

INCLUDE

KNOWLEDGE PLATFORM ON INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT POLICIES



GENDER RESOURCE FACILITY

Making Social Protection Gender Sensitive for Inclusive Development in Sub-Saharan Africa

Julie Newton

19 January 2016



Making Social Protection Gender Sensitive for Inclusive Development in Sub-Saharan Africa

Julie Newton

19 January 2016

Key points

- A gender lens is not an optional add on, but an integral part of social protection policy and programming if it is to achieve long-term sustainable change.
- With a gender lens, social protection has the potential to transform unequal social and economic circumstances at a systemic level. Such 'transformative social protection' must account for the different risks experienced by women and men across their lifecycle from the design phase onwards.
- Applying a gender lens to social protection requires translation into plans for roll out and implementation, backed by adequate resources and constantly tracked over time.
- Without a gender lens, social protection can reinforce traditional gender stereotypes, increase the time poverty of women and even result in gender-based violence.
- Addressing gender inequality through social protection can be achieved at a low cost using simple design modifications (e.g. conducting a risk analysis prior to design and including linkages to complementary interventions on awareness raising, particularly when targeting women) together with investment in capacity building for implementation at the grass-roots level.
- Strengthening women's agency, voice and participation in social protection design and delivery will enhance state responsiveness to women's needs, as well as accountability for gender equality.
- Social protection is not a panacea for poverty alleviation, but it can effectively address gender inequality by integrating traditional social protection instruments (e.g. cash transfers, insurance, public works programmes) with complementary interventions, such as awareness raising about the social norms that underpin inequality, and by ensuring better linkages to other government services (e.g. for education and health).
- For effective transformative social protection, all stakeholders, including civil society, government policy-makers and implementers, women activists and donors, should think more strategically about working multi-sectorally and being more proactive at addressing institutional power dynamics and blockages.

Julie Newton is a Senior Advisor at the Sustainable Economic Development and Gender Unit at the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT). Julie has a background in Human Geography specialising in food security, natural resource management and gender issues. Throughout her career, she has worked at the interface of research, policy and practice in the fields of sustainable communities, food security, nutrition, wellbeing, gender, social protection and child rights in Africa and Asia.

In INCLUDE's thematic approach to inclusive development, special attention is given to opportunities for women. INCLUDE and the Gender Resource Facility ([GRF](#)) teamed up to gather and analyse knowledge on what works best for women in enterprise promotion and social protection. This paper is a key part of INCLUDE's dossier [Women and inclusive development](#).

1. Introduction

In recent years, social protection has climbed up the policy agenda as a major policy response to chronic poverty and vulnerability with positive impacts on food security, income and access to basic services. In Sub-Saharan Africa, persistent levels of poverty and inequality, unemployment and underemployment, and a high degree of labour market informality have encouraged governments to adopt social protection as a key instrument for achieving inclusive development (Miroro, 2015). Its ability to achieve inclusive development is largely due to its catalytic role in redistribution and potential to reach the poorest (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015; Olivier, 2013). Inclusive development¹ here is defined as a 'pattern and pace in which the poor and most vulnerable groups participate and which is characterised by income growth, increase of productive employment as well as decreasing inequality in both income and non-income dimensions of wellbeing' (NWO, 2014).

Although cited as one of the great success stories of development reaching large groups of the poor, social protection has been critiqued as gender-blind. This is despite decades of experience showing that the feminization of poverty and gender inequality is a major driver of poverty and that women's empowerment contributes to poverty alleviation. This paper will illustrate the importance of a gender lens in social protection and highlight how gender-blind social protection policies risk entrenching gender inequalities. Furthermore, it will demonstrate how attention to gender in the design of social protection programmes can improve its effectiveness in achieving more inclusive development.

¹ The building blocks of inclusive development are economic transformation, productive employment creation and social protection ([INCLUDE platform](#)).

2. Conceptualizing social protection and gender

'Social protection' refers to policies that protect 'poor households' from risk, reduce poverty and vulnerability, and smooth out consumption (**see Box 1**). State-provided social protection² can be grouped into three categories: 1) social assistance (cash/in kind transfers, subsidies and fee waivers targeting vulnerable and poor households), 2) social insurance (ranging from contributory or subsidized insurance including old-age insurance, health insurance and weather-based crop insurance) and 3) legal and regulatory approaches (legislation focused on improving employment opportunities and standards usually within the formal sector, such as the minimum wage) (Mathers & Slater, 2014).

Box 1. Defining social protection

'Social protection describes all public and private initiatives that provide income or consumption transfers to the poor, protect the vulnerable against livelihood risks, maintain and build productive assets and livelihood activities, and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalised; with the overall objective of reducing the economic and social vulnerability of poor, vulnerable and marginalised groups.'

Source: Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler (2004), p. 9

In this paper, we argue that social protection that includes design features that tackle the structural causes of poverty and vulnerability resonates with gender and development approaches that look at these in the context of unequal gender power relations. Attention to gender recognizes how socially constituted roles, relations and relative power assigned by a particular society to men and women influence their ability to access and benefit from social protection (**see Box 2**). Gender-aware programming involves looking at the conditions and position of women relative to men in the context of social protection and highlights inequalities in gender relations within the household and how they interrelate with power relations at the community, market and state levels. A gender lens helps illustrate how some social protection programming, although addressing women's practical gender needs, can reinforce traditional gender stereotypes (i.e. women as mothers and care givers). A gender lens can support the design of gender transformative social protection that tackles strategic gender interests from the very beginning. For example, social protection can include training initiatives for women that challenge stereotypical ideas of 'traditional forms' of work.

Box 2. Key gender concepts

Gender-aware programming refers to programming that identifies and addresses the different practical needs and strategic interests of women compared to men. Gender-unaware programming is blind to different gender needs and interests and can harm women because it reinforces men's privileges to the disadvantage of women. It confirms the existing gender division of labour and inequalities and, although it may improve women and men's living conditions, it does not aim to improve the position of women in society. Gender-specific programming targets women and gender equality specifically. Gender-transformative programming aims to empower women and transform gender relations to be more equal and enhance women's position in society.

Practical gender needs are those needs identified by women within their socially-defined roles in response to an immediate perceived need. Practical gender needs usually relate to inadequacies in access to living conditions (such as water supply, health care and employment) and do not challenge gender divisions of labour or women's subordinate position in society.

Strategic gender interests are those interests identified by women as a result of their subordinate social status and tend to challenge gender divisions of labour, power and control, and traditionally-defined norms and roles. Strategic gender interests vary according to the context and may include legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their bodies.

Sources: Danielsen (2012); Molyneux (1985); Moser (1989); UN-INSTRAW (nd)

² Non-state social protection includes all forms of informal community and family safety nets such as cooperatives, social welfare associations, burial associations, rotating savings and credit associations, and traditional solidarity networks. While non-state social protection is more prevalent than state provided social protection, there is growing evidence that direct, regular and more predictable transfers by the state are more effective in the long run. The state remains the main actor able to mobilize sufficient resources to enable distributive and redistributive policies (Holmes & Jones, 2013; UN Women, 2015).

To discuss this in more detail, we need to take a closer look at social protection in relation to inclusive development and its potentially transformative agenda. For this, it is useful to look at the conceptual framework for social protection, which distinguishes between the protective, preventative, promotive and transformative agenda of social protection (**Box 3**). This classification illustrates a spectrum of different objectives, including traditional forms of social protection, which focus on risk management and social assistance (safety nets), towards more development trajectory schemes, which tackle the root causes of vulnerability so that households graduate from poverty into 'sustainable livelihoods'.

In practice, different social protection programmes have multiple overlapping objectives that combine different instruments. As a result, they have different impacts on women and men, which can be simultaneously preventive as well as promotive depending on the design and objectives of the programme. Many programmes use multiple instruments as well as linkages to complementary social services, such as to Ghana's Livelihoods Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme, which combines social health insurance with cash transfers.

Box 3. Conceptual framework for social protection

Objectives of social protection	Examples of instruments
<p>PROTECTIVE (risk coping): Ex-post social assistance instruments to assist with existing socioeconomic problems</p> <p>Immediate protection and relief from poverty and deprivation</p>	<p>Cash transfers: Child support grants, foster care grants, social pensions, unconditional cash transfers</p> <p>Food transfers: Supplementary feeding, therapeutic feeding</p> <p>Services: Health fee waivers, home-based care</p> <p>Humanitarian: Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) reception centres, internally displaced persons (IDPs)/refugee camps</p> <p>Typical examples: Cash/in kind transfers, school feeding, emergency relief</p>
<p>PREVENTATIVE (risk mitigation): Ex-ante social insurance instruments to build the ability to respond to future shocks and encourage moderate risk taking through innovative insurance instruments for the poor</p> <p>Prevents deprivation and damage to coping strategies</p>	<p>Government: Social security systems, strategic grain reserves, pan-seasonal food prices</p> <p>Livelihood diversification: Programmes that include skill training on alternative livelihood options</p> <p>Private: Weather-indexed insurance, commercial property insurance, remittances</p> <p>Community: Rotating savings and credit groups, burial/funeral societies, village grain banks, community-based health insurance schemes</p>
<p>PROMOTIVE (risk reduction): Moves beyond the traditional safety net agenda to mechanisms for reducing poverty and vulnerability, reducing dependency and enabling productive poor to achieve sustainable livelihoods</p> <p>Promotes resilience through livelihood diversification and improves security</p> <p>Recognizes that you need more than a transfer of resources or particular forms of social support to respond to problems</p> <p>Has stronger emphasis on pro-poor access to education and health services; emphasizes long-term investment in human capital formation</p>	<p>Agriculture: Agricultural input subsidies, seed fairs, inputs-for-work, starter packs, public works programmes</p> <p>Access to credit transfers/protection</p> <p>Common property resources</p> <p>Education: Educational material fairs, school fee waivers, school feeding programmes, conditional cash transfers</p> <p>Infrastructure: Public works programme</p>

TRANSFORMATIVE (risk reduction): Reverses social exclusion and economic marginalization and focuses on addressing underlying causes of social vulnerability

Transforms social relations to address concerns about social and gender equity, social justice and exclusion

Legal: Legislation on economic, social and cultural rights; anti-corruption measures; citizen juries; sensitization/anti-discrimination campaigns; living wage legislation and decent work legislation; worker's rights (e.g. maternity leave); child rights, eradication of child labour

Cash transfers on their own are not transformative without linkages to programme components that reinforce legislation on equal rights, raise awareness on social issues or promote social mobilization. Efforts would be needed to reinforce awareness raising on equal rights among all members of households and the wider community.

Typical examples: Other social protection instruments, such as cash transfers, which combine awareness raising on equal rights and address stigmatization.

Sources: Adapted from Davies & McGregor (2009); Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler (2004); Sabates-Wheeler & Devereux (2008)

3. Social protection and the transformative agenda: a focus on rights and gender

The shift towards a promotive and transformative agenda recognizes that resource transfers alone are not sufficient to ensure that everyone (including the marginalized and vulnerable) can equally benefit from the opportunities created through growth, but that a gender lens is also required (Sabates-Wheeler & Roelen, 2011). This entails looking both within the household to understand who benefits from various instruments, particularly how they address different practical and strategic needs, as well as beyond households and communities towards the structures of inequality that influence the different risks and opportunities experienced by women and men at different points in their lifecycle. Here, a gender analysis is key to understanding how women and men's socially-constructed roles influence their exposure to different risks, their ability to respond and, consequently, how they benefit (or not) from social protection.

Until now, few social protection programmes have sought to address the social risks linked to social discrimination and gender inequality. For women, these include limited intra-household decision making and bargaining power, time poverty due to unpaid work responsibilities and family care, and limited voice within communities, all of which prevent women from claiming their rights and entitlements. The type of risks also change across a women's lifecycle; for example, school going and adolescent girls can be restricted from going to school due to social norms or trapped into early marriage due to poverty. Few social protection programmes have explicitly sought to transform gender relations as a primary objective³. At worst, some schemes are gender unaware and can result in harm (e.g. exacerbate domestic violence), or only address women's practical gender needs without challenging gendered stereotypes.

The broadening of the social protection agenda towards transformative and distributional goals translates as a shift away from short-term solutions towards long-term approaches that tackle the structural barriers underpinning poverty. This acknowledges that an emphasis on equality and rights, in addition to economic protection, is required to lift households out of poverty. Rather than 'only' increasing consumption and basic welfare outcomes for the poorest, transformative social protection tackles the dynamics of their marginalization and exclusion underlying the power imbalances. **Transformative social protection uses strategies for social empowerment to address issues of social exclusion and equity from the start by introducing interventions focused on collective action and building the voice of, and decision making by, women, alongside more traditional instruments, such as social transfers and social insurance, together with linkages to key social services.**

A rights-based approach to social protection has several advantages from a gender perspective (**Box 4**). It positions social protection as a powerful tool for tackling a wider system of inequality (Sepulveda & Nyst, 2012; Seymour, 2014; Piron, 2004). It moves the agenda beyond instrumental arguments for focusing on women as a magic bullet for alleviating poverty. A rights-based approach looks at how to make social protection serve the goal of gender equality from the very beginning, rather than looking at the differential impacts on women and men (Seymour, 2014).

Box 4. Rights-based approach to social protection

Social protection floors are an important milestone in emphasizing the centrality of social security and essential social services as a universal right. Social protection floors entail a nationally-defined set of 'minimum guarantees' including basic income security for children, working-age adults, older people and people with disabilities, as well as basic social services for all ([ILO Recommendation 202](#)). Within Sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa's universal Child Grant is an example of a [social protection floor](#) (UNDP, 2011). Key principles in a rights-based approach are that individuals are right holders and can make legitimate claims to social protection as an entitlement, and that states are duty bearers responsible for providing social protection. There is also accountability, meaning that right holders can 'exercise their entitlement' and hold the state responsible. Article 9 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights enshrines the responsibility of the state to ensure the right to social security, which is defined as social insurance schemes (to which beneficiaries are expected to contribute) and social assistance (non-contributory and tax funded), which are used to transfer resources to the most needy.

Source: ILO (2012); Sepulveda & Nyst (2012); Piron (2004); UNWomen (2015); Cherrier et al. (2013)

³ With a few exceptions, such as Bangladesh's Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction programme implemented by BRAC and Mexico's Estancias (subsidized crèche scheme), which supports women's care work in order to promote women's participation in the paid workforce.

For example, social protection can be used more strategically to create spaces for women's voices in decisions and actions beyond social protection, to issues related to securing more employment opportunities for women and challenging gender stereotypes of 'appropriate work'. With a focus on gender dynamics, it looks beyond 'women' to relationships between individuals in a given social context - which means extending the role of men and boys as well as recognizing the diversity among different women according to their position in other social relations and at different points in their lifecycle. It involves looking at the many different facets of a person's identity (gender, age, race, religion, etc.), which may intersect to create unique experiences of oppression or privilege. From a social protection floor perspective, social protection is more explicitly positioned as a universal right that citizens can claim from the state as duty bearer to tackle the factors leading to inequality at different points of their lifecycle. These include the right to basic health care and income security for children (e.g. the Child Grant in South Africa), the right to basic income security when unable to work (e.g. when unemployed, on maternity leave, or due to disability) and the right to an old age pension. This is different from most economic empowerment interventions, which may contribute to individual women's economic voice and power, but do not always take into account the different vulnerabilities to risk across a person's lifecycle when unable to work or exercise their voice and power for different reasons, including their care responsibilities.

4. Applying a gender lens to social protection: why 'gender matters'?

The argument for a gender lens in the design, implementation, monitoring and governance of social protection can be made on both instrumental and ethical grounds. Not only does it enhance the overall impact of a programme and reduce unintended negative impacts, it is important ethically from a rights perspective. If social protection is to have a transformative impact at a more systemic level that begins to address the structures of inequality, it needs to be supported by interventions that improve women's access and control over resources in relation to men; enhance their capabilities, voice, productive roles beyond traditional ideas of 'appropriate work', decision making and agency (e.g. through education and building their entrepreneurial skills, voice and confidence); and support them to move beyond their normative roles as mothers and caretakers.

Key dimensions of a gender lens

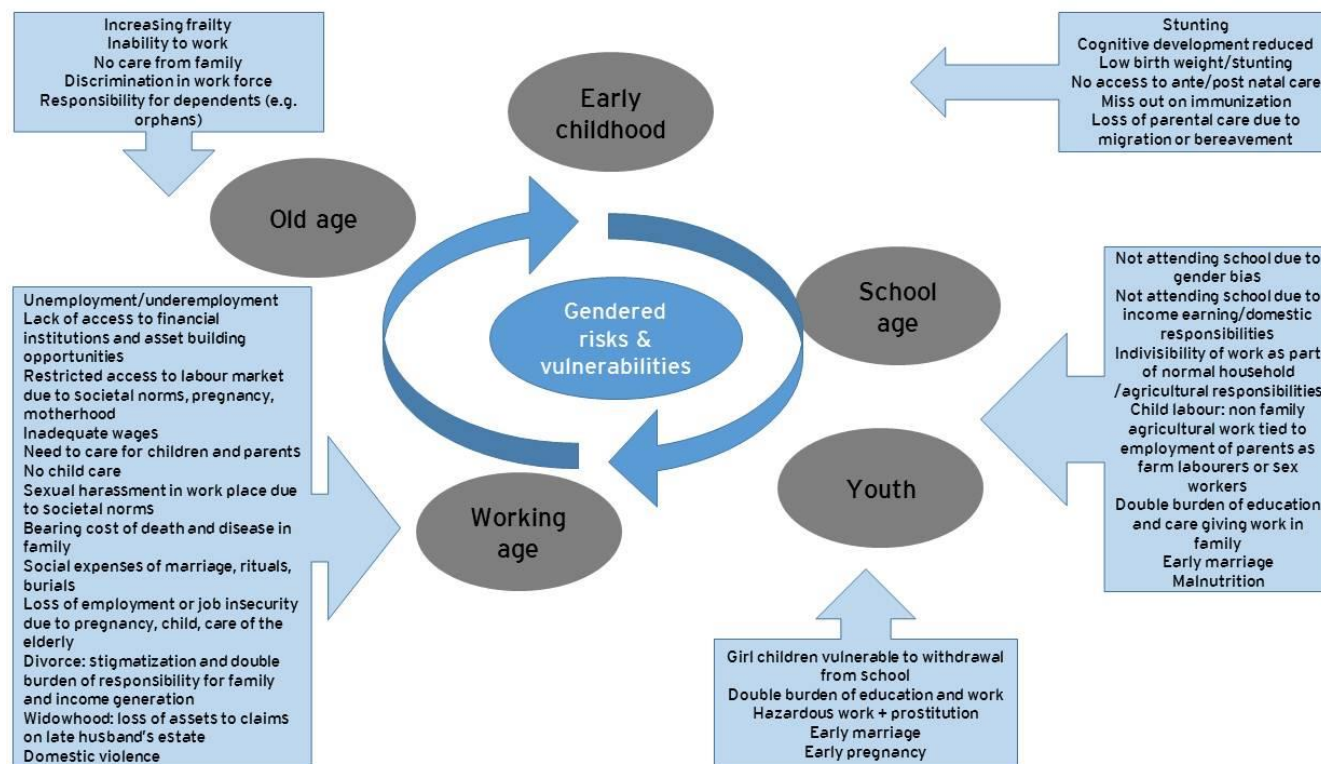
Those working in the field of gender and social protection have distilled the following key features as integral to adopting a gender lens in the design, implementation, monitoring, governance and evaluation of social protection

Lifecycle approach: Many social protection schemes are gender unaware and tend to focus on economic risk. To address the underlying causes of exclusion, social protection schemes must address how different risks affect women and men differently at different points in their life (childhood, adolescence, adulthood, old age) (Mayer, 2009; Stuckelberger, 2010; Meinzen-Dick et al., 2011; Tessier et al., 2013; Sabates-Wheeler & Kabeer, 2003; Luttrell & Moser, 2004; Holmes & Slater, 2012) (see **Figure 1**). For social protection to achieve its transformative potential and address inequality, it has to take account of all forms of discrimination and how they intersect with other social dimensions, apart from gender, which prevent women from achieving the same level of socioeconomic rights as men across their lifecycle. For instance, women's role in unpaid care and domestic work is well acknowledged as an obstacle to their ability to enjoy rights to work, rest, leisure, education and health. A wealthier woman living in a polygamous household may be vulnerable to different types of risk than an older widow or a woman living with HIV/AIDS. Therefore, it is important that the design of social protection recognizes the differences between women (heterogeneity) and the fact that individuals have different social relations that affect their vulnerability to different types of risk, particularly to stereotypes, stigma and violence at different stages of their lifecycle. Hence, a thorough situation analysis at the programme design stage is needed to understand the underlying causes of exclusion or marginalization so as to better inform the design. Regular gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation and strong accountability mechanisms can ensure that the social protection programme remains responsive and adaptive to these risks. The broad shift within the social protection discourse towards lifecycle approaches (for example, in work on child-sensitive and nutrition-sensitive social protection) is promising.

Understanding of the gender dynamics within the household and community: Attention must be paid to gender roles and relations between women and men, in particular, how they affect intra-household decision making and bargaining, time poverty and women's reproductive unpaid care work. Households are not homogenous units, but are sites of 'bargaining', in which women and men have different abilities to decide and control how the transfers are pooled back into the household. Understanding gender as 'relational' is key, as women and men negotiate how social protection resources are used for consumption, production and investment.

Recognition of the structures: The structures (e.g. norms, values and institutions) underpinning the imbalance of power between men and women must be recognized and taken into account. For social protection to address the strategic interests of men and women as citizens it is crucial to frame social protection as a socioeconomic right.

Figure 1. Gendered risks across the lifecycle



Source: Luttrell & Moser (2004); Sabates-Wheeler & Kabeer (2003); Lund & Srinivas (2000)

Centrality of a gender lens

The centrality of a gender lens to social protection is illustrated in discussions about **targeting, conditionality, unintended impacts** and **empowerment**, which are briefly summarized here:

Targeting: Women are often targeted because they are more likely to spend the resources to benefit their children. Latin American experiences with conditional cash transfers (CCTs) from Brazil's Bolsa Familia and Mexico's Progresa/Oportunidades have reinforced instrumental arguments for targeting women and attaching 'conditionalities', by demonstrating how this can improve other development outcomes, such as those related to education and health (**Box 5**). However, the extent to which targeting women translates into equal decision making within the household about how these transfers are invested is less clear and varies according to the context (World Bank, 2014a). Gender and development advocates have challenged simplistic assumptions that merely targeting women equates to empowerment as it ignores the complex bargaining process within the household (Molyneux, 2009; Holmes & Jones, 2013, 2010a, 2010b; de la O Campos, 2015). Recent research in Burkina Faso demonstrates that, as long as a transfer is 'conditional', giving it to the father or the mother makes no difference to the impact on the demand for preventative health care services (Akresh et al., 2012). However, there is consensus that, within Sub-Saharan Africa, there is a need for more research, particularly on whether targeting mothers or fathers, conditionality or other factors influence impact.

Box 5. Experiences from Latin America

Brazil's Bolsa Familia was launched in 2003 as a consolidation of four different safety nets providing cash transfers to households living in poverty and extreme poverty. Households in extreme poverty receive cash transfers whether or not they have children. Households with children or pregnant women or breastfeeding mothers are required to comply with conditions related to regular school attendance, prenatal care, health visits, vaccinations and growth monitoring. Positive impacts of the programme include increased participation of women in the labour market and a slight increase in women's household bargaining position and respect for women, as well as an increase in decision-making power around contraception.

Mexico's Progres/Oportunidades: was launched in 1997 to improve the basic conditions of children living in extreme poverty and enable them to benefit from economic growth and future employment. The programme provides conditional cash transfers and awareness promotion emphasizing the importance of human capital (i.e. cash transfers to mothers on the condition that their children receive basic schooling and periodic health screenings). The transfers were higher for girls to overcome gendered cultural behaviours. Positive impacts of the programme included more children attending school for longer with higher academic achievement; a reduced education gap between girls and boys; reduced incidence of illnesses among children; and improved nutritional status of children.

However, both programmes have been criticized for strengthening gender divisions of responsibility and care by reaffirming women's role as 'mothers' and 'carers'. In Oportunidades there were reports of increased domestic violence due to a backlash from husbands as transfers were handed to their wives, eroding men's self-esteem as providers/ breadwinners for the household. Introducing complementary interventions such as awareness raising with husbands can minimize this kind of backlash (see [Promundo's Bolsa Familia Companion Program](#), which proactively engages men to support the economic empowerment of women).

Source: World Bank (2014b); Samson (2013); Molyneux (2009); Adato et al. (2000); De Brau et al. 2012; Angelucci (2008)

Conditionality: The extent to which conditionalities have benefited women and whether they are necessary is much debated (Samson, 2013, 2009; Samson et al., 2006). Conditionalities related to school attendance for girls can change parent's behaviour in sending and keeping girls in school. In Malawi, the Zomba cash transfer programme led to greater school attendance by girls as well as reduced rates of early marriage and adolescent pregnancy (Baird et al., 2009). Recent research in Burkina Faso found that conditionality did increase the enrolment of more marginalized children (e.g. girls, less abled children, younger children), who are rarely prioritized by parents when allocating resources to education (Akresh et al., 2013). While conditional cash transfers can improve health seeking behaviour and the uptake of health services, particularly those related to antenatal and postnatal care, as in the Latin American experience, there is concern within Sub-Saharan Africa about service quality.

Conditionalities have been criticized for the burden they place on women regarding compliance. The imposition of conditions overlooks the fact that women and girls might not be able to comply because social services are too distant, there are gender-based risks involved in accessing services, or transport costs are too high. Mothers may not want to attend certain social care services because of discriminatory attitudes by service providers or may not be able to if consent from their husband is required. Conditionality has also been criticized for its paternalistic view of welfare, particularly how it reinforces the role of mothers as 'agents of the state' responsible for securing important goals for the next generation without any support for their own life options (Fultz & Francis, 2013; Handa & Davis, 2006). More importantly, conditionality marginalizes men from care responsibilities and ignores women's potential productive roles.

Unintended negative impacts: Many social protection programmes assume a homogenous household, ignoring intra-household relations and the often unequal bargaining position of women in the household. As recipients, not all women are able to control how income is distributed within the household. At worst, without appropriate complementary measures in a social protection programme (e.g. awareness raising sessions with men), there can be a backlash from men and other community members against women as social protection recipients. For example, there were reports of violence in some beneficiary households in Mexico's Oportunidades programme (Molyneux, 2006; World Bank, 2011; Bell, 2015; Angelucci, 2008). Similarly, in public works schemes there is the danger of reinforcing gender bias and stigmas about 'women's work', as illustrated in early experiences in South Africa's Expanded Public Works Programme, where women's wages were set below the minimum wage and varied across the region. Social protection interventions that target women also run the risk of men withdrawing from household responsibilities, as demonstrated in some cases in South Africa's Pension and Child Grants programmes. It is recognized that there is a need for more research on the effect of cash transfers targeting women on domestic violence (World Bank, 2015).

Resource: For information on how to design social protection to avoid gender-based violence, see '[Violence against women and girls resource guide: Social protection](#)'

Empowerment: While the many positive impacts of social protection on women are undisputed, the extent to which it is 'empowering' is debateable, particularly if it does not address the unequal gender relations

underpinning women’s disadvantage (Molyneux, 2009; de la O Campos, 2015; World Bank, 2014a). Empowerment can be defined as ‘the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability’ (Kabeer, 1999, p. 2). It includes the ‘ability to make strategic life choices in the context where this ability has previously been denied’ (Kabeer, 2001, p. 19). Central to this, is the recognition that exercising choice is dependent on resources (material and immaterial), agency (ability to define ones’ own goals and act upon them) and achievements (actual outcomes). This refers to the ability of women to achieve autonomy over decisions that affect their lives, control over resources and assets, mobility, and self-esteem and confidence (Molyneux, 2009; Fultz & Francis, 2013).

This interpretation of empowerment illustrates how access to resources (in this case, cash or food transfers) alone and targeting does not equate to empowerment. For example, while conditional cash transfers can bring positive benefits ranging from immediate relief to families and particularly children (school and health care, increased enrolment of girls), there are also costs, namely, the time burden in fulfilling the conditionalities and the reinforcement of women’s reproductive role as guardians of children and ‘channels for child-centred policies’. In public works programmes, such as Ethiopia’s Productive Safety Net Programme, women recipients reported that the requirements of work interfered with childcare and domestic responsibilities, adding an extra burden to their busy lives (Berhane et al., 2011; Molyneux & Thomson, 2011). In more extreme instances, there were damaging knock-on effects on other household activities, resulting in older children being withdrawn from school to fulfil the role of carer while their mothers were engaged in public works programmes (Sabates-Wheeler & Roelen, 2011). Some critics also say that public works programmes invoke self-targeting due to heavy workloads, meaning that only those who are most in need choose to participate. In practice, many of these programmes ‘empower’ women in their practical gender roles (as caretakers of children) rather than fulfilling their strategic gender interests in roles that enhance and develop their productive capacity. In terms of women’s control over decision making, evidence shows that it tends to be restricted to certain domains of expenditure (e.g. family health, food purchases, clothing, contraception) (Fultz & Francis, 2013; De Brauw et al., 2014; World Bank, 2014a).

This is not to disregard the positive reports about greater knowledge/awareness (e.g. nutrition, maternal health), optimism, self-esteem and confidence arising from social recognition from communities of women’s reproductive roles (Adato et al., 2000; Fultz & Francis, 2013; Concern & Oxfam, 2011). Rather, it highlights the need to explore and experiment with the design of transformative social protection to push these boundaries from the start so that programmes can lead to more meaningful empowerment, including the dimensions identified by Kabeer (1999) regarding resources, agency and achievements.

Initial learning from the piloting of conditional cash transfers in Egypt is an example of how this can be done (**Box 6**). This pilot was co-created by policy-makers, women activists and academics and explicitly sought to challenge traditional gender dynamics that emphasize women’s roles as mothers, while ignoring their productive roles and agency.

Box 6. Transformative social protection: Lessons from Egypt’s pilot of conditional cash transfers in Ain El Sira Slum

Cash transfers under Egypt’s pilot programme were conditional on women’s participation in paid employment. Transfers were paid into women’s bank accounts to protect cash from family demands and community theft. The pilot included self-monitoring tools to enable women to monitor their own compliance and avoid social workers gaining control. Collective sessions (groups of 15-20) were used to promote women’s involvement in governance and encourage collective action.

Source: Sholkamy (2011)

5. Gender lens in practice: examples of social protection across the lifecycle

To illustrate the importance of a gender lens in practice, this section looks at different social protection instruments that can be used across the lifecycle, e.g. cash transfers, public works programmes and social assistance (pensions).

Transfers for families with children and adolescents

Positive analyses of social transfers highlight the multiple benefits of social protection for women, such as reduced poverty, improved nutrition for women and their families, improved girls' education, improved access to health care, and better nutrition outcomes for pregnant and lactating mothers. Newer cash transfers are framed around improving the capacity of children living in extreme poverty, in recognition of the intergenerational cycle of poverty. The impact of transfers on household and children's food security and nutrition is well documented (Kaplan & Jones, 2013; Adato & Basset, 2008; Barca et al., 2015).

Social transfers are 'regular, reliable and direct transfers in cash and/or in kind to households in poverty and deprivation and support the accumulation of human, productive and financial resources. They can be unconditional or conditional, where the receipt of transfers depends on the beneficiaries (or their family member's) participation/compliance in other 'development activities' often linked to sending children (often girls) to school, attending health clinics etc.' (UNICEF, 2012)

In Sub-Saharan Africa, there are a range of different cash transfers framed around the wellbeing of children, particularly those affected by HIV/AIDs, such as South Africa's Child Grant and Kenya's Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC). A recent evaluation of the latter showed that the programme had a positive impact on children's education and the local economy (i.e. increased diversification) and increased female decision making in recipient households, but it did not challenge gender norms rooted in patriarchal structures. Of great concern was early indications that it might be undermining informal social protection mechanisms (e.g. informal fostering, kinship and community care) due to jealousy from non-recipients (Ward et al., 2010; FAO, 2014).

Ghana's Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme is an example of a scheme that has combined economic strengthening with child protection objectives with conditionalities attached to birth registration and the avoidance of child labour and trafficking. LEAP takes a lifecycle approach that recognizes the different gendered risks across the lifecycle and displays the value of linking health insurance to cash transfers (**Box 7**). However, the transformative potential of this programme was restricted due to weak implementation. The programme also reinforced the gender division of labour and women's care responsibilities.

Box 7. Experience from Ghana's Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme

In 2008, the Department of Social Welfare in Ghana launch LEAP, a conditional cash transfer programme targeting 74,000 households. The programme delivers cash grants to primary caregivers in the poorest households with conditions as to school enrolment and retention, registration at birth, registration with the National Health Insurance Scheme, access to postnatal care and immunizations for young children, and no child trafficking or engagement in child labour.

Targeting: LEAP directly targets women as caregivers (of orphans and vulnerable children, people with disabilities or people over 65). Women also benefit indirectly as recipients of complementary services. The grants are given on the stipulation that the transfers are allocated to a reasonable balance between men and women.

Gendered impacts: Overall, there have been no notable gender impacts from the programme. Whilst the emphasis on anti-child trafficking was important, the gender transformative potential of LEAP has not been realized due to implementation during the election time. Lack of investment in implementation at the district and community levels impeded reinforcement of the gender design components with little guidance on how to discuss conditionalities (many of which have the potential to reinforce gender-related messages).

Individual level: At the individual level, cash grants were invested in National Health Insurance premiums, school supplies and essential food items.

Family/intra-household level: No major changes have been observed at the family or intra-household level as the programme is still relatively new and there are few civil society movements reinforcing gender equality messages, compared to programme equivalents in Latin America. The term 'caregiver' is also often equated with the breadwinner, resulting in little recognition of the actual person providing care. Unless the message is clear that the grant is to be used to support caregivers (who are predominantly women), then the cash transfer is just added to the household pot, with little impact on intra-household dynamics.

Community level: There have been reports of increased social cohesion and social networking and of beneficiaries being more able to participate in community projects. Few women participate in the governance of the scheme as there is no mechanism for ensuring equal participation. The recipients of LEAP are also viewed as more 'reliable' loan clients, which has helped to boost the local market.

Learning: It is important to invest resources in building the implementation capacity of staff at the district and community levels to reinforce gender design components and train staff on how to discuss conditionalities (many of which have the scope to reinforce gender-related messages, particularly those related to reproductive health rights and girls' school retention).

Source: Holmes & Jones (2013); Amuzu et al. (2010)

Analysis of the social impact of social protection (mainly cash transfers) on HIV/AIDS prevention has shown positive impacts on women and girls' autonomy and agency including: a reduction in harmful coping strategies (having sex with older partners and having sex in exchange for food, shelter, transport or money) (Adato & Basset, 2012, 2008). Instruments that have linkages to increasing girls' school enrolment and attendance rates and the utilization of health and counselling services have supported HIV/AIDS prevention.

Social transfers are often discussed in the context of securing girls' right to education and reducing the enrolment gap between girls and boys, such as in Bangladesh's Female Secondary School Assistance Programme (Gaia, 2015). Conditionalities attached to girls' education emphasize to parents the importance of investing in girls. However the extent to which transfers are used within households to benefit girls requires further research, as will be explored in trials of an adolescent-focused component of Bangladesh's Vulnerable Group Feeding Programme (Save the Children, 2015). In the long run, investment in transfers linked to girls' education can have tremendous impacts on inclusive development with a greater chance of breaking the cycle of poverty through improved women and girls' access to labour markets (Alderman & Yemtsov, 2012; UNICEF, 2015). A recent World Bank evaluation (2014a) shows that the impact of transfers on child labour and schooling is greatly influenced by the different ways girls and boys are involved in productive activities, highlighting the need for further research.

Complementary interventions that combine parenting support services and parental advocacy can play an important role in tackling the gender biases that prevent girls from going to school. Social protection that combines linkages to counselling and peer support have proved vital in detecting situations of vulnerability and abuse within households. In some cases, there have been reports that the alleviation of household budgets by cash transfers can reduce parental stress and, therefore, domestic violence (Barrientos et al., 2013). In addition, dedicated awareness-raising sessions with husbands to discuss the participation of their wives (e.g. Peru's Juntos Programme) and regular monitoring to avoid unwanted negative impacts are important to avoid a backlash from men. This highlights the importance of engaging men and boys to support the more equal division of labour, reduce tensions and violence, and increase women's role in decision making (Holmes & Jones, 2013).

Another gendered risk faced by adolescent girls is continued pressure to support mothers with unpaid household work and care giving roles. Rwanda's Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme is a novel example of efforts to provide childcare services (e.g. mobile crèches) and Mexico's Progama de Estancias Infantiles has raised awareness of the importance of parental leave, actively encouraged men to participate in household and care work, and provided a small childcare allowance (Roelen & Shelmardine, 2014).

Transfers for working age

The gendered impact of public works programmes (PWP) is mixed and they are often criticized for depriving women and men of time that could have been invested in more productive endeavours. Common critiques include:

- Low wages, limiting involvement of the most vulnerable, poor and able bodied.
- Limited attention to women’s dual role, resulting in the unintended impact of women leaving children alone in the house or taking girls out of school to maintain the household while they participate in PWP.
- Reinforcement of gender norms of ‘appropriate work’, as women are allocated ‘light’ work in return for low wages (e.g. India’s Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme) or paid the same rate as men for heavy physical labour causing them to subcontract work to men in exchange for 50% of the wages (e.g. Zambia’s Micro Project Unity Programme).

Nevertheless, there are positive examples of where design features have promoted more gender-aware programming to minimize harm. Although currently discontinued, Ghana’s former National Youth Employment Program is an example of a public works programme that sought to extend the types of interventions to include social service components, such as community teaching assistants for health workers. South Africa’s Expanded Public Works Programme also included public works related to home-based care for people living with HIV and care for young people.

Public works programmes (PWP) are a type of social transfer targeting the working-age population that includes labour intensive infrastructure initiatives (e.g. construction of roads, irrigation, schools and health clinics) and provides payment in cash or kind (usually food). PWP are an example of a ‘preventative and protective’ social protection instrument traditionally associated with safety nets. Historically, they provide important temporary support for the most vulnerable during natural disasters and economic crises with demonstrated positive impacts on household food security. They also contribute significantly to infrastructure development, including of community assets that have benefited women (e.g. water pumps, which reduce drudgery and save time).

Over time, PWP have evolved to include new design features, seeking to acknowledge women’s unpaid productive work, and include types of public assets that benefit women by reducing time poverty. For example, Ethiopia’s Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) includes gender design features such as flexible working hours, childcare facilities and public assets, which reduce time poverty (e.g. through water pumps and more accessible fuelwood sources). However, ultimately, this programme has reinforced women’s practical gender needs with little impact on unequal decision making or on social perceptions of what is appropriate work for women (see **Box 8**). The opportunity to link up with complementary services, such as the government’s Women Development Package on women’s rights, which includes ‘community conversations’ on gender-based violence, were missed due to the poor capacity of implementing staff (Holmes & Jones, 2013).

Box 8. Lessons from Ethiopia’s Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP)

Launched in 2005 as an **emergency food aid programme** focused on environmental rehabilitation, the PSNP transformed into a long-term response to food insecurity targeting 7.75 million chronically food-insecure people. The programme comprises a mixture of social protection instruments with direct food and cash transfers to smooth consumption and prevent negative coping strategies (such as the emergency sale of household assets) and public works programmes (in return for food/cash) to build community assets. It also provides agriculture inputs (fertilizer, credit, extension) to support the sustainable graduation of households out of poverty.

Gender impacts: The PSNP serves as a good example of where gender-sensitive design does not always translate into gender equitable outcomes. The programme addressed women’s practical gender needs, rather than strategic gender interests, with little impact on unequal decision making in male-headed households. The positive aspects of the design and impact included:

- Child health was improved through increased food consumption and meeting child-related costs (for clothing, school, healthcare) and reduced emergency sale of household assets.
- Women’s specific practical needs were recognized across their lifecycle, as well as the fact that

female-headed households have less labour power.

- Cash transfers were unconditional for households with pregnant women.
- Initial steps were made to encourage women's involvement in community decision-making structures through representatives of the Women's Bureau in committee structures for the governance of the programme at ward level.
- A gender-sensitive approach was applied in the types of community assets created (such as water points and fuelwood sources) to reduce women and girls' time poverty.
- The design allowed public works programmes to cultivate private land holdings by female-headed households in response to social norms that restrict ploughing by women. However, some of the heavy physical labour requirements for 'tangible' infrastructure were not always sensitive to the different capacities of men and women across their lifecycle.
- Childcare facilities were provided as an innovative solution to women's unpaid care responsibilities. However, flexible arrival and departure times were not regularly enforced and women were reluctant to leave their children with strangers, highlighting the need to invest in more research to find out how best to design social protection measures that are more sensitive to women's context-specific needs.

Learning: The programme had observable benefits for female-headed households, but less so for women within male-headed households and polygamous households, as it failed to address unequal decision-making in male-headed households. Within male-headed households, women reported that their husbands spent transfers on alcohol and food outside the house. There were also negative reports that work requirements interfered with childcare and domestic responsibilities, adding an extra burden to women's busy lives.

Source: Holmes & Jones (2013); Berhane et al. (2011)

Transfers for older people

Ageing poses new risks for women, because as they live longer they generally have less access to land and other assets to maintain their standard of living. In Sub-Saharan Africa, where the prevalence of HIV/AIDs is high contributing to high numbers of orphans and absent middle-aged adults, older women are relied on to take up childcare responsibilities. South Africa's Old Age Pension is one of its flagship social protection programmes. The majority of recipients of the Old Age Pension are female and the transfer has been shown to have positive impacts on overall household food security, child health, children's anthropometric status, school attendance and child labour (Burns & Leibbrandt, 2005; Duflo, 2000; Barrientos et al., 2013). The Old Age Pension also provides a financial and emotional buffer against the impact of an adult child's death (related to HIV/AIDS) and the burden of looking after grandchildren (Ardington et al., 2010). It has also encouraged higher levels of female labour migration, because the pension overcomes the resource constraints and grandmothers can take on the childcare (Posel et al., 2004). Research shows that, although the pension has given older women more access to, and control over, economic resources, with time, the stress of care giving tends to impact on older women's physical health and the increasing expectation to take on more dependents creates tension (Schatz et al., 2011). This also reconfirms the gender division of labour by reinforcing women's responsibility to take care of young and ill members of the household, adding to the workload of elderly women. It also allows male household members to avoid fulfilling their household family responsibilities towards their spouses.

Pensions can be categorized as a form of 'social insurance'. Pensions offer insurance against the risk of a long life, guaranteeing people an income for as long as they live.

6. Recommendations: what can governments do to make social protection more gender sensitive?

Because gender norms and dynamics are complex and vary across the lifecycle, it is vital that a gender lens is applied from the **design phase** to identify the most effective approach and combination of social protection instruments. **Constant follow up** is then required during implementation with effective monitoring and governance mechanisms in place to track progress and ensure that social protection instruments are gender sensitive (see **Table 1**). Key recommendations suggested by experts (Holmes & Jones, 2013; Sepulveda & Nyst, 2012) working in this field include the following:

Recommendation 1: Ensure programme design is informed by comprehensive analysis of the economic and social needs of women across their lifecycle

Resource: Overseas Development Institute (ODI), [Toolkit for how to design and implement gender sensitive social protection.](#)

Social protection must respect and acknowledge women's role as providers of unpaid care, without reinforcing patterns of discrimination and negative stereotyping. Measures must be taken to promote the value of care work and to combine society and state responsibility for care work, while encouraging men to participate more actively in the support and care of family members. This will ensure that programme interventions understand the different gendered needs of men and women and allow better planning to link up with complementary programmes and services that support both practical and strategic needs. Towards this, programmes should be designed to:

- Provide childcare facilities at which women are comfortable leaving their children and engage men in discussions about gender roles and relations
- Map informal social protection support networks and monitor the impacts of social protection on these networks during implementation to ensure that these are not eroded
- Provide equal wages for public works and allocate 'appropriate work' (as well as challenging gender stereotypes of 'appropriate work')
- Institutionalize better linkages to complementary initiatives by engaging different stakeholders (government, the private sector, trade unions, civil society and women's activist organizations) to support linkages to programmes on education, nutrition, child rights and women's entrepreneurship opportunities, supported by information sharing and awareness raising sessions addressing gender-specific vulnerabilities (e.g. gender-based violence)
- Encourage a dynamic model of gender and generational cooperation that has the potential to generate positive outcomes for all household members, including fathers who are otherwise marginalized from the responsibilities of care
- Enhance women's productive capacity by integrating services that protect and build assets (e.g. occupational health, collective bargaining arrangements, minimum wage, legislation, childcare services) and by using social funds for employment generation

Best practices for challenging gender stereotypes of 'appropriate work'

Brazil's *Chapeu de Palha Mulher* is a transformative social protection cash transfers programme for combating hunger between sugarcane harvests that supports women's economic empowerment by training women to take up non-traditional jobs in the construction industry. The programme achieves this by providing training on non-traditional jobs (e.g. welding, soldering, plumbing, electrical work) combined with sessions that encourage women to explore gender stereotypes. Stipends are tied to classes on citizenship rights and vocational training for women.

South Africa's *Expanded Public Works Programme* aims to make more paid work available for women, free women's time for work and make work more profitable for them. Instead of 'traditional' public works infrastructure jobs, it provides work in the social sector (childhood education, home and community-based care).

Source: Sholkamy (2011)

Best practices for complementary linkages

Chile's *Solidario* programme is an example of an integrated anti-poverty programme with a lifecycle approach to social and economic exclusion. It combines transfers and links households and individuals to a range of support services from different public programmes (e.g. birth registration and conflict counselling).

Best practices for engaging men

Lessons from Brazil's *Bolsa Familia*: In Bolsa Familia, dedicated sessions involving women and men on violence prevention and women's autonomy and decision making (delivered by Promundo) served to reduce intra-household tension. Designed in response to a backlash from men who felt excluded from the programme, the additional training component resulted in more cooperative household decision making. For more information on how to minimize violence against women and girls in social protection see: [Violence Against Women and Girl's Resource Guide](#).

Lessons from Rwanda's CARE programme: During the implementation of an economic empowerment project targeting women entrepreneurs involving village savings and loans associations, it was realized that there is a need to more actively engage husbands. A dedicated training manual was developed to address the needs of men and highlight the advantages of gender equitable behaviour for their wives and children. Key activities included sessions to educate men on time management and access to markets. Innovations included the use of male trainers as role models for other men and the active participation of couples in each session rather than individuals (resource: [Promundo Training Manual for Engaging Men as Allies in Women's Economic Empowerment](#)).

Recommendation 2: Invest in the capacity building of designing and implementing staff

Best practice examples of capacity building of implementing staff: Bangladesh's *BRACs Challenging Frontiers of Poverty Reduction*

BRAC staff are heavily trained and oriented in the gender-sensitive components of the programme and there are rewards for individuals who perform well on gender goals. There is also extensive follow up by staff on targeted beneficiaries, which allows for regular engagement between staff and beneficiaries. This has supported the more effective implementation of components of the programme focused on building women's confidence.

Source: Holmes & Jones, (2013)

The skills of programme designers, implementers and monitoring officers need to be built to ensure that gender-sensitive social protection design is implemented in practice. This includes the capacity building of consultants hired to assess programmes as well as project officers sitting in donor offices and M&E staff in the field. Often the poor end up serving the poor and are expected to access low-quality services implemented by staff with little training. Training should cover gender issues (including attention to unintended impacts such as gender-based violence) and give clear guidance on organizational lines of responsibility, interface with the community and provide for the mentoring of beneficiaries.

Recommendation 3: Integrate gender-related monitoring, evaluation and learning into social protection programmes

To ensure that gender is integrated more effectively into social protection programmes requires better gender- and age-disaggregated data on issues such as control over resources and intra-household decision making. There are a range of new metrics for measuring empowerment, which can be used to track the more meaningful changes in gender power relations. These changes need to be tracked on an ongoing basis to inform the design of transformative social protection. This requires adequate resourcing for innovative monitoring, evaluation and learning systems to be incorporated into budget lines and plans. It also requires support to be provided to local implementers to translate innovative features into practice.

Recommendation 4: Strengthen women’s agency, advocacy and representation

Social protection programmes need to have strong formal mechanisms for consultation and collaboration with women and men from the design phase through to implementation, as well as in ongoing monitoring and governance. NGOs, civil society organizations and women activists’ organizations can support the strengthening of grass-roots movements focused on holding governments and donors to account. Further steps include:

- Invest in building community awareness of entitlements and rights (e.g. as in India’s Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme, which emphasizes people’s entitlement to employment)
- Engage fathers, brothers and sons through community dialogue and awareness raising sessions to support their wives, mothers and daughters to promote the sharing of reproductive household care, support women’s entrepreneurial activities and encourage daughters’ education
- Increase the socio-political visibility of women through political representation in local government, legal interventions to formulate legislation in an equitable manner, education and awareness building
- Create safe spaces for women to voice their concerns by investing in more participatory channels and safe spaces for women to actively participate in the governance of social protection, as well as grievance mechanisms
- Invest in effective community/programme interfaces to allow women and men to articulate their views in meaningful ways (e.g. through social audit processes focusing on grievance mechanisms and mentoring support for women)

Initial lessons from Ethiopia’s Productive Safety Net Programme

To ensure women’s participation in the Productive Safety Net Programme, the village kebele (ward) appeals committee for selecting beneficiaries was instructed by the Women’s Affairs Bureau to include female health extension workers. However, without clear management lines and regular monitoring, this was not adequately enforced, underlining the importance of effective capacity building.

Source: Berhane et al. (2011)

Table 1. Considering gender issues in social protection policy making and programming

Activity	Entry points for addressing gender
Policy and programme design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure clear and participatory identification and analysis of economic and social gender vulnerabilities (e.g. different roles in the household, time poverty of women and girls due to domestic responsibilities, limited participation in decision making, language barriers, violence and abandonment, mobility restrictions, unequal access to productive resources, etc.), needs, interests and priorities
Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop tailored and ongoing capacity for gender-related aims (for male and female programme participants and implementers) • Conduct capacity building to enable the governance of institutions to understand gender equality issues so that they are integrated into laws, policies and resource allocation to support developing the political will to bring about change • Foster strong commitment to addressing gendered vulnerabilities • Develop accountability mechanisms guaranteeing both women and men’s participation in the governance and implementation of programmes • Ensure sufficient funding over the medium to long term
Monitoring & evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collect, analyse and disseminate gender- and age-disaggregated data/indicators • Ensure men and women’s participation • Assess efforts to address gender inequality • Capture progress in tackling both economic and social vulnerabilities
Governance & accountability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actively involve both men and women in mechanisms to provide feedback on social protection

Source: Adapted from Holmes & Jones (2010b)

7. Key resources and references

Web-related dossiers and toolkits

- [Social protection and human rights platform](#)
- [INCLUDE dossier on social protection](#)
- [The Broker dossier on social protection](#)
- [ILO dossier](#)
- [ODI gender toolkit](#)
- [Feminist movements dictionary](#)
- [UN Women report](#)
- International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) [research on social protection](#)
- [FAO research guide](#) on qualitative research on women's economic empowerment and social protection
- Save the Children: [resources on child sensitive social protection](#)
- [Nutrition sensitive social protection](#)

Further reading on women's empowerment and social protection instruments from Sub-Saharan Africa

Instrument	Readings from Sub-Saharan Africa
Cash transfers	SSA (Barca, et al. 2015) Kenya (quantitative, Asfaw et al., 2014) Kenya (qualitative, FAO, 2014a) Malawi (quantitative, Covarrubias, Davis & Winters, 2012) Somalia (quantitative, Wasilkowska, 2012) Ethiopia (FAO, 2014b) Zimbabwe (qualitative, FAO, 2013a) Lesotho (qualitative, FAO, 2014c) Ghana (qualitative, FAO, 2013b) Ghana (qualitative, Holmes & Jones, 2010a,b) Kenya and Zimbabwe (qualitative, Concern & Oxfam, 2011) Global (quantitative, World Bank, 2014a)
Asset transfers (or asset packages)	Burkina Faso (qualitative, Nielsen, 2010)
Public works programmes	Ethiopia (qualitative, Holmes & Jones, 2010ab, 2013) Rwanda (qualitative/ quantitative, FATE Consulting, 2013) Botswana (qualitative, Holmes & Jones, 2013) South Africa (qualitative, Subbarao et al., 2013) Senegal (qualitative, Holmes & Jones, 2009) Burundi and Tanzania (qualitative, Dejardin, 1996) Zambia (qualitative, Holmes & Jones 2009) Global (World Bank, 2014a)

Source: De la O Campos (2015)

References

- Adato, M. and Basset, L. (2008) [What is the potential of cash transfers to strengthen families affected by HIV and AIDS?](#) A review of the evidence on impacts and key policy debates. International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC.
- Adato, M. and Basset, L. (2012) Social protection and cash transfers: to strengthen families affected by HIV and AIDS. International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC.
- Adato, M., de la Briere, B., Dubravka, M. and Quisumbing, Q. (2000) The impact of PROGRESA on women's status and intrahousehold relations community social relationships: final report to PROGRESA. International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC.

- Akresh, R., De Walque, D. and Kazianga, H. (2012) Alternative cash transfer delivery mechanisms: impacts on routine preventative health clinic visits in Burkina Faso. NBER Working Paper 17785, National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Akresh, R., De Walkque, D. and Kazianga, H. (2013) Cash transfers and child schooling: evidence from a randomized evaluation of the role of conditionality. Policy Research Working Paper 6340, World Bank, Washington, DC.
- Alderman, H. and Yemtsov, R. (2012) Productive role of safety nets. Social Protection & Labour Discussion Paper 1203, World Bank, Washington, DC.
- Amuzu, C., Jones, N. and Perezniето, P. (2010) Gender risks, poverty and vulnerability in Ghana: to what extent is the LEAP cash transfer programme making a difference? ODI, London.
- Angelucci, M. (2008) 'Love on the rocks: domestic violence and alcohol abuse in rural Mexico', The BE Journal of Economic Analysis and Policy, 8:1, 1-41.
- Ardington, C., Case, A., Islam, M., Lam, D., Leibbrandt, M., Mendendez, A. and Olgiati, A. (2010) 'The impact of AIDS on intergenerational support in South Africa: evidence from the Cape area panel study.' Research on Aging, 32:1, 97-121.
- Asfaw, S., Davis, B., Dewbre, J., Handa, S. and Winters, P. (2014) 'Cash transfer programme, productive activities and labour supply: evidence from a randomised experiment in Kenya.' The Journal of Development Studies. 50:8, 1172-1196.
- Baird, S., Chirwa, E., McIntosh, C. and Ozler, B. (2009) 'The short-term impacts of a schooling conditional cash transfer program on the sexual behaviour of young women.' Policy Research Working Paper 5089, World Bank.
- Barca, V., Brook, S., Holland, J., Otulana, M. and Pozarny, P (2015) [Qualitative research and analyses of the economic impact of cash transfer programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa: Synthesis report](#). FAO, Rome.
- Barrientos, A., Byrne, J., Villa, J. and Pena, P. (2013) Social transfers and child protection. Working Paper 2013-05, UNICEF Office of Research, Florence.
- Bell, E. (2015) Violence against women and cash transfers in humanitarian contexts. UKAID.
- Berhane, G., Hoddinott, J., Kumar, J., Tafesse, N., Diressie, A., Yohannes, M., SabatesWheeler, R., Handino, R. and Lind, J. (2011) Evaluation of Ethiopia's food security program: documenting progress in the implementation of the Productive Safety Nets Programme and the Household Asset Building Programme. Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Brighton.
- Burns, J., Keswell, M. and Leibbrandt, M. (2005) 'Social assistance, gender and the aged in South Africa.' Feminist Economics, 11:2, 103-115.
- Cherrier, C., Gassmann, F., Mideros Mora, A. and Mohnen, P. (2013) Making the investment case for social protection: methodological challenges with lessons learnt from a recent study in Cambodia. UNICEF Working Paper 2013-06, UNICEF Office of Research, Florence.
- Concern and Oxfam (2011) [Walking the talk: cash transfers and gender dynamics](#). Concern Worldwide and Oxfam GB.
- Covarrubias, K., Davis, B. and Winters, P. (2012) From protection to production: productive impacts of the Malawi Social Cash Transfer scheme. Journal of Development Effectiveness, 4: 1, 50-77.
- Danielsen, K. (2012) [Gender equality, women's rights and access to energy services: an inspiration paper in the run-up to Rio+20](#). Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Denmark
- Davies, M. and McGregor, J.A. (2009) Social protection responses to the financial crisis: what do we know? In Focus Policy Briefing 7. Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Brighton.
- De Brauw, A., Gilligan, D., Hoddinott, J. and Roy, S. (2014) 'The impact of Bolsa Familia on Women's decision-making power.' World Development, 59: 487-504.
- Dejardin, A. (1996). Public works programmes, a strategy for poverty alleviation: the gender dimension. Issues in Development, Discussion Paper 10, ILO, Geneva.
- De la O Campos, A. (2015) Empowering rural women through social protection. Rural Transformations Technical Paper Series #2, Social Protection Division, FAO, Rome.
- Devereux, S. and Sabates-Wheeler, R. (2004) Transformative social protection. IDS Working Paper, 232, Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Brighton.

- Duflo, E. (2000) Grandmothers and granddaughters: old age pensions and intra-household allocation in South Africa. NBER Working Paper Series 8061, National Bureau of Economic Research.
- FATE Consulting (2013) Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme (VUP) gender equity assessment. Local Development Support Fund, Kigali, Rwanda.
- FAO (2013a) [Qualitative research and analyses of the economic impacts of cash transfer programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa: Zimbabwe country case study report](#). FAO, Rome.
- FAO (2013b) [Qualitative research and analyses of the economic impacts of cash transfer programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa: Ghana country case study report](#). FAO, Rome.
- FAO (2014a) [Qualitative research and analyses of the economic impacts of cash transfer programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa: Kenya country case study report](#). FAO, Rome.
- FAO (2014b) [Qualitative research and analyses of the economic impacts of cash transfer programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa: Ethiopia country case study report](#). FAO, Rome.
- FAO (2014c) [Qualitative research and analyses of the economic impacts of cash transfer programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa: Lesotho country case study report](#). FAO, Rome.
- FAO (2015) [Nutrition and social protection](#). FAO, Rome.
- Fultz, E. and Francis, J. (2013) Cash transfer programmes, poverty reduction and empowerment of women: a comparative analysis. Gender Equality and Diversity Branch, ILO.
- Gaia, E. (2015) [Enabling aspirations, realizing rights: social protection for adolescent girls](#). Social Protection and Human Rights Commentary
- Handa, S. and Davis, B. (2006) 'The experience of conditional cash transfers in Latin America and the Caribbean.' Development Policy Review 24:5, 513-536.
- Holmes, R. and Jones, N. (2009) Putting the social back into social protection. Background Note, Overseas Development Institute (ODI), London
- Holmes, R. and Jones, N. (2010a) Rethinking social protection: using a gender lens. ODI Working Paper 320, Overseas Development Institute (ODI), London.
- Holmes, R. and Jones, N. (2010b) Social protection programming: the need for a gender lens. ODI Briefing Paper 63, Overseas Development Institute (ODI), London.
- Holmes, R. and Jones, N. (2010c) How to design and implement gender-sensitive social protection programmes. Overseas Development Institute (ODI), London.
- Holmes, R. and Slater, R. (2012) Social protection and gender: a life-cycle approach. AusAid Pacific Social Protection Series: Poverty Vulnerability and Social Protection in the Pacific, Commonwealth of Australia.
- Holmes, R. and Jones, N. (2013) Gender and social protection in the developing world: beyond mothers and safety nets. Zed Books, London.
- ILO (2012) Towards effective and fiscally sustainable social protection floors. ILO, Geneva.
- ILO and WHO (2009) Social protection floor initiative: manual and strategic framework for joint UN country operations. ILO, Geneva.
- INCLUDE (nd) [The business case for social protection in Sub-Saharan Africa](#). Knowledge Platform on Inclusive Development Policies (INCLUDE)
- Kabeer, N. (1999) 'Resources, agency, achievements: reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment.' Development and Change, 33:3, 435-464.
- Kaplan, J. and Jones, N. (2013) Child-sensitive social protection in Africa: challenges and opportunities. African Child Policy Forum and Overseas Development Institute (ODI).
- Lund, F. and Srinivas, S. (2000) Learning from experience: a gendered approach to social protection for workers. ILO.
- Luttrel, C. and Moser, C. (2004) Gender and social protection. ODI Working Paper, Overseas Development Institute (ODI), London.

- Mathers, N. and Slater, R. (2014) 'Social protection and growth: research synthesis.' Commonwealth of Australia.
- Mayer, K. (2009) 'New directions in life course research.' *Annual Review of Sociology*, 35, 413-433.
- Meinzen-Dick, R., Johnson, N., Quisumbing, A., Njuki, J., Behrman, J., Rubin, D. Peterman, A. and Waitanji, E. (2011) Gender, assets, and agricultural development programs: a conceptual framework. CAPRI Working Paper 99, International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI).
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2015) [Letter of 28 September 2015 from the Minister for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation to the House of Representatives on inclusive development in Dutch foreign trade and development cooperation programme](#)
- Miroro, O (2015) [Social protection in Africa: current state and way forward](#). INCLUDE One Pager.
- Molyneux, M. (1985) 'Mobilisation without emancipation? Women's interests, the state and revolution in Nicaragua.' *Feminist Studies*, 11:2, 227-254.
- Molyneux, M. (2006) 'Mothers at the service of the new poverty agenda: Progresa/Oportunidades, Mexico's conditional cash transfer program.' *Social Policy and Administration* 40:4, 425-449.
- Molyneux, M. (2009) Conditional cash transfers (CCT): a pathway to women's empowerment. Pathways Working Paper 5.
- Molyneux, M. and Thomson, M. (2011) CCT programmes and women's empowerment in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador. Policy Paper, CARE International, London.
- Moser, C. (1989), 'Gender planning in the third world: meeting practical and strategic gender needs.' *World Development*, 17:11, 1799-1825.
- Nielsen, J. (2010) Enhanced homestead food production for improved food security and nutrition in Burkina Faso. Presentation at the Inception Workshop on Evaluating the Impacts of Agricultural Development Programming on Gender Inequalities, Asset Disparities, and Rural Livelihoods, Nairobi, Kenya, 5-7 November, International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI).
- NWO (2014) [Social protection: research for inclusive development in Sub-Sahara Africa call for proposal](#). Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO)
- Olivier, M. (2013) [Social protection in Sub-Saharan Africa: recent findings on national frameworks and experiences](#). SASPEN-FES International Workshop on Social Protection, Mozambique,
- Posel, D., Fairburn, J. and Lund, F. (2004) 'Labour migration and households: A reconsideration of the effects of the social pension on labour supply in South Africa.' *Economic Modelling*, 23:5, 836-853.
- Piron, L. (2004) Rights based approaches to social protection. Overseas Development Institute (ODI), London.
- Roelen, K. and Sheldermine, H. (2014) Researching the linkages between social protection and children's care in Rwanda: the VUP and its effect on child wellbeing, care and family reunification. Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Brighton.
- Sabates-Wheeler, R. and Devereux, S. (2008) 'Transformative social protection: the currency of social justice', In A. Barrientos, and D. Hulme. (eds) *Social Protection for the Poor and the Poorest: Concepts, Policies and Politics*, Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Sabates-Wheeler, R. and Kabeer, N. (2003) Gender equality and the extension of social protection.' *Extension of Social Security Paper*, ILO, Geneva.
- Sabates-Wheeler, R. and Roelen, K. (2011) 'Transforming social protection: programming for children and their carers, a gender perspective.' *Gender and Development*, 19:2, 179-194.
- Samson, M. (2009) 'Social cash transfers and pro-poor growth.' *Promoting Pro-Poor Growth: Social Protection*, OECD.
- Samson, M. (2013) 'How are countries using social protection to benefit the poor.' *Development Co-operation Report 2013: ending poverty*, OECD.
- Samson, M., van Niekerk, I. and Mac Quene, K. (2006) *Designing and implementing social transfer programmes*. EPRI Press.
- Save the Children (2015) *Policy, rights and governance: Our stories, our work*. Save the Children, Bangladesh.

- Schatz, E., Gomez-Olive, X., Ralston, M., Menken, J. and Tollman, S. (2011) Gender, pensions, and social wellbeing in rural South Africa. IBS Working Paper, Population Program.
- Sepulveda, M. and Nyst, C. (2012) The human rights approach to social protection. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Finland.
- Seymour, D. (2014) [A human-rights based approach to social protection](#). United Nations Research Institute of Social Development (UNRISD) Thinkpiece.
- Sholkamy, H. (2011) How can social protection provide social justice for women? Pathways Policy Paper, Pathways of Women Empowerment RPC.
- Slegh, H., Barker, G., Kimonyo, A., Ndolimana, P. and Bannerman, M. (2013) 'I can do women's work. Reflections on engaging men as allies in women's economic empowerment in Rwanda.' Gender and Development, 21:1, 15-30.
- Stuckelberger, A. (2010) 'Why the life course approach to gender empowerment is important?' UNOSAGI, Qatar Foundation (eds) Promoting Empowerment of Women in Arab Countries, pp.40-58.
- Subbarao, K., del Ninno, C., Andrews, C. and Rodriguez-Alas, C. (2013) Public works as a safety net: design, evidence and implementation. World Bank, Washington, DC.
- Tessier, L., Plaza, M., Behrendt, C., Bonnet, F. and Guilbault, E. (2013) Social protection floors and gender equality: a brief overview. Extension of Social Security (ESS) Working Paper 37, ILO.
- UNDP (2011) [Sharing Innovative Experiences: successful social protection floor experiences](#). United Nations Development Programme, New York.
- UNICEF (2012) [Integrated social protection systems: enhancing equity for children](#). UNICEF, New York.
- UNICEF (2015) [The investment case for education and equity](#). UNICEF, New York.
- UN-INSTRAW (nd) [Glossary of gender related terms and concepts](#). United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women.
- UN Women (2015) Progress of the world's women (2015-2016): transforming economies and realizing rights. United Nations Women.
- Ward, P., Hurrell, A., Visram, A., Riemenschneider, N., Pellerano, L., O'Brien, MacAuslan, I. and Willis, J. (2010) Cash Transfer Programme for Orphans and Vulnerable Children, Kenya: operational and impact evaluation 2007-2009. Oxford Policy Management, Oxford.
- Wasilkowska, K. (2012) Gender impact analysis, unconditional cash transfers in South Central Somalia. The Somalia Cash Consortium. ACF, Adeso, Danish Refugee Council and Save the Children.
- World Bank (2011) Gender-based violence, health and the role of the health sector. World Bank, Washington, DC.
- World Bank (2014a) Social safety nets and gender: learning from impact evaluations and World Bank projects. World Bank, Washington, DC.
- World Bank (2014b) Violence against women and girls resource guide: social protection brief. World Bank, The Global Women's Institute, IDB.



colofon

INCLUDE PLATFORM

W: www.includeplatform.net

T: +31 (0) 71 527 6602

E: info@includeplatform.net

