (May, 1998), he defined the poverty to be “*the lack of ability of individuals, households, or entire societies, to have access sufficient resources in order to satisfy their socially acceptable and adequate minimum standard of living.*” Even so, against aforementioned definition many approaches that are utilized to evaluate and/or measure the extent of this phenomenon for best solution are examined by other researchers.

2.16. Theories of Poverty

2.16.1. New Right Philosophy and Poverty

This is an individualistic perspective that represents mixture of two ideologies of liberalist and conservative. The conservative regime of the United Kingdom, which was also known as new right philosophy, in between 1980-90 is the best example, this ideology claims that state should not interfere the poor conditions through transfers, rather should encourage the poor individuals to make get rid of poverty because some of the poor individuals are responsible for their condition. Unemployment payments and other state social benefits, through this ideology were cut by Margret Thatcher who was, at that time the prime minister of the United Kingdom. This ideology was seen by the ruler part to be the ultimate solution to deal with the alleviation of poverty. Although the liberal ideology of the market could not narrow the income disparities between the rich and the poor, but, it was argued, to improvements as an absolute way of those at the bottom of pyramid wealth of the society (Apaydin, 2011).

In this new right ideology of understanding of poverty, the poor person is identified to be irresponsible person who only live and benefit from state social benefits. According to this ideology poor should struggle and learn how to survive from poverty, also they should take the responsibility of being active individual to improve their life conditions. In this view, for most of the new right scholars believe, that the social welfare of the state is, instead of encouraging relaxing the hard working. For this reason, new right thinkers totally agree with liberal system that restricted welfare state transfers and they believe that in order to eradicate all kinds of poverty and financial gaps, the state should eliminate its social welfare and instead encourage its citizens to work for their children as a breadwinners.

Due to the restrictions of the action plan of the social welfare to the only urgent conditions, the new right ideology recommends that the poor persons should be classified in to deserving and undeserving ones, the state, thus should target deserving poor persons rather than undeserving ones who are responsible their being poverty in order not to promote the negative culture of poverty. The new right philosophy criticized the ways of selection poor individuals by saying:

“The most important aspect of this ‘poverty relief’ – not preventing or eliminating– is selectivism: the poor who ‘deserves’ state support should be selected and targeted properly. The ‘deserving’ poor referred here are ‘those individuals and communities that are positively identified as poor’ not the ones who have a negative culture of poverty” (Bademci 2007, p.47).

According to the new right philosophy, Poverty should be left on hands of nongovernmental organizations, which means governmental institutions for alleviating poverty should not be established, because they argue that voluntary agencies are good enough mechanism if the state wants to eradicate the regime of poverty, otherwise, and the state take a role negative culture of poverty will be arise and unmanageable.

Additionally, new Right philosophy of poverty also defines poor individuals to be a group which has different norms and cultures, so that the state could not handle their issues easily. Sometimes they are known marginalized groups because of they are separate from other society, and depended on state support. They are sometimes known to be a group of people separate from mainstream society, and lies the bottom, for this reason, It was called as ‘underclass ‘where sometimes the concept of underclass generally used to join with deserving – undeserving classes of poor (Sallan & Gül, 2008).

“According to Murray this underclass always been existed, there have always been deserving and undeserving poor, with the undeserving poor refusing to take responsibility for their lives, look for work, to obtain qualifications to better themselves or to contribute to society in a positive way. They are at the very bottom of the society” (Kane & Kirby, 2003, p.105).

In this view of new right philosophy, to distinct deserved poor from undeserving one, they concluded as follows:

Deserving poor may be understood as those who are taking the responsibility of being poor as well as looking forward jobs and can integrate to the large society. Oppositely, while describing the characteristics of undeserving poor, they cannot actually attach positive attribution to the society, only they create negative culture of dependency because of them and always dependent on the state welfare, rather to look for jobs, and get rid from being poverty.

2.16.2. Marxist Philosophy and Poverty

According to the Marxist theory, they blame that capitalist society holds the ownership of the means of production and always creates inequality among society. This ideology also advocates the claim that poverty is a structural and really lasting forever, because of capitalist system based on class conflict. This view also highlights the regime of inequality and claims that;

“Inequalities of wealth, income, opportunities and power are deliberately created and perpetuated over time that one class is always dominant and other subordinate. Capitalism- a system that puts price and commercial value ahead of all other values- is subject of erratic fluctuations, with periods of boom followed by periods of depression and unemployment, especially among the proletariat. It therefore polarizes rich and poor” (Kane & Kirby, 2003, p.111).

Capitalist ideology, do not do favor to the poor people and they explains them to their position which is only being means of production. Capitalist ideology, believes let the poor people get less than what they produce, for this reason structural inequality of opportunity is created. As Onur Acar claims that:

“the identification of these concerning groups as poor is in fact determined by their class position and this class position is objectively determined by the collective dispossession of the large masses of people from the means of production and their ultimate products” (Açar, 2009, p.52).

Another reason behind this structural inequality is the condition of capabilities, because the Position of proletariat as a mean of production always determined by their capabilities, therefore the poor people do not only suffer from low wages but also suffers

from low skills which lead their long term unemployment, and then, for that reason the poor people falls in to the deeper and risk of severity.

2.16.3. Negative Culture of Poverty

Historically speaking, the concept of ‘endless poverty’ was traced back to the 1950-60’s in United State, by anthropologist Oscar Lewis and since then, have been spreading all around the world. The term, basically defines the socio-economic conditions of undeserving poor person, who themselves devoted being poor and do not want to get rid from it. However, this view interconnects between the previous two ideas of capitalist and new right philosophy by underlining the exploitation of capitalist and the aforementioned irresponsibility of undeserved groups by liberalist in accordance with their economic and social adaption and reactions. Culture of poverty can be defined as an adaptation of the poor persons with their position of marginality, highly individuated by the capitalist society (Lewis, 1966).

The negative culture of poverty generally known as urban poverty and points out the characteristics of individuals that includes violence, helplessness, lethargy, long term unemployment, and lack of long term plans that through it, can be survived. They usually not try to establish plans for their future and live only for present. According to Lewis, this kind of poor people are bound up in a perpetuated poverty trap that is appears from generation to generation. As we mentioned above, the concept of culture of poverty is a related to sociology that emerged and used to understand the urban poverty throughout modernization process. According to Lewis, who is the name giver, stated that the concept had mainly aimed to describe the relation between underclass and mainstream larger societies and he believes that culture of poverty was originally a result from the lack of individual’s participation and integration to the socio-economic affairs and political institutions.

Many alternative arguments believe that culture of poverty is eradicated by saying that everything will change and behaviors will return to normal. But they forgot that there is another obstacle that is heritage poverty, which means transforming the norms of poverty cultures from generation to generation. For instance, if bad norms of negative culture of poverty are attached to the minds of six or seven years old children, it makes their attitudes for getting rid from the poverty so difficult (Kane & Kirby, 2003).

For this reason, the negative culture of poverty should not be taken advantage of as a stigmatized issue; rather it should be interpreted as a simple reaction from poor individuals. Otherwise, it will discourage them and label them as 'undeserving poor' which can finally lead them to despair from struggling to find ways of getting rid of this condition. On the other hand, Lewis argued the opposite of this idea and he claims that poverty is not at first, a result of individual reaction but rather a result of beliefs and norms that individuals inherited from their grandfathers. Moreover, some conservatives strongly support the idea by saying that social welfare provided by the state normally creates socially and culturally dependent individuals, who cannot be integrated into the large society forever. However, some scholars stand with Lewis in terms of the definition of culture of poverty by emphasizing that social assistance according to the poor is considered, hypothetically temporary because they believe that they will be, once upon a time, free from it. In this view, 'Poor person is that one, who has some things but at the same time, lacks enough important things that he wants to get' (Narayan, Pritchett & Kapoor, 2009).

By the way, it is widely accepted, as Lewis mentioned earlier, that the poor in order to survive, do not suffer only from being in need of everything but they also suffer from being in need of other some important tools such as skills. Therefore, Lewis claims that poverty is a lack of individual's ability to adapt and integrate to both society and institutions. If the poor individuals even benefit from cash transfers through public relief systems, they will not stop complaining because it's just keeping them alive, instead of eliminating poverty and integrating them into the large society (Lewis, 1968).

3. THE ASSESMENT OF POVERTY AND SOCIAL ASSISTANCE IN SOMALIA

3.1. What is Vulnerability in Somalia?

Somalia household's well-beings are negatively affected by a various covariate shocks. These shocks in Somalia context consist of; community level shocks such as epidemics and natural disasters, and idiosyncratic or household level shocks such as local conflicts, injury, death or unemployment. However, these shocks all have become a threat to the Somali household's well-being and their standard living. Furthermore, Somalia's recurrent humanitarian crises have been traced back to 1991 since the time the strong central government collapsed. Therefore, since then, there were conflicts and anarchy in the country that have led to the extreme poverty as a result of cyclical droughts caused by climate shocks. As a consequence, Informal safety nets such as local self-insurance and remittance by diaspora and other assistance led-by humanitarian agencies, because of the absence of government-led support, became most common used tools as coping mechanisms in the country generally and southern-central regions particularly. However, the capacity of delivering sufficient service through such mechanisms remains limited.

As we mentioned in previous chapters Somali refugees across the borders because of 2017 droughts are estimated 3.2 million Somalis. Those refugees faced severely livelihood problems such as food insecurity just the drought alone in 2017. Also US\$3 billion of allocated budget are estimated to be incurred by donors during the response of these droughts in Somalia. In this framework, In order to adopt social assistance strategies and mitigate the risks of vulnerability, a well-planned social protection mechanisms which is based on a conscious understanding of the virtual relationship between the vulnerability and poverty must be employed (World Bank, 2005).

Potential risks and shocks that could affect negatively an individual's well-being are referred to be vulnerability. Due to the lack access to resources required by the individuals to prevent themselves from the deficiency, poor households are usually more vulnerable. On the other hand, although poverty is not the only source of vulnerability but it can be the effect that results from the vulnerability because being vulnerable means being prone to any risks and threat that can harm individual's livelihood. In compared to vulnerability, which

measures the factors that that can push individuals in to poverty or can exacerbates already poor ones into deeper poverty (an ex-ante), poverty is the effect that is measured through household's well-being (an ex-post). Individuals, in this sense are different because some could be vulnerable only after they exposed to a shock while others who already being poor ones are in a chronic state of vulnerability (Hoogeveen, et al., 2004).

3.1.1. Major Causes of Vulnerability in Somalia

For more than two decades, Somalia was rife with conflict and violence, which leaded it to economic displacement, as well as loss of life and productive assets. Most of the armed Somali conflicts were based on clan identities that being used to gain control of power and resources. For example, every clan in order to improve their livelihood tended to control of grazing land and water points. Since agro-pastoralism in Somalia is the main source of livelihood the control of these resources were\are fundamental for survival because access to land and water areas translated into improvement of livelihoods. Thus, Force and violence are mostly arises from grabbing land, continues a cycle of conflict which then finally exacerbates the vulnerability overall the country (World Bank, 2005).

Mostly southern regions in Somalia were controlled by militant groups, which mean Al-Shabab's increased dominance in those areas worsened the situation in terms of both economic and security. This kind of worse situation reduced economic opportunities and constrained the individual's livelihoods through lack of overall farm lands and loss of productive assets such as fishing and livestock sectors. On the other hand, Due to its geographic location, Somalia has been experiencing cyclical climatic shocks such as droughts and floods. It is worth to be mentioned that the climate shocks that affects mostly mobility and access of individuals exacerbated by existence of cyclical conflict and violence in the country. Additionally since 1991 Somalia has been experiencing severe famine. But the years of 2011, and 2017 were the most worst ever in the country while around 750,000 people were estimated to be under the risk of starvation and almost 260,000 died (World Bank Group, 2018).

The 2017 droughts had become the largest negative impact of both livestock and agricultural sectors after El Niño with below average rains hit in the country during the year of 2015 by depleting water resources, as well as directly affecting agricultural and livestock sectors. Since agriculture and livestock sectors are counted to be the backbone of Somali

economy and contribute 65% of Somali's gross domestic product GDP, a loss in the sectors directly or indirectly impact the well-being of Somali households, which for sure finally create indigestion and poverty.

Additionally, both sectors and climatic conditions are heavily interrelated each other. Due to reduction of cultivated land area as well as the yields and inefficiency, the cyclical droughts caused a loss of crop production. Also the livestock sector, due to a severe dearth of water and unavailability of pasture such as grazing land and water for the livestock caused by the climate shocks suffers from a loss as well. In this sense, droughts in 2017 alone 70% are reported to be loosed in terms of pastoralists and 30% of agro-pastoralists WFP (2011).

Due to these dwindling of food supply the prices increases, which aggravated then food insecurity. In 2017, due to the drought caused by climate changes there were a sharp drop in crop production in Somalia. And this caused that the maize and sorghum harvests in 2017 decrease up to 75% according to the previous years, which finally resulted that about more than half Somalia's population around (6.2 Million) were estimated to be under severe food insecurity. Rural areas living Somalis are totally lost access to food and credit markets and they experience high prices even if they had access to the markets. This kind of restrictions also causes vulnerability (World Bank, 2019).

Since the civil war of 1991 when Somali's strong government collapsed, the governmental institutions were absent or exist with fragile. Even though in 2012 well-agreed upon and locally elected Somali Federal Government was established but still lacked technical and institutional capacity to deliver adequately services to the society. Therefore the Somali households due to the fragility of the government institutions are till now struggling with their daily lives to cope with shocks caused by natural disasters.

Sometimes it is so hard to be distinguished between the impact of climatic shocks and man-made conflicts because both are intertwined closely by the political economy. Therefore, it is obvious that the natural disasters are compounded by political instability and conflicts. For example food aid in Somalia became part of the armed conflicts in 1991, when different Somali clans clashed over getting access to it. Similarly, due to the lack of security and conflicts erupted in most southern Somalia trade and freedom of movement was restricted which finally deteriorated the standard living of Somalis who lived in the conflict areas (Zanini, et al., 2018).

3.2. The Importance of Social assistance in Somalia

Social assistances through social safety nets are widely recognized globally as contributing to the economic developments when it comes to the individual's poverty reduction, human development, resilience building as well as sustainable and equitable growth.

3.2.1. What is Social assistance in Somalia?

A social assistance is a part of social service which usually budgeted to provide basic social security and include but not limited to income security to all individuals of a certain state. Through social assistance systems, vulnerabilities and severe poverty are focused on throughout the lifecycle of the poor persons. Ensuring that the poorest and most vulnerable groups can access social services such as health care, welfare, and free education are part of the main objectives of social assistance mechanisms (Stephen & Wheeler, 2004).

Social assistance through social safety nets are widely recognized globally as contributing to the economic developments when it comes to the individual's poverty reduction, human development, resilience building as well as sustainable and equitable growth. A Social protection by the welfare state usually focuses on the following areas:

a) Protection, which means ensuring a minimum level of basic needs support to those who in need and vulnerable; b) Prevention, safeguarding and controlling the consumption for vulnerable people at times of shock, for example at the time of floods and droughts. c) Promotion, creating job opportunities in order to promote the productivity and higher incomes. d) Transformation, by addressing problems related to the vulnerabilities faced by socially marginalized groups, the state is required to transform the relationship among society through social protection.

In this regard, the federal government of Somalia defined social protection system as being 'government-led policies and programs which is established to address hypothetical needs throughout the life cycle of the individuals along the country. By that way, government-led social protection programs will particularly protect the poor and vulnerable persons against shocks, as well as helps even to manage risks, and provide them with better opportunities to get rid of from the indigestion. Social protection systems are thus, widely believed to mitigate risks at different level of the society and contribute to growth, social

cohesion, and inclusion as well. In this essence, the federal government of Somalia by addressing the root causes of poverty, risk at the shock times, and overall vulnerability, will implement the Social Protection mechanisms through a sustainable and comprehensive national schemes (Stephen & Wheeler, 2004).

3.2.2. The Need for Social assistance in Somalia

The extent of starvation, poverty and vulnerability in Somalia, caused by frequently occurred droughts and other natural and man-made disasters, demands to be established sustainable, long-term social protection mechanisms. Those social protection policies should be led also by the state to treat the root causes of poverty and vulnerability in the country.

There is increasing evidence towards social protection, which shows that the repeated, cyclical, and short-term humanitarian interventions are better than those in the long term, to avoid crises. This means that prevention is always better than treatments. Therefore, Social protection as some empirical evidence stated, contributes to poverty reduction and promotes economic well-beings through strengthening the resilience building effort, as well as provides mechanism for flexing and scaling effective additional needs during crisis responses. The opportunity to establish and maintain longer-term social protection policymaking and programming centered on resilience entailed to the process of state-building that has been growing gradually in Somalia since 2012.

The FGS with its locally and internationally partners are unanimously engaging the need for social development through social protection systems and safety nets for purpose of resilience and development strategy in Somalia. Thus A national social protection system led by the state can only serve as a means to replace the fragmentation of international aid in Somalia. However, these reforms related to the need of social protection policies came amid the extent of need in Somalia (chronic and seasonal,) have been going through the highest extreme points and large segments of Somali population remain vulnerable to fall into extreme poverty as well. This means that the majority of Somalis could be said to be in severe need of social protection. All these evidence were from the impact of the 2017 droughts, where from 83,000 up to 866,000 are estimated the number emergency of Somali population during 10 months estimated to increase from 83,000 to 866,000 persons, until half of the population guessed to require humanitarian assistance and 3.3 million persons among them required urgent life-saving assistance. However, some particular groups are

generally recognized to be more vulnerable to poverty than other demographic ones in Somalia (Daniel & Merry, 2012).

3.2.3. Requirement for Social assistance Systems in Somalia

In Somalia context, equitable, pragmatic, inclusive, contextually relevant, transparent, decentralized, accountable, and sustainable social assistance systems are needed to be created and led by the state. However, by doing and implementing such agendas the following key principles should be intentionally considered:

3.2.3.1. Nationally Owned and State-Led System

Government-owned Social assistance that is subjective to national policies, culture, and other social moral standards can play vital role for mitigating the risks that faced by the individuals. The federal government of Somalia (FGS) and its Federal Member States (FMS) are required to implement social assistance programs through arranging cooperation with the civil society, humanitarian agencies as well as private and business sectors.

3.2.3.2. Balanced Social Assistance

As we aware, vulnerabilities can be characterized in to chronic, seasonal, economic related and social related vulnerability, therefore focusing each one in respect to their applicable situation are required. Furthermore, Poverty in Somalia can be dynamic; that means some individuals in certain area and time can move in and out of poverty. Even so, some households can chronically remain poor with no change.

On the other hand, some households who face multiple vulnerabilities are more likely to be most deprived than those who are not. Therefore, Social protection should predict applicable social assistance to those suffering from long-term deficiency or chronically vulnerable ones. Additionally it should give support also to those on the verge of risk. However, social protection systems eradicate both social and economic vulnerabilities along the state. This entails the principle of awareness and equity among the society as well as the prevention of risk and helping individuals to get rid of from the burden of inequality (MoLSA, 2019).

3.2.3.3. Broad Vision and Incremental Implementation

In order to address chronic poverty and vulnerability in Somalia a broad based and long term aim of social assistance that allows everyone adequate standard of living through a range of schemes should be implemented. But at the same, the reality of Somalia's still-emerging politically, economically, governance styles and technical capabilities should be implied with this goal of social assistance implementation. Thus, a small number of social assistance interventions should be prioritized in respect of time horizon. Specifically speaking the social assistance related interventions should be incrementally applicable to the country's capacity. This method promotes balanced and sustainable social assistance implementations along the lifecycle by ensuring that transfers are delivered to those who in need (MoLSA, 2019).

3.2.3.4. Contributory and Non-Contributory Initiatives

Indirect social assistance such as user fee exemptions, fee waivers, and subsidies through non-contributory mechanisms are often used by the state to allow individuals access immediately some basic social services such as health, water and education. In that context, The Somali economy is characterized by less transformation and high levels of informality in respect with the population growth, thus, contributory social protection schemes, even though are good to the long term future, would only satisfy small percentage of the population. In this essence, in developing economic countries non-contributory initiatives should be used as social protection systems.

Although, multi-dimensional areas of poverty are relatively straightforward, social assistance programs that are not limited to cash transfers are globally viewed to be a key building block for poverty reduction strategies. Further, cash interventions are perfectly viewed to be the most feasible and appropriate initiatives in terms of economy and capacity buildings. Even so in Somalia context implementing such contributory and large-scale cash-based programs can take years, if not decades (MoLSA, 2019).

3.2.3.5. Cross-Regional Initiatives

In Somalia context, it's stressful to be prioritized some number of interventions because of the widespread needs. The initial social assistance programs should be able to cut

across the entire regions, geographies, as well as all livelihood groups for consistency because the nature of poverty and covariate risks among individuals and regions can vary.

3.2.3.6. Flexible and Scalable Funding Mechanisms

Due to the excessiveness of vulnerability and multiple challenges that are exist in the country, without referring to the applicability and feasibility of the program, urgent and temporary humanitarian assistance are usually implemented by non-state actors. By that way, the country's social protection system could not seek approaches to address lifecycle vulnerabilities among individuals and regions. Thus, additional preventive measures that can be scaled up as needed Integration such as resilience, durable solutions with priority agendas must be integrated.

Somali poverty is characterized by complexity and multi-dimensionality because it differs from region to region, as well as from community to community. No single action can thus be remedy for the problem. However, social assistance is crucial for poverty reduction strategy; but on the other hand, it cannot address all risk factors or all structural causes of vulnerability. In this essence, other complementary policy initiatives that can bridge between this policy and other strategies such as resilience and durable agendas must be conceived alongside (MoLSA, 2019).

3.2.3.7. Long-Term Objectives and Commitments

If a country wants to build a long term comprehensible social protection systems, that could yields reliable and prestigious outcomes, some relative commitments such as long-term funding, broad based objectives, and programming are required. An economically and politically fragile country like Somalia, this will specially also require a well-planned and fundamental departure from the short-term to the long vision through strong local and international engagement for better and foreseeable future (MoLSA, 2019).

3.3. Traditional Social assistance systems in Somalia

In Somali context, some vulnerable groups are sometimes, protected against recurrent shocks by some traditional safety net structures that are generally integral to Somali society. Even though, it restricted to specific areas such as the urban religious contributions paid by

the rich individuals that include (zakat) and (sadaqah) are important supplements to poor households. On the other hand, remittance also could be remedy for the livelihoods in sometime and some areas in Somalia. However, 35% are estimated to be those households who receive remittances, compared to 56% of those non-recipients (MoLSA, 2019).

Remittances or Hawala are often sent from abroad by diaspora and channeled through Hawala networks. These kinds of contributions are because of absence of government institutions, have been governed by cultural norms for the last two decades and distributed through local networks. These independent traditional safety nets, although, is not much plays vital role for coping mechanism at times of shocks. However, these mechanisms are recognized that it do not fulfill equally all the needs because it was used often by certain groups where some marginalized groups were not part of recipients (excluded). However, this Hawala based contributions are seen to be essential part but not durable solutions for the man-made and natural cyclical crises. Therefore, Formal and institutionalized social safety nets that align with the social and economic values as well as taking consideration to the marginalized or excluded groups are likely to compensate the gap (MoLSA, 2019).

3.4. Legal Mandates for Social assistances in Somalia

There are various articles that grantees social rights and protection to the citizens in the provisional constitution of Somalia. Therefore, each one of them will be discussed in detail throughout the following text.

3.4.1. Domestic Arrangements

In Somali context, some policies related to the social assistance systems that prevailed to the domestic legislations and regional conventions were implemented by the authority. Some African countries, by referencing their economic and social backgrounds, in order to provide at least minimum level of support to those who in need throughout the lifecycle, including during childhood, unemployment, employment, and old age set out social protection mechanisms, and Somalia is nor except them.

The provisional constitution of Somalia granted all persons or citizens to have access equally their economic and social rights, including social protection, as well as rights to receive high adequate standard of living. The Constitution also gave position to the

vulnerable and marginalized groups by considering their right to live efficiently. The articles that acknowledged these basic rights are written in the first chapter of the provisional constitution as follows:

- “Article 27 — Economic and Social Rights ”

- (1) “Every person has the right to clean potable water”.

- (2) “Every person has the right to health care, and no one may be denied emergency health care for any reason, including lack of economic capability”.

- (3) “Every person has the right to full social security”.

- (4) “Every person has the right to protect, pursue, and achieve the fulfillment of the rights recognized in this Article, in accordance with the law, and without interference from the state or any other party”.

- (5) “It shall be ensured that the women, the aged, the disabled, and minorities who have long suffered discrimination get the necessary support to realize their socio-economic rights”.

- Article 28: Family Care

- (2) “Mother and child care is a legal duty of the State”.

- Article 29: Children

- (2) “Every child has the right to be protected from mistreatment, neglect, abuse, or degradation”.

- (3) “No child may perform work or provide services that are not suitable for the child’s age or create a risk to the child’s health or development in any way”.

3.4.2. Regional and International Commitments

Somalia among those signed and ratified international and regional conventions that overall promotes individual’s equality and standard social protection across the globe. These conventions and treaties include a) the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disability. b) The pacts Against Torture and Other Cruel c) The International Covenant on Economic,

Social, and Cultural Rights. d) The Convention on the Rights of the Child. e) The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child.

All these conventions are internationally referenced to the UDHR (1948). This declaration recognized social protection as a basic human right that all citizens around the world that benefit equally from it:

- Article 22: states that everybody has right of social guarantees through established local and international organizations.

“Everyone, as a member of society, has a right to social security and is entitled to realization through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality”.

- Article 25: Every person has a right to adequate standard living and health care.

“Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing and housing as well as care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance”.

Social protection systems in Somalia have particular relevant features to Some International Labor Conventions, in terms of Freedom of Association and Right to Organize (art.87), as well as right to Organize and Collective Bargaining (art.98), and Worst Forms of Child Labor (art.182).

- Kampala Convention (2009)

The Kampala Convention in 2009 is held for the social Protection of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa. During this convention many important issues such as housing, land, non-discrimination, access to basic services, local integration or relocation, compensation, registration and personal documentation and property rights were all discussed in detail. (Article 4,), (Article 9), (Article 11), (Article 12), and (Article 13) are among those articles of Kampala convention in 2009 that are related to the social policy.

3.5. Inadequate Shocks and Risks in Somalia

In order to prevent or mitigate risks caused by recurrent shocks, an efficient risk management strategies and coping strategies are often designed and employed by the states (De Ferranti, et al., 2000). One of the main objectives of doing such efforts is to address the immediate impact of shocks as well as preparing people through building resilience mechanisms that can prevent households to fall again vulnerability in the future (durable solutions). However, using both formal such as market-based arrangement and government-led networks of social safety nets and other informal safety nets such as community-based arrangements are among, but not limited to, those risk management and coping strategies. Although, the characteristics of these systems vary by type and scale of targeting problems, it at the same time specifies three basic components: obtaining protection which means reducing the likelihood of experiencing risk, acquiring knowledge during the program through experience and procuring insurance that means transferring resources as an appropriate manner and time to smooth consumption (World Bank, 2019).

In Somalia context, high portions of the population are poor or at the risk to fall in vulnerability where they lacks access to public and private social assistance and insurance systems. Due to a lack of strong enough institutional setup required to manage such social assistance programs, Somalia government faces challenges to mitigate risks and to protect households against risks through offering adequate services. But instead, local and humanitarian organizations fill the void. The government because of lacks technical and institutional capacity to administer such massive programs inclined toward transitioning the program in both short and long terms. However; low revenue generation which only represents 2.1% of the country's total GDP, and household's incapacity to have access to both formal insurance such as credit markets and informal nets could also be further constraints (World Bank, 2019).

The clans itself as community level, mostly plays a crucial through a networking informal safety nets. They often establish (Charity or Sadaqah) mechanisms by sharing products like livestock (e.g irmaansi). But such informal social assistance networks may create exclusionary because it is mostly limited to clan members. However, the informal social assistances nets are, due to their limitation within a given clan, for example, and lack of comprehensible regulatory frameworks not sufficient (World Bank, 2005).

Somali households, in order to address the shocks mostly caused by climate and conflict conditions and smooth their consumption, take up loans from any accessible social safety nets either being formal or informal. On the other hand, US\$1.4 billion which is around 23% of the country's GDP are estimated to be received from diaspora by local households through remittance. This kind of income facilitated by high mobile phone penetration across the country and allows households to tap into those resources. This income of remittance also allows them to use their funds first to play off already existing debts, which can make the households more resilient to future shocks.

However, some households are excluded due to the lack of access and the government has no capacity to administer and coordinate the humanitarian programs. Thus, this could be another source of household's vulnerability in Somalia. Furthermore, cash-based transfers have recently become more prevalent when it comes to the response of emergency cases caused by droughts. By that way, around 3.2 million individuals were targeted on the base of acute needs through these cash transfer programs during 2017, by various local and international NGOs. Some of these cash-based transfers continued up to 2 years, whereas others were based on once payments only. However, due to the lack of security, to reach rural parts of central and southern Somalia were remained stressful.

Due to their lack of access to formal or informal safety nets, some households exercise negative coping strategies that is not applicable to their economic and social needs. This can even lead them to fall in deeper risks and vulnerability. Because they sometimes engage to sell their productive assets to smooth consumption, incurs debt, takes children out of school. According to evidences revealed by Somali poverty and vulnerability assessments in 2019, 52% of Somali households, in order to cope with the shocks of 2017 droughts sold their productive assets such as farming land. A 37% and 48% of breeding stocks and drought animals were sold respectively as well. Most of the poor households use informal activities such as selling or buying jewelry in order to generate savings arrangements for their emergency cases. However, Loss of productive assets such as tools used for cultivations and etc. can have direct effect on household's income whereas loss of physical asset could reduce also directly the savings (World Bank, 2019).

Most of the welfare states address all kinds of vulnerabilities, shocks and crises caused by conflict and climate conditions through establishing social protection policies. Since Poverty can be in nature transient or chronic, and caused by different factors such as climate

change and political and economic instability, thus, it is important to be understood that these different kinds of poverty have different remedies, and through that different nature, social policies must be established. Hence, these strategies should be consists of ex-ante policies that prevents the problems (vulnerability) before the poverty come in to the scene and ex-post policies that alleviates the problems (poverty) after it experienced by the individuals. Thus, in this essence, the federal government of Somalia is giving priority right now to build well-planned and comprehensible social assistance systems through National Development Plan 2017–19 (Hoogeveen, et al., 2004).

3.5.1. Poverty Shocks in Somalia

The behavior of vulnerable households affected by both exposure and experience of shock, whereas poor households are even sometimes, due to their being exposure to risk more likely to take decisions that can exacerbates their severity. For more understanding, some vulnerable households try to survive from the shocks through allocation a large portion of their income, which can push them into further severity. At the same time, vulnerable households are often much likely to not invest through its productive assets for saving.

This less saving thus, can lead them to fall in further vulnerability to shocks. According to the Somali poverty and vulnerability assessments in 2019, due to 2017 droughts caused by climate changes 66% of Somali households reported to experience at least one type of shock. Water shortages and loss of crops or livestock deaths were among the problems faced by the households. Two of every five Somali person which means 40% of Somali households reported experiencing multiple types of shocks during 2017. These multiple types of shocks reported having greater or multiple negative impacts than those experienced one type of shock (Ward & Eyber, 2009).

3.5.2. Factors Determines Poverty Shocks in Somalia

According to Somali poverty and vulnerability assessments in 2019, if a household headed by male, illiterate person, nomads, age person and poor person, they are more likely to experience shock and risks caused by droughts. Female headed households are praised by the study but, on the other hand, revealed that household headed by female person is more likely to experience conflicts which itself constrains the family's well-being. Furthermore, IDPs settlements and households live in urban areas reported experiencing high food prices

as well as conflict and violence more than other those lives in rural areas. The study also revealed that Overall 1% increase in household's wealth decreases the probability of being vulnerable by 20% if and only if other thing being equal.

Lack of education, being agriculturalist, unemployment, and large household size are among those other factors that can lead households falling in vulnerability. Households in fragile economic countries often rely on informal social nets. These networks include as we mentioned earlier, religious based networks that allow family and friends to share the available resources and risks. Also remittances that received from abroad by diaspora in emergency times are among the informal social assistance networks and this kind of assistance mostly inflow during droughts and other natural shocks caused by both conflict and climate conditions. Thus, the number of households that received remittances during 2017 reported more increasing than previous years, which means that remittance assistance received by Somali households often inflows as an emergency. Similarly these households that receive remittance reported experiencing more shocks than those who did not receive any remittance (Jack & Suri, 2014).

Although, shocks and vulnerability affects all different kinds of the Somali population, settlement IDPs, nomads and rural households (agropastoralist) are more fragile in terms of vulnerability than urban households. Those living in urban areas are more likely to experience high food price than those lives in rural areas but at the same time are less likely to experience droughts, crises and shocks. Social assistance itself creates vulnerability as some studies reveals that households that receive social assistance are more likely to experience shocks. For example 2017 droughts, Due to the data collection period, and the beginning of the humanitarian assistance some households reduced their exposure to risk by forecasting the future, if they would not do so it may increases their chances of getting assistance. Thus, it's widely agreed upon that social assistance can partially create vulnerability and poverty through culture of dependency.

Finally, other factor that can determine vulnerability is consumption distribution. According to the regressions done by Somali poverty and vulnerability assessments, a households those their consumption distribution is above 60% are more likely to experience a shock than those below that rate. This is because if they consume all what they have had, thus they gambling by doing such bad deeds like theft. Hence, poor households are less likely

to have jobs and valuable life as compared to the normal non-poor households (Jack & Suri, 2014).

3.6. Who is More Vulnerable the Shocks in Somalia

As we have mentioned above, shocks in Somalia influenced by different demographic characteristics such as age, location, consumption, education, household head status, employment status and gender. Most of the countries in order to formulate their strategies towards safety nets use this demographic information. Similarly, some shocks by natural disasters can be solved efficiently due to their occurrence commonly in certain locations, whereas some others related to different household characteristics, such as the household head or employment status, can increase the risk of vulnerability in certain situations.

Nomads and those living in rural areas are most vulnerable to risks and crises. In this regard, 98% and 72% of those vulnerable due to their dependence on agro-pastoralist lifestyle reported experiencing at least one type of shock respectively. On the other hand, 73% of IDP settlements reported experiencing a shock in 2017 droughts. Additionally, most of the IDP camps in Mogadishu usually controlled by militia groups those operate and act as “gatekeepers” at IDP settlement camps in Somalia. These militia groups in return charges the IDPs in settlements a certain fee for providing security that can finally lead the poor households to fall in deeper poverty (Jack & Suri, 2014).

Even though, trends of vulnerability vary across types of shocks, female headed households are less likely (60%) to experience a shock than male headed ones (70%). Similarly, female headed households are less likely to experience water shortages for farming and cattle rearing than male headed households. Unsurprisingly, due to the women’s high incidence in conflict and violence female headed households usually experience higher levels of violence at different socio-economic and even institutional levels. Households headed by around 55 years old person or above are more likely to experience shock as the same case experienced those headed by child. Furthermore, there are other factors such as unemployment, lack of livelihood opportunities, lack of information, and mental and physical illness that all can contribute to the household’s vulnerability and limit access to coping mechanisms. Due to social isolation child headed household are fragile and more vulnerable than those who do not as well.

Poor households in Somalia context are more likely to experience crises and shocks caused by climate and conflict conditions than non-poor households. A regressions analysis shows that 67% of Somali poor households, due to their lack access to risk management instruments are on the verge of crises and shocks whereas 64% represents non-poor households. But the consumption-based poverty and its relationship with the shocks and crises is not like household characteristic such as age, education and etc. However, this relationship remains spurious. Thus, some results through these regressions show interesting results where non-poor households reported experiencing some shortages in terms of water and income (Jack & Suri, 2014).

3.7. Effects of Vulnerability and Shocks in Somalia

As the regressions by some scholars revealed 95% of Somali households, due to the theft and conflicts reported experiencing negative impacts in different areas such as the income, assets, or food resources. Furthermore, Conflict and violence caused by shocks and shortages of productive assets also leads to further destruction of property and other valuables, as well as negatively affects the food prices and loss of crops or livestock. Since most Somali's livelihood rely on farming and livestock so any deficiency to these affects negatively to the household income. Similarly, due to purchasing power parity caused by high food prices usually results reduction of household's real income which is finally brings cost-push inflation in to the scene (Tesliuc & Lindert 2004).

How shocks can be copied by households? Households usually rely on either formal or informal networks or both to mitigate the risks to smooth their consumption. This is called coping strategies and can be categorized in detail as follows: (i) self-insurance, or self-centered engagement which means household's engagement towards selling, pledging, or mortgaging their assets; or household's engagement towards, borrowing some money from relatives, or friends to smooth consumption. (ii) Self-help which is referred to use productive assets in order to generate some income, through working activities. (iii) Formal mechanisms such as credits or market-based mechanisms in financial institutions. Therefore, due to the lack of well-planned market-based mechanisms in Somalia, alternative informal mechanisms are likely to dominate. (v) Cash-based transfers sponsored by the government, which can directly encourage the household's well-being, and (vi) local and international

NGOs that operates along the country by relieving aid and/or any ad hoc social assistance services (Tesliuc & Lindert 2004).

Due to the absence of formal and informal safety nets led by the state, self-insurance and incurring debt became the most common and feasible coping strategies, which indicate adequate, risk management and mitigation systems. Household's access to different types of mitigation strategies is not affected by the poverty and wealth, because the poor households that generally more exposed to shocks and risks are unfortunately less instruments to cope with it. According to the World Bank's survey in 2003, Most of the wealthiest persons or households in Somalia, have similar access to formal and informal safety nets with the poor ones. Even so, most of Somali households cope with the shocks through borrowing money from informal networks such as friends and relatives (World Bank, 2019).

According to the same study by the World Bank reliance of the Somali poor households on informal risk coping mechanisms is also similar and consistent across different locations and characteristics. For example, due to the absence of formal risk coping mechanisms, female headed households are more likely to respond than male headed households. Similarly, rural households are less likely to do nothing after experiencing a shock than those living in the cities. In fragile economic countries, food shortages that caused by recurrent droughts can also trigger famine, and malnutrition depending on the local context such as culture and religious sentiments (World Bank, 2018).

This kind of droughts usually affects dimensions of food security such as availability of the food, stability, as well as equal access by citizens, and allocations or utilization. If the resources suddenly decrease the households commonly take some responses such as reducing consumption or take the children out of the school as coping strategies. However, due to the drought that makes the food even unavailable, it's normal and predictable that households in rural areas are much potentially worse off than those live in the cities, because the nomads' faces challenges include lack of access to credit markets as well as loss of crops and livestock (World Bank, 2019).

3.8. Resilience Building and Cash-Based Interventions in Somalia

As we have several times mentioned above, a shocks experienced by Somali households include, low level of wealth, higher level of food insecurity and they are less

likely to have access to formal or informal coping mechanisms, as well as are less likely to save to survive. Thus, in this regard, there is wide need to build both risk management (RMS), and risk coping capacity systems (RCCS) through social protection systems that vulnerable groups can equally benefit from it. There is a distinction between the two strategies. The (RMS) works as ex-ante approach of income generation (income smoothing), and (RCS) works as (consumption smoothing) or ex-post of consumption allocation (Alderman & Paxson, 1994).

When a successful welfare state wants to build resilience they use a mix of both strategies that enables affected households by shocks to anticipate and/or recover in timely and efficient manner (Mitchell & Harris, 2012). Generally speaking, households affected by severe shocks sell their productive assets to mitigate the risks through smoothing their consumption. For example, Farmers, in India, often sell their cattle whenever they exposed to risk and shocks (World Bank, 2019). Similarly, Agro-pastoralist in West-African countries, sell their livestock whenever they experience income fluctuations related to the semiarid environment. Households in Somalia, who often and mostly suffer from recurrent shocks, are believed to have cell phones, and whenever they experience extreme income depletion they mostly sell their phones (Lim & Townsend, 1998).

All above mentioned activities enables the households in different locations to create capacity for self-insurance. Normal Households with access to formal and informal insurance networks and those that have work opportunities and savings are better able to smooth their consumption than those who have not. Furthermore, Households in rural areas where the credit markets are in constraints, make long-term investments. It is common that the nomads' households are less likely to generate income so that they face challenges, including household's savings and income shocks. Thus, in Somalia's context, social safety nets led by the NGOs build household resilience as well as encourage them to smooth their consumption in hard times (Zeldes, 1989; Kimball, 1990; Deaton, 1992).

Social assistances including cash transfers are mostly given to the households by the NGOs for productive investments, savings, and other income generating activities to improve their standard living (World Bank, 2018). Similarly, through these mechanisms of social assistance household's ownership, and self-insurance are encouraged (Bastagli, et al., 2016). Similarly, such social cash-based assistance also improves the quality of education through increasing school attendance, as well as improves the health via household's participations to health services and dietary diversity (Bastagli, et al. 2016). Cash-based assistance also improves the household's satisfaction and stability through reduction of loans and debt repayments that is finally leads the households to manage risks in a more effective manner. A cash transfer prevents the households from negative activities such as begging or theft as well. Households are widely believed that they will better able to cope with crises if and only if, they have more mobilized human capital assets, as well as have access to jobs, and have market relations (World Bank, 2018).

Generally, a welfare country tends to spend most of their GDP in social assistance programs. In contrast; most of sub-Saharan African countries spends 1.6% GDP as social safety nets to their poor households. In Somalia context, even though humanitarian agencies spends 16% of Somali GDP (US\$ 1.2 billion) as humanitarian aid to reduce poverty, the government-led assistance estimated around 0.8 % of local GDP in 2016. Thus, using huge resources as following comprehensible targeting methods of social assistance could substantially reduce poverty and encourages the individuals to prevent or cope with the crises (World Bank, 2018).

Globally, economic fragile countries such as Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Haiti, are prone to natural shocks. Even though these countries have low safety net coverage rates, humanitarian assistance is much larger. Normally high coverage rates might be undermined by budget constraints, lack of institutional capacity, as well as political and culture related issues. Similarly, in Somalia context, currently there is no comprehensible and state-owned social assistance system as well, but like aforementioned countries, humanitarian agencies fills the void and around 20% of the population are supported by the local and international NGOs in response to cyclical droughts and shocks in the country (World Bank, 2018).

4. FINDINGS AND ENTERPETATION OF THE RESEARCH

Analysis of the field research data that is based on aforementioned theoretical background is going to be done along this chapter. But, before starting the analysis, it is an important to give a brief consideration to the methodology and research designs as follows:

4.1. Research Methodology

A qualitative phenomenological research design that focuses on the commonality was used as an approach for the investigation because of unavailability of secondary data. However, as a methodology of data collection, during the investigations at the field research qualitative techniques were used. By that way, 25 semi-structured interviews with beneficiaries particularly those are Mogadishu IDP inhabitants and 15 in-depth interviews with social assistance staffs were interviewed as well. Depending on the current interview participant and their availabilities semi-structured interview with beneficiaries are estimated to take approximately one hour while the other estimated to take half hour. The interviewed staffs were social assistance specialist, experts and officers who daily interact with the beneficiaries via aid distribution. Lastly, reflexive thematic analysis approach was used for data analysis and interpretations as well.

4.2. Research Design

During this section, the study is going to explain some designs like sample criteria and information which is related to it. However, there might be different manners in which social assistance are implemented. By that way, in Somalia context, due to the lack of political and security stability in the country for the last three decades there were no strong central institutions which maintains social protections in a public sphere but instead there have been several local and international NGOs that filled the void by giving social assistance to the beneficiaries through humanitarian process for the aim of poverty reduction strategies. In addition to that, these organizations do not only take application and distribution role, but also are responsible for the evaluation and monitoring of social assistance programs, either being in-cash or in-kind for solidarity. Thus those social assistances given to the beneficiaries of the IDPs by those non-state actors for solidarity were chosen as subject matter or area of the study.

4.3. Data Collection Procedure

The researcher used semi-structured interviews with social assistance beneficiaries and with social assistance staffs, but why did the researcher prefer to use these techniques? Normally most of the researchers prefer to use stratified random sampling under the probability sampling method, which means dividing the populations into two or more relevant sub-groups or strata for a random sampling and then drawn the sample from each spectrum. However, the main aim of using stratified sampling is to ensure equitable representation of each stratum in the sample selection process at the same time. Nevertheless, this process has two benefits and they are; First, all different groups have equal or proportional participations when it carefully done with the target populations. Second, this method is a simple procedure for minimizing the bias and none of the groups will take dominant position at all. Hence, sample respondents that drawn from the stratified random sampling equally took part the interview.

4.3.1. Sources of Data

According to Dr. Thakur (2020), there are two types of data that can be used for a research and they are: (I) Primary data; this kind of basic data is gathered by a researcher in the first time for a particular ongoing research project and then process it into useful information. However, through this mechanism, data were collected by the researcher from both social assistance providers and social assistance staffs in Mogadishu. (II) Secondary data; this kind of data was previously gathered by other researchers for example, and it mostly reused by other researchers for current purpose. However, due to the lack of secondary data such as time series data that is related to the social assistance of Somalia, The researcher decided to use qualitative data. By that way, according to the time frame and suitability of the field assessment the researcher used an interview as a source of gathering primary data. Further, the researcher also used survey and oral questions with social assistance experts as a support of gathering data as well.

4.4. Limitation of the Study

When conducting this research, the researcher encountered a lot of setbacks as explained hereunder:

Firstly; the research was conducted while corona virus pandemic erupted around the world, and for that reason any possible movements were restricted. Thus, we can say that the researcher was compelled to undertake this research under the toughest and hardest circumstances ever experienced in the world. Secondly; the researcher wanted to get clear information from the respondents, so as to not harm the validity and reliability of the study, but In this regard, some of the respondents were not supposing to have interviews with us for security and other social reasons such as shying and etc. Thirdly; sometime reaching and targeting the poor households was not easy for both technical and security issues, because they mostly live areas in which is outside (suburban) the city.

Fourthly; as we all know that productive and comprehensive research requires enough funds for purchasing even reports if it is necessary, however, when conducting this research, financial constraints were faced by the researcher. Fifthly; since the study was the first of it is kind Witten from Somalia context some issues related to the literature of the country's social assistance could be mysterious and unclear. Lastly; due to the time constraints, I was supposed to conclude the research within almost 8 months or less than, hence, this was virtually impossible that such work can be done effectively throughout that time bond. For the same reason of time bond, the researcher derived interviewed sample from IDPs inhabitants.

4.5. Ethical Consideration

During the data collection, there are stories from the field, For example using breadth of visual methods which are needed to be managed by the researcher. However, a visual method refers to the use of moving images, for example either as forms of data, or as images to explore research topics and explorations of artistic practice. But throughout our research it was not used. Furthermore, well-established and ethical visual methods, such as photo-voice, informed consent as well as anonymity and photo elicitation, which are suitable for visual methods are thrived on through rapid increase of visual culture and developments in digital technologies. However, methodological and ethical issues that are emerged as visual methods are adapted and applied to answer new kinds of research questions in varied sample populations. Additionally, authors around the world usually offers practical and thoughtful discussions related to the emerging methodological and ethical dilemmas by innovating projects that is used for visual methods either being in combination with other methods or

as a stand-alone method. The discussion is thus, done of interest seeking those values, and to avoid potential ethical risks of the research, In this regard, the researcher, thus repudiated unethical visual methods that is not necessary for the study.

Next, by doing the field analysis throughout this chapter, there will be six sub-topics in which are; the concept of poor, The Assessment of Quality and Quantity of Social Assistance, the beneficiaries' perceptions towards cash interventions in Somalia, dependency culture of poverty, gendered poverty as well as gender and money management. But we need to assess first the social assistance institutions and consortiums that operate in Somalia as follows:

4.6. Social Assistance Consortiums in Somalia

Humanitarian-based social assistance providers in Somalia are uncountable. But, throughout this study we focused only two institutions those mostly do cash intervention responses to droughts, disease and locust-affected families\groups in the country. These consortiums include *Save the Children International* which started operation in 1951. The other one is *Norwegian Refugee Council* which also has been working in Somalia since 2004. However, these organizations by referring international and regional conventions based on humanitarian response to those who are in need are entitled to provide social assistance for poverty alleviation strategy in Somalia generally and South and central regions particularly. South and central regions of Somalia are the most affected areas by droughts, floods and diseases problems due to the climate and political instability. However, the common missions of both organizations include delivering social assistance to those economically and socially deprived by structural and economic issues. Furthermore, they kindly help to the poor households by giving them social assistances that include in-cash and in-kind assistances such as cash transfers, food aid, healthcare, shelter, education and etc.

4.7. Types of Social Assistance Provided by the NGOs in Somalia

Despite our study do more particularly focus on the cash transfer conditions, and how it alleviates the poverty in Somalia, but on the other hand, as some social assistance experts and beneficiaries mentioned us the following are some social assistance provided by the local NGOs in Somalia and it mostly being delivered to the beneficiaries through assistance mechanisms.

4.7.1. Food Aids

This kind of aid can be in-kind or in-cash transfers and is given for meeting the basic needs of a poor. Sometimes, vouchers or cheques are used by NGOs. For example, through these assistances, families are given cheque twice a year, and these cheques are valid only at some markets. Thus, the beneficiaries are free to buy any food they need from those markets. These kinds of food aids are often distributed by NRC and many other humanitarian agencies those works in Somalia through in-kind or in-cash transfer. It is noteworthy that these aids only given to families not individuals. Furthermore, these kinds of aid identified as insufficient by some of beneficiaries because of an equal amount of aid food are often given to nuclear families or extended families.

4.7.2. Sheltering Aids

Sheltering aids are often provided to those who are in need and facing inappropriate conditions by the local NGOs in Somalia. This type of assistance is also given for promoting the well-being of individuals, and might be in-kind or in-cash, however, Due to high cost and its returns issues, when compared to the other social assistance, this kind of aid has low beneficiary. Furthermore, as one of NRC staffs mentioned, throughout this kind of social assistance, special considerations such as old toilet seat or disable wheelchair ramp are arranged for the beneficiary's shelters by the organization.

4.7.3. Education Aids

As an education support such as training materials, building schools, as well as transportation, teachers' salaries and conditional education aids, high amount of resources are allocated by the some donors. Save the Children International and Norwegian Refugee Council abbreviated to NRC are among those provide these assistances. The education aids can be in-kind or in-cash depending on each organization's decision. Enhancing the quality of education as well as maintaining the sustainability and offering equal opportunity education to the students are among the goals for which these transfers are given. Depending on each organization's own policy, these transfers are conditionally often given in-cash because beneficiaries are expected to send regularly their children in to school and also are periodic because they are given, for example once in three months or twice a year and it continued by some organizations until children's graduation.

Generally, this kind of cash transfer is aimed to decrease the gender discrimination in terms of school attending. Thus, depending on each organization's own requirements, parents with more girls are probably given higher amount of money than those with boys (but this not effectively works some parts in Somalia, because the community elders are not happy the girls promoting and they definitely contrary allocating specific slots to women or girls) for encouraging girl's attendance to school. Sometimes enrolment fees are given by the education sector to those who are in need in order increase the poor persons' enrollment rates at the schools as a general.

4.7.4. Health Assistance

As some social assistance experts mentioned, there is no independently health assistance given by the NGOs but throughout the cash transfer aids, those who do not able to pay their health expenditures are given some health related assistance to cover their health needs. Furthermore, such kind of assistances given to those who are indigent conditions are usually supervised and controlled by the NGOs itself, because they are responsible for the whole implementation process of health assistance. These kinds of social health assistances could be in-kind such as wheelchairs given to disabled persons, hearing aid given to those have hearing problems or could be in-cash. However, one of the main objectives for this aid is decreasing child death rates or child illness. Accordingly, some kinds of health aid transfers are conditional and are paid under control by the supervision health department of the organization through checking the child and mother health. Thus, these payments are given mostly to extended families.

4.7.5. Cash Transfers in Somalia

As we mentioned earlier, cash transfers are more commonly given periodically, that means it may be given once a year or twice a year depending on the organization's policy. But, on the other hand, the amounts of money transfers to poor are different from organization to another and one region to another as well, and it highly depends on basically calculated variables such as the number of indigent population, available resources, the extent of vulnerability etc. For example, as social assistance specialist from NRC told us, amount of 500 dollar unconditional cash is given at once a year to the poor female headed families and youth for their business support strategy. However, this kind of cash transfer

aid is given for the purpose to improve the well-being of individuals in the short-run as well as maintain and encourage them to take care of themselves. As we mentioned earlier in our literature review, periodical or unconditional cash transfers are often given for building upon linkages, as well as capacity building and it is incentives to encourage effective economic recovery where the conditional transfers often used for long run poverty alleviation strategy.

However, in Somalia context, as an expert works at NRC told us, conditional cash transfers are given by the local NGOs and they routinely give \$60 to Mogadishu IDP inhabitants and \$70 to those live in Jowhar. Additionally, he followed *“we give almost three kinds of cash transfers to the beneficiaries and they include, unconditional cash transfer, conditional cash transfer, and voucher interventions, despite the middle is rarely concentrated by our organization”*.

During the interview with social assistance staffs, they mentioned that in some cases there is a priority of targeting socially and economically deprived persons such as disabled, old and forlornly individuals. However, this is not a formal comprehensible treatment but rather prevents the budget misuse. Thus, we can say, unconditional cash transfers are used as sudden response from indigence. Furthermore, according to the expert's ideas those who live in IDPs areas especially those migrated from the rural women are subjective to violence from their men in accordance with their culture and norms. By that way, sometimes cash transfer may create tension and conflicts between families for the cash utilization which may finally cause that the family to collapse. On the other hand, , as we mentioned in the previous literature review, some female recipients of a Nicaraguan mentioned that whenever they receive this regular cash assistance, they started to throw the stress, increase self-confidence as well as improve and ameliorate their psychosocial wellbeing (Adato & Roopnaraine, 2010).

4.8. Social Assistance Sponsored by Mogadishu Municipality

According to the municipality law, which defines the role and responsibility of municipalities in terms of social welfare, giving social aids by the municipality are deemed to be an important pillar for social and economic development. A protecting society from social and economic deprivation is one of the main purposes of social development of the state. However, the welfare states normally provide various kinds of social assistances such as food aids, shelter, clothing, as well as nutrition, education and health assistances through

municipalities. However, these aids which sponsored by the state through municipality can be different from one region to another. Thus, It is noteworthy here that, Mogadishu municipality planned to give cash assistance to the indigent families. In this regard, in April, 2019 BRA signed a letter of understanding with WFP to support the SSNTPP in the capital city of Mogadishu (BRA, 2020).

However, under this memorandum of understanding among the partners during that year durable solution unit for emergency and crises response was established. As a result of that; Hodan and Garsbaaleey which among the districts of the capital city were targeted by BRA and a number of 300 and 700 families are assigned to both districts respectively. The registration was begun July, 2020 and total values of \$60 per month were being given to those enrolled by BRA. Furthermore, the payments are intended to be disbursed across four quarters. On the other hand, as a parallel, due to the pandemic outbreak almost 1000 HH were registered and same amount of \$60 per month was being giving by BRA across one quarter of the year (BRA, 2020). Thus, due it being pilot program, as well as its being lacked and less detailed accounts systems we can say nothing about how these cash-based assistance is essential for poverty alleviations.

4.9. BAXNAANO National Safety net Project

Generally speaking, social protection could be counted as an important pillar of the FGS strategy to fight poverty and vulnerability in the country. However, the FGS has received financing from the World Bank through ministry of finance of Somalia and established social nets for human capital project. SNHCP is a project led by the ministry of labor and social affairs that provide cash transfers to those poor and vulnerable households across the country. Furthermore, SNHCP provides nutrition-linked cash transfers to poor families in order to cover their consumption gaps and protect them from food insecurity and malnutrition risks. Through this project almost 200,000 HH (1.2M persons) have been targeted across Somalia with nutrition-linked cash aids. However, \$20 per month was allocated to be given to those targeted families by the state through SNHCP project. As a parallel, \$60 per month was given to 150,000 HHs who affected by locust as well.

Even though, it was random in terms of the reached families, The FMS equally benefited from the \$185M cost project that was funded by the World Bank group in Somalia. Thus, due it is being also a pilot program, as well as its being lacked and less detailed

accounts systems we can say nothing about how those cash aids sponsored by the state through SNHCP project are essential for poverty alleviations (MoLSA, 2019).

As we mentioned above, analysis of the field research data is going to be done along this chapter based on aforementioned theoretical background. Thus, six sub-topics are going to be analyzed along this chapter depending on the field research and they are:

Firstly, we are going to deeply analyze the ‘concept of poor’ that was accepted by the state and how both social assistance specialist and poor answer the question ‘who is poor’? is going to be discussed. On the other hand, we are going to divide the interviewees into two groups depending on their perception of social assistance; Social assistance specialist staff and social assistance beneficiary group. While doing this, we are going to analyze some key ideas from these two groups in the sense of social assistance and poverty alleviations approach.

Secondly, we are going to analyze the assessment of quality and quantity of social assistances and to what extent social assistance is a necessary. While doing this, the perception of inadequacy of social assistance is going to be dug deeply in accordance with the respondent’s ideas. Next, while doing the assessment of social assistance both in quality and quantity, brief comparison is going to be done between NGOs itself in terms of assistances they give. This is because to understand beneficiaries’ desire on assistances as well as to what extent social assistance could be essential for their poverty alleviation and staff’s desire in terms of cost, easy to use and minimal barriers. Then, an evaluation of field data with theoretical background continued to be used along this part.

Thirdly, the perceptions of the participants towards cash-based assistance are going to be discussed and the way in which the poor person interoperates with the aids given to him by the local NGOs in the country. During this section we are going to analyze the beneficiaries’ ideas towards cash interventions and how do the poor people see the cash aids given to them in terms of efficiency and poverty alleviation agenda. Furthermore, the question of what is the purpose of supplying social assistance by the NGOs also required to be answered during this section of data analysis. During this section, unconditional cash interventions, conditional cash interventions, cash for work, and vouchers which are mostly used by the NGOs in Somalia were explained briefly.

Fourthly, we are going also to interpret the endless poverty and laziness regimes and how these negative cultures of poverty unintentionally is created by the social assistance systems led by NGOs in the country. During this part we divided the beneficiaries into two groups; First group are those who are dependent on social assistance and the second group are those ones who have market relations and have high tendency to work. However, based on those two groups some interpretations are going to be done with respect to the beneficiaries' ideas and views.

Fifthly, we are going to explain the perceptions of social assistance particularly cash interventions in terms of gender. That means during this section, the interrelationship between the poverty and gender should be described. However, when doing this the beneficiaries' perceptions, views as well as the social assistance expert's views and ideas in the field research were considered by the researcher.

Lastly, we are going to analyze the cash transfers and money management strategies. Throughout this section the misuse of cash assistance by the male beneficiaries is going to be discovered. According to the social assistance specialist and targeted beneficiaries, whenever the unconditional cash assistance becomes bigger, the female beneficiaries experience violence from their husband because they want to control the money. Thus such problems that arise from the money management are going to be discussed throughout this section.

Afterwards, it is also important to point out the beneficiaries' demographic conditions such as age, origin, literacy, and marriage status. This information crucially determines the average of social assistance profile from the social aid providers. A sample research was carried out with 25 IDPs residents, and 21 of them were women and the rest 4 participants were men. Thus, this is generally tells us that the most of the social assistance beneficiaries are women. Averages of 70% of them, around 18 participants are married, where the rest 7 participants were single, divorced or widower. 88% of the participants, around 22 applicants haven't accomplished their secondary school where 3 of them have had minimum education, since they graduated from secondary school. Moreover, when we are talking about the origin of the beneficiaries, we faced migration phenomena. Almost $\frac{1}{3}$ of the beneficiaries had migrated from rural areas to urban IDPs. All of the participants were living at camps and no one of them gives rent for their houses. Most of the participants were extended family with 3 up to 12 children, but there were rarely seen nuclear families with no children. However,

those who live alone are mostly sick or old age persons. All of the interviewed participants also have had equal opportunities to benefit from the NGO assistances.

4.10. Poor Definition and Determination Process by Both Beneficiaries and Experts

By answering the question of how can you identify yourself as being poor, we observed that different respondents were giving similar response. For example, According to 36 years old women and illiterate, she mentioned that;

“Of course I define myself poor, I have nothing to eat, nothing to wear. Further, I cannot survive without social assistance that I receive from the social assistance providers like NRC because I need it, I was left alone by my husband and family, and I am trying to survive”.

On the other hand, as one of the NGOs officers stated that, due to political, legal and economic fragility in the country the “poor” definition of the state as well as the determination process of indigent groups’ remains as superficial and ambiguous. During the interview we asked social assistance specialist, the similar and above mentioned question of what determines the poor, what are the criteria you mostly follow? And he mentioned that;

“In the determination process of beneficiaries, the control mechanism of poverty remains as going to homes and checking out the reliability and accuracy of their declarations which were previously and initially inspected on organization’s go to field and see system. However, if the applicant passed the criteria sat by the organizations then it is highly probable that this applicant will benefit from the assistance”.

However, we also observed that, if these social assistances are efficient or not and we realized that most individuals have high tendency to demand further assistance because of it is insufficiency. When the beneficiaries asked about the question of; what about the social assistance you are given? Is it sufficient or not? They think that social assistance is insufficient. However, According to 54 years old women, who is Illiterate and abandoned by her husband, he answered as follows;

“Surviving with only social assistances given by NRC to us is impossible. Thus, we are requesting from other institutions to help us because these assistances are not sufficient. Also we demand from the NGOs to ask us what we need”.

According to 55 years old women who graduated from primary school, he said that;

“I receive assistances from different institutions. For example; I receive food assistance from save the children. But those assistances given by SCI to us do not satisfy our needs because it is not the one we needed. if they would ask us our needs, such problem would not occur”.

Furthermore, according to the social assistance specialist, they believe that social assistance given to the beneficiaries is sufficient but the problem is the misallocations of the beneficiaries. However, according to SCI officer asked the same question about whether social assistance sufficient or not, he answered as follows;

“Our organization gives combination of in-kind materials and in-cash assistance to the beneficiaries, after the eligibility of poor person is determined. Hence these social assistances are based on their needs so we can say it is sufficient. May be they can suffer from the determination process”.

Hence, according to the participant's answers (both experts and beneficiaries) the definition of poorness is not clear. But, on the other hand, the beneficiaries mostly suffer from misallocation of social assistance because they are neither asked what they need nor given what they demand.

One of the social assistance beneficiaries (45 years old women with 5 children and her husband died in car accident) were asked about their source of living? And what they will do, if this little insufficient assistance is cut down and they answered as follows;

“Since my husband died, I have no chance to work I need this assistance forever. This means because if I go to work, no one cares my children at home. Just I care my children only and now I have huge debt (house rent) for 6 months that I couldn't pay even. I am frightened of thrown out of home. All praise to Allah, At least we are given food and little cash by the local NGOs. But I don't know what to do, if all these assistances are cut down”.

According to 46 years old woman with 4 children and her husband is bedridden, she strongly argued that she is not happy to live such current situation but, instead she does not know what to do and mentioned;

“I applied all social assistance provided by the different institutions but I won only one among those I applied and they gave little cash aid which is not sufficient to us. It is really insufficient. If I would know other social assistance providing institutions, I would apply it again all. I am not happy about the current situation but what could I do? Sometimes, we are not asked our needs, but instead they come and see our homes then they decide whether we need or not. I do not hide anything; even you can right now see that we are in indigent condition”.

However, according to the beneficiaries in the observed filed, they asked whether the insufficiency of this assistance encourage them to work or not? For example, according to 30 years old woman, with 3 children who graduated from secondary school, she mentioned that;

“I have 3 children and I care them at home thus, how can I work in this situation? If the assistances are cut down, suddenly I would search other institutions. Because I am poor person. What other would I do? Nothing.

According to 47 years old women, abandoned by her husband, and illiterate, she mentioned as follows;

“I have to thank to Allah? What else can I do? How can I work at this age? Even, I had applied for work but they rejected me because of my age. After that, what should I do? I should beg for money may be”.

According to 54 years old women whose husband is bedridden and illiterate, he proved the same mentioned above and said;

“As you see, my husband is bedridden, even he cannot walk. He needs care from me. So how can I work? If I am not given assistance, I would beg from my neighborhood or I would die starving”.

Thus, according to the beneficiaries’ response, they have no tendency to look for a job but instead they want to look for another social assistance if the one they receive now is cut

down. The beneficiaries also suffer from the determination process because they assistance staffs by using their own determination criteria choose the targeted persons from the IDPs populations.

Normally, we have observed till now that the average ages of the respondents are higher than 40 with no or little experience. Furthermore, mostly, their children or husband abandoned them and do not take care them. Thus, this is proves that these individuals are poor persons who are dependent on social assistance given by the NGOs in the country.

However, those who in need to assisted mostly selected by the social assistance staffs depending on the organization's determination process. However, according to the beneficiaries' response nothing is asked about the determination process.

Most of the beneficiaries interviewed stated that social assistances they receive are essential for their poverty alleviations. According to their ideas, social assistances plays crucial role for their survival and they have nothing else except those aids. Further, food and cash aids are completely provided by the NGOs particularly those specially works from humanitarian issues such as SCI and NRC. Thus, they underlined that their poverty condition is highly better off after these social assistance transfers made by NRC and Save the Children International.

According to 46 years old illiterate women, she explicitly defined how basically social assistance cover to her family needs and said;

"I have nothing other than cash transfers from the NGOs. I do not know what would do if I would not receive such assistance from them. Even, we buy our bread from the mini market by using the cash that was given us as social assistance by the local NGOs".

However, it's true that these social assistances are very important on family's poverty conditions. Nevertheless, we observed that there are great dependencies on social assistance by individuals. In this regard, it is difficult to reach the main goal which supporting the families by giving them social assistance in order to care themselves independently but we will discuss it later in the incoming parts.

4.11. The Assessment of Social Assistance in Terms of Quality and Quantity

As we observed in the field research the beneficiaries have highly positive perception on in-kind assistance given by Save the Children and NRC. According to this kind of assistance, most of beneficiaries stated that this assistance quantitatively satisfied their needs and there is no need, as they mentioned an additional unit for food but they only suffer from the quality of the food assistance.

According to 35 years old women, mother of 4 children, she said;

“They give us combination of food and cash assistance to meet our needs. The food even though, qualitatively is not good but is fairly enough to us, but the cash is too little. The qualities of this assistance are below the needed in my opinion. The quality of the food aids are too low and smell. However, it is sufficient to us; what we say from it is a wrong”.

According to 47 years old man, he was asked his satisfaction towards the aids given to him and described as follows;

“I pray god for not to harm those who give us aids. At least through this cash aids we buy something which is necessary for us. Cash as aids are so far so good and really sufficient. We request to be continued. I am really satisfied with it”.

However, some beneficiaries do not benefit from only one institution like NRC but they traveled wherever they can find assistance through relative or friend communications. In this regard, there is no a comprehensible control mechanisms to inspect whether one beneficiaries take assistance from other institution or not. Therefore, we interviewed with social assistance expert and he clearly explained the issue as follows;

“The beneficiaries aim is to survive with those social assistances. By doing so, they look for any institution including public and NGO they can receive assistance from it. We as social assistance staffs cannot prevent this issue because we are not aware and there are no control mechanisms towards the issue. The beneficiaries here do not freely apply the program through website and etc. But they share the information about the assistance via relative or friends mechanisms. In that manner, they are more conscious than us in some areas. However, we cannot prevent such double counting errors by controlling them”.

According to the social assistance expert, he also mentioned that due to deficiency of comprehensive controlling mechanisms and disconnection between the social assistance institutions, the efficiency of the assistance for poverty alleviation may decrease. A lot of resource may be wasted, due to such misallocations which may finally encourages a culture intergenerational poverty.

According to the beneficiaries, they praised the food aids in terms of quantity but they are not qualitatively satisfactory. They said it is useless and expire. Even sometimes the food we were given is smell they added. Nonetheless, beneficiaries also stated that they receive some amount s of food from NRC like sugar, legume, flour and etc. and they will continue to use it until something changes in the future.

According to 44 years old women, beneficiary of both NRC and Save the Children, she was asked about food assistances, and mentioned that;

“Some organizations have been giving us assistances and last for 2-3 months. They give us flour, sugar, oil, cleaning materials and etc. However, their quality is really low where some of the products are expired and nobody can use it smoothly. Last time I receive packaged food assistance, including spaghetti which was expired and I threw it away. Even taste of some product is different than usual. However, Some NGOs give rarely high quality food. Thus, I am suggesting a cash aid is to be given instead of food assistances”.

Furthermore, we observed that some of the beneficiaries are diabetic people who cannot consume such low quality food like the packaged sugary food and etc.

According to 52 years old diabetic patient man, with no children, he said;

“They gave us packaged sugary food and I gave it to my next door neighbor who is poorer than me because I am a diabetic person. Mostly I give all foods to those who are in need. Sometimes, I throw it away some of the packages. Otherwise what do I do it? They always give me the same amount and the same kind of food products. I wish they can change that. They should ask me about my needs”.

When the packaged food aids given by some locally operated NGOs, compared with cash aids; it is observed that according to the beneficiaries’ choice, cash is more preferable than food aids. However, this kind of cash aids has a major cons which is it is being limit

that does not meet needs of beneficiaries quantitatively as well as sometimes being a limited cheques' availability in just a few markets and it is taking much time to receive eaten food due to long process.

According to 44 years old women whose husband bedridden, he argued as follows;

“Comparing with the food aids by some NGOs, NRC cash assistances are very low in the manner of quantity. Some of the food aids are not like cash aids and lasts for 2-3 weeks. Some products like those with high quality do not even last for one week. Further, cheques given as cash aids by the NGOs are not available for some markets which means I have to wait long time sometimes. I can buy only few things that are not satisfy our needs with cheque because I am running out of money. Thus, this means food aids are satisfactory in terms of quantity where the cash aids are satisfactory in terms of quality”.

According to the beneficiaries' views, due to the flexibility cash aids are seen to be more effective than in-kind assistances on poverty alleviations because they are free to decide on and buy what they need to a certain level. Throughout the study in field research, we knew that the flexibility of aid options plays a vital role on poverty alleviations because the beneficiaries' feel more comfortable to consume what they need.

According to 29 years old women with 2 children, she was asked about the flexibility of social assistance and she answered as follows;

“I prefer cash assistances because it is really effective on my poverty. Despite of it is being low in terms of quantity but I feel comfortable and free to decide on. This is my opinion. Further, I can buy whatever I need. For example; if I have a flour or sugar or legume at my house, why should I buy for more? I need something like cleaning materials as well tomatoes and salt that is necessary for life, if I would buy what I need freely, I would have less poverty in that way”.

However, according to the social assistance providers, they believe that cash transfers create laziness and as a result of that, they are not willing to give it long. Thus, the beneficiaries of such kind of assistance are rare.

According to social assistance specialist at NRC, he was interviewed about whether they prefer to give materials than cash, and he in detail explained the issue as follows;

“We are not going to give cash transfers because the beneficiary’s tendency toward laziness. Furthermore, most of the beneficiaries of our cash program have low literacy level. We cannot estimate which need they are going to meet with this assistances. Additionally, in most cases a lot of families particularly those are female headed are suffering from alcohol and gambling addiction. Thus, we prefer in kind transfer instead of cash transfers because; they can still be in need of supplying food materials after cash transfer. No one can guarantee that. On the other hand, when we give in-kind transfer, we are sure that their basic needs are covered. We have only a tendency to give cash transfers to those who are left alone by their family, old, homeless or handicapped individuals. This kind of assistance is given after the approval of board of trustee. Moreover, as you know cash transfer assistance are directly linked to those funds donated by international community and countries across the world, and is not sufficient for supplying such fund as cash to all beneficiaries”.

However, according to the beneficiaries in-cash assistance is more preferred than in-kind assistance by giving consideration the flexibility of the cash rather than the quantity of in-kind materials provided by the local NGOs. In addition to that, they are suffering from the quality of materials; hence most respondents would like to receive unconditional cash assistance from the local NGOs which does not meet with the poverty alleviation purposes.

According to 25 years old women, who is illiterate and mother of twin girls and 1 boy, she was asked the question of which type of social assistance in-cash or in-kind do you prefer? And she mentioned that;

“In my opinion I prefer cash instead of materials because once we were given the materials we need extra cash in order to buy the missed ones. Right now eaten raw food is available at home but there is no oil, sugar and etc. thus, how can survive without it? Impossible she added”.

According to 39 years old women, mother of 4 children who lives with her husband, she was asked about her preference related to the assistance and said that;

“I prefer food instead of money because we cannot buy it the things we need today. For example; cheques aids, are very low that I cannot even meet my basic needs. If they would not give us enough amounts, I prefer food assistance instead of money. Further, when we buy food from the market, we should allocate some fees as transport;

otherwise we transport it by ourselves. Thus, the cash is running out, so we definitely prefer food assistance instead of money”.

According to social assistance experts at SCI, he was asked the same question of which ‘would you prefer to pay cash transfer instead of in-kind transfer’ and they clearly described that they would prefer to give in-cash instead of in-kind for various reasons, some of their views could be presented as follows;

“Actually, giving money instead of in-kind transfers is more suitable for us. For example; all material aids given, are delivered to the beneficiaries via incurring additional cost such as transportations and etc.’ at home. Surely, if those assistances are going to be given in-cash, this expense would be minimized up to some level, but we usually consider the beneficiaries’ desire and choice. They mostly demands in-kind assistance from us, so we are obliged to respect their demand for several reasons which is include; due to lack of knowledge of money they use the cash insufficiently as well as it creates conflicts between them and they also use the cash for other purposes such as mysterious debt repayment and etc. thus, due to existence of those reason we decided to provide in-kind assistance instead of in-cash”.

Finally, when the beneficiaries are preferred to choose either in-kind or in-cash, they mostly choose in-cash rather than in-kind. However, whenever the poor individuals are preferred to choose either conditional cash or unconditional cash, they often, due to the flexibility choose the unconditional from the conditional cash.

4.12. Participant’s perceptions towards cash-based assistance

As we observed from the field, through interviews with the beneficiaries the problem of insufficiency arises from the misperception of indigent individuals towards the aids given. That means if the individuals would be in better position for understanding the aims and the why of social assistances are provided by the state or the local NOGs, they would sufficiently meet with their needs through assistance aids. In this essence, an interview with social assistance expert of NRC staffs, he clearly explained what would be the reasons behind insufficiency of aids given by the local NGOs in Somalia as follows;

“The main two reasons behind our organization’s providing social assistance to poor is; firstly to support the household maintenance in order to make these families stand

on their own feet in long term and secondly improve their living conditions to a certain level. However, the beneficiaries want to live with social assistance forever, and then, they describe it as insufficient. Yes, it would be insufficient when we take social transfers as main source for family survival but they should consider social assistance as a support to family, not a transfer for their survival and they should put some action for their life”.

In this regard, what we observed in the field when doing interviews with the beneficiaries confirms that issue. When they have asked whether social assistances are sufficient or not, some of them answered as follows;

According to 33 years old women, beneficiary of both NRC and Save the Children’s food assistances, he mentioned that;

“That Social Assistance given to us by the organization is not enough for our needs. Even the food aids do not last for a month. He added. However, we have to buy an additional unit for our survival. Anyway, we demand to increase the amount of assistance”.

According to 41 years old women, graduated from secondary school whose husband is in prison, by answering the similar question related to the insufficiency of social assistance, he mentioned that;

“Assistances are really insufficient. They never fully meet our needs. I would prefer assistances to be more but still, I thank to ALLAH. I know that other people may not have it and are in worst condition”.

That above mentioned misunderstanding between beneficiaries’ perception on social aids as well as the purpose of the both state’s and the local organization’s providing assistances to poor for support them in order to stand with their feet resulted the insufficiency and it is an important for both social assistance providers and beneficiaries to understand each other in the areas of social assistance building blocks.

On the other hand, when we talking about the assessment of social assistance by the beneficiaries, and how they perceive it, we observed that most of the beneficiaries perceive social assistance to be only a “good thing” that is given to indigent groups for their survival. That means, most of the beneficiaries see social assistance to be as a gift from the local

NGOs, but instead social assistance should be seen as a “rights”. Furthermore, it is also observed that the beneficiaries have precise information towards the aids distributed by the local NGOs and to whom those assistances are distributed. When they asked who distributes the social assistances and why they answered as follows;

According to 33 years old women who migrated from the rural of lower-shabelle region, he mentioned that;

“I really don’t know who distributes social assistance. I have just heard from friends and relatives. Then I came to this camp for receiving it. Actually, I have no idea anything else about this institution and social assistances. Some people include the camp manager said that there will be another institution that will distribute other social assistance but I am not sure. Probably, either the government, the international communities or rich individuals or even combination of all give a fund to this institution. And that is why they help us”.

According to 38 years old divorced women who left school after primary school, mother of 4 children, she said that;

“As I think social assistance intended to be given the poor people to help them. For example; they give food and cash assistances to the poor and the government distributes it through the local NGOs but I am not sure. Otherwise, the wealthy persons distributes in my opinion”.

4.12.1. Unconditional Cash Interventions

Unconditional cash aids are payments provided by the local and international NGOs in Somalia to the beneficiaries for solidarity without any condition. However, as some scholars believe unconditional cash interventions creates economic disadvantages that include culture of dependency or laziness. Anyway, there are some debates related to this kind of social assistance, which describes that unconditional cash transfers encourages often the idleness and indolence. Despite those arguments exist, on the other hand, many scholars claim that this type of social assistance for individuals should not bind with conditions but instead should be grasped as a social right of the society. Thus, cash relief that is given to drought affected households to recover as well as those to vulnerable households who cannot

participate in job opportunities and to the internally displaced households are among the example of such aids in Somalia context (Dunn, 2010).

However, many respondents asked about the question of how they see the frequency of the amount they receive, and they answered as follows;

According to 52 years old woman with 11 children, illiterate, whose husband died 12 years ago, she mentioned that all these kinds of assistance is fairly good but still not sufficient;

“Of course, it helped us. But, it will not survive us at all. I received once \$ 500 from NRC as a women business support. I did business, but it was destroyed by fire. Thus, I say nothing. Alhamdullilah. I had nothing else except that little assistance we had given by NRC. I wouldn't know what to do if I don't receive social assistance from there. I would die starving really”.

According to 37 years old man, and father of 5 children, he in detail explained this unconditional and periodical cash aids by saying;

“The cash that we are given are really insufficient. Every 3 month we are given \$600. Although we have flexibility to spend the received amount, but on the other hand, we cannot purchase what we need. It helped us only, but we need alternative solutions such microfinance and etc. in order to stand on our own feet. I think, food aids would be better that it, but I am not sure”.

According to 42 years old women mother of 5 children, he was asked the question of whether this cash assistance is sufficient or not and answered as follows;

“Of course, it's insufficient; it nothing can assist even one of my bills. I use it only for my basic needs of the house such as buying bread, sugar and etc. through it. It helps us but it is not sufficient. I do not do any investment through it, because I have no skill and I fear to lose, so that I used it only for daily needs”.

According to social assistance officer at SCI when he asked the question about if the unconditional cash assistance creates laziness or not he mentioned;

“May be it create negative cultural of poverty such laziness, but I am not sure about. However most of the beneficiaries seems to have such negative culture of poverty because once they see you, they always ask you whether extra cash is given or not”.

According to 45 years old woman who lives alone asked the question of whether she is willing to work or not and he answered as follows;

“Impossible, how can someone who has no any skills work?, who will hire me?. Since the last 10 years I have been dependent on these aids and I will look for another one if the current aids cut down by the NGOs. Anyway, I have no another option other than social assistance. It is better than anything else, my opinion”.

However, according to the participants, due it is easiness in processing they think that unconditional cash could be more beneficial than anything else. Thus, this proved that unconditional cash assistance creates negative culture of poverty such laziness and dependency of aids.

4.12.2. Conditional Cash Interventions

This kind of cash which is given as a relief to recipients with condition attached is to be used for a specific purpose (e.g. rebuilding homes, re-establish livelihoods). These conditional transfers are not given in a single payment mechanism, but instead are given in installments. It is monitored by the provider whether; it is being used for the “correct” purpose before going forward to the next additional payments. However, many respondents asked about the question of how they see the frequency of the amount they receive, answered as follows;

According to 42 years old woman with 7 children, illiterate, she said that;

“I received \$ 60 per month, from NRC. Of course, it helped us. But, it will not survive us at all, I say nothing. Alhamdulillah. I have nothing else except that little cash transfer we are given by NRC. I wouldn’t know what to do if I don’t receive social assistance from there. I would die starving really. Although, it was insufficient, we thank to Allah. I believe that we will get rid of from the poverty”.

According to 29 years old women, mother of 2 children asked the same question about the conditional cash aids given by the NGOs, and she stated;

“In-kind assistance is far better such conditional cash, because it is not sufficient in terms of quantity as well as it bears a lot of conditions and long process. However, still, we thank to ALLAH, what would we do, if it would be cut down? it meets our needs a little. Because the amount given is too low that it doesn’t even last until one week. Thus, we demand cash for work which could build our skills. We want to work and stand our own feet”.

According to 25 years old women, mother of 3 children who live in one of Mogadishu IDPs, she disagreed upon the above mentioned beneficiary by answering the same question and she said;

“They give us 60 dollar per month with condition to do something. For example, we should enroll our children at school. You know, needs of human beings do not end. But really it helped us. We cannot buy whatever we need from the market, because of cash insufficiency. Thus we need to work”.

4.12.3. Cash for Work Interventions

When we talk about cash for work project, there are different names given to the same project including cash for labor, cash for public works, and cash for employment generation and etc. However, cash for work is a project intended to assist those who are in need or vulnerable groups in order to receive sufficient cash income, but it similar to the casual labor.

According to 44 years old man with 3 children, whose wife died asked the question of; how do you see the income that you earn every month through cash for work project and he mentioned that;

“Really the cash for work helped me specially. Comparing with the food aids by some NGOs, it is the best option ever I participate. I am skilled labor who work every month 20-26 days and I earn 200\$. It is good enough for me and make even proud to eat my energy. It is ought to be given such assistance to poor individuals who can work by NGOs. I say so, because they would feel free and satisfaction with their little income.

But if we do nothing and the organizations give us money we are supposed to I praise to those who created cash for work programs for us.it is the best option, when compared to other social assistances, in my opinion”.

However, through this project of cash for work both skilled labor and unskilled ones benefit from it. Most of the respondents that we met equally welcomed the benefits of the project by underlining the encouragement and the consistence of the program. In contrast, as they mentioned, the NGOs do not often provide such kind of assistance.

According to 29 years old women with 2 children, she was asked about her perceptions towards providing cash for work projects by the NGOs and she clearly explained it as follows;

“I really like cash for work assistances for two reasons; firstly it is really good for us in terms of poverty reduction. Secondly, it feels us ownership because you will not be eligible for payment unless you operate and work hardly. Additionally, the amount that we are given is rather enough to our basic needs. That is true. But, unfortunately NGOs do not prefer to apply such project”.

According to NRC social aid expert, he was asked the same and mentioned that;

“I see such projects of which are based earning by doing work is the best options that poor individuals can be assisted. Human beings do not like harassments. For example, if you exhibit young poor person to assistance, they may suddenly annoy you, by saying; Man do not try to distort my dignity. Those who are able to work, despite their being in poverty, but on the other hand, they would prefer to eat their energy. Thus, most of the poor individuals are happy to work but unfortunately such projects are not applied by NGOs”.

4.12.4. Voucher Interventions

Cash vouchers that have specific monetary value are sometimes given to recipients by the local NGOs in the country for assistance. Hence, these vouchers are more preferred than by beneficiaries than the conditional grants since they feel free and are able to control over their spending ((Dunn, 2010). In other words, Vouchers can be defined to those money equivalent papers given to poor HH by local NGOs for the purpose of responding

humanitarian crises, as well as early recovery and rehabilitations. By that way, goods and services are exchanged by the beneficiaries from certified trader through it. (Creti & Jaspars, 2006).

According to 45 years old women, mother of 4 children, she was asked the question related their perception towards the voucher and she clearly praised the project by saying;

“They give us voucher that has monetary value and we purchase goods from the market. Sometimes, they give us a voucher that has both monetary value and commodity value and we also purchase what we need from the fairs arranged by the local market at specific place within designed time”.

According to 53 years old woman, she was asked the same question related to her perception towards such aids and she answered as follows;

“We sufficiently covered our needs through this project. It is really good for us and sufficient in terms of quality and quantity. In my opinion, I more prefer voucher assistance than any other social assistance, because it is being flexible and sufficient. On the other hand, we were granted such assistance without condition, so that is why it is good for us”.

However, depending on their views and perceptions some respondents ignored the benefits of social assistance at all by emphasizing their self-insurance to work, where others seem to be dependent on social assistance, and they are known undeserved groups.

According to 45 years old man, he was asked the same question and said that;

“Although, this voucher helped us, but i cannot survive only with it. It is really insufficient for my basic needs. I have to find a job. Considering my working days, we were much better than these days. If I would find a job, I would really quit using social assistance at all”.

According to SCI officer, he was asked the question that related the voucher given to the beneficiaries and he said that;

“In my opinion voucher aid as well as conditional aids and cash for work are the best solutions for poverty alleviating mechanisms. That means, poor individuals can

receive both assistance and skills through them. Therefore, the social assistance organizations should ultimately focus on the capacity building for future instead of subsidizing current needs”.

Finally, it should be kept in mind that the main two reasons behind the organization’s providing social assistance to poor is; firstly to support the household maintenance in order to make these families stand on their own feet in long term and secondly improve their living conditions to a certain level. However, the beneficiaries, especially those who are given unconditional cash aids and vouchers want to live with social assistance forever. They instead of considering the assistance as support only, blame the sufficiency of the amount. But, on the other hand, the beneficiaries who are given conditional cash transfers and cash for work aids are more optimistic than those before. Thus, when we want to assess the cash transfers provided by the local NGOs in the country we should focus the kind of cash interventions as well as the individual’s perception in terms of their needs and choices.

4.13. Negative Culture of Poverty and Cash Transfers

We have discussed a signs of culture of poverty on the theoretical part of the literature, which identifies the individuals that they have chance to get rid of from it. In addition to that, they mentioned that they live with negative conditions like unemployment, marginalization, precarious marriage, inadequate low paying jobs an etc. we observed also that most of the beneficiaries who are trapped in such kind of poverty have some different features when compared to the normal poverty people in the region. For instance they are always hapless or no inspirations and take every day as it comes, pessimistic and unmotivated by their physical and mental spirit. Some answers from the above mentioned group when they were asked the question of ‘are you satisfied your current life, are formulated as follows;

According to 56 years illiterate women, she was asked about her life style and said;

“Of course, yes what can I do? I have nothing except that little cash transfer we are given by NRC. I wouldn’t know what to do if I don’t receive social assistance from there. I would die starving really. Although, it is insufficient, we thank to Allah”.

According to 43 years old woman, a mother of 5 children and abandoned by her husband and migrated from lower Shebelle region, she were asked the same question and mentioned that;

“If I would know somewhere else better than here I would go there, but I am obliged to stay here, before the assistance started. I was asking for help my neighbors. Now, I receive unconditional cash assistance from NGOs. It is not sufficient at all, but what can I do? May be we will live in poverty till we die. My husband abandoned me and my children are unemployed. Who will care us thus? Every new day I think of what we are going to eat today”.

However, the long term unemployment is one of consequences that resulted from culture of poverty because most of the interviewed individuals’ do not have personally means to find jobs for themselves. Further, female respondents always identifies that they have domestic responsibility of caring the children at home as well as keeping and doing the housework, and it can be understood from their justification that there is no mother’s tendency to work or to send her kids to schools. Hence this is critical sign that through the culture and family structures poverty is transferred from generation to generation.

According to 52 years old women with 11 children, illiterate, whose husband died 12 years ago, she proved the issue as follows;

“I do not work at all. I take care of my children. If I work, who would take care of my children? Accordingly, I have no education. Who is going to employ illiterate of 52 years old women? I would like my children to go school but who pay the fees. Actually, we have no money to send our children to school. So that, some of them even left the school. They help me only at housework. 2 of them died, where 4 girls have married already and no one of them graduated from secondary school because of poverty. I could not send them to preparation lessons which are cheap when it compared to the secondary schools”.

Accordingly, we divided social assistance beneficiaries into two groups; First group are those ones believe that social assistance is gift from the state or social assistance providers. However social structure is the first characteristic for this group. However, we have observed that this group consists of illiterate persons, abandoned, permanent ill persons as well as divorced and widowed female headed families. By that way, Kalaycıoğlu pointed out the characteristics of this group depending on their family structure could be presented as follows;

- families who originally immigrated from the rural;

- Most of household members are unemployed,
- Most of households do not own property in urban areas;
- Due to unemployment, they do not earn any regular cash;
- The most of households are female-headed;
- They do not have social security or insurance;
- They are mostly uneducated or unskilled;
- Most of the family members are dependent members,
- Family members are dependent on only one person;
- These families have no transportation means like a car;
- These households have not outdoor entertainment;
- These families are unlikely to educate girls;
- Most importantly, they do not receive material support from others to survive;

In the field research, we have also observed all these indicators and the ones who have higher dependent on social assistances are the ones have the above mentioned characteristics of social structures.

According to 45 years old woman with 3 children, whose husband works and illiterate, she proved her dependency on the aid by answering the question of; how the aid you are given reduces your poverty and said;

“Absolutely, it reduces but still we are poor. They sometimes give us food that I cannot buy with my money. And sometimes they give us cash assistance. Therefore, since we receive different assistance from different NGOs, we combine it with the assistance to satisfy our daily and monthly needs. Thus, assistances given by NGOs are effective to our needs and we request to be increased if possible”.

According to 51 years old man whose wife died and cares 5 children, she was asked the question of; how cash transfers are essential for your poverty reduction and answered as follows;

“Absolutely it helped us, and decreased our poverty a little bit but we are still in need for extra assistance if any. I cannot guess what we will do, if these aids cut down. I hope it will not be cut down, INSHAALLAH”.

According to 49 years old women, abandoned by her husband, she mentioned the same when answering from a similar question of which is; what is social assistance for you and what do you think about your poverty alleviation?;

“Social assistance has a significant importance for my survival. Since my husband abandoned me 5 years ago, how can i survive without it? I gave birth 5 children, one of them died and the rest 4 are still alive but none of them is going to care me. Even they don’t even call me. So, I dependent to these aids otherwise I would die starving. There is no other option for me”.

The second characteristic of the first group is that they usually commit crimes and consequently jailed for their committed crimes. Thus, this situation increases the rate of dependency on social assistance by individuals for two reasons; first one, the families have to take care of jailed members. The second one, if those jailed ones would not be in prison they may work and earn some money for their family survival. Even though the crime rate is generally high in the country, however we have not observed such situations too much in the field research. Only we have seen two cases and are written as follows;

According to 25 years old women who graduated from primary school and her husband is jailed for unknown reason, she also mentioned that cash transfers she receives is not sufficient;

“My husband is in jail since 2019, so I am in need of these assistances. These cash aids given by NRC are not sufficient for me, because I have 3 children that I have to care them and my husband who is in jail and family needs to be cared as well”.

According to 40 years old illiterate women, whose husband is jailed for crime reason, she proved the same insights and mentioned that;

“My son is jailed because he accidentally killed his second wife. I have two children who need to be cared at home. However, once i receive cash assistance from the NGOs I share it in to my family and my husband who is in prison for 3 years. Before he was jailed, he used to take care of us. I wasn’t in need of social assistance. But, now, I

can't even find a piece of bread to eat, other than the assistance given by the NGOs. So we are hugely dependent on it and can no survive ourselves without it".

Conversely, those who identify social aids as a family support can be described to be the second type of social assistance beneficiaries. When they asked how social assistance is important for their poverty conditions, the following are among their insightful comments;

According to 30 years old woman, who left her education after she graduated from secondary school, she argued that social assistance is just given for support the poor persons and said that;

"Social aids are a support distributed by either the state or NGOs to families for alleviating poverty. It is mostly given to vulnerable groups such as widows, orphans, homeless people and overall those who are in need or indigents".

Having informal relations with market as well as having low age average and good morals are among the common characteristics of this group. When they asked to define their household's source of income in detail, they generally mentioned self-employed (Serbest Meslek) so, this is indicating that this group are not dependent on social assistance and they would like to care themselves via eating their energy. But unfortunately they do not have permanent or reliable jobs. According to 39 years old unemployed male described that social assistance stands as support;

"It is a good thing. It affects our lives through a little bit reducing poverty but I wouldn't receive social assistance if I would get a work. I think that I would be better off. I mean, social assistance can help us but it cannot survive us. It is insufficient for my needs. Thus, i wake every morning early to search a job. If I find a job, I would surely quit using social assistance".

According to 35 years old married women and mother of 3 children. she proved also the same and said as follows;

"When my husband was working, we were not living with social assistance such as cash aids we are being given now. However, I see this is good and helps us, but I am not happy it comparing the days that my husband was working. I wish that my husband got a job. Then, we will quit using it. Yes it's true we do not need it".

According to 37 years old female, who is single, she was asked about her source of income and answered as follows;

“I am self-employed. I usually work as tea maker (Çaycı) but my income only meets my own needs, not more. I work whatever job is available, Sometimes, I work as waiter, sometimes at construction but currently I am unemployed and nothing I earn. Thus, this is why I prefer to take social assistance provided by the local NGOs in the country”.

Those who are self-employed have informal relationship with the market. It can be understood from the answers that they prefer more self-employment income than social assistance income. In this essence, this group has higher tendency to work than the first group. Conversely, when they was asked what would they do if these assistance cut down? They confidently answered as follows;

According to 42 years old male, single and unemployed, she answered as follows;

“If all these cash transfers get cut down, I would look for a job to cover my own needs. What should I do? We have to survive somehow at least. Would i borrow money from my friends or relatives? Really I do not like to beg others. Thus, I must look for a job. That is my priority. But on the other hand, nobody refuse to take assistance as free from social assistance providers, if they give me money freely I have to take and use it for my own needs as well”.

According to 43 years old unemployed male, he proved the same by answering;

“After all, I wouldn’t demand social assistance if I would get a job. Let they give it to the indigent groups who are not able to work. If it is cut down what is it for me, I rather confident to myself and I will find a job”.

According to 32 years old married women and mother of 3 children, she stated that;

“If these aids cut down, I should work for example, I can look for a house cleaning jobs. What can we do? Or we have to borrow money from close friends and try to survive with it. Otherwise, we would eat what my husband brings to home”.

According to this type of self-employed and work oriented beneficiaries, social assistance plays no role on poverty alleviations. However, helping poor to help themselves in long term is one of the main purposes for giving social assistance and it seems to be achieved through engagement of this type of beneficiaries. All negative culture of poverty such as dependency on social transfers as well as laziness and endless poverty are not welcomed by this type of social assistance beneficiaries. They instead, are happy to work and earn income to survive themselves from indigence.

According to 35 years old women and mother of 3 children, she was asked the question of; does social assistance have an impact on your job search and she answered;

“Nothing I can say. Social assistance is distributed by providers to help us. But we must not rely it. I wish that my husband will got a job as soon. And then we will surely quite using it. Do you know the biggest reason? Social assistance is good for our honor and hard working. It pushes us laziness. Therefore, I suggest to everybody to look for a job instead of waiting hands of others”.

According to 33 years old man who has been working but currently unemployed, he described social assistance as being only social support by arguing as follows;

“I cannot survive with only this cash transfers. It is insufficient for my needs. I have to find a job. Considering my working days, we were much better than these days. If I would find a job, I would really quit using social assistance. Actually, I wouldn't need it. I believe that only what you earn via your hands can satisfy your needs”.

On the other hand, when we talking about the assessment of social assistance by the beneficiaries, and how they perceive it, we observed that most of the beneficiaries perceive social assistance to be only a “good thing” that is given to indigent groups for their survival. That means, most of the beneficiaries see social assistance to be as a gift from the local NGOs, but instead social assistance should be seen as a “rights”. Furthermore, it is also observed that the beneficiaries have precise information towards the aids distributed by the local NGOs and to whom those assistances are distributed. When they asked who distributes the social assistances and why they answered as follows;

According to 33 years old women who migrated from the rural of lower-shabelle region, she mentioned that;

“I really don’t know who distributes social assistance. I have just heard from friends and relatives. Then I came to this camp for receiving it. Actually, I have no idea anything else about this institution and social assistances. Some people include the camp manager said that there will be another institution that will distribute other social assistance but I am not sure. Probably, either the government, the international communities or rich individuals or even combination of all give a fund to this institution. And that is why they help us”.

According to 38 years old divorced women who left school after primary school, mother of 4 children, she said that;

“As I think social assistance intended to be given the poor people to help them. For example; they give food and cash assistances to the poor and the government distributes it through the local NGOs but I am not sure. Otherwise, the wealthy persons distributes in my opinion”.

Thus, it is true that endless poverty results from these norms and values mentioned above which is structured by the heritage culture of poverty and through them poverty is transferred from age to age. Additionally, it is observed that the children who grows up like these environments are not highly work, as well as high likely to commit crimes and high unlikely to be educated. However, some of them answered as follows;

According to 38 years old women, a mother of five children, 2 daughters and a son, whose husband died, she mentioned that;

“My daughter helps me at home. They ask me every time about if they are going to be registered at the school or not. I persuade them that they will be registered in the next year but they know the reality. Of course, they will leave school, if they go to school who will guarantee the fess until they graduate. Surely, we have no money to compensate the education bills. If their father would stay live, we would be in better this life but not happened. Therefore, I myself responsible for their caring at home and nothing else I can do for them. May be the government if they could help us from the education bills by making the schools free, all my children would graduate from universities”.

According to 43 years old women, mother of 3 children who also emigrated from lower Shebelle, she when replying from the question of ‘do your children attend school and how they succeed, mentioned as follows;

“They do not. Who will pay the cost? In fact, we would like to educate our kids but we daily struggle with basic needs such as food, shelter and etc . If we would find a regular assistance we could be better life. Five years ago once I have had a job by cleaning the construction buildings and I was earning 3 dollar per day but now I am jobless. Thus, how can I send my children to school”?

4.14. Gendered Poverty and Cash Transfers

Cash transfer aids are distributed generally through women and men by the local NGOs in the country without respecting particular gender, but we have observed in the field research that women are mostly responsible for the family’s bread. However, the women are the ones always looks for source of assistance via asking relatives, friends or neighbors in order to satisfy their needs, where the poor family headed men rarely engage such work in the same environment. According to Kalaycıoğlu (2006), the issue was clearly explained by underlining that how the women engage to survive their family;

“Women themselves are the major resources of the family pool. They either work outside and earn money to ‘contribute to the family budget’, undertake homeworking/piecework for very low returns and no security of any kind, or are the ones who are sent to local governors or to the neighbors to ask for money or food, since cultural pressures dictate that men’s pride should not be diminished”.

Additionally, when it comes to the information of social assistance women are those firstly hears, where the men are those often busy to look for self-employment job. However, according to the participant’s views, they receive the information of social assistance from informal mechanisms such as neighbour, relative or friend and etc. By that way, according to 39 years old women, mother of 5 children, she responded that;

“The first time I heard from my neighbors who were talking about aids. I asked them about it and they told me that there is an institution providing social assistance. At night, I told about the issue to my husband. After a while the social assistance

providers came to our house by doing cross-checking that whether we are poor family or not and we (all the family members) were registered by them”.

According to Kalaycıoğlu (2006), the women, when compared to men are surely good at doing networks for finding resource for family survival;

“Women also have a major role in connecting social networks to the family network through their relations with other women in the neighborhood; they obtain information about cheap food, or news about a possible job, or about the help distributed by the municipalities. Nevertheless, even if women are employed and earn money, they do not have the right to keep their own incomes, and thus are more severely affected by poverty. This gendered poverty is invisible if we take the family, rather than the individual, as the unit of analysis”.

In Somalia context, the structures of families are characterized by economic, cultural and social relations where the men have the power to lead the family. At the same time, women particularly those who are in poverty have no tendency to look for a job. We observed in the field that women are restrained by the men in the sense of looking for a job. By that way, we asked the respondents a same question which is; whether they have ever tried to look for a job or not and they answered as follows;

According to 42 years old woman with 2 children, she proved the issue and said;

“No, I have never looked for a job because my husband does not allow me to do so. Women do not work in our region. The reason is from the culture, norms as well as the religion and the family structure which is usually leaded by the men”.

According to 35 years old woman, married for 5 years, she answered the same;

“I don’t work because I am responsible of taking care of children and doing housework. My darling does not allow me to work as well. He is the breadwinner who is responsible to feed us. Sometimes, we are given cash aids but it is not sufficient”.

According to 29 years old women mother of 3 children, she mentioned the same;

“How can mother of 4 children work? It is impossible, if I every morning harry to work who is going to take care of my children? On the other hand, here a woman

usually works at home and cares the children, where the men are free to work or care the children with us”.

It is widely believed that women are supposed to do unpaid works and cares the children at home. Even so they are not remunerated and they highly Insecure for their daily work and security premiums are not sufficiently paid. Furthermore, we observed in the field research that working women are those divorced, abandoned, or lost by her family or her husband. In order to prove that some interviewees answered us as follows;

According to 37 years old women, illiterate who her husband were jailed several years ago, she were asked if she willing to work for survival or not and mentioned that;

“My husband is in prison for 5 years. I have to work. Otherwise, how can I survive? Due to the insufficiency of the cash that we are given, I go every morning house cleaning and cloths washing in order to cover my children’s needs”.

According to 32 years old women, divorced and mother of 3 children, she said that;

“I was abandoned by my husband 7 years ago. I do not know where he is, in order to cover my children’s basic needs I work casually as food cooker at the wedding ceremonies and etc. I receive around 50-100 dollar per month. Even so I am live with my family. The cash interventions combined with my monthly earned amount are insufficient to us yet. But we thank to Allah, who created us. Allah knows us”.

According to the majority of the respondents’ ideas, some of them identified that social assistances are not sufficient. In addition to that, most of the male respondents underlined that they would not survive unless they work. In addition to that, we asked them same question which is ‘can you describe your current job or source of income if any?’ they all mentioned us; that they do not work permanently. That means, even if a male beneficiary works that is not secure, and is high likely to earn less or lose. However, some respondents answered as follows;

According to 40 years old unemployed male and married, he mentioned;

“I cannot survive unless I work. Cash grantee is insufficient for my family’s needs. I have to find a job. Considering my working days, we were much better than these days. I would quit using social assistance. Actually, I wouldn’t need it”.

According to 29 years old women, mother of 2 children, she did not mention whether she is quite using assistance or not but pointed out the importance of doing job and answered as follows;

“My husband does not work at permanent job, he, instead does every job that he find. I mean he is self-employed and usually works at construction. He has no permanent job. When he has no a job, we incurs a lot of debts. But we repay all our debt, once he work and earn money or sometimes we borrow money from our relatives or friends”.

According to 42 years old male, single and unemployed, he mentioned the same above by answering the question how you can describe your current job;

“I am self-employed. I usually work as a waiter or tea maker (Çaycı) but my income only meets my own needs, not more. My parent awaits me to feed them. Really I got confused, and even overthink to emigrate from the country to western countries for looking for better life. Even, sometimes, I work at construction buildings but I earn very small amount of money that could not cover even one day my family’s needs”.

4.15. Gender and Household’s Money Management

In Somalia context, particularly in rural areas and IDPs camps men have a power to dominate the family. This domination mostly comes from traditional structure of the society, and it, when it comes to aid distributions may leads conflict between the family because the men wants to have control power over the aids transferred by the local NGOs in the country. However, the local NGOs directly hand over the conditional cash aids to female member of the household and its small amount when compared to the unconditional cash transfers. Hence that female beneficiary has the power to manage the amount, but as a result of that, due to the men’s hustle to control the cash the women mostly experience violence by their husbands.

According to social assistance specialist works at NRC, he was interviewed about the issue and proved that women beneficiaries are subject to violence when it comes to money management and he mentioned that;

“I have been facing with a lot of female beneficiaries in everyday and they are mostly very ignorant. They read nothing specially the women. Due to their ignorance they are

subjected to violence by their husband because money control. Every day we see something like this, but we manage it by establishing rules and regulations. Even the last season man killed his wife for the same issue. If you asked what happened to them, they do not exactly reply you. Some of the women beneficiaries tell us that the men 'buy alcohol with that money, so that I refused to give money to my husband and we fought each other'.

Additionally, according to the female respondents, they told us that once the amount transferred becomes bigger, the men interferes it is management which may finally leads to violence. On the other hand, according to the social assistance experts, they were asked about the question of 'how do they manage the conflict of interests that arise from cash interventions among the family or the beneficiaries and they said that;

"All cash transfers are given to families but those that are given in conditional are mostly handed over to women. We also hand over the unconditional cash a transfer that is supposed to be bigger amount to head of the family (the men). But, actually, when the amount of transfer increased, and handed over to women, it is more likely that women are frightened of violence by their husbands due to the management of the money. Hence in order to minimize the conflict created by the cash assistances between the families we compel them to follow the established internal rules by us, and then we control it via our local supervision system".

However, we realized that depending on the amount of the money, female beneficiaries experience some problems like violence and conflicts with their husbands and families on the usage of the money they were given.

According to 37 years old women, mother of 8 children, she was asked about the violence that results from the money management and mentioned that;

"The cash we are given are really insufficient. It also creates conflicts among us. Thus we are demanding in-kind assistance if it possible. Every month, we are given 70 dollar by NRC, but it cuts down before end of the month? That amount is under my control and we use it for paying the monthly bills. Since the amount is less than our basic needs, my husband do not interferes it, but it nothing; I demand the amount to be increased by donors".

According to 44 years old women, lost her husband by car accident, who have 5 children, she was asked about her choice related to the kind of social assistance and said that in-cash assistance creates conflicts among them and said;

“I would like food assistances, because cash always creates conflicts among us. Let cash not be paid again by the government, we do not want it, the in kind assistance is much better than the cash aids. Each month I receive 70m dollar and my electricity is cut down for the last month because I couldn't pay the bill. How can I pay it? If enough amounts are received, my husband wants to use it for his own purpose; otherwise we are always in cash shortage. I do not want cash at all, I prefer food assistance”.

However, there are two double sword problems that are mostly experienced by the social assistance providers when they give cash assistance to the beneficiaries and they are; Firstly if the cash transfers are conditional, it means it is often paid under educational condition or enrollment condition at the schools by the NGOs and etc. in this case, the amount is small and controlled by the women. Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely to be essential in short-term to poverty reduction. Secondly if the cash transfer is unconditional, its usage is often controlled and managed by the men, but on the other hand, as the female beneficiaries told us, it may be misused and creates negative culture of poverty such as dependency and laziness.

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusion

Somalia social assistance systems do not fit with the global comprehensible conceptualization, but it is near to eastern African social welfare typology in accordance with the economic level, culture, structure of the family as well as the extent of indigence and its alleviation mechanisms. Further, there are no exact boundaries on definitions in Somalia in terms of who is poor and who is not poor. However, we have little bit explained comparatively the formal social assistance programs that mostly used by east African countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Ethiopia, as well as the informal social assistance mechanisms that mostly used by some other east African countries including Somalia, Eritrea and Djibouti. Furthermore, we have emphasized the importance of social assistance ideology in the region, for instance those mostly used by Djibouti and Eritrea generally and Somalia particularly.

Somalia as state does not directly provide social assistance because of economic and institutional fragility, but the state receives financing from the world donors and then through local NGOs social assistance are given. However, local NGOs are one of the most important welfare providers in the country. Thus throughout the study, we have identified the NGO's organizational structure of social assistance systems and how poverty is alleviated through them. NRC and SCI are the most important ones that we have focused on during our study. Moreover, we have identified types of social assistance provided as well as purpose of social assistances, targeting, delivering mechanisms and application or determination process that often followed by the social assistance staffs when they distribute aids.

Then, we have discussed little bit about the poverty shocks in Somalia, legal mandates as well as the need of social assistance in Somalia with respect to the Somalia's protection policy and main strategies of poverty reduction in the country.

Then, we have analyzed and interpreted the field data in accordance with the above mentioned theoretical literature and we have identified according to the beneficiaries' perceptions how cash transfers are essential for poverty reductions. However, by using some theoretical frameworks on poverty and social assistance provided by the NGOs in Somalia, we have discussed these concepts with respect to the field data and we have arrived at

conclusion, that is to say, although overall social assistance plays a crucial role on poverty alleviation in Somalia, but, on the other hand, those assistance that attached with conditions are much better than unconditional ones. While doing this, we have analyzed six sub-topics including how overall assistance particularly cash aids alleviates poverty in Somalia and how poor person assesses the social assistance in terms of quality and quantity.

Firstly, by discussing the ‘the concept of poor person’ that was accepted by the social assistance providers. We identified that both social assistance specialist and poor persons when it comes to the answer the question ‘who is poor’? Have similar ideas. According to the NGOs officers, they believe that, due to political, legal and economic fragility in the country the “poor” definition of the state as well as the determination process of indigent groups remains as superficial and ambiguous. However, the NGOs use their own criteria for determination the poor.

However, Most of the interviewed beneficiaries stated that social assistances they receive are essential for their poverty alleviations. According the participants’ views, depending on their context group, they believe that social assistances plays crucial role for their survival and they have nothing else except those aids. Further, food and cash aids are completely provided by the NGOs particularly those especially works from humanitarian issues such as SCI and NRC are essential for their life. Thus, they underlined that their poverty condition is highly better off after these social assistance transfers made by NRC and Save the Children International. The only thing that the beneficiaries suffer during this section is the determination process. By that way, most of the respondents identified that social assistance, could essential for their poverty reduction as long as they self-determine the assistance provided by the NGOs.

Secondly by looking the ‘the assessment of social assistance in terms of quality and quantity’ according to the most of the beneficiaries ideas, social assistance needs to be reformed in terms of quantity and quality. In order to figure out the different ideas by the beneficiaries in terms of quality of social assistance given, we divided the social assistance in to in-kind assistance and in-cash assistance. Most of the respondents mentioned that the quantity of assistance materials given are sufficient but its poor according to it is quality. But, on the other hand, they believe that the cash transfer given is not sufficient in terms of quantity. We arrived at this conclusion after we asked the beneficiaries about their satisfaction of both in-kind social assistance and in-cash aids given by the local NGOs

operate in the country. Furthermore, according to the beneficiaries' perceptions, they believe that social assistance is kindness of state or NGOs.

In addition, through our analysis of field data we realized that reasons behind insufficiency of cash transfers that was identified by the beneficiaries Comes from the perceptions and misinformation of beneficiaries. That means, as we retrieved from their responses, the beneficiaries want to survive with the little cash transfer given while the social assistance providers principally believe and give social assistance as support family's survival. Thus, the exist insufficiency of social assistance character originally derived from that misunderstanding. However, as the beneficiaries believe social assistance plays crucial role on their poverty alleviations. This is only true whenever the beneficiaries receive different assistances from different organization.

Thirdly by concerning 'the participants' perceptions towards cash-based assistance' According to the beneficiaries' perceptions from the field, through interviews with the beneficiaries the problem of insufficiency mostly arises from the misperception of indigent individuals towards the aids given. That means if the individuals would be in better position for understanding the aims and the why of social assistances are provided by the local NOGs, they would sufficiently meet with their needs through assistance aids.

However, according to the participants, due it is easiness in processing they think that unconditional cash could be more beneficial than anything else. However, according to the interviewed social assistance experts, they believe that cash transfers are good for poverty reductions; instead they mostly provide in-kind materials to the beneficiaries. Thus, this is proving that unconditional cash assistance may create negative culture of poverty such laziness and dependency of aids. Thus, according to the beneficiaries' desire as well as social assistance expert's and scholar's views, the social assistance organizations are required to give assistance with conditions. By that way only the beneficiaries can receive capabilities to stand with their own feet.

Additionally, this internalization process also proved the same we mentioned above, which is the poor's misperceptions towards that social assistance is not perceived being as a social right but instead they accept being as gift and kindness from the state. At the same time, the beneficiaries inspires not to survive from indigence by believing that their current condition is not from social and economic phenomenon but rather they accept it as a holistic

ways. In this result thus, the assessment of social assistance either being in-cash or in-kind as poverty reduction strategy could be meaningless, because most of the beneficiaries are misunderstanding again about social assistance.

Fourthly by analyzing ‘the negative culture of poverty part’ we divided social assistance beneficiaries into two groups; First group are those ones believe that social assistance is gift from the state or social assistance providers. However, negative culture is the first characteristic for this group while committing crime is the second characteristic of this group. By that way, we have observed that this group consists of illiterate persons, abandoned, permanent ill persons as well as divorced and widowed female headed families. According to Kalaycıoğlu, he pointed out that the characteristics of this group depending on their family and economic structure could facilitate their condition of indigence.

However, it was realized from the field research that these kinds of beneficiaries have no chance to escape from this situation, because they have already trapped by their norms and values which is resulted from economic and social structure. However, it was mentioned that, through these artificial norms and values poverty was transferred from generation to generation. Thus, these situations result laziness and intergenerational or endless poverty. Nonetheless, any social assistance provided on the base of these circumstances will not fill the void.

Conversely, according to the field research analysis, there is another group who identifies social aids as a family support and they have formal relations with the market. According this group, when they asked how social assistance is important for their poverty conditions, they believe that they could not get rid of from the poverty unless they work and earn sufficient income. According to this type of self-employed and work oriented beneficiaries, negative culture of poverty such as laziness, tension and intergenerational poverty are not welcomed.

Fifthly by concerning ‘the gendered poverty part’ it was radically observed that, when it comes to social assistance the parity between the genders should be questioned. That means, male beneficiaries believe that social assistance is given for the beneficiaries’ support, where the female beneficiaries, when compared to men have a higher tendency to identify cash transfers as a vital part of their survival. This is happened because the women are those who mostly face the problem of indigence by utilizing the household bills, as well

as caring the children at home and supplying the daily needs of the family. Additionally, according to the participants' views, the women have no tendency to look for a job, but men do. Furthermore, female are more vulnerable than male and they become an object of house life, as well as they are an object of poverty and all real lives. Thus, the assessment of social assistance as poverty reduction strategy depending on the gender parity could change.

Sixthly by focusing on 'the 'who is going to control the cash-based assistance?' part, along this section family problems that results from the cash assistance was presented. As the participants told us, the beneficiaries' preference towards cash assistance is problematic issues. According to the experts' views about the issue, they mentioned that the small money such as the conditional cash transfers mostly controlled by the women, where the big amount of money such those is given as unconditional transfers mostly controlled by the men. Additionally, most of the female beneficiaries have tendency to get in-kind transfer instead of in-cash transfers. This is because that the female beneficiaries believe if big amounts of cash are given them, their husbands misuse or mutualize it by putting it all on gambling, or even they can use the assistance to marry another secret wife. They irresponsibly consume the little assistance cash for unnecessary needs. For example they may use to pay mysterious debts. However, the management of cash assistance given to poor families has its problematic issue. This indicates also that poor individuals have little idea on money management, thus, supplying huge amount of assistance as in-cash rather than in-kind may not achieve its purpose of poverty alleviation.

Throughout this study, according to the participant's views and perceptions, we realized that unconditional cash transfers and vouchers are mostly used by the NGOs in Somalia. However, despite it is being essential for poverty alleviations in the country, but on the other hand, it was widely agreed and underlined that these kinds of social assistances might be misused by the male beneficiaries as being household head. For example they use it for their own affairs such as repaying mysterious debts as well as using it for KHAT chewing and drugs. Additionally according to the respondents' and scholar's perceptions this kind of assistance mostly creates economic and social disadvantage such as laziness, culture of dependency as well as stress and conflict among the households.

5.2. Recommendations

1. As policy suggestions, the state should overcome the challenges that related to the definition of poor person and instead should set up well comprehensible and meaningful definition around who is poor and who is not. As a result of that, social and economic background of poor individuals can be understood easily. Additionally, those individuals who are needed to be targeted should be not in vague definition as well. Currently, in Somalia context since the definition poor people as well as the overall targeted groups of social assistance are seems to be superficial and unclear the distributed social assistance could not help the indigent groups. That is, if those gaps are not filled promptly, the distributed social assistance especially cash transfers can contribute nothing other than to consume more resources.
2. Complementary social assistances are required. As we all know, social assistances such as cash transfers are directly sponsored and controlled by both local and international NGOs that operates in Somalia on the base of crises response and poverty alleviation strategies. However, the state, In order to prevent misallocation and misuse of resources should set up mechanisms of harmonizing the assistance aids. Therefore, these assistances ideally, being either in-cash or in-kind should be provided for the purpose of completing one another by matching the different needs of applicants. For example, the local NGOs are required to provide not same social assistance to applicants, but instead they should ask them what they exactly needs. Furthermore, better poverty alleviation policy can be achieved only through establishing a network between social assistance institutions, as well as harmonizing the rules and regulations concerning their job descriptions. For example, the individuals who are in need of food must not be provided cleaning and sanitation materials. In that sense, every single institution should provide unique assistances by directing the beneficiaries to other institutions that gives the remaining assistance for their needs. Through this mechanism, the state can only achieve improvement on poverty alleviations systems. Furthermore, through this efficient mechanism the poverty conditions of the beneficiaries should not be targeted but also they should be encouraged to join economical life.
3. The beneficiaries' wrong perceptions, which is; their thought of social assistance as unconditional with no return must be eliminated by the system. In the sense of that, the state should direct the beneficiaries by persuading them that social assistances are

provided for purpose of return which is; once cash transfer is granted to the beneficiaries after while they are wanted to stand with their own feet and care about themselves. However the beneficiaries' return can be a social job that enforces them to identify social assistance not as a gift but, instead as a right. Therefore, the state, only through this way, can join the beneficiaries to the society not only by economical ways.

4. By the way, it is widely accepted, that poor in order to survive, do not suffer only from being in need shelter, cloths, food and cash but they also suffer from being in need of other some important tools such as skills. Because the individual's inability to adapt and integrate to the both society and institutions could be part of the problem. However, if the poor individuals even benefit from cash transfers through public relief systems, they will not stop complaining because it's just keep them only stay alive, instead of eliminating poverty and integrating to the large society. Thus, the state should carefully eradicate the individuals' lack of capability to work.
5. Another improvement issue is the flexibility and choice. The beneficiaries should choose what they want, being either in-cash or in-kind assistances. Only by that way, the flexibility issue of social aids can be achieved. This is an important for allocating the resources efficiently by giving the individuals chance to determine what they need through determination process. For instance some beneficiaries cannot use, depending on their health some of the products or the needs of extended family as well as nuclear family, depending number and choice of households' members can be different. Thus, the exact needs of beneficiaries should be clearly identified by the choice of the household's members.

To sum up all above mentioned, according to the beneficiaries', perceptions, we found that, although social assistance perceived by most of the respondents as insufficient, but on the other hand, the social assistance particularly cash transfers, depending on the gender and the beneficiaries' perceptions plays crucial role on poverty alleviation in Somalia. That means, it was confirmed that the assessment of social assistance as poverty reduction strategy depends on the context group. By giving considerations to all those challenges listed above, it was also confirmed that when it comes to the poverty alleviation in-cash transfers are less benefit than in-kind assistance. Additionally, according to the both beneficiaries' and scholar's perceptions, it was found that, although cash transfers decreases poverty, but at the same time, it does creates overall negative culture of poverty such as laziness, abuse, endless poverty and tension among the households and beneficiaries groups, instead enforce them to struggle for their survival.

Finally, it is widely acknowledged that the overall social assistance in Somalia, which includes but not limited to cash interventions were mislead by the enforcement systems in accordance with it is standard objectives of poverty alleviation strategy. The NGOs in Somalia often use the least favorable systems which through it, unconditional cash aids and vouchers are implemented. Nevertheless, these kinds of cash interventions are often used for recovery and rehabilitations rather than poverty alleviation strategy. However, as the most of the beneficiaries and social assistance experts told us such unconditional cash assistance may be misperceived by the beneficiaries, which can consequently lead negative social and economic disadvantages such as negative culture of poverty including laziness.

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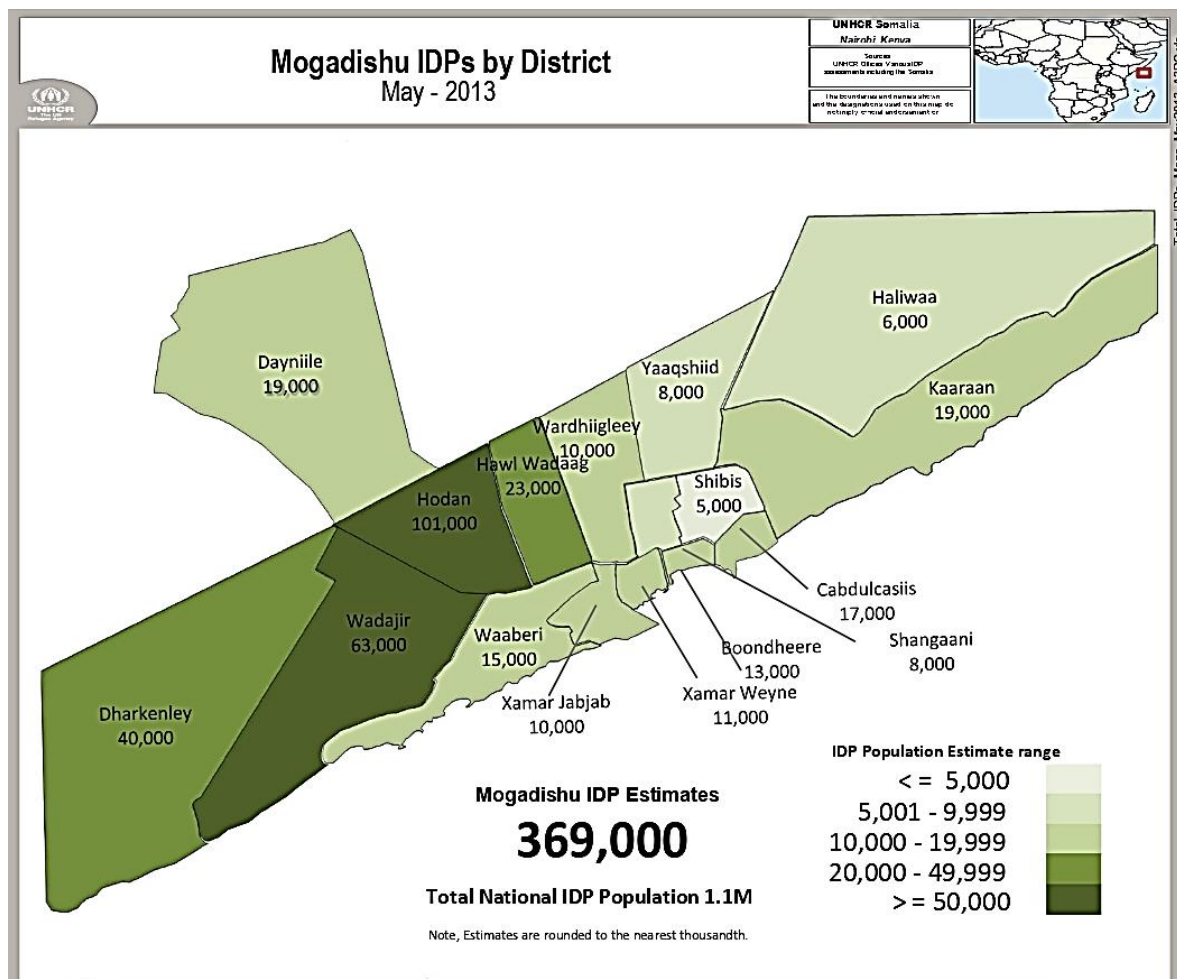
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8. APPENDICES

Appendix A: IDP INHABITANTS MAP



Source: UNHCR, 2013

Appendix B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Oral interview with Social Assistance Beneficiaries

(25 respondents)

1. Demographic Information

1. Age: a) 18-25 b) 26-30 c) 31-40 d) 40 and above
2. Gender: a) Male b) Female
3. Literacy: a) Literate b) illiterate
4. Marital Status: a) married b) single c) divorced
5. What is your monthly average income?
6. Do you work? a) Yes b) No
7. If yes, what is your current job in detail?
8. How long have you been working?
9. If married / what is your husband's/wife's job?
10. If married / Does your husband/wife have social security coverage?
11. Do you have social security coverage? a) Yes b) No
12. Do you have children? a) Yes b) No
13. If yes, how many they are? Do they attend school?
14. Do your children get social security coverage? a) Yes b) No
15. How many persons are literate within your family?
16. Does your current house belong to you? Is it stone-made or stick-made house?
17. How long have you been living in this house?

18. Are you happy to live in your current house?
19. How can you identify yourself as being poor?
20. What is your source of living?
21. anyway, are you satisfied your current life?
22. Either conditional cash transfers or unconditional cash transfers, in accordance with your needs, which one is better for you? Why?

2. Information about Social Assistance

23. What is social assistance for you? And what do you think about poverty?
24. In your opinion, who distributes social assistances and to whom are distributed?
25. How did you get the information about social assistance? Through authorized person, institution or other?
26. What kind(s) of social assistance do you benefit? How long have you been benefiting from social assistances? Is there any other social assistance beneficiary in your family?
27. Do you know any other social assistance institution other than this one, (municipality or government-led institution)?
28. Does social assistance have an impact on your search for a job?

3. Socio-economic condition (Before / After Social Assistance)

29. How would you describe your and your family's socio-economic status before and after receiving social assistance in the following grounds?

Working Life

- Did the social assistance which was given to you encourage you to work confidently?

Nourishment

- How often do you eat in a day? What are the foods you mostly eat?

- Do you consume fruits-vegetables, meat, beverages?
- How often do you do shopping? (Daily, weekly or monthly?)
- Do you eat outside? If yes how often?
- How do you get drink water? (tap or prepared water?)

Clothing

- How do you provide your and/or family's clothing needs?
- Where do you buy your clothes? Do you often buy it from the large markets or small shops?

Miscellaneous bills / Sheltering

- How many members does your family consist of? And how many rooms do you live?
- How do you provide your water/electricity bills? (Social assistance or other mechanism)

Health

- Do you have any disease? (If yes) Do you get medications regularly?
- When you experience illness, for example, how often do you meet your need? (Goes to doctor, buys medicine from pharmacy, asks to neighbors/ friends, uses nothing, etc.?)

Education

- Do your child/children attend school? If yes, how do you pay the cost (such as school fee, pen, book, clothes etc.), through assistance, own salary, neighbors/friends etc.?

Overall assessments

30. Do you think that the frequency of social assistance you receive is proper?
31. Are you satisfied with the quality and the quantity of the product you receive as in-kind transfer if any? Why?
32. Are you satisfied with the amount that you are given as cash transfer if any? Why?

33. In accordance with your needs, which type of social assistance do you prefer? (In cash or in kind) Why? Is it enough to you? Why?
34. Do you think these assistances reduce your household poverty? Could you explain?
35. To whom do you think that such kind of social assistance should be given as a priority?
36. Do you think that such social assistance creates negative cultures? (such as dependency, marginalization, honor hurting and etc.)
37. If you are unconditionally given either cash or material assistance, for what needs would you spend it?
38. How would your standard living change if you get more/less cash assistance?
39. To what extend do you think that cash transfers are effective on poverty alleviation?
40. Are you satisfied with these assistances in general? Why?
41. What would you do if all assistances you get would be cut down?
42. Does getting social assistance affect you political participation conditions? (like voting, political opinions and etc.?)



Appendix 2
Oral interview with social assistance Staffs
(15 respondents)

1. Could you please give some information about currently distributed aids by your institution?
What types of social assistances does the organization provide?
2. What are main objectives of cash interventions provided by the institution?
3. When determining the poor, what are the criteria you mostly follow?
4. Do you often use home visit criteria on poor determination process?
5. Could you give some information about NRC Institution?
6. What are the basic problems of the beneficiaries? What do they need mostly?
7. What are the socio-demographic aspects of the locations you operate for providing aid?
8. In accordance with time horizon (either short run or long run) do you think that social assistance brings durable and sustainable solution?
9. If yes, if yes, how?
10. How do you see the quality and the quantity of the distributed social assistance?
11. To what extent do cash transfers alleviates poverty and inequality in Somalia?
12. Either cash transfers or in-kind transfers, in accordance with your experience, which one is better on poverty alleviation? Why?
13. How do you see the dependency of beneficiaries to the social assistance??
14. How do you think about the gendered poverty?
15. What is your recommendation and suggestions, as an expert for better poverty alleviation in Somalia?